

History of East Asia From 1840 - 1966

The Origin and growth of Manchu dynasty opening of China

Japan during the first half of the nineteenth century Decay of feudalism-opening of Japan - its results. The first Opium-war (1839 -42) its treaties second opium war-treaties-results. Taiping Rebellion.

An uneasy interlude in China-Frontier relations between China and Russia. The fall of Tokugawa shoguns Meiji restoration abolition of feudal domains. Meiji constitution. Modernisation of Japan Reorganisation of army and navy-law-industries-National Educational system-agricultural development- Rise of nationalism.

Sino-Japanese war-causes, course, treaty of Shimonoshaki 1895- results. Three power intervention. Battle for concessions in China - Open door policy. Hundred days reform movement. Boxer uprising - Manchu attempts at reforms - Role of Dowager empress. Anglo-Japanese Alliance - Russo - Japanese war - Causes courses - Results, Treaty of Portsmouth. The fall of the Manchus - The Revolution of 1911. The life and works of sunyatsen. The Presidency of Yuan Shi-Kai 1915-16. First World War in the East Asia - China and Japan in the peace conference - May fourth movement. Washington conference. Chinese Nationalism. China Kai Shek. Growth of Militarism in Japan - annexation of Korea - Party Politics - Ultra Rationalism Manchurian affairs - insurrection of 1936 - Anti comintern pact.

Second Sino Japanese War - Second World War in East Asia Japanese occupation of the South East Asia - Surrender.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS 1919 - 1986

Importance of the study of - Prewar world - Europe before 1919 alliance and events - Friction between the power blocks - the causes and course of the First World War - Results - the peace settlements (1919 - 1923) - Nature of the peace conference and role of the big four - Woodrow Wilson - his fourteen points - Peace treaties and their provisions - the USA and the peace settlement.

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conference (1932) - the Manchuria crisis (1931) rise of facism and its impact upon international relations. Rise of Nazism and its impact upon international relations. The Spanish civil war 1936 -39 - the second World War - Evaluation war period. Diplomatic negations declarations and conference the cold war - the Detente - the foreign policy of the Soviet Union - foreign policy of India : The Policy of non-alignment - The Foreign policies of communist China and Japan - Asia in world affairs - Africa in world affairs - Latin America world affairs - the third world and new economic order - Some outstanding international problems since 1945 - (a) Korea war the west Asia problem (1949 - 1973) - the Vietnam problem - South Africa and its Apartheid policy - Disar-mament since 1945 - the Unit National Organisation - an estimate - the commonwealth of nations - Regional alliances - Non-alignment SAARC - the problems of world peace the possibility of form-ing world Govt. prospects of mankind in the future.

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Chapter - 1

HISTORY OF EAST ASIA 1840 - 1961

The Origin and Growth of Manchu dynasty

The Chinese civilization is supposed to be one of the world's oldest civilizations. It has fairly a long history of nearly 4000 years and it has maintained down to the present century an amazing cultural stability and a distinct identify of its own. At the beginning of the third century after Christ, China and its civilization had developed most of the main aspects which were to character in threew down into the twentieth century. Several of the institutions in existence at the end of the second century were continued and amplified.

Shang and Chou dynasties

The Shang culture was associated with the ruling state of Shang. They used bronze and had a remarkably skillful technique for casting it. The Shang culture existed in the North China. The Shang were overthrown by the Chore, during the twelfth century before Christ. For nearly nine centuries Chou were to be the unifying centre of China. They were eager to create an ideal society.

Chin and Han dynasty

Near the middle of the third century before Chirst the prolonged internal warfare which troubled the closing generations of the Chou was temporarily ended by the triumph of one the states, Chin, over its rivals. The administrative system and the political philosophy which the rulers of China had developed were applied to the whole of China. For the first time what now can be called the Chinese Empire came into being. After a brief period of civil strife, the Han dynasty began and ruled over for another four centuries. During their rule Confucianism became the accepted philosophy of the people as well as the ruling class. Even through the rule of the Chin and Han faded away the Imperial structure they created and the cultural unity they fostered survived. They were largely responsible for the later China and also helped to moved much of the rest of the East Asia.

Han culture

Han culture enriched China's life in a numberless ways, in literature and art, the government, science and industry. They developed a lunar calender with great mathematical accuracy. A seismo-graph detected earthquake. Glazed pottery was being made at the close of the Han period. Elaboraterly embroidered silks were woven for both domestic and foreign trade, Han ladies improved their beauty by the use of face powder and rouge. Their literature became richer in expression. Manuscript were collected in an paper which appears to have been from rags. It was four countries after the fall of Han before China again entered a period of greatness.

Tang Dynasty

The rule of Tang dynasty is called the most brilliant period of China's history. Education was officially encouraged. Civil service examinations were started. Religious tolerance was extended. Laws were codified in the middle of the 8th century. The Tang Empire covered the greater part of China and Central Manchuria and vast portion of Turkestan. During their rule architecture and sculpture reached new peaks of excellence. Chang - an the capital of Tang China had a population of nearly two million in 724 A.D and was architecturally one of the world's finest cities. Between 907 and 960 AD a succession of five dynasties ruled China and finally China fell into the hands of Sung dynasty.

Sung Dynasty

The rise of the Sung Empire (960 - 1279) put an end to the political instability and economic breakdown and it began an era of growth and development. Sung was a period of Renaissance in arts, education, porcelain, making landscape painting, block printing, neo-Confucianism. There was also advance in the science of Algebra, probably introduced through the Arab trade. After three centuries of Sung rule China was conquered by the Mongols.

Mongol Rule

At the end of the 13th century, the greater Mongol Empire extended from the Eastern Sea Board of China. The Mongols in their advance upon China controlled Mongolia by 1206, overran Korea in 1231 and made can able (Peking) their Eastern winter Capital in 1264. Yunnan was captured. Aunam was reduced to vassalage and two unsuccessful expeditions were despatched against Japan. China became a part of the world of the Mongols.

The Mings and the Manchus

With the fall of the Mongol power after a century of rule, China passed under the control of its last native Chinese dynasty. The Ming, which in mid seventeenth century was overcome by another alien conqueror, the Manchus who ruled untill the establishment of the Republic in 1912. China's long history from its beginning to the end of the Manchu dynasty in 1912 may be labelled as the age of old China to distinguish it from Republican China from 1912 to 1949 and communist China after 1949.

The Manchu rule, like all Chinese history left notable legacies to the China to-day. Many of these legacies are derived from ancient China but the Ching period placed its peculiar stamp upon them. The Manchu era make some significant contribution to the form the early modern China.

1. Geographically and historically speaking it was a period of empire building.
2. The Manchus were successful in China because of their systematic rule.

3. In the Manchu period political, economic and social institutions achieved greater maturity and inter-regional integration became more pronounced.
4. In this period substantial segments of the population enjoyed a rising standard of living. The rich could afford to be extravagant. It became fashionable for the elite to cultivate artistic and scholarly avocations.

General Features of Manchu Rule

The Rule of the Manchus in China is not worthy in many aspects. There was vast development in all spheres of activities.

Religion

Educated Chinese were more concerned with the world of nature and of man than with the exclusive world of supernatural. Ancestor worship was prevalent everywhere. Sacred Mountains and other forms were also worshipped. Chinese were remarkably free from religion bigotry. Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism were some of the systems of philosophy. Chinese accepted all these there as different roads to the same destination.

Culture

The Chinese have been more creative and artistic. In painting, the Chinese have been unsurpassed. In ceramics the Chinese have been famous. Porcelain has been so widely used by them that the Occident has thought of it as "China or China ware". Sculpture has been widely used. Some sculpture showed grace, some of the calm repose of the Buddha and some wild. They reveal the robust fierceness in which action seemed to break through the materials of the artist. In architecture the Chinese were note worthy. They used rich and striking colours on their building employed them with taste and discrimination.

The Chinese literature has been in the classical style. The Chinese obtained diversion and amusement in a variety of ways. They were fond of theatre. They have a keen sense of humour.

The Chinese were the inventors of glass and gun powder. They were the first to produce paper and printing. They produced movable types in the 12th century.

According to the Chinese the Emperor was the Son of Heaven and by Heavens man date he maintained his rule. One of the most note worth achievements of the Chinese has been in the rule of Government. The Chinese seems to be partially successful in ruling subject of diverse nature. The Chinese were successful in their Government because of the political and social mindedness of the educated classes and their success was due to the means by which the Confucian ideal was inculcated.

In China highest in the social scale were the scholars or the educated. Learning was held in highest esteem and only from this educated class Government officials were selected on the basis of Civil Service Examinations. Success in the Civil Examinations brought prestige and glory to the family and to the entire community. But when too much emphasis was given to the educated and the scholars in China no proper education system or schools in the modern sense of the term were established. Learning in China was mastering the Chinese classics only, chiefly Confucian classics. This emphasised memory rather than thinking or administrative skill. Though this kind of system had its defects, it was found suitable to the traditional Chinese society.

Once in three years preliminary examinations would be conducted in important centres. Only very few would be given a pass and they would be permitted to appear for a examination at the district level. A pass in the district level examinations would ensure jobs. The successful candidates, would appear in the provincial level and at the top most examination at the capital. Successful candidates would be appointed to the higher and prestigious posts.

It is to be noted that this Chinese system favoured only merit and scholarship and not the birth, status or wealth of the individual.

Chinese Society

The state was considered as a family. Most men and women felt their primary loyalty to their family. Their family had many functions. It educated its youth, cared for its unemployed, disciplined its erring members and supported its aged. Many families lived together in huge agglomerations in a village. The family included not only the living but also the dead. Women were in an inferior position. The handicap was increased by a custom of long standing, the binding of the feet of women. However, while women were held in less regard than men, they were not without honour. The death rate, especially of infants was high. The chief occupation was agriculture. The Chinese displayed marked skill in agriculture. They cultivated a wide variety of plants for food, clothing and shelter. Some of these were indigenous.

Economic Condition

While agriculture employed the large majority of the population, millions were engaged in industry. Industry was in the handicraft stage. The factory system and labour-saving machinery were not known. There were guilds for various crafts and also those in a large city from another city or province might have a guild for mutual assistance and protection. Commerce too was extensive. The largest income were from those accumulated in trade. There were very imperfect transportation. Rivers were supplemented by canals notably the Grand canal. In the north the roads were of the sort that could be travelled by carts and wheel barrows. All transportation was slow and land transportation was also costly.

Coming of the Europeans

From the middle of the eighteenth century until 1842 the Chinese Empire was closed to foreigners except for peep-holes at Canton and Macao. Before 1757 the Chinese Government had passively permitted rather than actively encouraged the entrance of foreigners into the country. The Portuguese were the first Westerners to reach China by sea in modern times. After the first visit of Portuguese ships in 1516 the Europeans began to come in search of trade. The Spanish arrived in 1575, the Dutch in 1604, the English in 1637 and the Americans in 1784. At the same time that the South of China was being visited by the vessels of those states Russia was reaching out territorially towards the Pacific. By 1689 the establishment of a common frontier with China necessitated an agreement regulating trade across it and arranging for control of the people moving back and forth and China made her first modern treaty year (Treaty of Nerchinak). This treaty also gave the Russians the right to send a mission to Peking and consequently placed them on a different footing in China than other foreigners. The Portuguese showed themselves to be more interested in loot than the legitimate trade and were seen restricted to contact at Macao. The Spanish were early warned off and made no real attempts to establish trade relations. The Dutch tried to establish themselves first in the Pescadores and then in Formosa, where they remained for a time. And the Chinese were prejudiced against the English both by the Portuguese, who gave them a lead name in the hope of keeping them from trade and by the brusque conduct of the English themselves. All of these things gave the foreigners a poor start and their chances were not bettered by the tendency of group against another. After the Manchus gained control of the country they, by edict in 1685, permitted foreigners to trade at all the coast ports, because of their experiences in attempting to control the traders, they finally decided to restrict access to the country. In 1757 trade was definitely confined to the southern most port, Canton.

After the Chinese government restricted the commercial relations with other countries they gradually became less friendly to the Christian emissaries and finally prohibited Christian propaganda. The first missionaries were Jesuits, who established themselves firmly in the country by largely adopting their religious views to the practices and prejudice of the Chinese. After the Jesuits the Franciscans and Dominicans found a looking in China in spite of some opposition from the Jesuits. After the Catholic missionaries had secured a firm hold no serious obstacles were placed in their way until there developed a rivalry which also infected the converts, was made more significant politically by reason of the fact that some of the priests had been drawn into public positions both at Peking and in the provinces and the tendency of others to assert lay as well as a spiritual authority over their flocks. Consequently was expressed that missionary zeal might give rise to serious internal disturbance, "The disputes between the various orders of missionaries and the resistance then ancestral rites, together with the representation of his own religion to undermine his

own propagandists." Consequently in 1724 an edict was issued prohibiting the propagation of the religion of the Lord of Heaven. Some of the missionaries were permitted to remain at Peking for a time. Some others, after they had been ordered out, secreted themselves at various places in the provinces and continued the work. Their presence, together with that of native Christians led intermittently to persecutions, which however did not result in the examination of the faith.

Canton Trade - Commercial and cultural conflicts

China's contact with the foreigner during the early period was just for experience and experiment. The traders were barred from the Empire except for the limited access permitted through Canton, and this restriction continued till 1842. The only relations permitted through these places were commercial, the only contact being with Chinese merchants, Portugal, Holland and England all attempted to establish direct political relations with Peking by sending embassies to the capital but each attempt resulted in failure. After exhortations to obedience and good conduct the foreign missions were informed that the emperor saw no reason to change established procedures. While the trade was carried on at Canton, the foreign merchants were not permitted to reside there throughout the year. During the summer months or from the end of one trading season to the beginning of the next, the traders returned to Macao, which was in the nature of Portuguese lease hold, although Chinese jurisdiction was maintained. The conditions of trade were determined only by the Chinese. In 1702 an individual known as the "Emperors merchant" was appointed as the sole agent with whom the foreigners might deal. This system proved unsatisfactory and was replaced by that of 'security of merchants' organised into what came to be known as the Co-Hong, the guild of Chinese merchants engaged in foreign trade. The 1782 revival of the Co-Hong increased the number of Chinese firms entitled to participate in the trade first to twelve and then to thirteen. Each foreign trader had to be "secured" by one of the Hong merchants. This meant that he could buy and sell only through him. On his side the "Security merchants" took care of all payments to the officials, relieving the foreigner of the basic of meeting the innumerable petty exactions which burdened the trade.

The Co-hong was the buffer between the foreign community and the Chinese official world. The thirteen merchants were the sole medium of communication between the factories and the viceroy, Governor and Magistrate. Further more other Chinese could participate in the trade only through members of the Co-Hong. The members of this community lived, while at Canton in a restricted area just outside the city walls. They had their residences over their warehouse and offices in buildings called 'Factories'. The establishment consisted of a comptroller a trusted Chinese who served as the buffer between the foreign and their servants. After the East India company established its factory at Canton in 1715, the bulk of the trade was under its control, due to the monopoly of the English trade. Other English men were permitted to participate only under license

of the company and their only partially. The company was represented at Canton by superintendent who were to a large extent the spokesman for the entire body of foreign merchants. Since the superintendent had a larger control over their country men than other foreign representatives and since the English formed the largest group, the Chinese tended to deal, with there and to hold them responsible for the conduct of the trade on the foreign side. After 1789, the Americans rapidly assumed a position second only that of the English. By 1832 there were seven well established firms and twenty Americans regularly coming to Canton. These firms served as brokers for almost the entire American trade. One of the peculiarities of the early trade was that it was largely one sided. The Chinese did not like European products while the Europeans were willing to make the long voyages to take the grave risks necessary to secure Chinese goods. This is clearly indicated in the ability to do willing chinas "tea and rhubarb". For this reason there developed among the Chinese a feeling of strength in dealing with the traders. Stoppage of the trade merely affected Chinese pocket books, while there was a feeling that it not only did that to the European traders but injured the well-being of their country men as well. They came, to loop upon a threat to stop the trade as a very effective weapon to be used in controlling the foreign merchants. The trade was permitted as a privilege and not as a matter of regist. Thus the fact that relations between the outer world and China were slowly on a commercial basis, that the traders seemed willing to accept almost any conditions laid down by China in order to keep the part of Canton open to trade and that the trade was granted as a privilege rather than conceded as a right, developed in the Chinese an under senses of the inferiority of the foreign and level in him an arrogance which finally reacted to his own disadvantage. Which at first the trade was entirely one-sided Chinese products being paid for in species or bullion, an exchange of commodities and was gradually built up. In return for tea, silks, napkeen cloth and other Chinese products, the English and Americans brought to the Empire Ginseng for which there was an existent marked from both the eastern and north-western American coasts and from the sealing trade sandal wood, some cotton goods, increasing in amount in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, rice and other commodities. The traders had to be used in the China trade. The American especially had to acquire not only goods by special to supplement them; for it was only after opium began to figure largely in the imports the species was no longer needed to settle a balance adverse to the foreigners. The demand for opium grew until by 1830 the balance of trade had become unfavourable to the Empire, the value of the opium imported alone exceeding that of the commodities exported. Most of the opium came from India, some from Persia and towards the last, some Turkish opium was imported by the Americans all the nationalities represented at Canton not all the traders, participated in the traffic although here, as in general trade the English occupied a leading position. After its introduction opium smoking rapidly became common practice and soon attained the proportions of a national vice. Many of the officials and the gentry together with people from all classes who could afford it became addicts. Objections to its use on both moral and

hygienic grounds were raised from an early time. Edicts in 1729 and 1800 fulminated against the practice and that of 1800 prohibited opium importation. In spite of the prohibition, however, the trade in the foreign product increased to the extent of dominating the import trade although both the Co-Hong and the British East India company ceased to engage it.

After 1820, the trade was driven away from Canton for a time, but this only resulted in the traders going up the coast to dispose the cargo, not until 1838, was an honest attempt made to enforce prohibition. The institution of 'Squeeze' was largely responsible for the failure to enforce the prohibition against importation. The imperial officials could not check the consumption except by limiting the supply. As the opium imports increased the species of the empire was drawn to Canton and was exported settlement of an adverse trade balance. The ultimate possible efforts of this on the monetary system and the economic life of China were soon received by some of the higher officials and brought to the attention of the emperor in memorials and petitions. Some looked upon it as an added argument for prohibition, while others advocated legalization of the trade as the easiest means of controlling it. For a time, first before the final attempt to enforce the prohibitory edicts, it appeared certain that the advocates of legalisation and restriction would carry the day at Peking, but on the eve of success the Emperor determined on the enforcement of the establishment policy. The prospect of change, felt at Canton to be a certainty, made the action finally taken seem to the foreigners more drastic than it actually was. The social objection had its weight with a few of them and some of a more legitimate import trade. Even then many of them were as much interested in exploiting China as a market as in drawing supplies from her. Importation of opium unquestionably interfered with the development of a market for foreign goods, both because of the ease with which it could be handled and because of the impossibility of China's paying in specie both for opium and for other imports. Thus there was a conflict of interest as to opium among the foreigners towards the end of this pre-modern period of intercourse. The contrasts between the Chinese culture whose disruption the present generation has witnessed and the civilization of the west which brought about the revolution are numerous and striking. Both are notable achievements of the human genius and it would be difficult to decide which is the more admirable. The contrasts between the two civilizations could be multiplied. One world of traditions and customs has been rudely entered and mastered by another with quite a different background.

Opium Wars

First Opium War

In the history of the relations between China and the west, the one of the major areas of the conflict was in the realm of culture and national traditions. China has one of the oldest civilizations in the world, with well-established social, religious, cultural, administrative and imperial traditions. When the Europeans entered China, as traders they were allowed at the beginning but their movements

were restricted and they were confined to the surroundings of Canton. They were considered inferior, uncivilized and hence they were treated with scant respect. But when the Europeans who considered themselves superior were restricted they became more aggressive and they considered the east inferior and that could be exploited economically to suit their own advantages.

Europeans were kept upon trade with the East. They wanted raw materials for their industries and markets for their industrial products and to get these they were prepared to use force. When they faced difficulties in the Canton trade, Co-Hong monopoly, restricted areas of residence prevailed from meeting and moving with the Chinese people and when they were treated untouchable they were prepared to assert their position even by the use of arms. At the beginning the European trade with China was one sided, Europeans to buy everything from China but not able to sell anything to the Chinese. Europeans to buy everything from China but not able to sell anything to the Chinese. Europeans and especially the British had to export their silver and gold to China. When the British discovered that opium is needed by the Chinese, they resorted to opium trade. By the middle of the 19th century opium trade increased in such a level that China had to pay in silver and Chinese economy began to suffer. To contain this and save the Chinese from opium addiction the Chinese government took strong steps to prevent opium trade which resulted in tensions and clashes.

The first major incident which brought the Chinese and the Europeans and especially the British was known as Opium wars. Though the name is a misnomer, it got strick in the history and the following are the causes which led to the wars.

1. Superiority complex of the Chinese or The cultural conflict

China lived in what was known as splendid isolation, like other Asian Nations. Chinese called the empire as "Celestial Empire", middle kingdom and their as heavenly learnings, China considered herself as the political and cultural centre of the world and all others as tribute bearers and inferior to her. As a result of this superiority complex, the Chinese failed to take notice of the momentous developments taking place else where in the world. That is why when the British delegations under Lord Macartney (1793) Lord Amherst (1816) and Lord Napier (1834) visited the Chinese court, they were not treated properly, refused to their on equal footing and had treated them with respect. The Chinese officials replied to the request for trade relations thus "Our celestial empire possesses all things in prolific abundance and lacks no product with its own borders. There was, therefore, no need to import the manufacturers of outside barbarians in exchange for our own produce."

As in the ancient Hindu Society, the Chinese also considered the traders and merchants as the low class. Traders had only the third place in the society apart from rulers the bureau crates, scholars, peasants and traders, and because of this social hierarchy, the European traders were also compelled to do the "Kow Tow" by which they had to low seven times to the emperor. Born and bred in a free atmosphere the Europeans considered this "Kow Tow" as highly irksome. The Europeans, at the beginning

went through their ridiculous system, but later on they became more reluctant and began to defy.

2. Trade Irregularities

The conditions of trade were determined exclusively by the Chinese and this was not according to any well defined regulations and practices. Entire trade relations depended on the caprice of the Chinese officials. Customs duties was not fixed and the officials charged any amount as duties and demanded bribes. Ignorant of the Chinese language and customs, the foreigners fell an easy prey to the Chinese. Another difficulty was the absence of definite rules with regard to trading ports. Foreign trade was concentrated in Canton during the early days, but due to the difficulties in trade relations in Canton, the foreigners tried to establish trade relations in Ningpo, Amoy etc. but the Chinese officials there also proved more greedy.

3. The Co-Hong Monopoly

The Chinese did not want either the European commodities or willing to establish trade relations. When the Europeans demanded trade relations, the Chinese permitted, on their own conditions and as an obligation. The trade was permitted as a privilege and not as a matter of right. Thus the fact that relations between the outer world and China were solely commercial basis that the traders seemed willing to accept almost any condition laid down by China in order to keep the door open for trade.

The Chinese government organised and permitted a group of thirteen merchants to deal exclusively with foreign trade. This was known as the Co-Hong. The foreigners should buy or sell only through the Co-Hong. These were collectively responsible for the behaviour of the foreigners and the payments all just dues collected from the foreigners. The foreigners objected to the monopoly portion of the Co-Hong, but since their profits were great they endured this disadvantages to keep the trade open. The Chinese realised this and the Co-Hongs began to increase the charges arbitrarily and when this was objected or refused the Co-Hong threatened to stop the trade. The situation grew from lead to worse.

4. Restrictions of foreigners

Apart from the tariff irregularities, Co-Hong monopoly etc., the foreigners had to endure various social restraints imposed upon there. While the trade was carried at a Canton, the foreign merchants were not permitted to reside there throughout the year. Even during the trading season from October to March or April, the foreigners should reside in their " Factories alone" and then to retire to their summer home inn Macao. They cannot bring their women, guns or other weapons into factories. All river boats, ships and pilots were to be registered and licence to be obtained. The number of Chinese servants, also were restricted. They should not visit the walled city of Canton and could not ride in sedan chairs on any occasion. They were prevented from enjoying a ride or

visit the flower gardens as they wished. The Britishers wanted to be treated as civilized citizens but when this was denied they prepared themselves for a showdown, which was not long in coming.

5. The Problem of Jurisdiction

Questions of Jurisdiction were also involved in the existing relations at Canton which compelled the Britishers to take efforts to set right. As early as 1784, a Chinese had been accidentally killed by the firing of a salute by a gunner of the English vessel the "Lady Hughes". Under pressure he was handed over to the Chinese authorities and was condemned to death by strangulation. This led to an abortive attempt to secure extra-territorial rights for the British. The Chinese criminal law appeared to be very harsh, and the Chinese authorities subjected the foreigners to arbitrary imprisonment and torture. These were resented by the British.

6. British trade interest

The fact that the British were the first to apply force to China is understandable. They were to Chief traders at Canton and had always had a semi governmental backing in their trade. The industrial revolution led to commercial revolution and colonial expansion and this had brought England into China. In China British had to buy a lot but in turn she was able to sell much this resulted in paying in silver or gold. After many years in China, the British discovered that opium was an extremely valuable item to Chinese and began to indulge in opium trade.

7. Opium Trade

Opium which was grown in India by the encouragement of British East India Company was first brought into China during the 18th century. At the beginning only about four hundred chests (a chest contains about 133 pounds) annually but by 1870's it had increased to about five thousand a year. By and by the import of opium alone out stiped entire exports from China. Chinese government took steps to cure the opium trade. But the British were determined to continue.

The opium trade became a headache for the Chinese government. On the one hand the Chinese silver was rapidly drained away in return for opium which was no benefit to her what so ever. The whole country regarded this as calamity. Further the consumption of Opium affected the national health and morality. To the conscientious Chinese, the Britishers appeared to be the blood thirsty demons, who were interested only in their acquiring wealth and health at the cost of the Chinese. The opium trade also encouraged smuggling and corruption.

By the year 1832 over 30,000 chests of opium were imported into China and this increased to more than 40000 chests with in another few years. Before opium silver flowed into China to pay for tea and silk. After opium the drain was on the other side. Despite government on the use of opium in foreign trade, gold and silver were flowing out of China in steadily increasing amounts and ever copper cash was taken away. This caused inflation and unfold misery to the common man in China.

Liu-Tse-Hsu- Trade Commissioner

Manchu government finally decide to face the problem of opium trade and too vigorous steps. They appointed Liu-Tse-Hsu (1785 - 1850) as a commissioner at Canto with full authority to eradicate opium from the Chinese soul. Lin arrived at Canton on March 10, 1839 and spent a week pondering and studying the situation. He there issued a proclamation to all foreigners, saying that it was not right to harm others for the sake of ones own profit.

First he asked the foreigners to surrender all available opium with them to the Chinese officials; second he asked that they pledge not to import any more opium into China. Unfortunately the foreigners did not believe Liu till he took very firm action. He ordered the troops surround the commercial establishments, prohibit Chinese servants to enter and compelled the Europeans to surrender their opium stocks. The British Commercial superintendent captain Charles Elliot surrendered 20,280 chests of opium valued at 60,00,000. Five hundred coolies took twenty three days to mix the whole of with salt, lime and water to destroy the opium completely and dump in the ocean.

Liu also demanded an assurance from the traders that they would not bring contraband opium into China. But the traders would not sign their death-warrant by giving such assurance. Captain Elliot feared that whenever opium was discovered it would be confiscated and the smuggler executed without trial. So he forbade British merchants to agree to the bond. Elliot and his men retired to Macao, leaving their business interests in the hands of a group. Americans who had accepted a modified form of the bound. The British traders exerted pressure on their government to demand compensation from China for their destroyed opium. They knew fully well than China would not resist the demand if backed by force of arms. Thus the relations become strained to the point of breaking.

From the British point of view, the question of opium was part of a broader and more important problem. The haughtiness of the Chinese officials, ill treatment at the hands of the Co-Hong jurisdiction clashes etc were the other irritating problems. To end all these the Britishers desired (i) Free trade (ii) Rights of extra territoriality (iii) status and equality. China would not concede these without a war.

Immediate cause

At this explosive period in 1839, few drunken British sailors killed a Chinese villager during a quarrel in a bar. The Chinese authorities demanded the surrender of the British culprit. This once again started the question of legal feuisdiction. Captain Elliot refused on the ground that in a group quarrel it is difficult to find out the real culprit Liu, took severe action and cut off all supplies including water to the British residents and the Britishers retreated from Canton to Macao and then

to Hongkong islands. Under the circumstances the war became inevitable. Captain Elliot awaited the arrival of warships and when they arrived in Nov. 1839, the war started. The British Parliament granted permission a year later.

Causes of the War

The war opened with the seeking of three Chinese war junks. The Chinese retaliated by formally terminating trade with British, but normal business was continued through the American agents. Opium smuggling flourished.

The whole cause of war revealed one of the great weakness of China from which she continued to suffer for many years. The Chinese army was no match to the scientifically trained and well equipped, battle experienced British troops. Cities after cities fell to the British guns and Chinese army simply melted away. Canton, Tientsin, Ningpo, Amoy and Nanking fell. The Chinese imperial government realised the hopelessness of the situation and agreed to accept the British demand and to sign the treaty of Nanking.

Treaty of Nanking - Aug 29 - 1842

According to the treaty

1. China agreed to open five Chinese ports (ie) Canton, Foochow, Amoy, Ningpo and Shanghai to the British traders. They were empowered to have their residence, factories, families and ambassadors at these ports.
2. The Chinese government permanently ceded the whole island of Hongkong to England.
3. The monopoly of Co-Hong and its restrictions were done away with British traders were permitted to trade with the Chinese traders directly.
4. China agreed to pay \$ 21,000000 as compensation for losses incurred by England during the war.
5. Official correspondence between the two nations was to be in the form used among the equals.
6. A ceneforim and moderate tariff on import and exports was to be imposed. The custom duty was fixed at 5% and it was decided that this will not be increased further without the consent of the British Government.
7. There was provision for extra territorial jurisdiction in criminal cases in which British nationals were involved.

The British were to be entitled to most favoured nation treatment i.e. if concessions were granted by China to nationals of another state, they owned automatically occur to the British.

Results of the Treaty of Nanking

China signed a very humiliating treaty and the articles of the treaty were written by the British and Chinese only added minor changes to it.

1. The first important result of the treaty was that China was forced to pay a huge sum of money as war indemnity which included the cost of the war. This became the precedent for the future treaties.
2. War indemnity caused more burden to the existing financial strain. Since customs tariff was fixed and European goods flooded Chinese markets and Chinese industry suffered.
3. The extra-territorial rights granted to the foreigners gave them social prestige and economic advantages over the Chinese.
4. This treaty was the beginning of a series of unequal treaties with which China was to suffer.
5. The weakness of the once mighty China was exposed and this started the economic exploitation of China.

The Opium problem which was the main factor was not mentioned in the treaty except to claim compensation. The treaty of Nanking made no provision for the Opium trade. The British felt that the opium trade was the problem of the Chinese and they had nothing to do with that.

The Treaty of Bogue (Oct.8, 1843)

This was a supplementary treaty to the treaty of Nanking with the British. By this British was accorded the "most favoured nation" clause and additional privileges and immunities. The British shook the Pagoda tree and the others came quickly to help pick up the fruits.

The Americans signed the treaty of Whang-Hsia, the French signed the treaty of Whampoa, and all these treaties contained Nanking and China thus became the international colony of all nations.

Estimate

The provisions of the treaty of Nanking reflected the aspirations of European traders. They wanted to go much beyond trade concessions. The phrase "Flag follows the trade" had already signified the ways and means of expansion of European imperialism. The treaty became a stepping stone for securing more concessions and privileges by European powers.

Second Opium War

The treaty of Nanking and subsequent other treaties forcibly opened the doors of China for

commercial intercourses. But the foreigners were not satisfied with this treaty. They wanted more ports to be opened, more privileges to be given and better relations with the government and people of China on equal basis. But the Chinese Government considered the Treaty of Nanking as too lenient and was reluctant to give any further concessions. This resulted in the strained relationship between the foreigners and the Chinese. The abuse of extra territoriality, the export of Chinese coolies to serve in the plantations of Cuba, increasing opium trade, the gun boat diplomacy arrogance of the foreigners all proved that China should deal with them more firmly.

But the foreigners, especially the British believed that she had been to benefit with the Chinese area that she should have extracted some more concessions. But foreign powers had learn one thing and that was China was militarily weak and the use of force would yield desirable results. This knowledge paved way for confrontation with China.

The Causes of the Second Opium War

1. Difficulties in Trade

The treaty of Nanking was signed under pressure and China was reluctant to implement the treaty clauses whereas the foreigners pressed for immediate implementation. China still detested the foreign devils and meticulously followed the delaying tactics, discouraging the foreigners. At some places like Shanghai, the relationship between the foreigners and the local authorities were cordial and the facilities granted to all the foreigners became a model for later treaties. At Ningpo and Amoy, also there was not much difficulty in establishing smooth trade relations. But at Canton the relationship continued to be hostile. As a result there had been several armed conflicts between the Chinese and the foreigners. Chinese hated the arrogant and haughty behaviour of the foreigners.

2. Problem of Opium trade

Though the first Anglo-Chinese conflict was fought on the question of opium, the mention of opium was conspicuously omitted. Although the trade was declared illegal, yet it was often carried on by ships which enjoyed British protection. The foreign powers did not care for moral considerations of the opium trade and they were interested only in making profit. China resented the expansion of opium smuggling which registered an increase of over 300% between 1842 and 1858. The laws of China still prohibited the opium trade, but the merchants on both sides found it profitable enterprise and the foreigners particularly the British felt that China should legalise and control the trade under fixed duties.

3. Trade in Human beings - Coolie trade

Chinese government also objected to the traffic in Chinese labour that flourished in 1840's and 1850's when foreign ships loaded with Chinese coolies landed in America. Most of the Chinese

coolies were asked to do manual works, some become cooks and manual labourers, working under inhuman conditions in California and other places. When the Chinese government came to know of the condition in which her citizens were forced to work, took strong steps to stop the export of human cargo. But this resulted in violence kidnapping and smuggling of Chinese in large numbers under the patronage of the foreign agents. The Chinese government issued edicts, but were never implemented since Chinese officials were also involved in the trade.

4. Piracy on the South China Sea

Chinese and foreigners particularly the Portuguese had involved themselves in piracy and this gave rise to many quarrels. Chinese government was powerless to check this menace and requested other foreigners for protection for a fee. Later this developed into a serious problem.

5. Problem of collection of custom duties

The treaty of Nanking fixed 5% as customs duties on foreign trade and this annoyed many officials who used to earn heavily. During the "Taiping Rebellion" the Chinese central government became disorganised and for some time the foreigners themselves collected the customs duty and paid into the Chinese treasury. On the recommendation of the British, the French and American consuls, a new inspectorate of customs was created controlled by the foreigners. This service caused friction and bitterness over the question of jurisdiction.

6. Problem of Extra Territorial Jurisdiction

The treaty of Bogue had right of extra-territoriality to the foreigners. The right had imposed a normal responsibility on the consuls that the erring, corrupt and guilty foreigners be duly brought to book and punished. The Chinese complained that the foreigners shamelessly disregarded obligations, and responsibilities by failing to provide consular courts and jails. The British alone were the first to accept their responsibilities. Consequently the foreign criminals misused the extra territorial rights which ultimately caused a serious concern in the minds of the Chinese.

7. Demand for treaty revision

The passage of time revealed the defects in the operation of treaties which the foreigners were anxious to see them removed. The foreign trade had enormously improved in all the treaty ports, resulting increased friction and quarrels between the foreigners and the Chinese officials. The treaty with America (Whang-Hsia) provided for revision at the end of a twenty year period and other powers could claim the same by virtue of the "most favoured nation" clause in their treaties. The need for revision was urged unsuccessfully by successive American commissioners and the same fate fall on the efforts of the Britishers too. This question together with the unsatisfactory relations existing at Canton finally lead to a new method - "negotiation supported by force".

8. Missionary Activities

Missionary activities were not new to China in the 19th century. The Christian missionaries were responsible for bringing western education and political thinking into China. This western education paved the way for the growth of Chinese nationalism. But during the later half of the 19th century, the missionaries were considered as propagators of revolutionary tendencies and destroyers of Confucian tradition and culture. These missionaries also enjoyed extra-territorial rights and even the Chinese converts claimed the same right.

9. Murder of Abbe Chapdelaine

Abbe Chapdelaine, a French Catholic missionary went deep into the interior of China and preached against the Chinese government and culture. Though ignored at the beginning he was caught, tried by a Chinese Magistrate and put to death. Under the treaty rights foreigners were not allowed to go beyond treaty ports and therefore the "judicial murder" rested on legal base. But the French government considered the arrest, torture and execution of a foreign priest as a violation of extra-territorial right and demand reparation. At this time Napoleon III was the French Emperor. He wanted to make use of this to spread the French sphere of influence in China and to strengthen the Anglo French alliance. When the French failed to get reparation, they were too happy to join hands with the English in the war against China.

10. Immediate Cause 'Lorcha Arrow' incident

Friction between China and Great Britain was intensified by the Lorcha Arrow incident. The Lorcha Arrow was a small ship owned by a Chinese residence of Hongkong, but registered under the British flag and captained by a Britisher. In Oct 1856 a Chinese patrol boat boarded the Arrow near Canton and arrested twelve of her crew of fourteen on charges of piracy. The British Consul Harry parts demanded their release on the ground that the 'Arrow' was British ship, that she had been boarded without his knowledge and that British flag had been insulted. He demanded an apology and guarantees for the future. The Chinese officials released the prisoners but the British refused to accept them since they were not accompanied by a Chinese officer by an apology. The British naval forces began bombardment of Canton and the second opium war began.

The problem that sparked of the second Anglo-Chinese war was the Chinese refusal to apologies for the dubiously legitimate claim that the British flag had been insulted. But the real issues were more profound and reminiscent of the opium war whose terms would relation between China and the west be leased. It was a conflict of wills.

The course of the war 1857 - 58

In this period the British sought the cooperation of the United States and France, since it was in the interest of their nations also to revise the treaty. After the judicial murder the French priest

Abbe Chapdelaine the French were too writing to join hands with the British in the use of force. But the United States and Russia when invited, declined to participate but both had sent their representatives to observe and reap the rewards of the action. British government sent Lord Elgin to head the diplomatic-military mission and the French government sent it representative to cooperate with the British.

When the imperial commissioner at Canton, Yeh refused to comply with the ultimatum demanding revision, the fighting began. In Dec 1857, the British and French force bombarded and captured Canton. The commissioner Yeh was captured and shipped to India where he died a year later. Then British and French moved north and stormed the fortress Taku and Tientsiu. This capture opened the way to Peking. Alarmed at this, Chinese government promptly appointed officials to negotiate a peace treaty with the foreign powers. The negotiations resulted in the Treaty of Tientsiu.

The Treaty of Tientsiu-1858

1. Britain was granted the right to maintain a Resident at Peking and China was allowed to send an envoy at London. The British Resident should not be called upon to perform 'KowTow'.
2. The right to travel in the interior of China under passports was issued by the foreign consult and countersigned by the local Chinese officials.
3. China agreed to open eleven more ports to foreign trade.
4. Foreign ships were permitted to travel and patriot the Yaugtza river.
5. The right of missionaries to have access to all parts of the interior to spread Christianity and to have protection by Chinese authorities.
6. Four million dollars to be paid to British as war indemnity.
7. Tariff rates would be revised in consultation with French and British Government.

Renewal of war

After the treaties has been signed, China tried to evade the issues of rectification and the residence of envoys. This of course was the familiar Chinese delaying tactics by which she tried to prevent the arrival of the envoys of different countries. The Chinese government waited to secure an exchange of ratification at Canton or Shanghai or Tientsiu. A request was made not to send envoys to Peking and direct them to an other place where the Chinese representatives were ready to meet them. This request was turned down by the foreign powers on the ground that it violated the treaty of Tientsiu. The hostilities were resumed.

The allied forces once again captured Taku fort, Tientsiu and moved on to Peking. When the allied forces entered Peking, the Emperor Hsien Feng fled to Jehol, leaving the peace negotiations to official who earlier urged a policy of moderation. In a revengeful mood the allied forces burnt

and destroyed the famous summer palace as a retaliation of the execution of twenty prisoners of war by the Chinese.

Treaty of Peking (Nov. 1860)

Prince Kung as the imperial ratified the treaty of Tientsin and new concessions were conceded by China.

The Emperor of China expressed "his deep regret" at the events of the previous year.

1. Tientsin was opened a treaty ports.
2. Kowloon, the main land peninsula opposite to Hongkong was ceded to Great Britain.
3. Restoration of confiscated properties to the French Roman Catholic church.
4. French missionaries could purchase land, build churches and preach anywhere in China.
5. British Resident to reside in Peking
6. The coolie trade was legalised as a measure of control.

Under the most favoured - nation clause these rights were accorded to all other nations.

Results of the War

Many of the officials at Peking learned a valuable lesson in defeat, Prince Keing and his officials realised the mistake of provoking the foreign powers. At the same time they realised their own weakness and necessity of strengthening China.

China humiliated

Within a period of twenty years, the Chinese were defeated twice by the foreigners. These defeats exposed the administrative inefficiency and military incompetence. China had to submit to unequal treaties and further humiliation at the hands of the foreigners. China had lost her territory as subsequent spheres of influences and heavy loss due to the payment of war indemnity. When China agreed to permit the European warships and merchant vessels to sail in the Yang Tse river, was a irreparable loss of her sovereignty.

China Learns

The process which began with the Treaty of Nanking was complied at Tientsin and Peking to the satisfaction of the foreigners and to the utter dismay of the Chinese. The pride and prestige of Chinese was completely shattered and China was left bleeding. The opening of more ports and the right of navigation in the interior made it possible for the western goods and ideas to penetrate deep into the remotest parts of the country. Chinese intercourse with the west began and hero isolation came to an end.

The Taiping Rebellion (1851 - 1864 A.D.)

Introduction

The Chinese empire was ravaged by a number of rebellions in the 19th century. The most important among them was the Taiping Rebellion. It was started in year 1850 exactly eight years after the First opium war. Even though it was the bloodiest of all rebellions in Chinese history, it was called Taiping or Great Peace Rebellion. It was inspired by a religious fanatic who believed that he was the younger brother of Jesus Christ. He claimed that he was destined to establish the kingdom of Heaven on Earth. The early success of the movement in its early days surprised everyone. The rebels gained control of half of China before they were suppressed and the Heavenly kingdom of peace was finally destroyed in 1864 by the Qing armies.

During their short time rule the Taipings destroyed properties worth of several hundreds of millions of dollars and put to death nearly twenty million people. The hostilities between the revolutionaries and the imperialists served as a trial for the later struggle between the Chinese and the Manchus. Though the rebellion was started in 1850, it was neither a sudden development nor a sudden outburst of the anger of the people against the Manchus.

Taiping Rebellion

Causes of the Taiping

Political

When the Taiping Rebellion started in China, it was ruled by inefficient Manchu dynasty. The three successors of the great Emperor Ch'ien Lung, had bad luck with nature, foreigners, officials and their own people. Unfortunately more of them had the capacity to deal with any of the resulting misfortunes all the emperors were in name same. Their administration became rotten. Emperor Chia Ching sou Tao Ho Kuang (1821 - 50) inherited a depleted treasury, a costly war in Central Asia and a population of 400 million people. It was during his rule that China came into conflict with the west (I opium war). The opium war accentuated the growing bankruptcy and general distress. Neither Chia Ching or Tao Kuang ever moved decisively to put down the unrest. Their basic solutions to financial difficulties were frugality and the sale of civil service offices. At the time of Taiping Rebellion, Tao Kuang's son Hisen Feng (1856 - 61) was the ruler of China. He was not only incapable of ruling but also unwilling to devote his attention to the efforts of the state. In the opinion of the Chinese the Manchus had become by words for corruption misrule and inefficiency. They also believed that because of their misrule heaven had withdrawn its mandate. So there was no harm in rising against them.

Corrupt Administration

In a monarchical system, the weakness of the ruler could be compensated by an efficient administrative system. But in China the administration was not only corrupt but also showed a further ruinous tendency. Tseug Kut Fau, a Chinese scholar and general described the situation as a tendency "to gloss over, to make up and to steal days of ease". Many Chinese scholars condemned the different attitude of the administrators. The viceroys and Governors did not like their Magistrates to take up any effective step for punishing the rebels. Because of the wrong policy of the state incompetent persons had purchased the high positions in the state. When secret societies were actively spreading the ideas of revolt viceroys were busy in making mountain exercises composing poems, drinking wine etc. They did nothing to save the people. The general lethargy and irresponsibility of the chief ministers and governors of the Manchu rule paved the way for the rapid developments of the Taipings.

Socio Economic Causes

The Taiping Rebellion can be called as a socio-economic revolt against the existing economic orders. It was just a struggle between the haves and havenots. It was an uprising of the poor sections of the society-peasants, rural proletariat, workers and poorer gentry-against rich peasants merchants and wealth gentry.

The history of China is governed by a kind of natural law, a period of peace and a period of war. Every two or three hundred years similar events occurred. The most significant cause of this recurrence was China's dependence on an economy which was almost entirely agricultural. When the populations surpassed figures which this agricultural economy could support large number of people lacked employment and were short of food. These hungry masses became the followers of a few revolutionary leaders and supplied the 'raw material' for an outbreak. The revolts resulted chiefly in the reduction of population. The pressure on land was eased. It could over more feed those who lived out and another interval of peace and order ensued.

A study of the population figure of China will reveal that in the span of a hundred years 1741 to 1841 population increased nearly three times. There was a temporary decrease between 1792 and 1801, the result of the white Lotus Society Rebellion. Likewise a study of the available records will show that while population increased, the area under cultivation decreased. Whenever an area of land could not support an increasing family and there was no other way to making a living, the farmers had to debts and sell their lands to the rich people. Thus the agricultural land was concentrated in the hands of a small number of land lords. It created a sharp distinction between the rich and poor. Even the rich became poor while poor became desperate. In Europe, when such a situation arose the hand labourers were absorbed by the large factories, thanks to the Industrial Revolution. Unfortunately in China there was no big factories to absorb the poverty stricken and unemployed. The introduction of some of the western machine made products ruined the Chinese industries and caused further problem.

The poverty of the small farmers was aggravated by another factor, opium. In order to escape from their sufferings the poor started to use more and more opium. It resulted in the out flow of silver, a devaluation of copper coins and an inflation of other commodities. As the land tax was calculated on the basis of silver, the peasants paid higher taxes. Nature was also unkind to the people of China. Not a single year passed without floods or draughts. These calamities accelerated the miseries of common man.

An immediate consequence of the population problem, unemployment etc was the decrease in tax revenue. It has been pointed out that the land tax which until 1849 supplied 75 percent of the revenue of the government furnished only 40 percent of the total during the Taiping Rebellion. In order to increase its revenue the government introduced the tax on trade. It crippled trade, led to general price rise and wide-spread corruption.

Religious Causes

The Taiping Rebellion which shook the very foundations of the Manchus Empire also had another ingredient - religion. In the 19th century China, there were three major religions in the country. Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism which were in decay. To the prevalent religious vacuum, Christianity made some head way. In the ideology of the revilles religious tenets taken from Christianity were mixed with traditional Chinese ideas. The Christian concept of brotherhood was liked with the brotherhood ideal of Chinese secret societies. Thus the political aspects of the movement grew out of religious character.

Racial Cause

In spite of their long rule, the Manchus were hatred as foreigners. Those who were loyal to the Ming dynasty were spreading the slogan "Rebel against the Cheing (Manchus) and restore the Mings". The earlier Manchu rulers prohibited marriage between the Manchus and the Chinese. The later Manchus developed of fancy for the tiny fooled Chinese girls and present ruler had three hundred of them as his concubines. This was considered to be an insist to the Chinese wonder, moreover the highest positions in the state were reserved for the Manchus only. These distinctions on racial ground stirred nationalistic feeling among the Chinese. When the Taipings cried to drive out the Manchus many discontented Chinese gladly joined there.

Effects of Opium War

During the First opium war the authorities at Canton created a multi and patriotic volunteers to fight against the foreigners. After the war was over they were disbanded. Their weapons dispersed among the people served as a temptation and aid to rebellion. The disbanded soldiers could not secure any job. So they either turned bandits or rebels. The privileges extended to the foreigners wounded the patriotic feelings of the Chinese. Other worth was turned against the Manchus who have mortgaged the respect of the nation to the foreigners.

In Efficient Army

The commissioner had respect for the mighty imperial Army. Its defeat in the opium greatly undermined its prestige. The invincibility of the Manchu forces proved to lie a myth. The Manchu soldiers had become an ineffective military force. The soldiers belonging to the northern provinces and loyal to the Manchus had degenerated into a hereditary class of idlers. Corruption had entered into the very vitals of the Army. The payment of troops was largely pocketed by the army commanders. At the time of inspection they produced coolies and labourers to show the required strength of soldiers.

The corrupt troops gave much trouble to the common people. Those who were useless in fighting against the foreigners plundered the Chinese. They accused the local Chinese as traitors in order to take away their belongings. These atrocities of the army led to a bitter hatred among the Chinese against them and their masters the Manchus.

Traders Grievances

The Chinese traders were also unhappy with the Manchu rule. After the Treaty of Wanting rule trade had slipped into the hands of the Europeans. The import of cheap mass produced European goods adversely affected the native trade and industry. The traders considered that their rulers were responsible for their difficulties. The displaced artisans and traders constituted a floating population of paupers who provided the raw material for the rebellion.

The various causes mentioned above led to domestic difficulties. These in turn brought discredit to a government which had already lost the confidence of the people by its failure to protect the honour of the nation. The Chinese felt that Heaven had withdrawn its mandate from the Manchus to govern the nation. It is not surprising that the Taiping secured massive support of the Chinese. Every government in China since the Han era was familiar with the phenomena of hunger and revolt. But it had always been their hope to forestall rebellion. By the mid nineteenth century, the Manchus had no such hope.

Leaders of the Rebellion

Taiping rebellion was started under the leadership of Hung Hsiu Chuan. He was helped by Yang Hsiu Ching. Hence the Taiping Rebellion was called "Hang-Yang" rebellion. The Manchu authority called it a long hair bandit's rebellion because the rebels started to grow long hair.

Hung Hsiu Chuan

Hung was born on Jan 1, 1814 in a Hakka family of Kwangtung. He wanted to become a member of the scholar and wrote the civil service of examination several times. At that time he did not give it a serious attention. In 1837 he once again took the civil service examination and failed. He fell seriously ill and started to have visions. He recovered from illness and tried his luck with the

examination but failed. Then he connected his illness he had ascended to heaven. There he had met the heavenly Father and Jesus Christ. He had also found out that he was the younger brother of Jesus Christ. He claimed that he was asked by God to establish a Heavenly Kingdom on Earth. Thus Hung's mission started.

In 1844 Hung went to the neighbouring province of Kwanfshi. There he organised the "society of God Worshippers". Hung and his associates started to preach against idolatry and other evils. The Hakkas and the distressed groups became the followers of Hung. Hung came into contact with American missionary I.J.Roberts and learnt more about Christianity. Day by day the followers of Hung increased. His preaching and conversion were opposed by Confucians scholars who did not believe Christianity. His movement came under the imperial ban for alleged subversive activities. Some of his associates like Feng were arrested but released. In the mean time some powerful persons like Wei Chang Hui and Yang joined the society and strengthened its activities. They were ready for an open confrontation with the government.

Immediate Cause of the Out Break

The discontentment was already wide spread and the ground for a rebellion was ready. It needed to spark to start the conflagration. This was supplied by an incident which took place 1850 in a small town of Kwangshi. Government officials sent troops to arrest them. On their way the troops demanded contributions from the charcoal workers who were members of the god worshippers society. When the workers refused to pay the troops they attacked them. The charcoal workers struck back with such a fury that the troops fled for their lives. The fielding soldiers threatened to come back with a grand government force to punish the bandits. On receiving this information the leaders of the society incited its members to rebel against government. This marked the beginning of the Taiping Rebellion.

Hung did not know all these developments. He was hiding in a friend's house. After a decision to start full scale military action was made by his associates, he was invited to assume its leadership. Hung was hailed as the king. The imperial forces were defeated at a number of places by the rebels. On September 25, 1851 the Taipings captured Yunhau. There in Oct, 1851, the national title Taiping Tieu Kuo (heavenly kingdom of Great peace) was adopted. Hung who became the Tieu Wang (Heavenly Prince), proclaimed the establishment of a new kingdom of Universal Brotherhood. His intension was to establish, " a society based on Justice, in which the strong shall not oppress the weak, the wise exploit the ignorant, the brave impose upon the timid."

Hung proclaimed a new calendar to commemorate the beginning of his rule. In a decree dated Oct 1851 he distributed the work of the kingdom among the other kings. In accordance with the Christian principle of brotherhood, he called the leaders of the rebellion as kings. He called himself heavenly king so that there would be sanctity and respect.

The rebellion gained momentum and within a short time a large area like Hainan, Hupeh and Kwangshih. The peasants joined them in large numbers. The strength of the army rose from 30,000 to one million. They moved swiftly down the Yangtze capturing river boats to transport their troops. Soon Nanking was captured. The name of the city was changed to Tien Ching (celestial capital) and it became the capital of the Taipings.

Taiping Programme

The main principles of the Taiping programme were community property, the brotherhood of man and the equality of sexes. The Taipings derived their system from an Utopian book compiled in the 3rd century B.C. The Taiping leaders modified the texts of the book to suit their convenience. The Taiping government was theocratic the heavenly king being both the spiritual and secular ruler. There was no separation of power. But power was distributed among other kings subject to the pleasure of Hung.

Military and Civil administration

Civil and military administration were identical. Soldiers were at the same time farmers. Family was the smallest unit in the civil administration. Every twenty five families formed a self governing group with their own fields, stone houses, church and elders. The unit kept what it needed and surrendered the rest to the government for distribution to the needy. Both rights and duties were clearly stated and strictly adhered to. All males were asked to render military service. However the orphans, the old and disabled were exempted from military service.

In the army, there were two sets of officers in charge of land, taxes and expenditure all the happenings in the unit of the army must be reported to the Heavenly King. Likewise the decisions of Hung reached the common people. Thus Hung was able to keep his fingers on the pulse of the entire nation.

Social system

In the celestial social system all auspicious and inauspicious matters were the responsibility of God. For all such matter it was necessary to pray to God. All traditional superstitions were discarded. Every Sunday men and women were to go to Church. Young boys were to go to church to study the testaments.

The Taipings proclaimed the equality of sexes. Women were organised into working units. They were even admitted into the army at times. They were always kept apart from men. Even married couples were compelled to live apart. The violation of the rule of chastity resulted in severe punishment. The custom of foot-binding was abolished. The Taiping leaders, however kept large farms. Opium was prohibited.

Disputes between the members of the kingdom was decided by a hierarchy of officials. The heavenly king was supreme authority of justice.

Economic Reforms

The Taiping economic and financial system at (i) public ownership of land (ii) equal allotments of surplus money (iii) a self-supporting economy. That is why modern communists refer to them as their respectful forerunners.

In the Taiping system, land was divided into nine grades. The land was to be cultivated by the whole population. The land was for all to live, the food for all to eat, the clothes for all to wear and money for all to spend. There was to be no hunger and inequality. As men and women above sixteen were entitled to a share in the land, while those below that age were given one half-share. To make available the necessities till the next harvest, public store houses were built. All items of food like wheat, chicken etc, were collected and stored for common use. Silver and cash were to be handled in the same manner. A state treasury and church was to be established among every twenty five families. All the expenditures of this group for weddings, birth or other occasions were to be met from the state treasury. There was limit for the expenses. To supplement the income from the land, peasants were asked to grow mulberry trees to raise hens and pigs.

Of these detailed organisational theories the military and civil organisation were actually established. The financial programme especially the public ownership of land remained for most part centered.

The Taiping and Foreigners

The Western powers were keen in watching the progress of the rebellion because of their protestant learnings. The Roman Catholic did not like them because of their Protestant leaders. The foreign powers were under the impression that the success of the rebels may result in the establishment of a Christian kingdom in China which would be in favour of the foreigners. Soon they realised that they were wrong. The Taipings were as much anti-foreigners as anti-Manchus. The Taipings were using the Christian scriptures to serve their personal ambitions. In 1860, the Peking convention was signed between the foreign powers and the Manchus. The foreigners agreed to help the Manchus, for they were convinced that weak Manchus were preferable than the strong Taiping for extracting concessions.

The fall of Taipings

An alliance was formed between the foreign powers and the Manchus against the rebels. The administrative system and the army of the Manchus were thoroughly overhauled by eminent scholars like Tseug Keo Fau, Li-Hung-Chang and others. In this they received help from the foreigners. An American Fredric Townsend Ward organised a Chinese force known as "Ever Victorious Army".

Afterwards death his place was taken by an English man, Major Charles Gordou. This army played a major role in regaining the rebel occupied areas. The rebel military power in the Yangtze was destroyed. Soochow, fell to the Manchus in Dec, 1863. By March 1864, the remaining Taiping forces were besides in Nanking. In July Nanking was taken. The heavenly king committed suicide and his colleagues were executed by the imperial forces, Shortly afterwards the Taiping forces in the rural areas were destroyed. Thus the Taiping Rebellion came to an end.

Causes for the Failure

The failure of the Taiping and the success of the Manchus were caused by several factors. The Taiping movement was popular only in southern provinces, Hung had expected a general rising in the whole country but he received poor response from the North. The Taiping army was small and did not gain the confidence of the Northerners and supported it:

The uprising after an initial success began to weaken day by day. The leaders of the rising limited the voices of the Manchus, whom they sought to overthrow. They started to lead a life of luxury and entertainment. With regard to political policies the Taiping did not have any clear ideas. They were much interested in seizing territory but not governing it. Except one or two, the rebel leaders had little regard for the feelings of the people.

As far as leadership was concerned the Taipings had some good warriors but they lacked political talent. Moreover the internal discussions among the Taiping leaders had sapped their vitality. In the celestial empire everything was controlled by Hung's relatives who were worthless people.

Apart from personalities the philosophy of the Taipings also suffered from certain shortcomings. The Pro-Chinese policy of the Taipings lost its effect when absorbed by the principle of Christian divine right. The Christian principles did not persuade the majority of the Chinese. On the other hand, Confucianism was still strong in China. Confucianism became more popular than Taiping Christianity. The Christianity of Hung was not authoritative while Confucianism was genuine. The Chinese viewed the rising as a struggle between truth and falsehood and they knew that falsehood (Taiping) will certainly be defeated.

The Taipings wanted to introduce revolutionary changes in the heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace. Most of the reforms remained only on paper. The Taipings held that all land and property were gifts of the heavenly Father and should be all. The relatives of Hung and other dignitaries had acquired enormous amount of wealth. But the poor Taipings had to eat only grass.

Hung claimed that all human beings were brothers and sisters. But these brothers killed one another to capture power. The Taipings preached that women were equals and sisters. But heavenly king enslaved 300 women as maid servants in his palace. While the Taipings prohibited prostitutions, Hung maintained sixty concubines. The other kings had more than half-a dozen of them.

The military strategy of the Taipings was weak. The weakness of the Taipings was their concentration on forward movement with total disregard or security to rear. The Chinese King Tseug Kwo Fan while advancing took every precaution to protect the rear. Tseug built an army of "Human Braves" which played a major role in checking the Taiping expansion. Tseug's disciple Li Hung Chang shared the idealism and military skill of his master. Tseug even built a powerful navy.

The foreigners at first maintained neutrality. After the revision of the treaties they extended their support to the Manchus. The even victories army organised by Ward and Gordon played a conspicuous role in an the Taipings. It was difficult for the Taipings to hold on for long against the combined might of the foreigners and the Manchus.

Results

The Taiping Rebellion though unsuccessful had a profound influence on the history of China. The tremendous loss of life accounted for the fact that the population in the 1870's was the same as it had been in 1801. For a generation or two it eased the pressure of over population, China's ever recurring curse. Vast areas were so diverted that the normal revenue could not be collected for many years to come.

The most important effect of the rebellion was the shift in power from the central government to regional administration. There developed a new type of provincial governor who had military and financial power of his own. The governors had to be consulted by the throne on major policy matters. The regional leaders were mostly Chinese and represented the emergence of Chinese nationalism. The rise of powerful regional administration coincided with the growth of trade and industry. The Taipings tried to introduce certain important and far reaching reforms equal distribution of wealth, building steamship modernisation of industries etc. These reforms created a profound influence on Chinese memories. The reformers and revolutionaries of later day China drew inspiration from the Heavenly kingdom.

One of the effects of decentralisation of power was the emergence of a new local force. They were entrusted with the task of recreating soldiers and raising funds. These gentry gradually participated in important political affairs of the local government. Later on during the reform for constitutional movement this rising political force was used by both the Manchus and nationalists.

An Estimate

In estimating the nature of the Taiping Rebellion historians differ from one another. The rebellion was one of the first attempts by the Chinese to remove the Manchus and place a new dynasty on the imperial throne. The movement was a curious combination of protest against the ruling dynasty and the establishment of social reforms.

The rebellion was in part of peasant rising, one of a long succession who have punctuated Chinese history. It also incorporated a few ideals from the accident. It was the first for moldable but crude effort to reorganise the emperor to take advantage of what was filtering from the West.

On the economic front they introduced a programme of land reform. Their proposal for distribution of wealth, land etc, earned the administration and respect of the future rebels. Hung who was considered to be a rebel in his life time was elevated to the rank of a hero by the communists. The communists consider the Taiping as their respectable for resources.

In short the Taiping Rebellion paved way for several changes in China in the subsequent decades.

Japan

The Land and People

Japan is a group of large islands which stretch in a thousands of kilometre area off eastern shores of Asia. The four main islands of this group are Hokkaido, Honshu, Shikoko and Kynshu. Of these Honshu in the largest and contains half the population of Japan. Herein located the capital city of Tokyo, Honshu, the southern most island is closest to China. Japan is situated close to the Asiatic Continent. She has been close enough to assure constant could act but far away to absorb continental influences in relative seclusion.

The main occupation of Japanese is agriculture and it is based on wet farming. Japan has many good harbours and they supplement agriculture through fishing and maritime activities. The maritime skill of the Japanese was based upon fishing as a means of livelihood. Maritime ventures beyond home waters were prohibited from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. But the sea has remained one of the most important facts of Japanese geography. For modern Japanese industrial development the short rushing rivers have become a rich source of hydroelectric power.

The second most numerous people of the Far East and in the twentieth century the most aggressive, are the Japanese. From the stand point of the census as well as of commerce, industry and empire building the Japanese have been one of the great powers.

Rise of Feudalism

The feudal society of Japan grew out of an earlier organisation. Before the seventh century AD there were many class lived in small patches of agricultural lands. One such class, known as the Yamato class claimed a legendary origin from the seen goddess considered other class as subordinate. The Yamato class became the imperial family in Japan. From the seventh century there loosely associated class were joined together and gradually feudalism was introduced. This change in the structrue of society was due to the Japanese contact with China.

European Contacts

One of the features of the 16th and 17th centuries which proved of major importance was to coming of Europeans. The first to arrive were the Portuguese who made their initial landing in Japan in 1542. More Portuguese ships soon appeared, for the feudal lords of Southern Japan readily accepted the idea of trade with the foreigners. Their commercial contacts with southern Japan aroused the interest of the Portuguese monks. The Japanese far from rebelling the foreigners, welcome both his commerce and his religion. The missionaries were heard respectfully by all classes of people, including Buddhist monks.

Towards the end of the century the Spanish and the Dutch and English came. The local feudal lords welcomed them, for the trade promised to be lucrative. Following the merchants came Roman Catholic missionaries. Francis Xavier was the Jesuit pioneer to enter Japan. After some years came the Franciscans, Dominicans and Augustinians. Early 17th century a large percentage of the population were professing Christians than after the extensive priesthood and its converts seemed to the Shogun (military dictator) intolerable. The missionaries sought to evade the orders for their deportation.

Tokugawa Rule

The Tokugawa Shoguns ruled Japan through a combination of military force and political strategy. The Tokugawa had come to power with the assistance of a group of trusted allies who came to be known as the inner lords. The Tokugawa set up their military dictatorship on the basis of more their military force and political strategies. They took steps to consolidate their rule on the basis of rigid social and political institutions. Tokugawa followed a policy of secularism from the west. With the passage of the importance of Tokugawa began to be undermined. Japan at the beginning of the 19th century was very different from the feudal kingdom of the 17th century. The Shoguns refrained from their duties and by 1867 the Shogun submitted his resignation to the emperor. This was the fall of Shogun and beginning of Meiji restoration.

Opening of Japan to the West

In 1637 the decision was taken by the Tokugawa to exclude all foreigners from the country. It was also to prohibit Japanese from travelling abroad and to limit foreign trade to one port. Between 1638 and 1854 the Tokugawa Shoguns followed this policy of isolation during the period of Japanese seclusion important change took place in Europe. England witnessed glorious revolution, France underwent a great change during French revolution, the rise and fall of Napoleon, the beginning of industrial expansion of the west had set in. But Japan without knowing all these changes, still hoped to follow her policy of isolation.

Causes for the policy of isolation

1. The Tokugawa Shoguns were in fear of both foreign AMs and of foreign ideas.
2. The vigorous concession of Japanese into Christianity, created a class of people which had divided loyalties
3. In fact adoption of Christianity was in many cases a mark of protest against the Shogunate.
4. Tokugawa did not disassociate Christianity from military and political power of the sponsoring country.
5. Christianity taught allegiance to one god and undermined belief in national duties. It was considered by the Tokugawa as a challenge to their ideological basis of the state. He was believed by the Tokugawa Shoguns that vigorous it propagated a competing ideology which might lead to an alliance between domestic enemies and foreign powers.
6. The Dutch traders very often incited local nobles against British traders. The Spanish and British merchants joined hands and created disaffection against the Dutch. These missionaries and the traders created a group of people with deal loyalty.
7. Many of the native converts petitioned to Pope against the Emperor of Japan.
8. Japan took strong steps close doors to Japan for the Spanish, Portuguese and British traders.
9. Japanese Government took vigorous actions against the Christian Movement before anything was to be done to limit trade or arrest foreign contact.
10. The Spanish occupation of Philippines added much to the distrust and they were the first to be expelled.
11. Tokugawa were not against foreign trade. It was the military straight of the European powers. Their mutual rivalries and their aggressively designs or Japanese kingdom forced them to follow the policy of isolation.

Efforts of Foreigners to enter into Japan

For more than two centuries Japan strictly followed the policy of seclusion but she was completely shut off from the rest of the world. Late in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries various powers of the west attempted to open Japan. Russia was having contacts with Japan from 1697. The English made several attempts to open the country. But they were unsuccessful.

Early U.S. Interests in Japan

United States was interested in Japan right from 1815 itself. Various attempts were made by private people of United States of America to negotiate trade relations with Japan, but all attempts failed. After 1840 United States of America became deeply interested in Japan and wanted to make

Japan an important way station for their Pacific Ocean route to the Far East. Therefore America decided that Japan should not be controlled either by Russia or Great Britain. The Navy and the Department of state promoted the idea of American initiative in opening Japan.

In 1840, two ships were sent to establish commercial contacts with Japan but they were burned down. Again in 1846 James Biddle negotiated with Japan but Japan flatly refused, even after the United States continued her attempts to open Japan.

Perry Mission

American Naval policy was directed to secure naval bases in the Pacific. At most around this time various naval missions were sent to chart the island group and coastlines of the Pacific and to look for suitable sites for bases. At this juncture commodore Mathew Perry was entrusted with the mission to establish relations with Japan. Perry was equally interested in securing naval bases in the Pacific. He wanted to see "American Settlements" in the Pacific and Asia. With this aim in his mind he examined the Liuchiu Island the Bonins and Formosa. He was instructed by the government of America.

1. To seek the right to purchase coal at certain designated ports.
2. To open one or more ports to trade.
3. To seek guarantees for the protection of ship wrecked American traders and sailors.

First he was to emphasize the friendliness of the United States and he was to remove the fear of Japan that the privileges granted to the United States would not be used to impose Christianity. Perry was also instructed to get assurance of human treatment of ship wrecked sailors by the government as well as by the inhabitants of Japan. He was also instructed to use force only as a last resort for self defence. Perry reached Yedo Bay on July 3, 1853. He disregarded all signals. Perry after being accorded a fitting reception delivered the President's letter to the Emperor. He also accepted the Japanese request for time to consider their proposals. He left Japanese shore with the remark that he will be coming in the next spring for an answer. He also stated that he will not go to Nagasaki to receive their answer through the Dutch or the Chinese. But he did not wait till spring, because shortly after he left Yokohama Bay, Russians visited and pressed Japan. French and others also visited Nagasaki for trade concessions. All these made Perry to return to Japan at an early time, as he was fearful that he would be forestalled by the Russians and the French.

The Tokugawa was very much terrified by the American threat. Amidst a great disturbance the momentous decision of opening negotiations with Americans was taken up by the Shogunate.

Arrival of Perry in 1854

The spread of these decisions made other powers interested in Japan. They also tried to negotiate

with Japan. Under these circumstances Perry hurried to Japan in Feb. 1854. He was well received in an atmosphere of cordiality and gaiety. The negotiations started in March at Kanagawa, which culminated in the Treaty of Kanagawa.

Treaty of Kanagawa - March 1854

According to the treaty

1. Japan agreed to open two more ports Shimoga and Hakkodate in addition to Nagasaki where ships could coal, provision and be refitted.
2. Japan accepted to receive United States consul reside at Shimoga.
3. One of the ports was to give protection to ship wrecked sailors.
4. "The most favoured nation treatment" was to be accorded to the United States.
5. America agreed to conduct her trade according to the rules and regulations of Japan.
6. America had to get the coal water and other provisions through Japanese officials only.
7. American ships were not allowed to enter with other ports except Shimoga Hakkodate and Nagasaki. However, this was relaxed during unforeseen weather like storms, fog etc.
8. The American Consuls were to stay at Shimoga only.
9. If any modification was to be made in the above terms that was to be done within 18 months.

Significance of the Treaty

It was a turning point in the American policy. American got the most favoured nation treatment but not extra territorialist, which the first American treaty with China gave. The ports opened to American were neither very good nor particularly favourable for trade supplies to coal were not made available. Therefore as Perry had remarked this was a treaty of friendship. This treaty made Japan a friendly nation than a resentful enemy. If Perry's interests were upheld it would have been possible to see American flag in the islands of Bonins Okinawa and Formosa. This treaty had enabled the vigorous spread of western culture in the island empire. Japan saw silently witnessed the humiliation method to China after signing treaties with European powers. So it decided not to resist Western powers. This treaty was a turning point in the history of Japan. Perry opened the doors of Japan at gun point. There was no other alternative for the Tokugawa except to accept the terms on equal basis. As Japan was following the policy of exclusion and seclusion for more than two centuries, she was not having any friendly nation to support her against America except Holland. Holland was a small country which could not afford and help against America. Western culture and western ideas were forced into Japan at the gun point. Following this treaty Japan invited experts from Holland and started a Naval college at Yedo. In 1854 Japan got her first steamship from

Holland. After this Japanese started building small steamships on modern style. The Shogun was supporting the idea of the spread of western culture in Japan as a necessity but Mikado was against this. Mikado and his supporters planned to strengthen Japan with the help of the Dutch.

Treaties with other powers

This treaty was taken as an advantage by other powers. European representatives rushed to Japan to secure almost similar concessions. The British also concluded a treaty with Japan. Russians also negotiated for a treaty at Shimoga. In 1856 Dutch prisoners were released from their commercial confinement and a treaty was concluded at Nagasaki. The treaties concluded with these powers granted

1. Permission to secure supplies at Shimoga, Hakkodate, Nagasaki.
2. Permission to conduct their trade at these ports.
3. Permission to make members to reside at Nagasaki.
4. Permission to appoint Consul at Shimoga and Hakkodate.
5. A limited extra-territorial jurisdiction

After this France, Holland, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Belgium, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Austria and Hungary concluded treaties with Japan.

Harris Treaty 1858

Townsend Harris was a merchant of Newyork, familiar with the Far East and a man of excellent mind and character. He arrived at Shimoga in August 1856. He put American commercial relations with Japan on a new basis. It took nearly two years for him to negotiate with the Japanese used every device of obstruction and deceit to discourage him. With all reluctance they assigned him an old temple as a residence. Harris with all his patience love all the ill-treatment for months together. After sometimes he saw a change in the Japanese attitude. Japanese began to take pity on him. Japan did not like to sign any humiliating treaty with European nation, exposing her weakness.

In June 1857, Harris witnessed the signs of his success. Harris had asked for an audience with the Shogun in Yedo. He said that he had to present a letter from the President. After much reluctance this request was granted. He boldly faced the Shogun and spoke "Plainly to him" without the support of gun boats or marines. This was a great diplomatic victory to him. The next step for Harris was to approach his main task of negotiating a full commercial treaty. Fortunately for Harris the developements in China almost exactly at the same time was threatening Japan. In 1858 British and French naval forces attacked the Chinese fortification at the port of Tientsiu. By January 1858, the Shogunate had agreed to the principal terms of the treaty. As the process of perfecting the details of the treaty continued Harris started to act as instructor to the Japanese in diplomacy and international

law. When the treaty was completed Harris wanted impatiently for months together for the ratification of the treaty. The emperor refused to sign as it involved adoption of a new policy. In July an American warship reached Shimoga bringing the news of the completion of Tientstin Treaties with China. This report had a mixed influence on Harris. He presumed both a danger and an opportunity to his objectives in Japan. He decided to use to potential threat from British and French warships to frighten the Shogun. As a great personal victory for Harris and a great diplomatic victory for his country a treaty was signed in July 19, 1858.

The Harris treaty of 1858 provided for;

- a. the establishment of diplomatic and consular relation.
- b. four more ports were opened.
- c. accomodation of consuls in all these ports.
- d. permission for trade on a non-government basis.
- e. a treaty regulated tariff on foreign trade (5 percent alone was to believed on US imported or exported goods)
- f. the establishment of extra territorial system.
- g. permission to prevent opium trade.
- h. the principle of most favoured nation
- i. the Japanese also agreed to the free exchange of foreign coins in the country and the right to export Japanese coinage and
- j. the United States offered to mediate with the other powers in the event that Japan required assistance.

Significance of the Treaty

1. Harris treaty became the fundamental document in Japan's foreign relationship upto 1894.
2. European powers had taken it as a model for their new treaties concluded in the near future.
3. Japan had to religious its age old policy of exclusion and seclusion in time. It was the good fortune of Japan that after the Harris treaty she was able to resolve her internal problems without inviting the foreign control as imposed upon China.
4. Following this European power rapidly signed treaties with Japan, the Dutch in August 18, 1858, the Russians in August 19, 1858, the French in October 7, 1858 concluded treaties with Japan.

5. Ratification of Harris treaty were exchanged in 1860 at Washington and that was the first modern Japanese embassy to the Eastern world.
6. With this opening of Japan and the treaty of Harris, the basic principles of Americans policy in Asia and East were clearly exhibited. "American economic interests were to keep the world market as open and competitive as possible". In order to maintain open door for trade, it was necessary first to compel reluctant countries to accept international trade and also the European powers should be permitted to enrich as little as possible. Harris treaty offered Japanese the services of American military and naval officers as well as ship building facilities.

Effects of the Treaty

1. End of isolation

The two and half century old policy of exclusion and seclusion was forcefully ended. This diplomatic intercourse avoided the roar of guns.

2. Contact with the West

Japan was exposed just in time to the western world. This saved Japan in many ways.

3. Internal effects of ending the policy of seclusion

Japan was forced to open doors to the west. That exposed the weakness of the Shogunate to the western world. The western powers once thought that the Shogun was all powerful. Now their weakness and rotten system of administration was exposed.

4. The enlightened Japanese wanted to put an end to the dual rule of Shoguns and the emperors. Soon anti-Shogun sentiment gained momentum among the society.

5. The treaty was responsible for the rise of the slogan "reverse the emperor and expel the Barbarians (Shoguns). Thus the opening of Japan brought about the end of Shogunate in Japan.

As time passed on it became clear to the western powers that the Shogun was neither the highest nominal authority nor in full control of the country. They therefore insisted that the Emperor should ratify the treaties in order to ensure their fulfillment, "When the Emperor signed the treaties in 1865, the opening of Japan was complete and the stage was set for the modernisation of Japan which began with the Meiji Restoration in 1868.

Chapter - 2

MEIJI RESTORATION

By 1865, due to the commercial and diplomatic contacts between Japan and the west heralded the coming of Japan's revolution. That revolution came in the form of Meiji Restoration.

Causes for the Meiji Restoration

The Shogun had been ruling over Japan for centuries together. They had a hold over the country. They had subdued the powers of the feudal lords and kept their families as hostages. But there arose movement against the authority of Shogun. This was due to the failure of Shogun's to adapt themselves to changes in Japanese society. The Shoguns shut off the doors of Japan to the west. There arose the hatred between the Shoguns and feudal lords and the Shoguns kept their control over the feudal lords only through their military strength.

The Shoguns had snatched their power firm with the emperors and the Emperors had to yield to the situation. Slowly an awareness was created by scholars that the Shoguns were users of the royal power. The anti-shogun elements demanded for the over throw of the Shoguns and the restoration of the Emperor.

The condition in Japan were favourable for the restoration. They were

1. The birth of a new merchant class

The brisk economic activity between European powers and Japan led to rise of a new merchant class. These people had money with them. During peaceful time their influence was felt in the country.

2. Increase in Population

The Shogun also faced the problem of increase in population. There was also suffering on the part of agriculture class. This situation directly affected the high position enjoyed by the Tokugawa.

3. The sufferings of the people

The style and high standard of living the Shoguns and the Samurai were enjoying at a time when the mass of people was suffering from sorrow and misery created a ferment of discontentment. The peasants were required to pay much more beyond their capacity. The Shoguns had to compromise with the merchants due to the financial difficulties they faced. They borrowed from the merchants. They resorted to measures like debasement of coinage which ended up in inflation. The Shogun's popularity further suffered.

4. The rivals of Tokugawa

The way had been paved in Japan for capitalism and industrial revolution by the peace-time

encourage to the growth of great cities and a moneyed class. The rivals of Tokugawa were looking for opportunity to overthrow the Tokugawa family and establish their power in the state. The dignity of the Shoguns was undermined in many ways. The Tokugawa realised their weakness and in desperation they turned to the Emperor for counsel and guidance. Their inability to meet the challenges of foreigners effectively and to handle the negotiations independently gave the opponents an advantage in undermining the position of Tokugawa.

Historian George B. Salsom says that Meiji Restoration was the work of discharged low class Samurai with the financial backing of the merchant, capitalists of Osaka, and other cities.

Restoration of Meiji

The Reinstatement of Emperor's Authority

At the time of Tokugawa's overthrow, Mutsihito, a fourteen year old boy was on the throne after the death of emperor Kameki in 1867. He was one of the greatest rulers of Japan. He was born with dignity the region name of Meiji (enlightened government) from 1868 to 1912. The anti Shogun parties became very active in the emperor's court. The new Shogun realised his insecurity and resigned due to heavy pressure late in 1867 thus by 1868 the device by which the military had ruled Japan for seven and half a century was abolished. Theoretically the Meiji Restoration had restored the complete authority of the Emperor. In a few years the former structure of feudalism also disappeared from Japan. The innovation attitude of the disaffected Samurai who engineered the restoration league to lay foundation for the only alternative, that is the western model of the state.

The Character of oath of 1868

The Character was issued by the young emperor Mutsibito in June 1868. The imperial oath set forth the principles on which the new imperial rule was to rest. The main features of the oath were :

1. The emperor will rule the country according to public opinion.
2. The people belonging to all classes will be united in all enterprises.
3. Old unworthy ways and customs shall be destroyed.
4. Knowledge shall be sought among nations of the world.
5. Welfare of the Empire will be promoted.
6. There will be a consultive committee for running the administrations of the country.
7. The people of Japan belonging to all shades and opinions will unite for the advancement of the country.
8. All the sections of the society will get an opportunity to meet their needs.

The character of Japanese Declaration of the rights of man. A salient feature of the oath was to end of old seclusion of Japan and to promote modernisation. It sought to end the anti-foreign attitude was prevailing for centuries. Another significant feature was the promise of deliberative assembly leading to a popular elective assembly. The principle of public discussions and debate by both the high and low were implied in the character oath.

Changes that followed the restoration

The Meiji Restoration inaugurated a brilliant era which ultimately launched Japan as a world power. The Restoration was supported by the imperialists, feudalists and unionists. All the spheres of life of the nation were affected by revolutionary changes and high advances. The changes in the political structure of Japan affected materially every class of society.

The financial position of the Shoguns improved because their nominal income, which they received after the restoration was higher than their actual income. They no longer bore the burden of supposing their Samurai. The one loss was that none of them were able to get any political distinction in the government.

The Samurai were the worst affected by the Restoration. Their number was around 4,50,000 in 1871. Their income was halved, but they were allowed to take up other avocations such as business or finance. The Samurai felt deprived of half of his income and his monopoly in learning arms. A few of the Samurai adjusted themselves to the new order and some others made success in modern Japanese politics and business, the majority in a state of loss.

The Bankers, rice-brokers and wealth merchants who formed the capitalists group welcomed the Restoration and the disappearance of feudalism. The abolision of feudalism touched off and spreaded up the change in Japanese agriculture, which ultimately the tenant-landlord relations. Now the peasants were free from any feudal obligations and paid a tax in money on the value of his land. After 1871, the peasants were free to chose their own fate. They could chose to remain on the land or to sell out and go to city in pursuit of other avocations.

The nature of the Restoration

The Satsuma leaders wished to establish the feudal form of government and then wanted to run the administration with the advice of the important nobles. The imperialists lacked by Samurai wanted to revive the political condition of the seventh century in which the emperor yielded power.

The amazing part of the restoration was the rapidity with which it was brought about and thoroughness of its achievements. The Meiji restoration combined in a revolution and a traditional restoration. The face of Japan underwent transformation through radical changes that were brought about in the wake of the Restoration. Yet Japan did not break away from its tradititon, The powers were restored to the emperor and the ancient centralised administration was re-established.

The restoration had a nationalistic and imperialistic favour about it. The bloodless revolution of Japan did no more than to replace Tokugawas by that of a number of other class headed by the Mikado. The Mikado was assigned with Semi device attributes and came to be recognised as the 'fountain head of all powers'. The end of Shogun rule and the restoration symbolised the death of an old order and the birth of a new. The Shogun's resignation proved to be an epitaph. On the grave of old Japan and the restoration of Mikado, the foundation stone of a new Japan.

Factors responsible for the success of the Restoration

Several factors were responsible for the success of the peaceful restoration. The Emperor was the rallying point for the anti-Shogun elements in the country. For centuries Japan had suffered no invasion from any a country and hence did not know the bangs of a war and much less of humiliation. When they saw their own military weakness exposed the patriotic people were only too willing to throw away those in authority who brought the country to that piglet. The emperor became their hope and the Shogun their target. The nationalist and patriotic elements in the country who were watching what happened in neighbouring China strongly felt the same could happen to their own country with the administration of the country being what it was. The Samurais could not remain quiet at the nations humiliating weakenss and paralysing in efficiency in the country's army under the Tokugawa. They reacted quickly and started the movement at the revival of national power. The Samurai's a military race considered the Shoguns as towards and incapable of fighting any war. The economic instability and wide spread dissatisfaction inside the country game momentum to the movement. The Samurais played the key role in bringing success to the restoration.

Japan had a tradition of learning from other countries, Japanese enabled important elements of their culture from neighbouring civilization. Japan was better placed to tackle the probems created by the advent of the west. Meiji leaders with a view to achieve abrogation of the unequal treaties on one hand and no combat Russia encroachment into areas considered vital for Japan's defence on the other showed a determination to build up the military industrial base of the country with almost rapidity.

Japanese social structure proved itself to be move conclusive to modernisation than China. Forces were at work in remarking the foundations of new Japan even during the Tokugawa period. There was wide diffusion of education. Even during the era of seclusion Western ideas were tickling into Japan through the "Dutch window". This aroused an awareness in the Japanese. The process of social mobility had already began in the last decades of Tokugawa region. The merchant class was already coming to the top. This class was building up an economy capable of adopting and absorbing western economic organisaion with which many Japanese were already familiar through Dutch learning. The merchant class controlled the economy of the state as rice-brokers, stovers and bankers. The Samurai had to do Koe-Tow before the merchant class. This contact moved towards a revolution.

Japanese back ground enabled orderly change and their innate obedience to authority made in the process easy.

Modernisation of Japan

After the restoration, the Meiji emperor in his address to his subject, 'Day and night we wonder how we can maintain positions among the other world nations and fulfill the will of our ancestors. At present when the world has quickly progressed and every nation is expanding right and left only our nation remains remote from the rest of the world, abiding by the old traditions and customs. Therefore we pledge to bring welfare and happiness to our one billion subjects and expand over the unlimited space of ocean and waves to bring forth our national influence and put out nation on a foundation as solid as rocks'. The emperor's address reflected Japan's burning desire to transform herself radically within the next few decades. Meiji was the personal symbol of modernisation and external grainers of Japan. The Programme of the reorganisation and modernisation give a start in the wake of the Restoration continued even after 1894. It was within the frame work set up after the restoration that the later alternations were to be effected. The king took active steps for the speedy recovery of nations economy and for strengthening Japan's military. The national consciousness awakened in the course of the struggle for restoration served as an invaluable instrument in the process of reconstruction and renovation in both social economic and political area. Japan grew sensitive to external threats to the national security from the activity of imperialist powers, particularly Russia. The fear inspired by Russia advance to the maritime provinces and from there to the coasts acted as the chief catalyst for the required changes under Meiji Japan. Their national pride was wounded beneath the unequal position Japan had taken under the treaties. The Japanese leaders left no stone centurion to re-establish sovereign equality of their country with the nation of the west and to lay the foundation for a strong nation capable of safe guarding the country's independence.

Changes in Political structure for modernisation

The introduction of parliamentary institutions was advocated by the leaders of the west. Various unsatisfactory attempts were made for the formation of assemblies. Count Ito studied the constitutional system of various countries. Ito had clear ideas of the aims to be fulfilled by the new constitution for Japan. The constitution must be the gift of the sovereign and should assembly safeguard his powers and dignity. It must make provision for retention of power by those who had been Japan through the critical period abolition of feudalism. It must also meet the demand for a representative assembly. It was not satisfied with the constitution of U.S.A, France or England. The Prussian system of government appealed to here as embodying the ideals and needs of Japanese governing and it was the Prussian constitution that served as the model for Japan. On his return to Japan in 1883, Ito headed the commission to draft the constitution. The drafting was done in great

secrecy. In 1888 a privy-council was established as a part of governments machinery. After ratification by the privy-council, the constitution was promulgated by the emperor in 1889. Efforts were made for the establishment of a constitutional government, Count Ito for the purpose of creating the Upper House of Parliament reorganised the nobility. The enemies of state, which had been the governing body since restoration was remodeled with a cabinet by 1885.

In the years 1881 and 1882 the so called political parties of Japan emerged. The motivation for the granting of parliament by the emperor had its origin the corrupt practice of there who controlled the government. A national parliament was established in 1890 after the announcement of the emperor. The leaders of less powerful clans formed the nucleus of a political party. The liberal party (the Jiyuto) was formed by them and was led by Itagaki. The progressive party (the Kaishinto) was led by Okuma Shigeo. The third was the Imperialist Party (The Rihkeu Teiseito) which enjoyed the government support. At the beginning there were no ideological biases for these parties. They differed only in the form of western government each of them advocated for Japan. Economic and social considerations only occupied them at that time. Interest in political theories and political forms was yet to develop among these early political parties. It is however significant, that these early political parties came to be formed at a time when the people came to know that a parliament would be formed soon.

Disappearance of Feudalism

The feudal structure in Japan before restoration was incapable of meeting the country's new needs. The restoration of 1868 bestowed political power on the young Samurai leaders. They were the western class of Satsuma, Choshu, Hizen and Tosa. They set about destroying political feudalism and to establish a truly national government. In 1869 the Daimyo of Tosa returned their feudal domains to emperor. The Samurai leaders who came to control the emperor at that time advised feudal lords to such a course of surrendering power in order to receive more power. The western feudal lords were persuaded to take up their residence in Tokyo and place their troops at the disposal of sovereigns government. The emperor had also moved to Tokyo. The Samurai leaders surrendered their lands. Feudalism as a political structure in Japan came to an end.

The Satsuma crisis

The reforms of Meiji restoration touched all walks of life, social, political and economic. It left untouched certain section of the people like the feudal lords and tenants. There arose a crisis in 1870 as a direct result of this. The immediate causes of the crisis stemmed from the dissatisfaction of agricultural population, the taxation policy of the government, the levying of primary school tax, declaration of certain out caste groups to the level of ordinary citizens by government and the unrest among the Samurai. The dissatisfaction of agricultural population sprang from the take over by government of all forests and meadows which were used by villagers for common purposes. The

government was in great need of money for implementing new policy of reforms and for payment of salaries and pension to the feudal lords who had surrendered their lands. The tax burden of agriculturalists was high. They had to pay not only an increased tax but pay it at definite times. This forced them to sell their produce at low rates. This caused great hardship to them and resulted in discontent against governments taxation policy. The levy of tax to support primary school system was almost looked upon with farmers by the agriculturists. The Samurai felt neglected in the new scheme of things in Japan. They could not adopt themselves to the changing times, particularly to the changes in Japan they looked for the revival of the times when they were valued. These factors caused a wide spread discontent in the country.

In an attempt to persuade the western countries to abrogate the unequal treaties they had signed with Japan, a mission was sent to U.S. and Europe. The task of the mission was also to acquire a knowledge of scientific and technological advancement of the west. The Japanese leaders had felt that without the approval of this Iwakura mission no clauses in the country should be introduced. The members of Iwakura mission started a peace party in opposition a war party composed of more belligerent Samurai who desired a foreign war in Korea and Formosa. The government decided that the reform should be carried out first instead of following an aggressive foreign policy. The government also created a Ministry of Home affairs which had immediate control of city government. The opposition then attempted to assassinate Iwakura demanded a national elective assembly. On the governments refusal to these demands a series of rebellions followed. This rebellion was a protest against the general policy of the government which included the conscription law, the growing importance of capitalistic interests and the new government's refusal to employ the exsamurai in foreign war. These indents of the government policy were supposed to threaten the very existence of Samurai tradition. Even after the suppression of the rebellion there were assassinations of government leaders.

It took for vital years for the Japanese government to decisively deal with the Satsuma rebellions. But for this Japan would perhaps, have set out on the road of progress more rapidly.

Constitution of 1889

The Constitution not only satisfied the people but protected and upheld the dignity and prestige of the emperor. It proved to be a sure step towards parliamentary democracy in Japan. Except for the modifications to suit the situation in Japan at the time and to suit the circumstances peculiar to Japan. The constitution was on the model of its Bavaria counterpart.

Basically the emperor was the source of all power and dispenser of all justice. The real power was to be exercised by the agent or deputies for the emperor.

The Emperor

The position and power of the Emperor was held sacred. He was the head of the emperor and supreme commander of the armed forces and the navy. He was vested all powers be it executive, legislative or judicial. He exercised these powers on the advice of the Prime Minister and Government. The Emperor appointed the Prime Minister on the advice of the Genro (Elder statesman). The other ministers were appointed on the advice of the Prime Minister. The authority for appointment of civil and military officers was so vested with the emperor. So was the authority to fix their salaries. He held the power to declare war and to conclude treaties. All orders were made and executed by him. The laws were to be made, of course with the consent of the imperial diet, the representative Assembly. The emperor could issue ordinances when the Diet was not in session dissolve the Diet. The position of the Japanese emperor was analogous to the English king. In both the government functioned in the name of the monarch. The monarch did not openly make decisions and his ministers must assume responsibility for his acts. The emperor of Japan differed from the king of England in certain very important ways. For example succession was not fixed by an Act of Parliament as in England, as the Emperor's divine character was to be preserved his succession was not open to question in the Diet. He exercised rights of sovereignty within the constitution. He conferred high official ranks and honours. He appointed and removed judges. The emperor was to have as his advisory body a council of ministers and a Privy Council.

The rights of the Subjects

All the officers were open to all citizens. The people had liberty of abode freedom of speech, public assembly, writing association and religion subject to some regulations. Frying citizens would be punished for all offences only in accordance with the provisions of law. They had the right to petition. The subjects had their duties that included payment of tax and military service.

The Imperial Diet

The Diet was to consist of two characters the House of Peers and the House of Representatives. Members of the Imperial family, nobility and nominees of the emperor were included in the House of Peers. The constitution guaranteed the power of this House which was known as the Upper House. The House of Representative of the Lower House consisted of elected members. All laws could be passed only with the consent of the Imperial Diet. A bill rejected by an House shall not to be brought again during the same session. The Diet was to be convened every year for a three months session. The members of parliament had full freedom of discussion and enjoyed immunity from arrest. Without the Diet's consent no laws could be passed. The bills might originate in either house. For levy of new taxes, authorisation from the Diet was required. The annual budget also had to be passed by Diet. Fixed expenditures like salaries and the expenses of the imperial household was belonged its purview. The emperor had the power to veto any legislation. Amendments to

constitution would be an imperial order and such amendemnts had to be passed by a majority of two-thirds of members of the house. The Diet would also consider imperial house laws. Though the powers of the Japanese Diet were aleriged compared to the English Parliament, the Diet could not be completely over looked without going against the constitution.

Privy Council

The constitution also provide for a privy council. It consisted of twenty six members. They were appointed for life by the emperor on the advice of the Prime Minister and with the approval of the President of the council. The privy councillors were required to deliberate on all matters of the state when consulted by the Emperor.

Power of Judiciary

The courts were to dispense with justice to the poor in the name of Emperor. No judges could be deprived of his position unless by way of criminal sentence of disciplinary punishment. The trials and judgements of the courts were to be conducted political.

Regulation of State Finance

Provision was made for the creation of a Reserve Fund in the budget. The constitution also provided that the final accõunts of expenditure and revenues of state were to be verified and confirmed by the Board of Audit and they should be submitted to the Imperial Diet by the government together with the report of verification from Board of Audit.

Extra Constitutional institution and practices

The most important and powerful institution outside the constitution was the GENRO (or elder statesmen). The Genro was composed of bursted and tried statesmen who had been leaders in the reorganisation of New Japan. They were the real makers of New Japan in the late years of Meiji. The majority of them came from the Samurai of Satsuma and Choshu. The institution of the Genro was on conformity with the Japanese tradition by which the oldest members of the family were consulted on matters of importance and by which the actual power was often exercised by other than these to whom it was formally entrusted. The Genro decided all great questions of policy including war and peace. The institution of Genro vanished with the death of Prince Saionji (1940). The Genro remained the powerful group from shortly after the promulgation of the constitution until 1931.

An Estimate of the Constitution

According to some the constitution was responsible for the failure of literalism in Japan. Some others felt the Japanese constitutions was only a palace revolution and nothing beyond. There were others who felt that it marked the beginning of far reaching charges. There was other critics

who opened that under the new constitution, power passed from landed lords to the militarists. The important contribution of the constitution was that Japan entered the ranks of constitutional state or world and it became an oligarchic country. It was true that the process of democratisation was realised by the breaks applied by conservatism. Owing to the co-equal powers of the two Houses conflicts were bound to arise between the two. The constitution made the executive obviously more powerful than judicatory. The principle of joint or collective responsibility was significant by its absence. It combined itself the authority of the Emperor and the wishes and aspirations of the people. It was more than a mere palace revolution. It was not too liberal. It would be wrong to say it was too conservative either. It was a compromise between liberalism and conservatism.

Economic and social Military and Religious Reforms

In Japan changes were taking place in social, economic, religious spheres along side political developments. The Japanese quickly took to large scale machines for manufactures. There was unprecedented expansion in ship-building, in production of iron and steel and in other areas. Large factories, railways, telegraph and steam ships appeared. Japanese foreign trade grew, banking and currency were developed in western models. The government gave an 'open lead' with economic development of the country. The country made extensive use of the existing private concerns for its economic take off. Model industries were developed one of them and turned them over at low costs to some of the great financial Houses. On these the Mitsui and the Iwano families were the wealthiest and most powerful. A stock exchange and chamber of commerce were set up in Tokyo to foster the growth of trade and commerce. The country took to navy building on the model of Britain.

The Emperor realised the importance of a sound economy for the security of the nation. For this efforts were undertaken even from the early days after the restoration. As early as 1866 Japan imported cotton spinning machinery from England. Qualified technical hands were invited from England for training the Japanese. Development of post and telegraph communication was begun in 1871. By 1872 the first railroad had been completed between Tokyo and Yokohama. Over three hundred miles of rail road had been built by 1897. Mines were also opened in the country. The largest industries were in the hands of private people. The first steams ships were mostly owned by foreigners but very soon Japan built and owned her steamers. State subsidies were granted for the purpose. In 1912 ship building was the only heavy industry occupying the fourth place among the industries of the country. It was worthy that the economic structure of the nineteenth century Meiji Japan was buiilt up without restoring to foreign loans.

After 1894, Japan's foreign trade assumed large dimensions with the rise in modern industries. But Japan faced a serious foreign exchange problem.

Another feature of Meiji period economics was the currency reform. The nations currency was completely reorganised and made uniform on the American pattern. Decimal coinage was

introduced. National banks were established with powers to issue inconvertible notes. With permission given later of concession of notes into currency the development in banking was accelerated. The Bank of Japan was established in 1882. To meet the purpose of the government separate banking institutions were organised, Japan's taking system slowly evolved through attempt involving trial and errors.

The Meiji period began with wide-spread peasant ownership. In 1872 land ownership certificates were issued. In the same year ban on sale of land was removed. To improve the state revenues a new land tax was introduced in 1873. The peasants in order to pay the tax had to sell the produce immediately after harvest. The peasant was hard put to pay money for his basic needs of clothes etc. Domestic production of cotton and other goods had broken down under the pressure of the lower priced imported cotton and of the growth of urban industry. The peasant was none too happy in the new economy. But the general growth of Japan's economy was spectacular in the agriculture and in the ancillary industries of handicrafts. As mentioned earlier, the capitalist system of agriculture was taking over slowly, with the peasants selling off their land awnings and moving to urban jobs. The decline of older household industries also contributed to the general decline of peasants. A feature of the growing economy was the availability to cheap labour. Raw materials were imported at very cheap rates.

The material transformation of Japan during the Meiji period was dramatic. Every western mechanical device of the time in trade, business, commerce and transportation found its place in the Japanese scene. In the sea ports of Yokohama and Kobe foreign architecture and city planning first made their entry. Japanese in foreign trade even took to western fashions in dress. In all these the government initiative was in evidence for the organisation or for providing subsidies

Social Reforms

Many of the restrictions in operation during the Tokugawa reign were removed after the restoration. Obstacles to foreign travel were also removed. Every one was free to move anywhere and was guaranteed freedom to choose his own occupation. For the training of the Japanese, foreigners were appointed in government services, in advisory capacity. The young Japanese who were thus trained saw Japan through her period of transition. It is said that Japan literally went to school in the west. There appeared three distinct classes in the Japanese society. All were equal before the law.

It was in the field of education where far reaching changes were carried out. The Emperor was keen to have the educational system completely reformed. To prepare the educational system for the century a department of education was set up in 1871. The American system of primary and secondary education was introduced. For higher education at university level the French model was adopted. The German insistence on vocational education was to be seen throughout the educational system. Private schools were also established along with governments schools. There were teachers

recruited from abroad. The curriculum combined western and Japanese subjects. The Chinese were also employed. The western language, chiefly English were taught. The western science and technical subjects came to be studied. The schooling was for four years but was increased to six years later. Streets was laid on character development and revenue and loyalty to the emperor and devotion to the state were inculcated. Facilities were made in higher education for pursuing technology, commerce, fisheries and agriculture. Attempts were begun to provide university education from 1871. As many as 3.3 million were estimated to be receiving education in Japan by 1889. Secondary education prepared the students for an immediate vocation or for entrance into a university. An ever-increasing supply of teachers was coming out of the normal schools. The commercial schools turned out man power to meet thee personal needs of Japan's expanding trae and industry. On the educational reforms of the period Clyde and Beers remarks. 'From whatever angle considered, this was a revolution in education quite as striking as the economic revolutions of 1867 - 1871. The Japanese clamoured for the new education with an unbounded but at times indiscriminating enthusiasm!'

The educational system founded by the restoration Government created a literate people and accomplished a nation that was technically abreast of the modern mechanical world of science.

The appearance of newspapers and periodicals greatly helped the spread of new ideas. Thousands of books were translated from western language into Japanese. Western learning was made to subserve historic Japanese ideals and strengthen the country.

Japan's civil servants begun to be recruited through competitive examination. The old legal system was considerably modified on the pattern of western system. Both civil and criminal codes were remodelled and re-enacted.

Religious Reforms

There was great stress on loyalty to the emperor. The Meiji were anti Buddhists. Confucianism and Buddhism continued into a new era but with demised prestige. There was even active persecution of Buddhists between 1867 and 1872. Almost from the moment it assumed power the Meiji Government displayed an anti Buddhist bias. The old system of dual shrines was abolished and much Buddhist property was confiscated. The government declared Sect-Shinto as a religion.

A sanctuary was created in 1869 in Tokyo in memory of those who had died in war. It was called the national protecting shrine. The revival of Shino was typically Japanese. By 1872 the hostility to other religions demised. An enlightened policy begun to preach loyalty to the emperor in the Meiji era.

Military Reforms

The professional soldier in Japan played a more significant role in Japanese politics than in any other country. The dominance of military men, the Samurai, had begun in twentieth century. In Tokugawa times the soldiers had pre-eminent social position and dominated political power. Even after the Restoration the influence of the military persisted. The military conscription law of 1873 abolished the distinction between the Samurai and the commoner in theory. Yet the professional officer class retained the old Samurai tradition and displayed social and moral superiority. There was the ruling class with them. There were by 1879, three separate sections of the army for three military functions namely operations and strategy administration and training and inspection. The military administration wing was placed under partial control of civil to constitutional government. Thus came to be established the principles of separation of the command power from routine military administration even before the constitution. The Prime-Minister accepted the nominees of the services as ministers of the war and the navy in his cabinet. It was possible for the services to destroy a government by forcing the resignation of the service minister and refusing to nominate a new one.

Three year compulsory military training was given on the model of French and German experts. With the help of the English, a small navy was established.

The Constitution of 1889 was an important feature in this period which changed the relationship between classes and by bringing in a new institutional pattern. Japan took the path of rapid transformation and modernisation. Japan copied many things from the west but did not give up her national culture and tradition. New Japan became a meeting ground of western and ancient ways of life. The restoration and the reforms took Japan from seclusion to a position of world power by the beginning of twentieth century.

Chapter - 3**HISTORY OF EAST ASIA (1840 - 1966)****1. First Sino- Japanese War (1894 - 95)**

Enmity developed between China and Japan by the year 1894 and they clashed with each other. This first Sino Japanese war was a major and remarkable event in the history of relations between the two countries. It was Korea which determined the relationship between China and Japan upto the year 1894. The Korean peninsula between China and Japan was the first scene of serious conflict between the two countries. Historically, Korea regarded herself as a vassal of China and accordingly paid her respects and regard to China with a strong bond of affinities for the Chinese culture. Japan used to receive gifts only from Korea. Motivated by the desire for expansion, Japan turned her eyes towards Korea. As a result, Korea became the bone of contention between China and Japan. In fact the war demonstrated the political ambitions of Japan and established beyond doubt that she wanted to have a place for her increasing population and industrial production. In the ensuing war Japan got victory. The war came to an end with the Treaty of Shimonoseki. The prestige of Japan enhanced and that of China lowered in consequence of this treaty.

Relationship between China and Japan before the First Sino-Japanese War of 1894 - 95

In the beginning China was a more powerful country. It had a vast population and extensive area. On the other hand Japan was a small country with a meagre population. So Japan was considered as an inferior nation to China. But in the second half of 19th century significant transformation took place in Japan making her a strong rival to China. Japan tried to get over her internal problems and consolidate her position. But in China the situation was quite was quite different. Internal disorder and conflicts made her weak. Japan awakened to the realities and began to adopt western methods to strengthen her positions. On the contrary, China suffered a lot due to 'Western imperialism'. She was forced to conclude treaties to her disadvantages and had to make many extraterritorial concessions. Many of her ports were thrown open to Europeans. Christian missionaries were allowed to carry on their on their work. It was under these changed circumstances, the relationship between the two nations began to deteriorate.

After the Meiji Restoration, Japan became self-confident and sought to establish her relations with China. She tried to secure a privileged position in China is trade on a par with western powers. The Chinese on the other hand were unwilling to give Japan the most favoured nation treatment and the right to travel freely in China. In 1871, a Japanese mission under the head of the famous Count I went to China and negotiated, with Li Hung Chang, the Chinese Governor, a treaty of friendship.

The formal relations were broken in 1874, when some ship wrecked inhabitants of Loocho Island were killed by the Formosan savages. Over the years, both China and Japan had been claiming

Loocho as their territory. Japan, by way of asserting her suzerainty over the Loocho Island demanded compensation from China for the killing of the ship-wrecked. China questioned Japan's rights over the Loocho Island. As a result tension arose and Japan was poised for a trial of strength. Japan sent a military expedition to Formosan and occupied a portion of the island and refused to give it up till China came to a settlement. Finally through the mediation of the British, China agreed to pay an indemnity and also offered guarantees for future conduct of the savages. Though hostilities were avoided, mutual suspicion between China and Japan continued.

Korean Issue

The major conflict between China and Japan centered over Korea, a third country. Korea's geographical position explains much of her history. Korea is located south of that landscape called Manchuria which always served as gateway to China. The Yalu river constitutes the natural frontiers between Manchuria and Korea. Korea lies south of this Yalu river. Only a narrow isthmus separates Korea from Japanese islands. So Korea became a natural bridge between China and Japan for any northern Barbarian horde which wanted to enter into Japan. Historically Korea was more connected with China than with Japan. Manchuria was an integral part of China and through this Chinese province it was possible for the Chinese emperor to exercise suzerainty over Korea.

Long before Chingizkhan and Kublaikhan had led their armies into the Mongol, Korea remained as a part of Chinese empire. Even after the death of these two invaders Korea continued to pay tributes to China except for a short interval in between. The rulers of Korea not only paid tribute to China, but also received the patents from the Chinese emperors.

In fact Korea, provided the spark for the major conflict between China and Japan. Korea continued to remain an apple of discord between them till its annexation in 1910 by Japan. In 1868 itself Japan sent a mission to Korea to announce Meiji Restoration and to seek the reopening of relations. This mission and the subsequent ones in 1869 and 1871 were treated with contempt by the court of Korea. It followed western ways and adopted gun-boat diplomacy. In 1875, a Japanese Survey-boat was fired upon in the Korean Waters. This incident was exploited by Japan to bring Korea into treaty-relations and to detach her from China. By a show of force a treaty of amity and commerce was concluded with Korea on February 26, 1876. The treaty provided for the opening of three trade ports and diplomatic intercourse. Thus Japan achieved a major diplomatic victory and now she was able to keep off China while dealing with Korea.

The motives of Japan in Korea

The treaty of 1876 was merely a beginning and not the end. Actually it was a prelude to the final annexation of Korea. Japan began to show interest on Korea due to various reasons. Firstly the urge of find a market for her goods compelled Japan to interfere in the Korean affairs. With the

modernisation of Japan, there was remarkable and rapid industrial development. Moreover, there was the rise of population. Japan thought it could sell her finished products in Korea. Secondly the imperialistic and military traditions which lay dormant over the years surfaced again. Korea could satisfy the imperialist and military hunger of a revitalised Japan. Thirdly Japan feared that if Korea was brought under the control of other powerful countries, it would endanger her security. Keeping the above motives in mind, Japan began to extend her influence in Korea.

China and Korea

After the opening of Korea in 1876, Japan tried to consolidate her hold on Korea. Only then Li Hung-Chang, the Chinese diplomat was quick to realise the mistake of passive attitude to Korea and attempted to combat the growing Japanese menace in Korea. Infact China until then had followed a policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of Korea. Following the Japan-Korea treaty of 1876, other European states also wanted to follow Japan. They also considered Korea as a sovereign state. China saw the possibility of Korea breaking away from the Confucian fraternity. So to ensure Korean safety from Western influence, China increased her military strength in Korea, the diplomatic relations between them was also strengthened. Korea was advised to conclude treaties with other countries without territorial ambitions. China adopted a three-fold course of action.

1. Urging Korea to strengthen her military forces.
2. Increasing diplomatic contacts with Korea in the hope of exercising greater influence at Seoul.
3. Urging Korea to conclude treaties with those powers which displayed no territorial ambitions.

China considered that Japan and Russia had territorial ambitions. So China urged Korea not to conclude treaty with those countries. The United States was the first among the powers showing renewed interest in treaty relations with Korea. Through the good office of China the first American-Korea Treaty was concluded in 1882. This treaty of 1882 provided for diplomatic and consular officers and trade between the two on a principle of most-favoured nation. Later through the good office of China other powers, Great Britain, Germany, Italy and France also entered into treaties with Korea.

China and Factional fight in Korea

China's intervention in a palace revolution at Seoul and the conclusion of certain Sino-Korean trade regulations affected the international status of Korea. Among the two major factions at the Korean Court the one led by the Queen's family wanted to modernise Korea by following western ways. These progressives stood for establishing foreign relations. The other faction led by Tarwon Gun stood for conservatism. They stubbornly resisted all change and clung to old order. They were anti-foreign. In such a situation Japan wanted to exploit factional fight in Korea. It tried to create trouble in Korea with the help of the progressive. In 1832 the rivalry between the two factions was

at a high pitch and country's economy was in a bad shape. The progressive seized the King. Both China and Japan sent troops to Korea to restore order. But Yan-Shih-Kai, commanding Chinese troops drove the Japanese to the coast and restored the king to his conservative councillors. The tension mounted to a feverish height, but neither China nor Japan was ready to risk war for the sake of Korea at that time.

A new agreement on trade signed between China and Korea quietly followed. There was no change in Korea's status as a boundary state of China in the agreement. But the Chinese were given advantage over other foreigners in matters of travel, residence and import duties. This trade regulations raised doubts in the minds of the western powers which had already entered into treaties with Korea on the assumption Korea was an independent country. The advantages China got from Korea clearly showed that China had some control over her. China began to involve herself more and more in Korean affairs. It sent military officers to Korea and appointed an Inspector General of Korean Country.

The Tientsin Convention 1885

China's intervention in the Korean factional fight did not put an end to the internal disorder. Korea was unable to resolve the internal unrest and a situation of uncertainty existed. Japan considered that this Korean unrest would spread to Japan also. So Japan also decided to intervene in Korean internal affairs. The conditions in Japan itself too were not all quite good at that time. Oppositions to Prime Minister Count it was mounting and there was need for diverting the people's attention elsewhere.

The war of nerves brought the two sides on a negotiating table. Count Ito went to Peking to talk with Li-Hung-Chang. The two statesman had earlier talked with one another in 1871. They signed an agreement on April 18, 1885. It was a partial victory of Japan. According to the agreement both the countries consented to withdraw all forces within four months from Korea, and in case of future disturbances, neither would send troops without notifying the other. It was also decided that the Korean army should be reformed under foreign direction other than the Chinese and Japanese. Neither Japan nor China would interfere in the internal affairs of Korea. This Tientsin convention was a diplomatic victory for Japan in as much as she gained a position of equality with China in the matter of military intervention.

The treaty of Tienstin neither brought peace to striferiven Korea nor to Sino-Japanese relations. The relations between the two countries became increasingly strained and the war-clouds thickened. They could not restrain themselves any longer and resolved to cross swords on the prostrate body of the 'hermit kingdom'. In such an explosive situation the following compelling reasons forced Japan to launch the conflict.

Growing Russian Menace

Another cause which compelled Japan to enter in the war was the Russian menace. Russia had a design on Korea. The Tientsin convention had provided for reorganisation of the Korean army under foreign direction. Accordingly Russia gave military aid to Korea. Russia demanded Port Lazaroff in return for her service. Such a demand if accepted would provide Russia with an ice free naval base to strike at Japan at any time. Japan saw a danger for her own security. Japan regarded Korea as "a pistol pointed at the heart of Japan" and the pistol held in the iron grip of Russia was all the more meaning. But China for her part did not object the Russian demand of Port Lazaroff. Besides in 1891 Russia took over the construction of Trans-Siberian Railways. Thus Russia began to intervene in Korean affairs increasingly. This caused a very serious apprehension in the minds of Japanese. She could not remain complacent with the prospects of Russia establishing herself in control of Korea and thus Korea slipping out of Japan's control. So Japan planned to undertake counter measures to check Russian menace in Korea. This led to the war.

Economic interests of Japan

Economic reasons very heavily weighed with Japan while trying to bring Korea under her sphere of influence. Korea was surplus in rice but had banned export of rice to other countries. On the other hand Japan needed food for her increasing population. The only way out was that Korea should be brought under the sphere of Japanese influence. Already Japan developed shipping and trade interests in Korea and controlled 40% of the imports by 1894. Now she wanted to round off Korean market for the consumption of her goods. It was an age of colonies. Japan wanted one where she could have full economic freedom without any hindrance. Thus Japan wanted to monopolise the Korean markets for the goods produced by her. For this economic reasons Japan wanted to have a war in Korea.

Internal Political Troubles

Japan had problems at the domestic front. The internal political trouble led the Japanese to war-path. The years 1890-91 were one of turmoil and political opposition which caused the downfall of Matsukata Ministry. It had taken over the reins of Government but the political climate remained as hot as ever. In such a situation, it was found necessary to divert the national attention away from the internal problems. A foreign war offered the Japanese leadership an excellent opportunity to diffuse the internal tension. The Japanese Ministers followed the Aristotelian maxim "wage war when faced with internal crisis".

Domestic unrest in Korea

The domestic unrest in Korea was a source of recurrent danger and nuisance to Japanese trade and commerce. The Chronic condition of Chaos and turmoil at Seoul, the capital of Korea, was

viewed with alarm and anxiety in Japan. Japan feared that the infection of disorder and chaos might spread across the borders of Korea into Japan. The only way out was to bring Korea under the full control of Japan by waging a war.

Reasons for China's entry into war

Although Japan was the Chief instigator of the war, China cannot be totally absolved of the responsibility for the war. China realised that Japan was keen in occupying Korea. China had already lost her dependencies one after another, and she was not prepared to give up her legitimate claims over Korea. China was not convinced that Japan's efforts were only to defend herself against China and Korea. Though China was the over-lord of Korea, she interfered only when her own nominal relations with Korea were threatened. On the contrary, the disorder in Seoul was largely the creation of Japan herself.

China had two reasons for entering the war. She had come to realise that the policy of passiveness on her part had not paid, and the policy of affording maximum freedom to Korea had only encouraged Japan and many other European countries. So China wanted to correct her previous policy of non-action in Korea-China realised that a weak policy at this juncture would lower her prestige considerably. Moreover China too, like Japan had internal conflicts. At the court of Peking there was a strong anti-Li group which attacked the weak Korean policy of China. Li-Hug-Chang on his part regarded himself as the King of Korea and asserted China's supremacy in Korea. He offered a bold front to Japan in order to maintain his prestige and position in the Imperial court. Li's motives were similar to those of Count Ito. China cannot be totally absolved of the responsibility for the war. According to Vinacke, "China on her side, accepted the possibility of war and by her actions transformed a possibility into a certainty".

The Immediate Cause - Tonghak Rebellion

The outbreak of the Tonghak rebellion in Korea was the immediate cause of the first Sino-Japanese War. The Tonghak (Eastern Learning society), originally a religious sect, admitted into its ranks politically oppressed, poor and deprived people. This Conservative and Chauvinistic party adopted a programme. "That was anti-foreign, anti-christian and anti-Japanes". According to Latourette, the cult of Tonghak's was nationalistic religious and anti-christian. Their learning combined the good principles of Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism. According to Keeton, "The Tonghak rebellion - the Korean Counterpart to the Boxer Rebellion - proclaimed a vendetta against all foreigners, hostilities could no longer be averted".

The rebels subsequently entered the area of politics, suggested that the corrupt officials should be slaughtered and official life purified. The rebellion in fact started with slaughter of corrupt officials. Korea was thrown into a state of Confusion and Chaos. When the rebellion spread to the

southern provinces, Korean Government sent its troops to control the rebellion. But the troops could not succeed. The Government banned entry to the rebels. As a result the rebellion spread to many places. Korea asked for Chinese military aid to put down the revolt. So on the advice of Yuan, Li Hung Chang sent Chinese troops on June 6, 1894.

In compliance with the terms of Tientsin convention, China duly notified Japan. Japan took exception to a tactless Chinese reference to Korea as "our tributary state". Consequently Japan promptly replied that she too would send troops owing to the 'grave nature' of affairs in the Korean peninsula. Japan did not fail to emphatically assert that she had never recognised Korea as a tributary state of China. However before either Japanese or Chinese troops arrived, the uprising had been suppressed. So Korea requested both the countries to withdraw their armies. But Japan and China could not reach an agreement on the withdrawal of their troops. The tension between China and Japan over Korea was intensified.

China, considering herself to be suzerain and Korea her tributary, refused to pull-out her army from Korea. Japan insisted on Korea's independence and a programme of reforms to ensure against further outbreaks. China did not accept Japan's suggestion that Korea should introduce certain reforms before armies could be withdrawn. Later Japan proposed joint Sino-Japanese action to effect financial, administrative and military reforms in Korea. China expressed herself against such interference in the internal administration of Korea. She also insisted that Japan had no right to do so. While diplomatic parleys were going on, an incident on seas occurred. It was a fight between Kowshing and Naniwa. Naniwa, a warship under the command of a captain, later to become famous as Admiral Togo, attacked Kowshing, a transport ship carrying Chinese troops to Korea. This incident sparked off the first Sino-Japanese War. Japan declared war on August 1, 1894.

The Course of War

Japan had well-organised army, built upon western war methods and techniques. Japan's diplomatic front was by no means favourable at that time she embarked on a policy of war. Britain indicated that she would not agree to Japanese annexation of Korean territory. Russia gave her diplomatic support to China seemingly on the theory that it was better to have Korea controlled by weak China rather than by an young and powerful Japan. Japan gave assurance to the powers that he had no intention of annexing Korean territory, that she was interested only in introducing certain reforms in Korea to prevent further out break of rebellions. Japan also assured that she would not attack Shanghai in the interest of European Commerce. The west accepted these assurances, perhaps, in the found hope that Japan would be defeated in any case.

But contrary to their expectation, Japan brought the whole of Korean sea under her control. The Japanese occupied Heijo, a city with largest Chinese troops, on September 16, 1894. Admiral Ito defeated Chinese Admiral Ting on the mouth of the Yalu river in a battle of Yellow sea. Another

Japanese troop under General Yamagata crossed the river Yalu and reached Manchuria. The Chinese were forced to flee from Manchuria. Another column under General Oyama reached Liaotung Peninsula and by the end of November occupied Dairen, Port Arthur and Chinchow. The Japanese pushed Chinese on all theatres of war and even captured many places of the Shantung province. In February 1895, Admiral Tung surrendered before Admiral Ito and committed suicide. The armies of Yamagata and Oyama joined each other and marched towards Peking, Japan showed patriotism, valour and military leadership of the first order.

The Viceroy Li Hung Chang realised that Chinese could not get victory in the war. So he tried to halt the war through foreign mediation. Li went to Japan and concluded a treaty with Japan at Shimonoseki.

The Treaty of Shimonoseki - 1895

The First Sino-Japanese war came to a close with the Treaty of Shimonoseki which was concluded on April 17, 1895. The terms of the treaty were as under.

1. China recognised the full and complete independence of Korea.
2. China agreed to give Japan Formosa, Liaotung in the South Manchuria, including the ice free port Arthur and Pescadores.
3. China agreed to pay a heavy war indemnity of 200 million taels of silver to Japan.
4. China was to conclude with Japan a new treaty of commerce and was to grant Japan the most favoured nation treatment.
5. China opened four new ports - Shenshi, Chunking, Suchow and Hunchow to Japan for commercial and industrial purposes.
6. China also extended extra territorial rights to Japan in her territories.

Causes for the defeat of China

1. Japan's military and naval supremacy.
2. Chinese did not treat this war as a national one. In fact the South China did not cooperate with the north.
3. The war was regarded as an affair of the party of Li Hung Chang.
4. As it was considered as a private affair of Li, the Chinese did not pay much attention to the war efforts.
5. Chinese thought that defeat or victory in the war was not that of the nation but was only that of a party in the royal court.

Results of the War

1. Japan's military and naval victory raised her prestige and power in the international area. It emerged as a power to be reckoned with.
2. This victory established Japanese internal politics. By the declaration of war Ito and other Japan's elder statesman achieved notable results. Eventually Japan was unified. Peace prevailed between the Government and the DIET. Huge war budgets were passed without any objection.
3. Japan received war indemnity from China which helped her to strengthen her army and navy. Her rise to great power status encouraged her to commit further aggressions in China.
4. The victory brought tangible gains to Japan in man, money, material territory. China was driven from Korea and Japan could implement there her reform schemes without any hindrance.
5. The western powers realised that a new star had arisen in the political horizon and the strength of Japan was acknowledged by the western powers and Japan was allowed to revise the unequal treaties imposed on her.
6. The disastrous defeat of China had grave consequences. It revealed her weakness. The Chinese empire seemed to be falling to pieces. It was about to become another Africa. The idea of partition gained ground. The Western powers began to scramble for spoils. There followed struggle for concessions, for leased territories and for spheres of influence.
7. The humiliation of the defeat taught the Chinese the advantage of adopting European ideas and methods of war and administration. Thus the process of Europeanisation in China was accelerated.
8. The defeat of China in the war was a great blow to the MANCHU DYNASTY. So Chinese began to strengthen their position. Consequently the old Confucian theory of international relations disappeared and was replaced by western ideas.
9. China felt the need for a thorough reform in the army and administration. As a result China was aroused from slumber and new programme of reforms were introduced to strengthen her.

In short, the western aggression or what Keafon described as "the scramble for cessions" or Vinackle called "the cutting of the Chinese melon" was the direct outcome of the first Sino-Japanese War.

2. Three Power Intervention

The three powers-Russia, France and Germany began to show interest in the war between China and Japan. Even as the clauses of the Simonoseki Treaty were discussed between Li Hung

Chang of China and Ito Hirobumi of Japan, the three powers evinced keen interest. Russia warned the Japanese Government that acquiring of territory on the Asian mainland might result in the intervention by the powers. At the same time Russia informed the French and German governments that they should take joint action against Japan if it failed to give heed to the advice. Russia was prepared to carry out a naval blockade to isolate Japanese troops in China. Russia was also ready to conduct combined military operations against Japan joining with the forces of France and Germany. Thus even before the actual signing of the treaty of Shimonoseki the Triple intervention had started.

The ink on the treaty of Shimonoseki had hardly dried when the three powers pressurised Japan to return Liaoting Peninsula to China. Immediately after the treaty was signed, the situation became critical. The diplomatic representatives of the three powers in Tokyo met the Japanese foreign minister and presented him their demands which could really be considered as an ultimatum. The Powers contended that "the possession of the peninsula of Liaotung, claimed by Japan, would be a constant menace to the capital of China; would at the same time, rendered illusory the independence of Korea, and would henceforth be a perpetual obstacle to the permanent peace of the Far East". The Tzar advised the Mikado to renounce the definite possession of the peninsula of Liaotung".

Here it is to be noted that Russian expansionist ambitions, her search for an ice-free port and the Trans-Siberian Railway brought Russia to the centre of the Far Eastern politics. France interfered in the affairs of the Far Eastern Countries because of its eagerness to maintain newly friendship with Russia after a Quarter century of isolation. So it supported Russian demand. Obsessed with 'Welt Politik' and under the mistaken belief that Franco-Russian power would be diverted to the Far East and the Eastern and Western Frontiers of Germany, Germany joined hands with Russia and France in putting pressure on Japan for the restoration of Liaotung peninsula to China. In fact, the ultimatum was backed by the threat to use force and this was confirmed by the presence of thirty Russian Warships nearby. The combined pressure of the three Powers was too much for Japan to resist. The Japanese ministers tried to secure a better deal from the interventionists, but Russia refused to reconsider or modify the terms.

Japanese Premier Ito summoned a conference of important leaders to discuss about the problems caused by triple intervention. He put forth the following three proposals.

1. To reject the advice of the Powers and be ready for war.
2. To call an international conference for the solution of the problem.
3. To accept the demand of the powers and return Liaotung Peninsula to China.

In fact, Japan was close to exhaustion after the first Sino-Japanese war. Its military and armour were in a dilapidated condition. Japan was also financially weak at that time. So it could not risk

another war and that too against the present combination of three Powers. It could not concede to the second option because international conference would create more problems than solving them. It is to be noted here that Japan had learnt from the international congress of Berlin 1878, called to revise the treaty of San Stefano. Even shrewd diplomatists could not achieve anything in those conferences. So circumstances, diplomacy and discretion forced Japan to accept the last option, that is restoration of Liaotung to China. The Meiji Emperor very diplomatically declared that Japan had taken arms only to establish peace in the Far East. It claimed that the demand of the three Powers also aimed at the establishment of peace. Therefore Japan did not consider the more as being derogatory to the prestige of the Empire. Consequently, Japan returned Liaotung Peninsula to China and in exchange received three hundred million taels

The Effects of Triple Intervention

The Triple Intervention was a bitter pill of the Japanese to swallow. It has been referred to as one of the most tragic chapters in the history of modern Japan. In the face of overwhelming odds there was nothing else to do but to yield. In fact this left a specific legacy of national humiliation of Japan. So the Japanese leaders and people took a vow to set right the humiliation at an earlier opportunity.

This humiliation wrong Japanese heart for decades to come and it cherished a bitter animosity against Russia, for it was Russia among the three Powers was instrumental in robbing the fruits of victory from Japan. So a conflict between Russia and Japan loomed large. Realising this, the Japanese government embarked on a policy of naval and military expansion. Japanese felt that an effective military adventure was the only way in which they could regain what had been wrongfully taken away from them.

The three Power intervention made of the following facts very clear.

1. Japan could not longer function independently of and unaffected by external factors on the international scene.
2. Japan was indissolubly bound with European Power Politics.
3. Russo-Japanese war became inevitable.

The inevitability of war with Russia made Japan to review her diplomatic front. She needed the support of other countries. So Japan turned to British friendship so that she could enjoy the fruits of her future victory undisturbed by outside intervention. Thus after the triple intervention the military leaders and industrial giants of Japan stood for territorial expansions and Japanese Imperialism.

3. Battle for Concession in China

As a result of her defeat in the Sino-Japanese war of 1895-95, China's position became weaker. The defeat exposed to the western nations not only the military weakness of China, but also the utter demoralised state of her leaders and the bureaucracy. It was now clear that China lacked even the national consciousness. It also became clear that she lacked the ability and the determination to concentrate the entire strength of the nation against the enemies, this exposure of weakness had very serious consequences. The great Powers - Russian, France, England, Germany and Japan - seized the opportunity to make encroachments into China and get concessions. As a result with a short time the whole country was divided into separate spheres of Influence" by big Powers.

Already the treaties of Nanking, Bogue, Tientsin and Peking had opened the door of China to foreigners. These treaties had given the legal rights to the foreigners to trade, settle, travel and carry on missionary activities in China. The eagerness to get concession in China increased considerably after the defeat of China in the Sino-Japanese war.

The spheres of influence came into being in the following manner.

Firstly the power acquired a leasehold on the coast of China. Secondly the Power acquired certain economic concessions in the region where the leasehold was situated. Thirdly the concession consisted of the right to construct railways on the right to operate existing railways the right to exploit the mineral wealth of the region etc. Fourthly China agreed not to give privileges and concessions in the area to any other power. Thus Big Powers formed spheres of influence in China.

Russia share in the loot of China

Following the treaty of Shimonoseki of 1895, Russia became more friendly with China. Russia had helped China by preventing the establishment of Japan in Manchuria by means of Triple Intervention. But for the intervention made at the initiative of Russia, Japan, would have secured the Lisotung peninsula in southern Manchuria and established herself close to Peking. China was naturally grateful to Russia for this great help. Moreover Russia also gave assurance to protect China from further Japanese encroachment. Thus Russia and China came closer and Russian influence in China increased considerably.

Li-Lebonov Treaty 1896

Taking advantage of her new position as the champion of the integrity of China, Russia persuaded her to grant certain concessions to Russia. China was persuaded to sign a secret treaty. Li Hung Chang, who visited St. Peterburg to attend the coronation ceremony of Nicholas II, signed Li-Lebonov Treaty. According to the treaty

1. Russia agreed to protect China against Japan.
2. China agreed to allow Russia the free use of her ports in the event of war.
3. Russia secured the right to construct the Trans-Siberian Railway across Northern Manchuria directly to Vladivostok.
4. Russia was allowed to set up Russo-Chinese bank

Russo-Chinese Bank

Accordingly, Russia opened the Russo-Chinese Bank to give financial support to the construction of the Manchurian section of the Trans-Siberian Railway. According to Count Witte, the project of Trans-Siberian Railway and its 'financial arm' the Russo-Chinese bank, marked the beginning of the policy of 'peaceful penetration of China'. The charter of the Russo-Chinese bank gave extensive powers to the bank. The bank was empowered to collect taxes and to exercise control over the local finances. The bank also had power to issue coins and to construct extensive system of railways and telegraph lines. Organised and controlled under Russian Law, the bank was to serve as the fiscal agent of the Chinese Government. A construction company was also organised which had wide administrative privileges in the railway zone. This railway concession given to Russia had a life of 80 years.

In this way Russia secured a direct route to Vladivostok and also great economic influence in northern Manchuria. The Trans-Siberian Railway helped Russia in a number of ways. In the area of the railroad, peasant settlement developed and trade with the settlements became easier. The rail road again served to unify the Russian territories more effectively.

Lease of Port Arthur and Dairen

Russia was not satisfied with these concessions. As other powers began to secure special privileges, Russia insisted on getting more concessions. By an agreement in 1895, Russia got the lease of Port Arthur and Dairen for twenty five years, the right to extend the Chinese Eastern Railway southward to Dairen and will be used only by the warships of Russia and China. She also got the right to use the naval base of Kuo Chow. The Russia naval forces has commanded 'an entirely secure base on the littoral of Northern China'. In fact the whole of Liao Tung peninsula virtually came under Russian domination. This secret alliance which China concluded with Russia, thus enormously increased Russian influence in addition to significant economic, political and strategic gains. On the other hand China lost a certain degree of authority and control over Manchuria and this was the price she was obliged to pay for securing Russian friendship.

German share in the loot

By the end of the 19th century, Germany had considerably advanced both economically and

commercially. So she began to follow a policy of expansion and desired to have as many concessions in China as possible. In fact Germany was a party alongwith Russia and France in the Triple Intervention which had forced Japan to return Liao-Tung peninsula to China. After the intervention Russia and France came close to China and secured many privilèges from her. Germany was left alone, but she determined to insist on adequate recognition of her aid by China. In 1897, she intimated to other powers of her desire to secure a Coaling and naval station on the coast of China.

In this juncture, an opportunity came to Germany. Two Germany missionaries were mudedred in Shantung province. Taking advantage of the situation, Germany immediately moiblisèd her fleet and sent it to Kiaochow. Germany put certain conditions before China for the withdrawal of her fleet. China was not in a position to resist these demands. German Foreign minister declared, " We need a foothold in Eastern Asia for without it we should be in the air alike on the economic, maritime and political plane. In the economic sphere we need a door into China, such as France possesses in Tonkin, England in Hongkong and Russia in the north".

After having forcibly occupied Kiaochow, Germany forced an agreement on China on March 6, 1898. The main terms of the agreement were

1. Germany secured from China the harbour of Kiaochow and adjoining territories of 50 kilometers on lease for a period of 99 years.
2. China agreed to permit the full movement and the stationing of German troops in the leased area.
3. Germany would exercise sovereign powers over the leased area during the term of the lease.
4. Germany will have no right to give or sublet these territories to anyother country.
5. Germany secured that the right to lay down railway lines in the province of Shantung, which will be operated and handled by a Sino-German Company.
6. Germany got the right to mine coal within ten miles of both the sides of the railways.
7. China bound herself to borrow persons, capital or material for the development of the province of Shantung.

As a result of these concessions Germany possessed one of the best ports in China, with a good harbour a tolerable climate and plenty of good quality coal in the vicinity. In course of time Shantung peninsula became the German sphere of influence.

French share in the loot of China

By the treaties of 1844, 1858 and 1860, France secured the right of Commerce, propagation of Christianity, rights of extra-territoriality and most favoured nation clause on the lines secured by England. Her interests in the Far East were not confined only to commerce and religion. As a party

to the Triple Intervention, she was also keen in getting concessions from China. Her ultimate aim was to get political gains in China. Even in 1895, she had secured an agreement from China that she would not alienate to other power the Island of Hainan. She had also gained concessions in customs charges on goods entering China from the French dependencies and also a priority in the exploitation of the mines of Yunnan, Kwangi and Kwangtung provinces. She had also secured permission to extend the Annam railway into Chinese territory.

Franco-Chinese Treaty of 1898

In 1898 France forced China to conclude a treaty with her. By this treaty

1. China agreed to give all territories to France for the construction of a railway between Tonkin and Yunnan.
2. France secured a non-alienation agreement covering the provinces bordering on Tonkin.
3. France gained a 99 years lease of Kwangchow Bay.
4. China agreed not to lease out Hawaii to any other foreign power.

The ultimate aim of the treaty was to counter British influence in Canton and that of Japan in Hongkong. The territorial concessions that France secured gave her new opportunities of extending her colonial empire. In fact the treaty of 1898 exposed the lip service that France paid to the integrity of China. She herself was the inaugurator in 1895 of the so called "BATTLE OF CONCESSIONS".

British Sphere of influence

England was the first power to break the isolation of China and open her to Western intercourse. Although Britain did not seek any territorial gains in China, she was keen on maintaining the status Quo and her primary in China trade. The granting of the various concessions on the Chinese soil meant a serious disturbance in the existing balance of power in the Far East. This balance had to be resorted. The Russian influence in particular caused anxiety to England. Therefore British also forced China to conclude a treaty with her in 1898.

The Anglo Chinese Treaty of 1898

The Anglo-Chinese Treaty of 1898 gave Britain a number of new concessions. The main provisions of the treaty were:

1. China promised to Britain that she will allow her the use of Wei-Hai-Wei as long as the Port Arthur remained under Russian control.
2. China agreed to extend to Britain the lease of 350 square miles of Chinese mainland lying opposite of Hongkong.
3. China declared that the territories bordering Yangtse river will not be alienated to any other power.

4. China agreed that the Inspector General of the maritime customs would be a Britisher, as long as the organisation functioned. Britain got a concession for the construction of nine rail roads covering 2m 800 miles in length.
5. Britain was able to get the boundaries of Burma revised in her favour. She also secured Formosa and the adjoining area on 99 years lease from China.

The Anglo-Chinese Treaty of 1898 gave a lot of concessions to Britain which led to the increase of British influence in China. She also got a naval base at Wei-Hai-Wei, new territories Yangste Valley as her sphere of influence and the guarantee that the British officials would head the Department of Maritime Customs. In fact, Britain secured all these concessions from an unwilling China. This gave rise to the intensification of anti-British feelings.

China and Italy

China and Italy had no relations with each other. Italy herself being weakest among the so called great powers in Europe, could not get any concession from China. But now when she saw that every great power was getting some concession and that China was extending those concessions, she also came forward with her demands. Italy demanded that she should be given the facilities of having a naval base in Chekiang. China mustered her courage and refused to give concessions to Italy.

In this way China went on giving concessions to great nations, one after the other. She was forced to give her lands on lease and also sign treaties of non-alienation. Each nation had her own sphere of interest and also influence. It was a new kind of economic imperialism invented by the western powers to partition the prosperity of the 'Sickman of Asia'. Hence Dr. Sunyat Sen painfully said, "China is a colony of every nation that had made treaties with her".

4. Open Door Policy

China wanted to close her doors to the foreigners in the beginning years of 19th century. But the fate was that during the last decades of the century, the foreigners wanted to close the doors of their spheres of influence to others. By this time USA wanted to increase its influence in the Far East. She was not able to digest the growing strength of other Western Power in China. So she demanded that European Powers should open the doors of their spheres of influence and lease hold territories to foreign commercial intercourse. The motive of this policy was "exploit, let other to exploit".

After the treaty of Shimonoseki of 1895, the European powers vied with one another in securing concessions from China. While the country was cut up into several spheres of influence each dominated by a Power, there were certain factors at work which prevented the physical partitioning of China. One of these factors was the rivalry among the Powers themselves. They could not act

together in a concerted manner to, bring, about the partitioning of China. Another factor was the strong anti-foreign sentiment that the various concessions given to European Powers roused amongst the Chinese. The Boxer uprising was typical of such strong anti-foreign and anti-christian attitude. The Anglo-Japanese alliance of 1902 and the American open door policy and the other factors mentioned above, acted as a powerful deterrent on the expansionist ambitions of the individual powers.

Genesis of Open Door Policy

The genesis of open door doctrine can be traced back to the most favoured nation clause in the early commercial treaties concluded between the European Powers and China. Since the first commercial treaty was concluded, several powers repeatedly in their intercourse with China had acted co-operatively. Therefore in its broadest sense the policy was not new.

Britain was alarmed with the rapid expansion of European powers in China after 1895, especially that of Russia. Upto that it was Britain who was having the upper hand in the Far east. In order to safeguard her interest in China early in 1889, she appealed to John Hay, American Ambassador to London for some form of joint action.

At that time when the scramble for concessions was taking place in 1897 and 1898, America was very busy in engaging war with Spain. She was also busy with the domestic issues. She could not pay her attention in the Far East. But when the war ended in 1898, USA began to divert, her attention towards China. Already during the years 1865 - 1898, America had gone through a transformation and emerged as an industrial power. So she felt that foreign markets were needed to absorb the country's expanding industrial production. Added to this economic interest, she also developed an interest in international relations particularly in the Far East. This interest necessitated a positive reaction on the part of the USA.

It was at this juncture England appealed to John Hay for some kind of joint efforts. So USA enunciated the open door doctrine by which it was sought that every nation should have an equal opportunity in the Chinese market. The doctrine sought in effect to accept the existing status including the claims of the several states of spheres of influence and secure complete equality of commercial opportunity for the U.S. Infact the doctrine was the logical outcome of the 'most favoured nation' clause in the treaties signed between China and Western Powers between 1842 and 1844. The clause enjoined equal opportunity to all for trade in China which was insisted upon by USA and Britain from time to time.

John Hay's Doctrine

The 'open door' policy, like the Munroe doctrine was perhaps first outline in the British foreign office. In response to the British appeal to the USA, the American Secretary of State John Hay

enunciated this doctrine. He asserted that the United States stood for preventing European spheres of influence from developing into exclusive colonial possession. The policy was elaborated in a letter on September 6, 1899 addressed to American ambassadors in England, France, Italy, Germany, Russia and Japan. The ambassadors were asked to steel clarifications on the points mentioned from the Government of the country in which they were posed.

The main features of the doctrine are:

1. The Power having spheres of influence in China should assure that it would not interfere with any treaty port or any vested interest therein.
2. The Powers having spheres would make no discrimination in harbour dues or the railroad charges against any other country. In other words, the Chinese treaty tariff should prevail in the case of all goods, irrespective of the spheres of interest.
3. The duties levied on the goods would be collected by the Chinese Government. This must be accepted by all the countries trading with China and the fruits of these customs must go the Chinese Government.
4. All concessions which the European countries have already obtained from China would be respected.
5. When the ships of one nation enter a port under the sphere of influence of another country, the controlling country shall not charge more than what she pays to China.

Thus the U.S. Government wanted to secure equal assurances from different powers which have gained spheres of interest in China that they would observe equality of commercial opportunity in China and would allow other powers to trade in their respective spheres of interest without any attempt to suppress their commercial gains.

In essence, the open door policy was a guarantee of open Chinese market and a uniform tariff for all nations. The motives behind the open door policy are obvious. The US had not secured so far any concessions which the other powers got. In fact she had been a late comer. But the Chinese market was too attractive for it to be given up. In short, America wanted a share of the spoils in China. But in reality the Americans claimed that the open door policy championed the cause of equal opportunity and the territorial integrity of China.

The Implications of the Open Door Policy

There appears to be nothing novel in this doctrine, but in actual practice what U.S.A. wanted was that special interest acquired by western nations should be nullified. USA did not get the same concessions which these nations had already got. The conceptions that of spheres of interest and that of the open door are fundamentally inconsistent. The purpose of establishing a sphere of interest

is to secure an exclusive right to obtain concessions for the building of railroads, the opening of mines and the industrial exploitation of the region concerned. The sphere of interest merged gradually into a sphere of influence or into protectorate, the state gaining political control used it to monopolise the economic development of the area. The open door policy on the other hand, limited the sphere conception in demanding equality of commercial opportunity. The implication the open door policy involved the preservation of the integrity of China. Unless China was independent, there could not be any equal opportunity for the western powers. In other words the open door affirmed a cooperative policy for a more effective exploitation of China in the place of the exclusive and the limited spheres of influence.

Reactions of Powers to 'Open Door'

Hay's not on the open door was not welcomed by all European powers. Only Great Britain readily accepted it. Russia closed Port Arthur to other vessels and gave simply excessive answers. Some kept silence over it. Germany indicated her acceptance provided that the Chinese tariff on importation of goods into its leasehold was negotiated through the Imperial Maritime Customs service. Other terms were freely accepted. Italy, France and Japan gave their assent. But in reality Hay failed to convince the powers. He announced that he had received "satisfactory assurances" from all and that he considered these responses as "final and definitive". This was purely a diplomatic bluff.

Working of the Policy

After the announcement of this policy, the term open door policy was included in all international treaties. Clyde and Beers marked three stages in the working of this open door policy during the period from 1899 to 1910. In the first phase the United States could not maintain equal commercial opportunity. Moreover John Hay wrongly calculated that the integrity of China was at stake because of Russian expansion in Manchuria. In the second phase Elihu Root Struggle to keep alive the concept of China's integrity. In the third phase under Taft and Konx United States decided that the open door policy could be maintained in 'providing equal investment and commercial equality' and thus abolishing spheres and ensuring China's integrity.

After sponsoring open door policy, United States of America began to participate more actively in East Asia in general and China in particular. But for the fact that the American involvement gave some external support to China in her struggle for self-preservation, America herself was unable to adhere to open door policy strictly.

In 1900 the Boxer brokeout, violence of organised and unorganised, superstitious and fanatical and prompted conservative officials, spread country wide. The allied troops moved into Peking. Russian forces occupied the strategic positions in Manchuria.

In June 1900 Hay announced his second note to open door policy. He made clear that the principle of China's territorial integrity was not new in the language of American Policy. It had been expressed by Humphrey Marshall in 1863, by Buarlingame in 1882. It was absent from-if not repudiated the Hay's Policy of 1899, which diplomatically acknowledged the reality of cleave holds and spheres. Now in the second note he invited not only 'respect' for China's integrity but also suggested a "collective guarantee' by the powers. Only Great Britain reacted to this. In 1900 China became a conquered nation. This time the threat for her integrity was far greater. It was a big question whether China as a state should continue to be. Then it was not the open door policy but the intensive rivalry among the western powers that saved China from becoming another Africa.

In the midst of this hur and cry Hay himself joined the concession hunters. In December 1900 because of pressure exerted by American Navy he go a naval coaling station at Samsan Inlet north of Foochow on the coast of Fukien Province. Japan criticised and reminded him of his own policy of China's integrity. This incident smashed down the moral flavour 'if it all the policy of open door supposed to have any'.

The Russo-Japanese war further undermined the open door policy in China. President Theodore Roosevelt and the Secretary of State Root reasserted Hay's policy. But Roosevelt while mediating peace between Japan and Russia recognised (Treaty of Portsmouth, 1905) Japan's economic interests in Manchuria which was against the policy of open door.

In 1908 USA concluded Root Tahkhier an agreement with Japan by which United States accepted Japan's economic and commercial interests as least in the contiguous provinces. This was another fatal blow to the open door policy.

William Taft and Philandar Knox Policy in the Far East was "dollars for bullets". This 'Dollar Diplomacy' was still another pitfall for the American sponsored open door policy in China. Under the diplomacy the commercial wing of the State Department was enlarged and a separate division was created for the Far East. United States tried her best to invest her dollars in railroads in Manchuria and China proper. But the powers especially Russia and Japan refused to sell their rights. America tried to lay Chin-Chow-Aigon railroad parallel to the Russian and Japanese rail roads. Here also Britain, France and Germany refused to co-operate. Dollar diplomacy of Taft failed in the Far East.

Japan as the Rival to Open Door Policy

By 1915 it was clear that the major enemy to open door policy in China was not Russia but Japan. During the war Japan issued twenty one demands to China. It shattered the open door policy to the Core. United States was not in a position to raise her little finger against Japanese ventures in China. (because of Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1903) United States recognised Japan's special

position in Shantung, South Manchuria and Eastern Mangloies. In the absence of Russia, due to revolution in 1917, Japan went on violating the policy of open door.

After the war, the United States emerged as a stronger leader of the Western world. Hughes, the new Secretary of State decided to restrain Japan with the consent of Great Britain. USA convened a conference at Washington in which all the powers interested in the Far East participated. It was here that the open door policy of China was duly recognised. All powers agreed to return their occupied territories. Her territorial integrity was assured and she was treated as a sovereign power.

What Really Open Door Policy Meant?

The Western Powers tried to open the doors of the celestial Empire of China in the beginning of the nineteenth century. By the end of the century the European Powers succeeded in getting the doors of China open, a vast area of China came under their spheres of influence. Therefore they tried to close the doors of China to others. So America, a later comer to the Far East was not in a position to establish her influence in China as other European powers did. In this context America enunciated the open door policy, to open the doors of European spheres of influence to others, especially to America who came very late in the Far East area.

Me too Policy

The open door policy of America was nothing but a 'me too policy'. That is, there should not be any discrimination among the imperialistic powers in the plunder of China. In simple words it meant co-operative pillage of China. USA pleaded European Powers under the disguise of preserving Chinese territorial integrity to include her too. This was clear from the fact that even after accepting this policy, European powers increased their spheres of influence whenever they had a chance.

Japan freely expanded in China. She was completely exercising her influence in Korea, Manchuria, thrusting twenty-one demands on China. No single power including the sponsor country of open door raised their voice to preserve the so-called integrity of China. Thus the policy originally meant to increase the interests of USA in China turned to be defensive as Japan emerged as a powerful Asiatic nation.

Is there any moral flavour in open door policy?

There was no moral flavour in the policy, as the whole doctrine revolved round the principle that commercial interests of USA in China should not be jeopardized. The USA neither opposed the exploitation of China by European Powers, nor stood for the independence and integrity of China. All that USA wanted was that markets in China should not be exploited by European Powers, by ignoring her. She wanted to make it clear that she was also an equal claimant in the race and should be recognised as such by the European Powers which and stated their claims there. Therefore there was not much moral tinge attached to this policy. In many incidents USA herself flouted this

policy to achieve her needs. Just before the initiation of this doctrine USA conquered and colonised the Philippines in direct violation of the conception of the 'open door'

Result and Impact of 'Open Door'

This policy was in no way beneficial to China. What USA wanted was that the European Powers should co-operate with each other and there should be no international rivalry so far as they were concerned. In other words what USA suggested to European Powers was that they should be at least co-operative with each other in exploiting China. However the mere declaration of open door policy to a great extent saved China from immediate dismemberment. At least for the time being China got a nation (America) which championed the cause of Chinese independence and national integrity. No doubt, America, protected China from the aggressive designs of European nations, who were bent upon dismembering China'.

Vinackle says, " The acceptance of the Hay principles by the Powers temporarily checked the movement towards the partition of China at the first stage of its development. This China got a new lease of life. But the policy of open door was inadequate to protect the principle of equal commercial opportunities or the further encroachment of Chinese territory in an age of fierce imperialism. It should be remembered as Langer wrote that "in the Far East the Powers were dealing with the fate of an empire of upward of three hundred million souls and not less than five major states were disputing the spoils" In fact the situation called for a far more drastic measure than "mere polite diplomatic notes".

5. Hundred Days of Reforms

Hundred Days of Reform was the first internal reaction of China after the collapse of China in the war of Japan and Western aggression. According to Keeton, " The immediate consequence of the period of abasement were two. There was a sudden and ill concerned programme of reforms; and there was an immediate and wide-spread intensification of anti-foreign feeling". Thus the defeat and humiliation suffered at the hands of Western Power made the Chinese to realise the need for introducing far-reaching reforms. There were two sections of opinion. One led by the supporters of the monarchy, who wanted the country to progress by gradual stages and the other led by the progressive who wanted revolutionary changes in the existing system.

Causes for this Reform Movements in China

Apart from the shocks of defeat which caused a reaction in favour of reforms, there were also other causes responsible for making the Chinese awake to the new realities of the situation.

1. The first and foremost cause was the works of the Christian Missionaries in China. They established schools, opened libraries and museums and published newspapers and magazines. They had been spreading new ideas in China. They not only preached their religion but also

brought into China Western concepts and ideas. They even founded a society for the diffusion of Christian and general knowledge among the Chinese. Already Peking, Canton and other areas were becoming centres of European influence. The higher classes of society absorbed the European civilization and Chinese children started going to foreign countries for western type of education.

2. Secondly Chinese contact with the west made them realise the need for reforms. Especially the literates understood that there must be a thorough reorientation of the social life. So that they would be able to catch up with the cultural progress of the western world. The students who were sent abroad for higher education were full of eagerness to modernise China on the pattern of the Western world.
3. Thirdly the western military superiority exercised considerable influence in the minds of Chinese. They came to realise that the advanced techniques and equipments of the westerners were far superior to the out-dated military establishment of China. So the thinking section of the Chinese wanted to introduce reforms in the military. Li-Hung-Chang the leading and influential politician of the day stressed the military aspect of modernisation. According to him as the military victories of the west was their superior knowledge of technical know-how, that should be introduced in China to save her from dismemberment. It resulted in the emergence of a reform party.
4. Fourthly, the humiliating defeat in the hands of Japan was highly responsible for this reform movement. It was a great insult to China because Japan a tiny state inflicted a crushing defeat upon China, a big country. The other countries of the world were shocked and surprised at this. They began to contemplate over this attitude of Japan and came to a conclusion that Meiji Reforms were responsible for this astonishing victory. Hence they too decided to inaugurate the reform movement.
5. Finally, the imminent danger of the dismemberment of China was the immediate cause for such reforms. The spheres of influence, the extra-territorial rights, the scramble for concessions and the spheres of interest gave a rude shock to the people of China. They began to witness the dismemberment of China. Hence they decided to put an end to this by inaugurating such reform movement.

The Early Chinese Reformers

The pioneer Chinese reformers were men of intellect, though their knowledge of the West was very imperfect. The earliest reformer was one WANG-TAO (1828 - 97), a scholar and journalist who was associated with the foreigners at Shanghai and Hongkong. Wang assisted James Leggs (1815-97) in the translation of the Chinese classics. He wrote a book on Franco-Prussian War while

he was in Europe. He founded his own newspaper in Harkong in which he launched his editorial attacked on the Manchu administration. He was an admirer of Western Law and Constitutional government on the British model.

There was another advocate of reform by name HSUEH-FU-CHANCE, who saw in constitutional government, the answer to China's ills HO-KAI (1859 - 1917) stressed the need to develop Chinese commerce, industry and agriculture. Thus the early Chinese reformers demanded political change and parliamentary institutions in China, even before the outbreak of Sino-Japanese War.

Other Modern Reformers

Kang-Yu-Wei

China's effort towards radical reforms are associated with Kan-Yu-Wei, who belonged to Canton. He had widely read many western books in translation. He was an ardent preacher of westernisation of China. He was of the opinion that reforms could not be introduced by bringing about a revolution. On the other hand he preached that reforms be brought about by convincing the people. He combined modernity and tradition in his ideas. In his book "Grand Union" he propounded his radicalism and revolutionary ideas on Chinese thought and tradition. He appealed to scholarly class to carry out gradual reforms. He reinterpreted Confucianism in the new light. He was an opponent of anti-monoarchical movement. He advocated constitutional monarchy. He proposed to make China a Republic with a nominal hereditary monarch, resembling with an "idol in a temple" possessing highest virtue and dignity. His books dealing with Meiji-restoration and biography of Peter the Great exercised profound influence. He firmly believed that the only means of salvation for the country were to emulate Japan, eliminate corruption and introduce western laws and reforms. The emperor Kwang-Hsu, was an admirer of Kang-Yu-Wei.

Kuang-Hus

The empress Dowager Tzu-Hue had the practice of placing minors on the throne and thereby continued to rule the land as the head of regency. After the death of Emperor Tung-Chin, she placed a minor on the throne in 1875, who took the reign title Kuang-Hus. The young emperor and his advisers clamoured for the introduction of reforms on the western pattern. The emperor himself became an ardent supporter of Kuang-Yu-Wei, the leading exponent of the reform movement.

Hundred Days of Reforms

Kuang-Yu-Wei brought the Emperor Kuang-Hsu under his influence and induced him to carry out reforms. Deeply influenced by Kuang's ideas, the Emperor began to issue a series of reform edicts from 11th June 1896 to 20th September for hundred days. Some forty to fifty reform edicts were issued in rapid succession in the area of education, industry, agriculture, army and

administrative reorganisation among at the transformation of China from a Confucian state to a modern one.

Educational Reforms

In all walks of life progressive youths instead of old traditional youth should be given preference. Those who were holding high posts or were expected to hold high posts should be encouraged to go to foreign countries for getting knowledge. Educational institutions based on western schools and college curriculum should be opened. One of the edicts provided for the establishment of a central university in Peking and numerous colleges and schools in all big cities and provincial capitals. A systematic translation of books in foreign language was arranged in order to import western ideas. The old system of examination was to be changed.

Military Reforms

Western military methods and equipment were to be introduced. Steps would be taken towards the creation of a national army based on conscription.

Other Reforms

Many reforms were introduced in the courts also, patent and copy-right laws were to be introduced. To enlighten the people and to disarm opposition it was decided to publish the official Gazette and to distribute it all over the empire. A transport organisation should be created to connect capital city with other parts of the country. Useless and superfluous posts in the services should be abolished. Every individual was given right to make petition even to the central government. Efforts were made to bring the provinces and the centre closer to each other. There was to be a complete reorganisation of the government by establishing new Board of Agriculture and Commerce. A provision was made to offer rewards and incentives to authors and inventors.

Growth of Opposition

The reforms, so radical and sweeping, provoked angry protest and resentment from manchu idlers whose lucrative posts were abolished. They organised the party of opposition to these reforms. The dismissal of the six ministry officials of the Grand Council was considered as a direct blow aimed at the Manchus. They appealed to the Empress to intervene and protect the privileges of the officials.

Intervention of the empress

The Empress was obviously waiting for an opportunity to undo the reforms and to reestablish her authority which was being undermined by the young emperor. She secretly plotted for the overthrow of the emperor. She appointed her trusted followers to key posts. In the mean-time the emperor's faithful adherents were rendered impotent. The reform leaders tried to save the emperor

from the impending danger, but their efforts failed miserably. Consequently on the morning of September 21, 1898 the Empress Dowager entered into the emperor's room took away the memorials from him. In this task she was assisted by her faithful followers. She declared that all reform edicts were null and void and were accordingly withdrawn. The young emperor lived the life of a virtual prisoner until his death in 1908. Kang-Yu-Wei fled, many other reform leaders were executed.

Causes for the failure of the movement

The Hundred Days of Reform started with great vigour. The necessary ground work had already been prepared by Kang-Yu-Wei and others. In spite of the favourable climate the reform movement misfired. The main causes for the failure are as follows.

1. The emperor was inexperienced and he did not realise that those who were opposed to reforms could gather strength. So when actually the opponents to the reforms came to the front, the Emperor and his supporters found themselves helpless.
2. The reformists failed to prepare the people of China psychologically for reforms. So they remained indifferent to the reform edicts.
3. The reformists did not prepare a base for reforms in the masses. The reforms thus did not remain the work of the masses. Actually the people, felt that the reforms were being imposed on them. Thus these were not acceptable to them.
4. The reforms themselves were far too advanced and idealistic. They sought to bring about a transformation almost overnight. This was in fact an impossible task.
5. The reforms came from above. They were conceived by the leaders at the top and imposed upon the people who were still not ready for such far-reaching reforms.
6. The Reforms Movement could not assume national character. It confined itself in the southern provinces like Kwangtung, Peking and Canton.
7. The traders, agriculturists and the gentry did not support the reforms. They feared that the reforms would disturb the existing order and thereby cause confusion. They wanted only solutions to the pressing problems rather than revolutionary socio-economic changes.
8. The sacked officials, Manchu idlers and court lunks and hangers on formed an unholy alliance in their selfish interest to out the reformers.
9. The students too were alarmed and were not prepared to acquire new knowledge now necessary for entering into government jobs. All these things paved the way for the failure of the movement.

Significance of the movement

'The Hundred Days' reform was significant movement for China. It was the first internal reaction and response to western encroachments in China. It was an attempt to reorganise the nation on western lines. It was very beneficial to the masses and to save the country from further onslaughts on their country's integrity. Further it stimulated the thinking of Chinese youth and of the intelligent in general. In short the movement could draw the attention of government towards reforms. It also established that the Manchus were useless and could not introduce reforms. The movement gave an impression to the people that unless Manchu rulers were removed from the country reforms could not be introduced. The failure of the movement paved the way for anti-foreign, anti-Manchu and Boxer uprising.

6. Boxer Uprising

The Boxer Uprising was a violent attempt to drive the foreigners out of China. After the failure of the Hundred Days of Reform, there was a violent reaction in China against foreigners. The reaction took the form of an uprising known as the Boxer Uprising. It was due to the resentment and dissatisfaction against the foreigners who had left no opportunity to humiliate Chinese. The Boxers cried "Protect the country and destroy the foreigners". The whole of China echoed and reached with this cry.

Origin and Ideas of the Boxers

The origin of the Boxer Movement was complex in nature. It was the outcome of popular Chinese opposition to the foreigners. A few scholars consider that this Boxer Movement was the natural outcome of the Anti-Foreign Secret Societies formed in China in the 18th century. For example a secret society known as I-Ho-Ch'uan or Harmonious Brotherhood. There may also be other secret societies behind this movement but the view that the Boxer rebellion was the outcome of secret societies cannot be fully accepted because there are evidences to prove that the Manchu court at Peking itself was involved in the fomentation of the rebellion. To make it clear the break up of China by the foreign controlled spheres and Chinese defeat in the Sino-Japanese war greatly affected the Dowager Empress. She crushed the reform movements and threw herself with the reactionary court party just to divert people's attention from the Manchu misrule and administrative deterioration. She purposely encouraged the discontented people against the foreigners by helping secretly the Anti-Foreign Movement known as the Boxer Movement.

Why was it called Boxer Rebellion?

There are different views about the meaning of the term "Boxers". In the period of the Dowager Empress Tzu-Hsi in certain areas such as Shantung where her government encouraged the organisation of a militia to resist the Germans particularly and this militia so formed by Tzu-Hsi's

government to withstand the foreign aggression later on became that violent Boxer Movement meant to fight against the foreigners.

According to another view "Boxer Movement" was the outcome of secret societies. There was a secret society known as I-Ho-Ch'uan or Harmonious Brotherhood in addition to a few other secret societies which became very active and anti-foreign in characters. The members of this society were given gymnastic training and due to their muscular and physical strength they were nicknamed as "Boxers". Their rituals based on magic impressed the common people who greatly supported the Boxer Movement. This movement at the beginning was meant to destroy the Chinese Christians, later under the official encouragement became an organisation desperately anti-foreign in mentality.

Causes for the Boxer Catastrophe

The hostility between China and the foreign nations gradually increased due to the following reasons.

1. The defeat of China by Japanese

In the Sino-Japanese war 1894 contrary to the expectation of China she was very badly defeated by Japan which actually revealed her weakness. The treaty of Shimonoseki robbed her of many precious territories like Liao Tung Peninsula and the ice free Port Arthur. In addition to that she had to pay a very heavy indemnity to Japan. The humiliation she suffered after the defeat was such that she developed a kind of antforeign feeling which ultimately led to the Boxer revolt.

2. European Scramble for concessions

The Europeans like French, British and Germans who penetrated China for trade purpose gradually established their control in different spheres given to them on lease. Not only that the foreign powers had even the idea of partitioning China amongst themselves. Naturally this created suspicion and hatred in the minds of the Chinese people and caused profound resentment against foreign attitude. In addition to that the foreigners even wanted to effect a great transformation in the social, religious and industrial life in China. The European ambition was too much for the Chinese who from the beginning had an aversion for the western civilisation and it caused much irritation and finally exploded in the Boxer Revolt.

3. Miserable condition of the People

Even after the Tai-Ping revolt, the economic conditions of China were not even slightly improved. Taxation in the country was at its highest, with a view to help the government to pay the war indemnity promised to Japan. There were famines in China due to crop failures in 1898. The burden of taxation, the floods, the famines and the rising prices on every article of consumption led to the clash between the Chinese and the foreigners.

4. Anti-Christian feelings

In China there was no good relation between the Christian missionaries and the people. The missionaries were generally suspected and they were considered as men who were more interested in encroaching the territories of the Chinese. Frequent clashes between the Chinese and the missionaries resulted in the killing of missionaries. But these attacks on the missionaries were exploited by the western powers who demanded further privileges which aggravated the bitterness of the Chinese against the foreigners.

5. The Manchu Dynasty was considered as a foreign dynasty

The Manchus were also foreign in origin and they were extremely hated by the indigenous Chinese. To them all the ills of China were entirely due to the weakness of the Manchu dynasty. They were equally considered as foreigners just as the westerners. Thus the Manchus, their inefficiency, their weakness and their failures to stem the tide of the westerners, made the people believe that they lost the "Divine Mandate" to rule the Chinese.

6. The Dowager Queen (Tzu-Hsi)

The empress Dowager understood the feeling of her people against the Manchus. Just to satisfy her people and to divert their attention from the Manchu misrule the empress started secretly supporting the anti-foreign movements. It was she who started first the militia in the north to keep the foreigners under control. Thus the Empress Dowager having crushed the reform-movements tried her best to divert the mounting tide of Chinese antagonism to Manchu rule by throwing her full power behind the parties of reaction at the Court. Thus started in China an Anti-Foreign Movement against all foreign works their rail-roads, their churches, their religion and their converts and for which the empress Dowager was largely responsible.

The Course of the Rebellion

In June 1900 violence began in different parts of China. Boxers in thousands secretly supported by the Peking government, started slaughtering people in Shantung, Chichli, Shansi and Manchuria. They tore off rail-roads and telegraphs, burnt churches and murdered Christian missionaries and their converts. This lunacy reached Peking itself. Then the Government declared war on the foreign power and permitted the Boxers to lay siege to the foreign legations in Peking. To relieve the siege of the foreigners in Peking, a British relief expedition was sent which was forced to retire and the siege continued till August 14th. It was then the allied armies of foreigners, the British, the Americans, the French and the Japanese entered Peking. The Chinese government proved weak before the foreigners and opened the gates of Peking to the foreigners. The foreigners were greatly offended this time and the question to them was whether China should exist as a state or not. The powers were moving toward armed intervention at Peking. The Russians were about to occupy Manchuria

with a view to protect the Chinese Eastern Rail-road from the Boxer attack. This Boxer Rebellion became a very good cause for the Russian occupation of Manchuria. By October 1900 Russia was in complete military control in 3 Eastern provinces of Manchuria. (Manchuria, Inner Mangolia, Outer Mangolia).

Thus in the Boxer Rebellion the Chinese from the beginning were not successful. The Dowager empress left Peking in disguise. The International army hunted down the Boxer and took terrible vengeance and instituted a reign of terror in China. Finally Peace negotiations started and Boxer Rebellion came to an end by a settlement known as the "Boxer Protocol" in 1901.

The Nature of the Terms of Boxer Protocol

The terms of the Boxer Protocol were very severe and humiliating. The Manchu government was considered by the foreigners as responsible for this great Catastrophe. Therefore the Chinese were forced to pay without mercy such large sum of money as indemnity, which however was beyond their capacity to pay. The foreign government considered that the Manchu government was responsible for that War and therefore she must pay the price of its defeat and its treachery.

The terms of the Protocol

1. China had to pay 450 million as war indemnity. So after the peace negotiations the financial problems of China became serious. Each western nation received its own percentage of share of the war indemnity. All the foreign powers in China were given the right to collect customs duties which were raised from 2 to 5%
2. China had to accept a number of changes in the commercial treaties. She also accepted the permanent stationing of foreign troops in her capital as legation guards, and the supervision of the area from Peking to the Sea came under the purview of the western powers. China was asked to create a ministry of foreign affairs.
3. China accepted the proposal for the establishment of a foreign office to replace the Tsungli Yamen. Changes were also made in the ceremonial methods in the course of audience with the emperor.
4. There was the suspension of all competitive examination for five years in all cities where there were anti-foreign movement during the Boxer Rebellion. The idea behind this move was to prevent the people belonging to these areas from joining services.
5. An apology was tendered for the murder of the German Minister, Baron Von Ketteler and China agreed to the erection of a memorial monument on the spot where he was assassinated. The memorial should bear an inscription in the Latin, German and Chinese languages, expressing the regret of the Emperor of China for the murder.

6. China was prohibited to import arms and ammunitions for two years.
7. China should make a formal and general apology to western powers to what all happened during the Boxer Rising.
8. China was made to agree that those who were responsible for the uprising would be punished.
9. China agreed to pay special indemnity to Japan.
10. Custom Duty Department of China would work thereafter under the supervision of Western powers who would be getting in future all income from customs.
11. The Western powers were permitted by China to construct legations in such a way so that in case of emergencies in future they would be in a position to help themselves.
12. It was accepted that Tientsin was under foreign control.
13. All the treaties already concluded between Peking and Western powers would be suitably changed or modified.
14. Internal Custom Duty on foreign goods was removed and in its place an additional 7½% tax was to be levied.
15. Restriction on foreign investment on industries were to be removed so that foreign capital could be invested in mining as well.
16. China consented to inflict death penalty upon eleven Princes and officials chiefly responsible for the attacks on foreigners named by the foreigners and foreign negotiators.
17. The Taku and other forts which might impede free communication between Peking and the sea should be razed.
18. China agreed to the demand made by the foreign powers that their army should be allowed to be kept at such places and points for keeping open communication between the capital and the sea.
19. All old commercial treaties should be revised.

Effects of the Boxer Revolt

1. The Boxer uprising exerted a profound influence upon China's political future. It hastened the end of the Manchu dynasty and the creation of a Republic in 1911. It was the dynamic step in the progress of China's evolution.
2. The Boxer movement was an unmistakable symptom of China's growing unrest, of her resentment of foreign intrusion and exploitation.
3. After signing the Boxer Protocol China was almost reduced to a subject nation almost to the next quarter of the country.

4. It should be noted, that though the terms of the Boxer Protocol were very severe, it saved the partition of China by the Westerners.

In short it hastened the end of the Manchu Dynasty and the creation of a Republic.

The direct result of the failure of the Boxer Movement was the renewal of the Reform Movement. Even the conservatives now realised that the Manchu regims could be preserved only by reform of the government system. This is evident from the edict issued in 1901 by the empress Dowager. In 1905 the age old examination system was abolished. This struck a blow at the old order and it announced only the hastening of the end of the Celestial Empire in 1911.

Causes for the failure of the Movement

1. The Boxers were not trained soldiers when compared with the foreigners and they had no programme before them not they had reforms to offer to the country. They simply attributed China's ill to the foreign devils.
2. The Southern Chinese were not supporting the cause of the Boxers. The southern leaders actually gave their willing support to the foreigners and refrained from supporting the Boxers. The reason for their attitude was that they did not like the southern districts to be destroyed by the Boxers.
3. The Peking Court failed to support to revolts in a fitting manner. Most of the courtiers including the Empress Dowager fled from Peking when the foreigners entered the capital. To put in their own words. "It is white man's burden to civilise, to Christianise, and to commercialise the, less fortunate people of China". Hence the movement failed miserably.

7. The Manchu Attempts to Reforms

The Early Reforms

China in the last decade of the 19th century (1890-1899) was beautiful shadow of the Confucian civilisation. During the "mid-summer madness" known as the Boxer Rebellion, the Empress Dowager firmly set her face against the introduction of reforms. The early reformers like Wang-Tao, Hsueh-Fu-Cheng, Kang-Yu-Wei and others miserably failed as they lacked support of both the conservative court party as well as the masses.

Kwang-Hsu

The Emperor played a leading part in introducing reforms in China, due to the terrific opposition of the Court party, was taken prisoner by the Dowager Empress, and he was left to suffer in prison until his death in 1908. Many reformers found their way to Hong-Kong to escape the wrath of the Dowager Empress. In short the "Hundred days of reform" failed miserably and it prepared the ground for future reforms.

Causes for the Reform Movement after the Boxer Revolution

During the Boxer Revolt the foreign armies entered Peking and the Dowager Empress fled from the capital. The Sino-Japanese War exposed the weakness of the Manchu dynasty to foreign powers. In the Russo-Japanese War, Manchuria, a Chinese province served as a battle field for the foreign armies as most of the battles were fought there. After 1904 there was even a threat of partition of China among imperialist powers. To be brief, the Chinese government faced Social, Political and Economic and International problems of great magnitude. These problems could not be solved by China if she continued to adhere to her old Confucian policies. Her shameful failure in the Boxer Revolt, made her realise that the need for introducing reforms at least to preserve the Manchu dynasty in power for some more years. The Dowager Empress Tzu-Hsu, the arch reactionery now felt that "Angless China must change to meet the exigencies of the modern world". She therefore sought to strengthen the empire by introducing gradual and long range reforms, which she did so carefully, that even the conservatives without raising a word in opposition, agreed to the reforms. However her attempt reforms was too late and were introduced grudgingly by a passing regim in the name of a dying dynasty.

The reforms introduced

In 1902, a reform edict was passed which removed the ban on inter marriages between the Chinese and the Manchus. She advised the Chinese to abandon the practice of binding the feet of their women. So even agreed to send intelligent Manchus for study abroad. Those jobs which gave opportunity for exploitation, bribery and corruption were abolished. There were a few of her early reforms.

Educational Reforms

The traditional Confucian type of competitive examinations was put an end to permanently by an Imperial Degree passed on September 9th 1905. Another imperial edict was passed, which caused the building up of a national school system. The students were to study not only Confucian philosophy, but also Chinese and western history and science. In 1904 the educational system in China was modelled similar to that of Japanese educational system. It was designed to provide Kindergarten and primary schools, middle schools, provincial colleges and in Imperial University at Peking. But there was no provision for the education of women.

The next problem was financing the new schools and staffing them with trained teachers. This was solved by the native graduates of the mission school, who came forward to help the government. Besides a large proportion of new teachers came from Japan who worked hard for lower salaries than the westerners in China.

The Empress Dowager with a view to produce a body of public servants with good knowledge,

encouraged the Chinese students to go abroad and equip themselves with the latest knowledge of science and other subjects. At one time, probably there were about 15000 Chinese students in Japan. A lesser number of them were sent to Europe and U.S.A. Schools, teaching Chinese and Western subjects sprang and thousands. Between 1909-10, there were in China about 57,267 schools, 89,362 teachers and 1,626,629 enrolled students. The boxers indemnity was largely spent by the Powers on educational effort, enabling thousands of Chinese to obtain new learning. With the new schools came a flood of literature, publishing houses, translations of standard western literary works. About the reforms in the educational system it has been said that "it struck a blow at the heart of the old order, for it forecast the end of the dominance of classical tradition and the putting of a premium on the knowledge of western subjects". But one result of the new educational reform was that it filled up the rank of revolutionaries.

Army Reforms

The Sino-Japanese War, the Russo-Japanese war and the foreign entry into Peking and the fleeing away of the Empress Dowager from the capital opened the eyes of the Chinese to the weakness and inefficiency of the Chinese army. During the time of the Taiping rebellion, they had an efficient army but they were more regional in character and were under independent control of several leaders. Hence that kind of regional army, lost its importance. The Chinese army of quite a long period was not properly trained and equipped, it is said that a small group of Chinese army used to carry 13 different kinds of rifles and even more brands of ammunitions. This backwardness necessitated the reforms in the Chinese army. The central figure in the new military reform movement was Yuan Shin-Kai, who had in these days proved himself as an able army leader. He was born in 1859, and became a staff officer in the very early years of this life. He had also established a military reputation by his many early victories. He was therefore made the commander-in-chief of the Chinese army. He enforced discipline in the army and the soldiers were properly trained and well equipped. But one thing to be noted is that the army he created was not a national army but it was more a personal army under his own control. Such personal military forces. Henceforth played a leading role in the subsequent history of China. Yuan-Shih-Kai's own army consisted of 50,000 persons. The army reform in China was not merely a belated effort by the Manchus to preserve the dynasty but it was also a new response to the new interest created in the defence of China against foreign aggression. During this period a number of military schools had been established. Clyde rightly observed "The Manchu reform Programme, 1902-11 like the others efforts of the dynasty to rebuild its prestige and power was notable in purpose rather than in performance"

Constitutional Reforms

The Russo-Japanese War, revealed that the constitutional government of Japan was the main cause for the Japanese victory over the Russians. So after 1905 a movement began in China for the

introduction of a constitutional government in the country. The most important of all the reforms was the attempt to introduce a constitution with representative assemblies. The Empress Dowager was convinced that lack of constitutional based on the will of the people kept China far away from greatness. Liang-Chi-Chae an ardent champion of constitutional reforms, did much propaganda, for the establishment of a constitutional government in china. The Dowager Empress sent a commission of five high officials abroad to study and report about the constitutional monarchy. On September 1906, it was announced that constitution would be framed for the country along with administrative re-organisation. By and Edict **Provincial and District** assemblies were set up to discuss local government affairs. After a careful study of various constitutions, the Japanese system of government was chosen in which the sovereign rights of the emperor were emphasised. This gave opportunity for the aristocratic reformers to hold power in their hands and direct the modernisation of the country.

Constitution of 1908

The provincial constitution of 1903 provided for the following

1. The power and position of the Manchu dynasty will be preserved.
2. The Emperor was given a wide range of power
3. Reforms could be introduced only with approval of the Emperor.
4. Manchu dynasty will remain for ever.
5. The changes and reforms will be introduced gradually and slowly and in the provinces.
6. Police will be reorganised at all levels.
7. Legal system of the country will be over-hauled and reviewed in the light of present needs of the country
8. Census system will begin on regular and scientific basis.
9. Education will be made wide-spread.
10. A procedure will be adopted for preparing national budget annually.
11. They will be a provision for auditing national income and expenditure.
12. A Council of Ministers will get the laws passed.
13. Each province was to have provincial Assembly to take after the administration of the province. The members of the Assembly were to be elected by the people.
14. The emperor will have power to summon, prorogue or dissolve the Parliament. He will have to declare war and conclude peace.

15. The people will have freedom of speech and freedom of association.
16. The citizens were assured that their legally earned property will not be violated.
17. The Emperor could issue edicts during emergencies.

Though the constitution provided for a Parliament of two houses its powers were restricted. It could deliberate only upon matters of national interest but it could not interfere in the political affairs of the provinces. It could aid in the information of a budget only when it was called on to do so.

The Nine year Programming

The Empress announced that the constitutional reforms will be achieved in slow degrees covering a period of nine years. In the first year provincial Assemblies were to be inaugurated. The provincial Assemblies would be training grounds for the members to gain experience needed for adequate participation in a latter consultative National Assembly. Finally in 1917, a constitutional was to be adopted on the lines in the document of 1903. The procedure and the time sequence were almost similar to that of Japanese one.

Implementation of the Programme

The implementation of the Constitution reforms started in 1908 itself. In 1907 provincial assemblies were established through elections. The electorate consisted only few persons. The representatives were also given very limited powers. They could discuss matter which were brought before it, for consideration by the government. The purpose of the government was to know the view and wishes of the people through these assemblies. But the people of China had already become so much politically conscious that the representatives began to criticise the government. They demanded right to control the policies and activities of the government.

Discontent over the constitution

1. The constitution of 1908 did not inspire the confidence of the people.
2. The radicals, the revolutionaries and the republicans were very critical about it.
3. It was thought that the Constitution of 1908 was an attempt only to before the people.
4. They felt that the powers given to the Parliament were limited and ineffective.
5. The Emperor was to remain as powerful as he was ever before.
6. Parliament was only a body through which people could make their petitions and forget about them.
7. Therefore people decided to wreck the constitution. They wanted popular participation.
8. The Provincial conservatives who jealously guarded their autonomy opposed it.

9. Active leaders went underground and proceeded against the government.
10. The secret societies were organised and activated.

Death of Tzu Hsi and Kwang Hsi

The need of the times was stern political leader. Under the above circumstances, it was not likely that the constitutional reforms would have saved the dynasty. But in 1908 birth the Emperor in prison and the Empress died almost simultaneously. A minor succeeded to the throne. The death of Tzu Hsi at this critical juncture actually removed a capable leader from the Chinese politics.

The Crisis

The Empress was the only hope of the Monarchist and her death provided a chance to the extremists. Immediately they pressed the government to reduce the period of constitution of the parliament from 9 years to 5 years. The minor Emperor was to sanction this and it was decided that China will have its parliament, inaugurated in 1913. Then the revolutionaries demanded that Sovereignty should rest in the people of China and not in the Emperor. They were doubtful about the sincerity of the Manchus and taking the advantage of the wide-spread chaos they demanded the abdication of the Manchus. Manchus however, could not realise the demands of the time and thus failed to respond to the popular sentiment. In 1910 in order to satisfy the radicals a Parliament was established. It consisted of representatives nominated by the government and also those who were sent by the Provincial Assemblies. But the demand was for a Parliamentary form of government in which the Emperor was responsible to the parliament. Thus the struggle at last culminated in the outbreak of 1911 revolution which ended the Manchu dynasty.

Impact of the Reform Movement

1. It made people conscious about the need and necessity of reforms.
2. It shattered the age old view that their own culture was superior and that the western culture was neither barbarous nor uncivilised.
3. China learned to adjust with the other countries.
4. It took away the glamour - whatever left with the royalty of China had created around herself.
5. The failure of the Manchus to arrest the advancement of the foreigners on one hand and the rising of people on the other exposed the hallowness of the Manchu institutions.
6. This exposure made the path of the revolutionaries easy.
7. The determined cause of Manchus to cherish the dynasty brought the end of Manchus.

The failure of the Reform Movement

The Reform Movement failed because there was no able leader to guide the provincial and

local authorities. Secondly the activities of the revolutionaries had successfully created an impression that the Manchus were not sincere in introducing the reforms. In fact the policy of graduation initiated by the Empress Dowager was short-lived. So widespread chaos and civil war spread throughout the country which resulted in the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty by the Revolution of 1911.

Estimate of the Reform Movement

China in the years 1901 to 1911 experienced one of the greatest dilemmas in her modern history. Her government tried to face the crisis through reforms. But the reforms did not save the dynasty. In fact the attempts at reform remained only on papers. There was no strong centralised government to implement them. The Manchus granted the reforms under pressure. The Manchu reform programme was "too little and too late"

8. Dowager Empress Tzu-Hsi 1835 - 1908 Role of Dowager Empress

Dowager Empress Tzu-Hsi, played a conspicuous part in the history of China. After the death of emperor Hsien Feng in 1860, Tzu-Hsi the then Empress Dowager, became the virtual, if not the legal ruler of China. The Emperor Hsien Feng was succeeded by his minor son Tung Chie and his mother Tzu-hsi became his guardian or regent. She was a very capable lady who tried to run the administration as smoothly and efficiently as possible. In 1875 after the death of the Emperor Tung-Chie, she again placed a minor on the throne, who took the regin title Kuang-Hsu. In 1898 attaining the majority, Kuang-Hsu nominally took over the control of the government of China but Tzu-Hsi was the real power behind the throne.

Characteristics of her Leadership

The Empress Dowager (1835 - 1908) was an able and ambitious Manchu woman, a concubine of Asien-Feng, the emperor who ruled from 1851 to 1861, and mother of Tung-Crin emperor (1866-1875). On the death of her childless son in 1875, she made Kuang-Hsu as the emperor. From then on until her death, except for a brief period she was the power in the Peking government. Two qualities highlighted the character of this woman. By the power of her will and her knowledge of human weakness, she dominated the court and government as well as the metropolitan administration. She won the officials of the court by amazing methods. According to the need of the moment, she exhorted, flattered, bribed, commanded or pleaded to get what she wanted. By placing an increasing number of Chinese in high provincial office, she strengthened the loyalty of scholar bureaucrats, to the Manchu monarchs. At the same time the high price she placed on her official favours raised the fine art of bribers to fantastic levels.

She was however incapable to face repeated crisis in foreign affairs. Though she usually followed the advise of her ministers, she hated the foreigners and their works. However there were

only a few who could advise her such as Li-Hung-Chang and Tseng-Kug-Fan. Under her authority vast sums of money had been collected to give China a modern Navy. The money was spent in rebuilding the Summer Palace.

Main events of Tzu Hsi's Reign

During the reign of Tzu Hsi (from 1861 - 1903) China witnessed important events. It was during this period that had to suffer defeats at the hands of one after another and the western imperialism in China increased. During her period the western powers in China and the missionaries misused their privileges and created various troubles to the administration.

Opening of Foreign Office

In 1866, the Empress was forced by the western powers to open a foreign office whereby they could channelise their diplomatic communication with the authorities.

In spite of the treaty obligations she ensured that access to the Emperor was difficult and that royal dignity was maintained and preserved.

Spread of Christianity

After Anglo-Chinese war, permission was granted for missionary activities of the western powers. They increased their objectionable activities. They undermined the authority of the Emperor, ridiculed the social and religious traditions of Chinese society. The people of China became sick of these missionaries. In 1870 there occurred the Tientsin massacre, Once again China has to conclude a humiliating treaty.

Chefoo Convention

In 1876 she had to oblige the British demands at the Chefoo convention which was caused due to the assassination of Augustus Raymond Margary. She was forced to pay 2,00,000 taels as compensation and sent an apology mission to London. She also recognised British supremacy over some parts of the country.

Li-Fourier Convention

In 1884 she concluded Li-Fourier Convention with France by which she accepted that France had her sovereignty over Annam and thus the territory which was under China went to France.

Treaty of St. Petersburg

By this treaty in 1881 she accepted Russian rights to open consultations in Turkestan and Mongolia.

Loss of Burma

In 1886 by a convention with Britain she accepted British annexation of Burma.

Awakening in China

It was during her rule there occurred awakening in China. Persons like Li-Hung Chang, Tseng-Kuo-Fan etc, suggested that western techniques should be adopted in order to face the western countries. Masses started to feel the need for reforms. Accordingly in 1867 in Peking a language school was started. Here provision was made for the study of foreign languages, ship building and mathematics. Chinese students were also sent to western countries to study modern developments.

Industrialisation of China

During her rule industrialisation of China also started. Under Li and Tseng plans for industrialisation were prepared. Some technical schools and factories were opened but due to opposition of the conservatives the process of industrialisation became slow and she could not do much in this direction.

Li-Ito- Convention

In 1885 China signed Li-Ito convention with Japan. According to this she withdrew her forces from Korea. China's freedom and supremacy in Korea were restricted.

Sino-Japanese War

In 1894 Sino-Japanese war broke out at the end of which the treaty of Shimonoseki (1895) was concluded. This was a great diplomatic defeat for the Empress. She agreed to recognise the full independence of Korea and also agreed to hand over Formosa to Japan. Shashi, Chunking, Soochow and Hanchow were also added to Treaty ports. In this way the weakness of China was exposed to the world.

Scramble for concession

After the conclusion of Shimonoseki the imperialistic powers started the scramble for concession. Russia was given the concession of building Chinese Eastern Railway across Manchuria. Port Arthur and Kiachou were converted into Russian naval bases. In 1898 Russia got lease rights over Port Aauthus and Dairen. Germany got the harbour Kiachou and the adjoining territories as lease hold territories for 99 years. She also obtained first preference rights in Shantung province. France got 99 years lease rights of Kwang Choua. Britain got lease rights of Weihaiwei and a declaration of non-allienation of the provinces bounding the Yangtee River. Belgium got the right to construct Peking Hankow railroad. Thus China was parcelled out into spheres of influences and the partition of it became a matter of moments. But for the inauguration of open door policy by America the fate of Africa would have fallen on China too.

Hundred Days of Reforms

Another important feature of the Dowager's reign was a period of 100 days of reforms. The

reforms were initiated by Kang-Yu-Wei with the help of the Emperor. Between June and September of 1898 various edicts were pronounced. Some of them were achieved. Reforms were introduced in educational, industrial, agricultural and many other fields. But the Empress supported by the reactionaries imprisoned the Emperor and declared all Reforms null and Void. She became all powerful and a virtual ruler of China.

Boxer Uprising and Dowager Empress

The great Boxer uprising was a violent attempt to rid China off foreigners. The Empress having crushed the reformists wanted to divert the mounting tide of discontent away from throne by throwing her weight behind the parties of reaction at the court. She also saw a golden opportunity of throwing out the foreigners in the uprising. The Boxer movement though successful at the beginning, was suppressed by the foreigners ultimately. Tzu-Hsi and Kuang-Hsu accompanied by a small escort, disguised as country people fled in panic for safety. The Empress Dowager later confessed, her support of the Boxers as the "One great mistake" of her life. Perhaps four thousand native Christians perished in her outburst of mid summer madness". The result of the Boxer rising was that China signed a humiliating "Protocal" with the foreign imperialists. China agreed to give far-reaching concessions to western powers including heavy war indemnity, Western powers got the right to keep a permanent army at Peking.

Reform Movement in China after Boxer Rising.

A direct result of the failure of the Boxer Movement was the renewal of the Reform movement. In 1901 the Dowager Empress declared by an edict that " We should correct out short comings by adopting the best methods and systems which obtain in foreign countries, basing our future conduct on a wise recognition and past errors". Hence in the last stage of her life, series of reforms were introduced which were primarily intended to preserve the Manchu dynasty.

In 1905 the age old examination system was abolished. A tremendous encouragement was given to western education and many young Chinese were sent abroad to study. Other measures related to encouragement of railway construction and promotion of mining operations.

The Empress Dowager approved the idea of introducing constitutional changes. In 1907 a new constitution was given to the country. The country was to have a parliament by 1917. Provincial assemblies were reorganised. Representatives were given very limited powers and the people were not satisfied with the limited powers. It is felt that the constitution was an attempt to before the people. Secret societies were organised to oppose and undo the constitution. It was at this stage the Empress Dowager died on November 15th, 1908 and the unfortunate Emperor Kuang-Hus died a day earlier i.e., on November 14th 1908.

Greatness of her character lies in the fact, that she stood faithfully in preserving the Manchu

dynasty at all costs. The death of the Empress Dowager removed from the helm of China a strong and capable woman at a very critical time in the history of China. The "Old Buddha" as her contemporaries called her, was a woman of great force and character. She had more than her share of vanity. Though fond of display she had thriftiness which enabled her to leave an immense fortune to her relatives. In short, in the long line of great Chinese women, the "old Buddha's" place is for ever secure.

9. The Anglo- Japanese Alliance 1902

The Anglo - Japanese Alliance was an importance event in the history of international relations. For the first time in history an Asiatic Power had entered into an alliance with a European Power on a plane of entire equality. The treaty enhanced Japanese prestige. She was admitted into the European concert. The alliance marked the beginning of a new era in world politics. It put an end to England's policy of splendid isolation.

Japan could not forget the humiliation he got after the Triple Intervention. Japan was prevented from enjoying the fruits of her victory. The intervention made the following facts very clear.

1. Japan could no longer function independently.
2. She was indissolubly bound with European power politics
3. Russo-Japanese war had become inevitable.

Keeping the above facts in mind, Japanese changed their political outlook. In fact they have learnt lessons from the past. Japan wanted to secure a respectable place in the comity of civilized nations. Suddenly the Japanese realised that the west respected armed might more than a peace loving civilization. Japan awoke to the development of her military and naval power in order to become ready for the future trial of strength, particularly with Russia. The inevitability of war with Russia made Japan to review her diplomatic front. She turned to British friendship so that she could enjoy the fruits of her future victory undisturbed by outside intervention.

Japan continued to look for means to counter a Russian East Asian policy. Russian influence in Manchuria and Korea was increasing and there was the danger that entire Peninsula might come under Russian domination. In the year 1899 the Russian government purchased some the lumber concessions along the Yalu river and sent an advance force of 2000 men in the guise of lumber jacks. Great Britain was also apprehensive about Russian expansion and after attempts at seeking German's cooperation against the Russian threat to the interests of both in China, she turned her attention to an alliance with Japan.

Dividend Opinions

Opinions within the Japanese government was divided. One group led by the Ito Hirobumi

and Inouye favoured approachment with Russia. They believed that it would be impossible to drive the Russian influence from the East. Further this group hoped to preserve the independence of Korea, by conceding Russia's interests in Manchuria. Independent Korea would be the buffer state between Russia and Japan. A second group which included Yamagata and Kastura maintained that agreement with Russia would at best be a temporary measure. It was convinced that Japan would eventually have to wage war with Russia and that to prepare for struggle Japan would seek an alliance with Great Britain.

Cause Leading to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance

Increased Russian Influence

Increased Russian influence in Manchuria and Korea and even with Chinese Government was considered as dangerous to Japanese growth. Japan felt that for her own existences, Russian advance must be checked in the East and for that an alliance with a Western power became a must. Japanese leaders looked to England and for the reasons of her own England also desired an alliance with Japan.

Japanese Humiliation to be Avenged

Japanese defeat over China was rewarded with the acquisition of Liaotung Peninsula. But Japan was prevented from enjoying the fruits of the victory, by the Triple power intervention and Japan felt humiliated. Japan felt that in future such a situation could arise, to avoid that sort of embarrassment, she should have an ally, particularly against Russia.

Great Britain was also interested

It was Great Britain which first broke open the barriers and compelled China to open trade relations on an equal footing. From that period onwards Britain's trade with China increased by leaps and bounds. But after the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-95, Russia posed herself as the Champion of China against Japan and earned innumerable concessions. This was intolerable to Britain since. It would endanger her position and the trade opportunities in China. Further Britain was traditionally opposed to Russian expansionist ambitions in Asia. It was to check Russia in her southward advance that she had fought the Crimean war. Russia's expansion threatened the British Empire in India, Middle East etc. Russia with support of France secured a concession for the construction of a road from Peking to Hankow in the heart of Yangtze Valley.

These developments emphasised the need for suitable ally. First of all England tried Germany, but found that she was not willing to antagonise Russia. France was an ally of Russia and was herself interested in further development of her own sphere of influence. The U.S.A. and England had similar interest but U.S.A. was not willing to join hand with any power. Japan alone was left. And the interest of Japan in checking Russia was even greater than that of England. Consequently, after considerable hesitation, England decided to treaty alliance with Japan.

The Anglo-Japanese Alliance

British colonial secretary Joseph Chamberlain and Japanese ambassador started proceeding in 1898. Lengthy discussions took place. The Japanese Prime Minister Katsura was able to convince his opposition of the need for alliance with Great Britain. Even Ito Hirobumi, a strong advocate for an alliance with Russia, conceded to the general trend. On January 30, 1902 Hayashi (Japanese Ambassador at London) and British Foreign Secretary Lansdowne signed a formal treaty in London which was announced simultaneously on February 11th.

The Treaty Clauses

1. Both powers pledged to maintain status quo and general peace in East Asia.
2. Both recognised the independence of China and Korea as well as their territorial integrity. And both pledged themselves to maintain equal commercial opportunity.
3. Both recognised each other's special interest in China and the special interest of Japan 'politically as well as commercially and industrially in Korea'. The alliance was to safeguard these interests if they were threatened either by the aggressive action of any other power or by disturbances arising in China or Korea.
4. Each pledged to maintain its neutrality if the other was at war unless the other was attacked by more than one power.
5. The alliance was to run for five years, at the end of which period it could be terminated.

Assessment

The alliance was a diplomatic triumph for both the powers. The making of an alliance with one of the strongest of the western states marks an important stage in the development of Japan as an asiatic power and a world power. It was the first treaty of alliance in modern times between an accidental and oriental state in which the parties were on a footing of equality. By this Japan was included in the list of Imperial powers of the world, a rare achievement for an Eastern state. More than this, the very immediate effect of this alliance was that Japan could take necessary steps to protect her interests against Russia. In 1895 she had been forced to recede from the continent at the dictation of Russia. In 1904 she would have had to give way again, if it had not been for protection offered by the British support.

For Britain the alliance marked the end of splendid isolation. It also ended her efforts to come to terms with Russia, as well as the idea of an alliance with Germany. Britain in 1902, forestalled any Russo-Japanese agreement to partition North East Asia and instead secured Japanese support in maintaining the treaty system in China. In return Japan received a free hand in Korea.

This alliance lapsed only in 1902. Because of the Revolution in Russia and defeat of Germany

in the First world war, there was no longer any danger from these countries to Japan. Secondly, by the first quarter of the 20th century Japan had become very powerful and posed a threat to the British Empire in the East. Thirdly at the Imperial Conference in 1921, a request was made for a British naval base at Tokyo, which was turned down by Japan. England was then interested in an Anglo-U.S. alliance, but such an alliance did not materialise because the U.S. felt that Japan was responsible for the elimination of Western imperialism in the Far East. Moreover, the sleeping giant, China was awakening and it was necessary to offer some concessions to her. One such concession was the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, which had exerted an undue pressure on China. England also had felt that the alliance stood in the way of her trade and financial interests in China.

10. The Russo-Japanese War (1904)

The Sino-Japanese war was brought to a close by the Treaty of SHIMONOSEKI (1895). According to the terms of it, China recognised the independence of Korea. She gave to Japan the island of Formosa and Lia-Tung Peninsula in South Manchuria which include the ice-free Port Arthur. In addition to above, they opened seven new ports. In other words the treaty made Japan a very important power in the Far East. The Victory of Japan in the Chinese War and their threat to dominate North China by the annexation of Lia-Tung Peninsula and Port Arthur precipitated unfeelings amongst the European nations. But in the case of Japan, it gave her a new confidence and it announced the appearance of a new power in Asia. The Kaiser regarded the emergence of Japan as the "Yellow Peril". Thus the Victory of Japan in the 1st Sino-Japanese war was a remote cause for the out-break of the Russo-Japanese War in 1904.

Causes for the Russo-Japanese War

1. Revision of the Treaty of Shimonoseki

By the Treaty of Shimonoseki, Japan had acquired strategic places like Liao-tung Peninsula with the ice-free port Arthur. These new additions to Japan gave her a strategic command over Peking and her gains by this Treaty of Shimonoseki, interfered with Russia's ambition in the Far East. Therefore, within a short time, Russia, France, and Germany gave pressure to the Japanese government to return Liao Tung Peninsula to China, in return for an increased war indemnity. Japan was informed that the possession of Liao-Tung Peninsula would be a menace to the capital of China and it would render the independence of Korea illusory and it would always be a perpetual obstacle to permanent peace in the Far East. Japan was not in a position, to withstand the combined pressure and yielded. But the loss of her territorial acquisition could not be compensated by any amount of indemnity. The humiliation wrong Japanese heart for decades to come, and it cherished a bitter animosity against Russia, for of the three powers, Russia, was instrumental in robbing the fruits of victory of Japan. In short Japan had won the war, but lost her gains in peace.

2. Foreign intervention in the affairs of China

Many believed that due to increased weakness of China the whole country would be partitioned and each foreign nation had their eyes on several bases in the Far East. **Russia** interfered in the affairs of China on the pretext of helping China financially to get rid of her indemnity loans as that loan would free Liao-Tung Peninsula from the hands of Japan. Therefore **Russia and France** gave loans to China to the tune of 40 crores of Franc. This was followed by **British** loan of 160 lakhs of Franc which was further increased after 2 years. Thus the foreigners by financing China interfered in Chinese affairs which made Japan suspect the foreigners in their political transactions.

3. The Trans-Siberian Railway

In 1891 the Russians had been engaged in the construction of the Trans-Siberian Railway. It was a heavy undertaking involving a railway line 5000 miles in length just to connect European Russia with **Vladivostok** and to connect it with the ice-free Port Arthur. Russia actually wanted a port in Southern Korea or Manchuria, more particularly ice-free Port Arthur. In Manchuria as Japan had her control over a part of it (south) such a line through Manchuria was not possible. The Trans-Siberian Railway, according to the plan of Russia, was to begin from **Lake Baikal** to **Vladivostok**. But if this line was to run wholly in the Russian territories north of Russia and Amur, it would entirely take 350 miles an additional construction and that too an very difficult grounds. But on the other hand if that same line had to run across Manchuria under Japanese control (south Manchuria) then it would minimise the expenditure and it would also help Russia to control the Manchurian Commerce and also to construct future Rail-routes in North China.

Finally Russia secured the right to carry on the Trans-Siberian Railway across Manchuria to **Vladivostok**. Port Arthur was also linked up with the Trans-Siberian Railway. The Manchurian Section of the Trans-Siberian Railway was known by the name **Chinese Eastern Railway**. Japan didnot like the extension of Russian Railways, as it affected the safety of Korea and she feared that Russia would nest pounce Korea. Thus this situation created tension between Japan and Russia.

4. The Manchurian Affair

As a result of the Boxer rising Russia gradually extended her power in Manchuria. Before 1900 Manchuria was under the control of China but after 1900 Russia became dominant in the Manchurian region and she was pressing China for a seperate **Manchurian agreement** that would add to her exclusive rights in the sphere of Manchuria. But such a seperate settlement by Russia with China covering the Manchurian sphere only, would adversely affect the "**Open Door Policy**" as well as Manchuria. Therefore there was a lot of opposition from other powers to the establishment of **Russian Military Protectorate** over Manchuria. Japan had a strong sentimental dislike to the retention of Manchuria, by Russia from which she was once expelled. But Japan was more interested

in Korea than in Manchuria. But Russia was once more determined to control Manchuria by herself and at the same time Russia was not prepared to allow Japan to have a free hand in Korea. Japan could not tolerate this stand of Russia as Korea in hostile hands was a **danger thrust at the very heart of Japan**. The Japanese would rather fight to the last to prevent Korea from passing into the hands of Russia.

As all the powers were against the Russian control of Manchuria a treaty was signed between China and Russia, whereby **Russia agreed to evacuate Manchuria in three stages of six months each**. At the end of each stage, the evacuated part of Manchuria was restored to China. In October, 1908 the first stage of evacuation was carried out by Russia, but in the second half of the evacuation, the Russians insisted on China for further concessions, if the second stage was to be completed. This new demand of Russia was against the Treaty of April 1902. It was then Britain, America and Japan supported China and made China refuse the grant of new demands of Russia. This embittered naturally the feelings of Japan against Russia.

In addition to the above issues, Russia even started her troops movements which created suspicion amongst the Japanese and widened the already strained relationship between the Japanese and the Russians.

5. Korean Affair

The Russian did not keep quiet even in Korea and they gradually began their activity in North Korea and the Korean Government was forced by the Russians to grant them the right to the **collection of timber in the Yalu River**. The Russians started their actual work in the Yalu river from April 1903 and protect the Russians from and untoward occurrences, Russian troops were moved to the river. This was a direct violation of the agreement between Russia and Japan with regard to Korea. Japan therefore protested against the violation of the terms of the treaty by the Russian government.

6. The Anglo Japanese Alliance 1902

The Anglo Japanese Alliance was signed in 1902 and it was later on revised in 1905. By this Treaty, England and Japan became allies. According to this treaty if Japan was involved in a war against Russia, England was to do in her powers what all she could do to prevent, other powers from joining Russia against Japan. If Japan was attacked by two powers at the same time, then England should help Japan with all her might. This Treaty gave **great confidence** to Japan as she was actually made very strong by her alliance with England, to challenge the Russians.

7. Immediate cause of the War

When the Japanese protested against the interference of Russia in North Korea and Yalu River, the Russian remained very adamant. Japan was willing to enter into a new treaty with Russia

whereby Russian interest in Manchuria could be safe-guarded, but at the same time Japanese interests in Korea should be recognised, and guaranteed by Russia. But Japan was increasing her restrictions over Japan in Korea and at the same time unwilling to agree to any terms and instead of that, Russia began to strengthen her military position in the far East. Japan asked for an immediate reply due to the increased Russian troop movements. As no reply was received from Russia, Japan broke her diplomatic relations with Russia on February, 6th 1904. On February 8th, a Japanese squadron delivered a surprised attack on Port Arthur. War was thus declared on the 10th February 1904.

Cause of the War

Japan after serving her diplomatic relation with Russia, attacked the Russians at Port Arthur. Actual war was declared on 10th February 1904. Russia had the troops about 80,000 (field troops 25000, fortress and 3000 as frontier guards. But their troops were spread far and wide. Japan on other hand had 1 lakh and 80,000 men and a first reserve of 2 lakhs men, and 4 lakhs and 70,000 other trained troops. Thus Japan was fully prepared for the war and the people and the emperor greatly supported the War.

The Russo-Japanese war was fought both on land and sea. But it should be noted that this war was fought in Manchuria, a territory under the sovereignty of China.

The Japanese troops landed in Korea at **Chemulpo**. Their other forces landed at Gensan in Korea. General **KWOPOKI**'s army crossed the Yalu river and entered Manchuria. General **OKU** landed in South Manchuria, near Liao-Tung Peninsula. The Japanese cut the Russian lines at **MANSHAN**, and forced the Russian to withdraw to Port Arthur. Both the armies were face to face near South of **MUKDEN**. In the battle Liao-tung 23 September, the Russian were driven back. The Russian attack failed to break the Japanese lines. Port Arthur fell into Japanese hands at a terrific loss of lives, on January 2nd 1905. The famous battle of Mukden 23 March 1905, ended in grand-victory to Japan. The loss on both sides were very heavy. Russia was now exhausted and sent her **Baltic Fleet** to the Far East. When it interested the Straits of **TSUSHIMA** between Korea and Japan, the famous Baltic Fleet of Russia was completely destroyed by Admiral **TOJO**, Known as the **Nelson of Japan**. This battle has been compared to the naval battle of Trafalgar. The victory of Japan gave her the control of the pacific sea. Both parties were tired of war and through the good offices of **President Theodore Roosevelt of U.S.A.** the war was concluded by the treaty of Portsmouth in September, 1905.

The Treaty of Ports - Mouth 1905

1. Japan go from Russia the Liao-Tung leased territory including Port Arthur and the southern section of the Chinese Eastern Rail-road.
2. A number of coal mines which were worked by the Russians were also given to Japan

3. Both powers agreed to evacuate completely and simultaneously from Manchuria, except in the Liao-Tung lease - hold territories within 18 months after the Treaty became effective.
4. The two powers agreed to use their Railways in Manchuria exclusively for commercial and industrial purposes, and not for military purposes.
5. With regard to Korea Russia acknowledged that Japan possessed in Korea, paramount, political, military and economic interests and Russia also promised not to object such measures as Japan might deem it necessary to take there.
6. The southern half of the Sakhalin in land was ceded to Japan as in lieu of war indemnity.
7. Japan was granted fishing rights in certain territorial waters of Siberia on the Pacific.
8. Both powers reserved the right to main guards to protect their respective railway-lines in Manchuria Russia also promised that she would not claim in Manchuria any territorial advantage or exclusive concessions that would affect Chinese Sovereignty.

Effects of the Russo-Japanese War

1. The Russian dreams of having a warm water port, in the Far East were shattered completely. As Russia got a set back in the Far East, she turned her attention to the Near East and the Middle East.
2. The defeat of Russia exposed the weakness of dream. The revolutionary forces in Russia became active, demanding liberal forms and in 1905 Russia was forced to grant concession of privileges to the people.
3. The defeat of Russia in the hands of Japan, became a remote cause for the Russian Revolution of 1917.
4. Japan's success made her imperialist in her attitude, she started a programme of expansion. By 1910 she annexed Korea. Thus she got a lead in the Far East and entered into open competition with the proper power in China. In short Japan became fully imperialistic country after 1905.
5. It was a result of this war friendship developed between Germany and Russia. William II of Germany helped the refuelling of Russian ships in the Baltic. Besides attempts were made by Germany to convince Russia that she could depend upon Germany in times of difficulties. Both Kaiser William II and Czar Nicholas II entered into a secret treaty and **BOJORKA** whereby if any European state should attack either power, the other power was to aid the affected with all its forces. Later France was to be intimated of the terms of this secret treaty and to be invited to join this alliance. It appeared that the old dreams of William II to create a combination of continental powers under the leadership of Germany was going

to be realised. But it so happened, that the BOJORKA agreement was denounced by France as well as by Russia with a short time. In short the BOJORKA pact became a dead letter. As a result of the efforts of Edward VI Anglo-Russian Convention was signed in 1907 which was an indirect effect of the Russo-Japanese war.

The Russo-Japanese war shook China from her slumber. She felt very much when the two foreign powers, Russia and Japan made for territory Manchuria as their battle ground. As a result of this the reform movement in China got an impetus from the Russo-Japanese war. The War profoundly stirred the imagination and stimulated the political aspirations of the other Asians like the Chinese and Indians. That inferiority complex which had gripped them in the 19th century gradually lost its force. To be brief, it led to form fresh hopes and felling of confidence. Above all the victory of Japan profoundly affected the national agitation the British in India.

Russia's defeat was disastrous to her in the sense, her position in the Far East was considerably weakened by the forced retreat from Korea and South Manchuria.

11. The Fall of Manchus

The Manchu dynasty came to power in China in 1644 and its long rule ended in 1912 as a result of internal revolution. It had "contributed much brilliance as well as several shadows to the history of China. The "Shadows were exaggerated by its republican critics. It is true that the Manchu rule had survived till the early years of the 20th century, not because it had some strength, but because there was no "adequate and acceptable alternative.

1. Absence of proper foreign policy

The Anglo Chinese Wars revealed that the Manchus had no clear cut foreign policy at all and the foreign policy which she followed was based on the totally antiquated concept of the celestial Empire's superiority over the "Barbarians" of foreign countries. The Manchus actually suffered from superiority complex. The result was that they failed to adopt latest methods of warfare and techniques, which proved fatal to continuance Manchu power in China.

2. Weakness of Central Government

In spite of the Emperors autocracy, the administration in China was not centralised. The provincial and local authorities had too much autonomy. The insubordination of the provincial Chiefs to central power greatly affected the solidity of the Empire. Even war with foreign powers were not treated as national issues." The Chinese Empire as an entity did not engage in war with Britain (Opium War Arrow War) but only parts of the country participated in the hostilities. In the sino-Japanese war the Korean affair was regarded as a "private affair" of Li-Tung-Chang. The South did not co-operate with the North in fighting against Japan.

3. Growth of Regionalism

The vastness of the Chinese empire coupled with the weakness of Central Government, contributed much for the growth of regionalism in China. Each region tried to look after the interests of its own region, not caring slightly for the interests of the nation as a whole. The regions became countries within a country and national interests were subordinated to regional interests. This was in the interests of the imperialists who exploited the situation to their full advantage. Since this tendency could not be checked by the Manchus, their decline became inevitable.

4. Weakness of Chinese army and navy

China's army and Navy were poorly equipped and trained. The Manchus could not effectively utilise the almost unlimited man power at their disposal. They suffered defeats not only at the hands of Britain and other western powers, but also at the hands of Japan. They failed to improve their age old methods of warfare. The Manchus made no attempt to equip their armies with the latest weapons. The ill-equipped untrained armies of China when confronted the trained and well equipped armies of the westerners, suffered defeats which disgraced the Chinese military power. In spite of the fact that China suffered many defeats, she made no effort to reorganise the armies and make them competent and efficient to face the enemies.

5. Weakness of Civil administration

The system of Civil administration prevailed in China could not respond to the needs of the modern age. Recruitment was based on the traditional examination system which was totally inadequate for modern purpose. Corruption was rampant. Even the great Li-Hung-Chang, misappropriated public funds. The disturbing element of civil administration was that there was no contact between the people and the administrators. The top officials were not at all trained to look to the welfare of the common people. Since the civil administration was cracking at every level, inefficiency and corruption thrived. There was no regard for the laws which were implemented to suit the convenience of the administrators. The Manchu dynasty which failed to improve the civil administration at last paid the penalty when it was overthrown by the revolutionaries in 1911.

6. Crippling of economic life

Between 1885 - 1911 the population of China increased by 59 millions, which gave a terrible pressure on the means of subsistence, crippling the economic life of China. The increase of population, the problem of unemployment and insufficient production food stuffs, rudely shook the stability of the empire, by increasing the discontent of the people against ruling Manchu dynasty and hastened its fall.

Apart from the above mentioned China was compelled to grant trade concessions to the imperialist powers with the result the foreign traders began to gain at the cost of the Chinese loss

of Tariff autonomy, greatly affected financial stability of China. Her failure in the Opium war, set the balance of trade favourable to Britain. At the end of every war as she was defeated, she was forced to pay very high war indemnities, which her economy could ill-afford. This led to deterioration of National economy. The failure of the Manchu rulers to solve the economic problems that faced the country ultimately led to the down fall of the Manchus.

7. Short sightedness of Manchu regime

The successive shocks administered by the foreign powers did not teach the Manchu, the lesson which Japan had learnt from Commodore Perry's threat. The Taiping rebellion, and agrarian unrest did not lead to administrative and economic reforms in China. That China could save herself only by modernisation was not at all realised by the Manchu rulers. From 1860 - 1908 China was ruled by the Empress Dowager "The old Buddha" who was a staunch pillar of conservatism. Her later reluctant acceptance of a very mild programme of reform came too late to save the Manchu dynasty.

8. Failure of the Reform Movement

The history of the reform movement illustrates the short sightedness of the Manchu regime. The "Hundred days of Reform" came abruptly to an end because the Empress Dowager and Yuan-Shi-Kai did not want the country to pursue a new track. Under her patronage the conservatives diverted popular discontent against the Manchu regime to a new channel by provoking anti-foreign sentiments. The result was Boxer movement which brought further humiliation and loss upon China. The Reform Movement gathered some momentum after this unhappy experience, but even when constitutional monarchy was talked about the "Old Buddha" insisted upon retaining supreme power", in hands of the throne". The tide of public opinion was however definitely against such unreal policies, as the attitude of the provincial Assemblies and National Assembly clearly indicated after her death. In 1911 when the fatal rebellion in the Yangtse provinces had already broken out, the Emperor agreed to accept the role assigned to the king of England. But it was already too late, the Manchu Monarchy could not be saved in any form.

9. Loss of Clamour of Monarchy

The frequent defeats the Manchu monarchy suffered, made the people believe, that God had withdrawn his blessings from their monarch. In this way, due to defects, the Chinese emperor lost the glamour which once surrounded him, and the Manchu rulers began to be considered more or less ordinary persons. This was a serious loss to monarchy in China which resulted in its exit.

10. Role of the revolutionaries

Discontent had been accumulating for many years, but revolutionary ideas were needed to transform it into a successful revolution. There had been a revolutionary party among the Chinese

since before the explosion of the reformers in 1908. The leaders of the revolutionaries was Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen. The revolutionaries under him had anti dynastic aims. Their organisation known as the 'TUNG-MENG-HUI' was responsible for wide spread out breaks in 1906, 1907 and 1910. They transformed the rebellion of 1911 into a revolution. An attempt made for the setting up of constitutional Monarchy failed. Dr. Sun-yat-Sen with a view to draw Yuan-Shi-Kai, to the republican side, promised to resign the presidency of the Republic in his favour. The fate of the Manchu dynasty was sealed. The Emperor accepted the inevitable and abdicated in 1912.

11. Role of Non-Industrialisation in the fall of the Dynasty

The Manchu ruled for a period of nearly three centuries, but no serious effort was made by them to industrialise China, which could have offered employments to a large number of Chinese and increased prosperity of the Nation. Industrialisation would have also improved the foreign trade capacity of China. But the Imperial powers were not in a mood to tolerate such industrialisation of China as it would adversely affect their interest. However the foreign powers set up many industries in China. In 1845 Britain had set up a dock-yard in Canton which had regular shipping route between London and China. In 1863, Russia opened her factories in Hankow, Kuliking and Foochow, for the production of tea. In 1862 Britain set up her first silk factory Shanghai and her examples was followed by France and America. The result was, that silk production which was a cottage industry in China perished leading to the unemployment of thousands of Chinese. The foreign powers also set up their factories for sugar refining, egg powdering and leather tanning which ruined peasantry as they were employed in these factories to a considerable extent. It was also decided, that the Commissioner of Maritime trade was to be a Britain. Besides construction of railways was practically taken over by the imperialist powers which worked for improving their own interests at any cost. Thus in the absence of Industrialisation, dissatisfaction among the economically backward and poor people was bound to rise and this proved to be a serious cause for the dissatisfaction of the people; the consequence of which was the ultimate overthrow of the Manchus who failed to industrialise China.

Fall under her own dead weight

A question that has been raised is, whether the Manchu dynasty fell due to her own dead weight or due to foreign pressures and ideas. One cannot deny that foreign pressures and ideas, were one of the major causes for the fall of the dynasty. It was due to pressure China allowed opium trade, granted extra-territorial rights, opened large number of ports, allowed fixation of customs at 5% advalorem, signed many unequal treaties and paid very heavy amounts as war indemnity. In addition China had to accept many humiliating terms which exposed the weakness of the country and scramble for concessions started and China had to grant concessions to every power worth the name.

In the same way, there was also penetration of foreign ideas into China. The Students who returned from foreign countries were greatly influenced by the western ideas, later became the leaders of revolutionary movements. The study of western sciences, politics and the translation of foreign books into the Chinese language effected a great transformation in the minds of the people of China. The foreign ideas provided them mental food and in this way there was an awakening among the more enlightened people who became missionaries for the spread of those ideas, which no doubt prepared the ground for the revolution on 1911.

But at the same time it is wrong to think, that the fall of the dynasty was only due to foreign pressures and ideas. It was well known, that the Chinese government at the centre was excessively weak and corruption was rampant. There was no cordial relation between the centre and the provinces. Her officers were totally inefficient. The system of recruitment for higher administrative posts was absolutely rotten and outdated. No attempt was made to improve the system. There was acute food shortage in the country due to over population. The state failed to look after the welfare of the people and in fact the government was not fully aware of the problems of the people. The attempt at reforms failed miserably.

Therefore it is quite clear that even if there had been no foreign pressure and penetration of ideas, the Manchus had put in so much of their dead weight that the dynasty would have definitely collapsed. Foreign ideas and pressures only expedited the whole process and brought that fall nearer and quicker. In short dead weight of corruption and inefficiency was so heavy, that the fall of the Manchu dynasty became inevitable.

Was the fall inevitable

Another question to be answered is was the fall inevitable or could it have been avoided? The Manchus were not far-sighted rulers. They could not feel the pulse of the nation and adjust themselves according to the needs to time. They failed to grasp the vital importance of reorganisation of administration, and introduction of reforms. Under the 'Old Buddha' they wanted to maintain the old outdated unlimited monarchy. The defects of the dynasty are too many when compared with its merits. It is therefore quite evident, that the fall of the dynasty was inevitable and only a far sighted and powerful administrator could have avoided that fall but the Manchus had not produced such able, strong and wise administrators.

12. The Chinese Revolution of 1911

By 1911 the Manchu had ruled for 267 years. Since the middle of the 19th century the Manchus failed due to the economic distress at home and penetration of westerners on sea ports. The miserable conditions of China needed political, economic and social re-adjustment. But the Manchus were incapable of making necessary re-adjustments. The Manchu Empress Dowager Tzu-Hsi, to save

her dynasty, introduced gradual reforms. But her purpose was to give the shadow but not the substance of reforms. China faced a miserable situation which ultimately drifted her to a revolution. A series of events may be described as causes for the Revolution of 1911.

CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTION

1. Death of the Empress Dowager and the unfortunate young emperor Kwang-Hsu

At a very critical moment in the Chinese history the young emperor Kwang-Hsu died which was followed Nov 14, 1908, by the passing away of the old Empress Dowager herself. In spite of her drawbacks, she was able to prevent for some time collapse of the Manchu dynasty. She was succeeded by an infant on the throne and one Prince Chung became the regent. Thus the death of the old empress removed from the political scene a powerful old Buddha leaving the administration into the hands of the Chinese who were directed by a regent who was completely devoid of political wisdom. Thus the weak regency further added to the weakness of the Manchu government. In short the death of two great persons, the Empress Dowager and Kwang-Hsu greatly affected the staggering Manchu dynasty.

2. The failure of Reforms

The disasters of the Boxer revolt, the inroads of the western powers and Japan into Chinese territories and the use of Chinese soil as a battle ground in the Russo-Japanese War, all these led to a few reforms touching different aspect of China. But these reforms were late and were far from satisfying the Chinese as a whole. Apart from that, retention of powers in the emperor of China according to the new constitution (1908) as well as the creation of provincial assemblies without powers for the powers were detestful to most of the Chinese who actually wanted a more democratic type of government, with a great share for the people in the administration of the government. In other words the failure of reforms to satisfy the Chinese for a better government contributed substantially for the downfall of the Manchu in the revolution of 1911.

3. The retirement of Yuan-Shih-Kai

He was a talented administrator and played a great part in reorganising the Chinese army which he had created. But that army was more personal than national and therefore the Chinese high officials in the Manchu Courts were antagonised towards him. The result was Yuan-Shih-Kai was isolated from the military power and immediately after the death of the empress, Yuan was dismissed from service and was forced to retire. Yuan was one of the greatest statesmen of China who alone had the capacity to carry out the reforms introduced. But the removal of such an able and talented administrator like Yuan-Shih-Kai hastened the revolution. Like Yuan-Shih-Kai many able officials of the period were forced into retirement. Hence the official programme of reform continued but there was none to carry them out into effect.

4. The rebellions attitude of the National Assembly

The National Assembly met for the first time in October 1910, instead of 1917 or 1918. This national assembly's programme from the beginning showed remarkable spirit of Independence. It forced the Manchu government to promise a parliament in 1913. It threatened to impeach the members of government and attacked the financial and administrative policy of the government. Early in 1911, National assembly demanded a responsible cabinet. This the rebellious attitude of the National Assembly foreshadowed the revolution that was to out break in 1911.

5. Economic causes (floods and famine)

In the 25 years preceding the Revolution of 1911, the population had increased by perhaps as many as 5,00,000. This pressure of population greatly affected the supply of food position of China. The over population was aggravated by natural calamities of famine, occasioned by floods and droughts, greatly affected the economic conditions of China. The years 1910, 1911 marked the culmination of a series of bad seasons. Floods and droughts in a varying degree of intensity destroyed crops over a wide area. Hundreds and thousands died and several millions were on the verge of starvation and those who survived this crisis were psychologically prepared for any movements, rebellious or otherwise that promised relief.

6. Migration of the Chinese

Due to over-population floods and famines which caused economic distress in China quite a large number of Chinese migrated to other places such as Indo-China and the Malay states. These men were greatly influenced by foreigners and were largely responsible in forementing a revolution in China. This was similar to Emigra Nobles who in France had contributed for the French Revolution. These migrated Chinese came into contact with new ideas and spread them into their mother-land. They were imbued with revolutionary ideas, and even subscribed money liberally during the revolution from the foreign resources. Thus the Emigers played a notable part in the revolution of China.

7. Over burden of taxation

In China due to the recently introduced reforms a large amount of money had to be spent for carrying out these reforms. Every measure in the reform programme had called for more revenue. The new army the rail roads, the new educational system etc., required a large sum of money which could only be collected by way of taxes. In addition to all these, the Chinese had to pay a very great war indemnity to the Japanese as a result of the 1904 war and also she had to pay a much heavier amount as the Loxer indemnity to the foreigners. These indemnity charges heavily drained the resources of the country and necessitated the imposition of new taxes which proved burdensome to the common people. These heavy burdens of taxation swelled the volume of discontent dissatisfaction against the Manchu dynasty which led to the Revolution of 1911.

8. Centralisation versus provincial autonomy

The Chinese Government took all necessary steps to strengthen the central government. In other words the government stood for the centralisation of authority. But unfortunately the provinces which were high to enjoy a complete autonomy were unwilling to give up their powers. The Viceroys and governors and even the local authorities were unwilling to surrender their age-old privileges and powers. For the centralisation of the government, it required sacrifice in the large measure the autonomy of the provinces but the Chinese in general were not favourable to such centralisation which naturally led to frequent clashes between the provincial authorities and the central authorities in the different parts of the country and prepared the ground for a major revolt which took place in 1911.

9. Foreign returned students and their contribution

The spread of western education in China and the return of the Chinese students from foreign country had contributed much to change their life in general. They now gave up the Confucian ideas. The foreign returned students very greatly influenced the political ideas of China. Apart from this a large number of such students were not provided with suitable appointments in China. They became discontented with the existing special and political order of China and were easily won over by the revolutionary propaganda.

10. Immediate cause

After 1901 the government of China stood for the strengthening of the centre which actually made them to carry out the nationalisation of the rail-roads but till now the railway were under provincial control. It should be noted that the railway development programme required a large sum of money which could not be raised in the provinces. Therefore Peking government began to prosecute with vigour its policy of railroad centralisation. Foreign loans were contracted for the Rankow, Canton and Rankow Szechuan trunk Lines. But there was terrible opposition for such central effort and the result was a great public demonstration on a large scale. Revolts broke out in many places but the Peking Government hesitated to take stringent measures to quell the rebellions. This weakness of the Peking government led to further revolts and hastened the revolution.

11. Explosion in a bomb-factory

A momentous incident occurred in the central Yangtze valley. At Hankow in early October an explosion occurred within the Russian Concession in a bomb factory operated by the followers of Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen. Investigations led to the arrest and execution of number of republican revolutionaries. These events led to a military revolt among troops at Wuchang near Hankow where the leaders of the revolt dragged their commander Col. Li-Yuan-Hung from his bed and presented him with the choice of immediate death or leadership of the rebellion. Being a practical man

Co. Li-Yuan-Hung chose to be the leader of the movement. Within a brief period three major cities Hankow, Hanyang and Wuchang were captured by the revolutionaries. From these places the revolts spread to the North to a few places like **Shensi Shantung and Chihi**. The Wuchang rebels formed a revolutionary council and declared their independence. This revolution spread to Shanghai where the leader was **Wat-Ting-Fang** a Cantonese and a former minister to the United States. The Shanghai group (southern) was dominated by the Cantonese who were determined that leadership in the rebellion should not remain in the Yangtze province. Fortunately all the revolutionary groups both south and north were at one in the determination that the Manchus must go. Finally the Yangtze provinces accepted the leadership of the southerners (Shanghai group) and the military government of **Wut-Ting-Fang** permitted the Cantonese to lead. Thus both groups the south and the north stood united even then Peking did not take effective steps to put down the revolt effectively.

Two weeks after the Wuchang rebellion the National Assembly was reconvened and they demanded a responsible cabinet Government and insisted that a constitution should be adopted with the consent of the assembly, and all the political prisoners must be pardoned.

Recall of Yuan Shih-Kai from retirement

When the situation became very critical, the regent prince China recalled Yuan Shih-Kai who was given full powers and was given full command over the armed forces. The National Assembly endowed him with the post of Prime-Minister. His task was to put down the rebellion and then to carry on the constitutional reforms of the assembly.

With regard to Yuan-Shih-Kai in spite of his drawbacks he was progressive and he felt the need for reforms in China. However he was not a republican as **Dr.Sun-Yat-Sen** or his followers. Yuan-Shih-Kai instead of suppression of the revolt, he allowed the revolts to spread into the south whereby he hoped that the Manchus would give up their power once for all, though he had a very well trained forces to control the situation.

His opponent was the republican by name **Cal.Li-Yuang-Hung** who was the leader of the Republican army of Shanghai and the southern provinces and he had declared the independence of these places. **Dr.Sun-Yat-Sen** who was all these days away in America now returned to Shanghai on December 24th, 1911.

The Peace Negotiation

The Li-Yuang-Hung group captured Nanking and declared it to be the capital of a new Chinese republic. The delegates of the republication province met at Nanking and it placed elected **Dr.Sun-Yat-Sen** as the provisional president. This revolutionary government headed by **Dr.Sun-Yat-Sen** carried on negotiations with the Manchus. The demand of the revolutionaries

was the end of monarchy in China and they wanted that the future constitution must be decided by a national convention. Both the parties could not come to an agreement and the financial position of both the government and republican parties became precarious. It was then Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen telegraphed to Yuan-Shih-Kai offering him presidency of the Chinese Republic and stepped down from the presidency. Yuan-Shih-Kai accepted the presidency of the Republic of China and he then persuaded the Manchu ruler to abdicate and in February 12th, 1912 and Imperial diet was passed whereby by Manchu Emperor gave up his power.

After the abdication of the Manchu ruler Dr. Sun resigned the Provisional Presidency and with Yuan-Shih-Kai as president, the Republic of China began its career. The Republic born in 1911 has been called **Phanton Republic**.

Character of the Revolution

The revolution was anti-monarch and anti-foreign and anti-traditional. South China which took the lead was republican in character and that ultimately led to the over throw of the Manchus.

It was the result of the Nationalists who hated foreign domination in every aspect of Chinese life. Therefore the revolution may be regarded as an **outburst against foreign domination**. This revolution **doomed the conservative habits** of the Chinese in general.

Results

1. Establishment of a republic under the Presidency of Yuan-Shih-Kai
2. End of old Confucian ideas as well as the conservative habits of the Chinese.
3. Powerful military leaders dominated for some time.

Questions

1. Discuss the Sino-Japanese relations before Sino-Japanese war of 1894-95
2. Give an account of the cause of Sino-Japanese war, why was China defeated
3. Analyse the consequences of the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-95
4. How do you view the 'open door policy' in China by the turn of the 19th century ?
5. 'Cutting the Chinese melon' explain this with reference to the policies of western powers in China during the period 1861 to 1894.
6. Explain the European efforts to establish their spheres of influence during the later half of the 19th century and assess the impact on the Manchu regims.
7. Describe the Hundred Days Reform and point out the causes for its failure.

8. "Chinese first heroic efforts towards radical reforms are associated with Kang-Yu-Wei"-
Comment.
9. Was the Boxer uprising an inevitable response for the Chinese people to the mounting western aggression ?
10. Give a critical estimate of the character of Boxer revolt. How was it exploited by the European powers in their interest ?
11. Explain the reforms of Manchu government from 1901 to 1911.
12. Discuss the main events of the rule of Empress Dowager Tzuhsi
13. Discuss the circumstances leading to the formation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902.
14. Analyse the causes and results of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905.
15. Describe the causes for the decline and fall of the Manchus
16. Did the Manchu dynasty go under the dead weight of its own corruption and inefficiency or as a result of foreign ideas and pressure ? Analyse
17. Give an account of the cause that led to the Chinese Révolution of 1911.
18. Examine the significance of the Revolution of 1911 in China.

Chapter - IV**THE LIFE AND WORKS OF Dr. SUN-YAT-SEN**

Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen was one of the towering personalities in China. He devoted his whole life bringing revolution in the country. He had to spend a considerably good part of his life in exile. He was devoted to the cause of liberation and unification of China which was then badly needed. He wanted to see that in the united China real power was vested in the hands of the people. He wanted to infuse nationalism in every citizen of China. He wanted that everybody in China must have adequate and honourable means of livelihood. In this way Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen lived and died for China's freedom. Some of our critics think that he was only a visionary, but that is not correct assessment of his character. He was a practical man and that is evident from the fact that his last will became practically a constitution for the country.

Early life of Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen

Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen was born in a small village in Choy Hung in Kwangtoong province on November 12, 1866. His father Sun-Tat-Sung was a poor farmer and spent his days with great difficulty 50% of his produce was taken over either by the feudal lords or by way of tax and thus he was left with only 50% of the produce. He lived in a hut. It was in these time he was born.

His education

Dr. Sen's original name was Tai-Cheong. He was hardly 13 years old when his brother, who was then in Hawaiian lands took him therefor his studies. With help of his brother Ah.Mi, he was admitted in a famous Christian school. It was here that he got western education and knowledge about western technology. He also began to show a great inclination for Christianity. As a child he also began to listen with great love the stories of Taiping Revolution. He therefore began to value the strength of the people and their capacity to over throw their monarch, if they were under oppression. During his stay with his brother he decided to learn about Christianity which irritated him and he decided to send Dr. Sen back home. On reaching home, his parents also turned him out on account of his learnings towards Christianity. After leaving his home he reached Canton and then HongKong. After sometime in 1855 he came back to his birth place. In 1886 he married LuSen. In 1889 he sought admission in a Medical School set up by a London Missionary Society.

Step towards Reforms

In 1882, he got degree in medicine and started his own practice. By this time he had become a revolutionist. He was convinced that for national unity, education system must be reformed. He wanted the Manchus to reform the whole educational system. He also founded the educational society which suggested education reforms but nothing came out of that.

Now Sun-Yat-Sen and the members of the educational Society got convinced that with overthrow of the Manchus nothing could be done in China. Since change of the Manchus was not possible through peaceful means therefore secretly arms began to be collected. Luck-Ho-Tung gave his whole property for the purpose. But after some time government came to know of the secret activities of the society and arrested and executed some of the members including Lui-Ho-Tung. Dr. Sen however managed to escape.

Sun-Yat-Sen in Evile

After leaving China he reached Japan by that time Sino-Japanese war had been fought and China had been defeated. This defeat had convinced Dr.Sen that China needed radical change for her unity. After some time he went to U.S.A. where he founded a revolutionary party called Hung-Chung-Hui. He went to San Francisco where Chinese gave him a warm welcome. He toured U.S.A. and created among the Chinese living there, hatred for the Manchus. In 1896, he reached London where he was arrested for repatriation to China, which meant sure death for him. He then managed to send this news of repatriation to China to his old-teachers and friend Dr.Sir James Cantile, who moved the then British Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury for his release. It was with a great difficulty and at the intervention of Lord Salisbury that Dr.Sen was set free. This arrest and release made Dr.Sen very popular throughout the world. After this he toured European countries for two years and came to the conclusion that democracy and socialism were only methods which could take China forward. After this he reached Singapore where due to his efforts revolutionary activities started with vigour. After some time he entered China and worked there in disguise. He would organise for revolutionary activities but found it unsafe to live and work there. He then decided to go to U.S.A. where he came in contact with Home Lea, who became his military adviser.

Unsuccessful Rebellion

In 1899 he came to Hongkong and then went to Canton where he created a rebellion in 1900. This was however crushed by the Manchus. Sun-Yat-Sen then came back to China he quided few unsuccessful stirs but with out any success. In 1904 he reached Hongkong where he gathered that the government had valued his head at 75,000. He therefore decided to go to Singapore. In 1905 he reached there and was enthused by the reception given to him by the students. In 1905 he founded a revolutionary party Tung-Ming-Hui.

Ting-Ming-Hui

This revolutionary party became very popular primarily because Dr.Sen lived and worked among the low and down trodden people and even slept with them. Soon it's strength reached 10,000. A Tokyo newspaper "People's Paper" gave wide publicity to revolutionary ideas of the new party. The main objectives of the party were

1. The Manchu dynasty should be over thrown as quickly as possible.
2. China should be a republic with a president elected by the people. He should be assisted by a popularly elected legislature
3. There should be national government in the country.
4. Land should be equally distributed among the people.

How revolutionaries were the ideas of the party that each member of the party was required to take an Oath to the effect that "The person writing this statement of determination, by name has sworn before heaven to drive out the Manchu barbarians, restore China to the Chinese, create a republic, distribute the land equally and keep his good faith and maintain his loyalty from beginning to end. If he breaks his promise he should be furnished by other members as they see fit" Once a person took an Oath he was no longer considered to be a Manchu subject.

Lie Chien Nung however is of the view that the organisation of the party was very weak. In his words, " It is obvious that many Tung-Ming-Hui members at the time of its founding believed only in nationalism. They had no clear conception nor any genuine belief in the principle of democracy and the people's livelihood. For this reason it may be easy to gain their support for the over throw the Manchu regime. But for this same reason, the organisation of the Tung-Ming-Hui was very weak. He however made it clear that this revolutionary programme could be implemented through stages. At the first stage there will be a strong Army to maintain national solidarity and check foreign aggressions. At the second stage people's rule will be introduced in the liberated provinces and at the final stage will be a constitutional government throughout the country.

Revolution Again

With the help of his trusted friend and companion Chung-Chau, he again tried to stage a revolution against the Manchus in 1907. This time he too guided and the revolutionaries had to suffered a lot, but Dr.Sen did not give up his determination to over throw the Manchu regime, which was the mission of his life.

Establishment of Republic

He went on with his programme and stirred 10 Revolutions upto 1911. By that time due to bad political and economic policies Manchu government had become unpopular. The masses were by and largely prepared to accept a change. Dr.Sen and his followers had created a favourable climate for revolution in a considerable large part of China. In 1911 Sun-Yat-Sen was successful in bringing revolution and he was also in a position to establish a parallel government which was a Republic headed by him as president. He took over as president on new year Day of 1912. In the same year he brought revolutionary parties together and formed a new party called Kuomintang.

The New Republic

The New Republic was however faced with many difficulties. Dr. Sen knew that unless steps were taken to win few strong monarchists to his side his problem will not be solved. He therefore bargained with prime Minister Yuan-shi-kai. He offered him presidentship, of the new Republic, if he could successfully convince the monarch to abdicate. Yuan agreed to the proposal. The Dynasty was made to exit and Yuan became the President and Dr. Sen stepped down in his favour to make the work of Republic easy. He held railway portfolio and continued to work among the people as a social worker.

Exile again

The prophecy of Dr. Sen that Yuan will co-operate in the consolidation of new republic did not come true, Yuan, after taking over as president tried to consolidate his position. He wanted restoration of monarchy with himself as the Monarch. Dr. Sen opposed him and his aims and organised revolutionary movement against him. Yuan used all repressive measures. He declared Kuomintang as illegal and dissolved the parliament. His grip was so tight that in 1913 he had to leave his country and went to Japan where he lived upto 1916. During this period they did not find favourable atmosphere to stage a revolution in the country. In Japan he also married a revolutionary lady of the Shin dynasty.

Yuan's Death and After

After the death of Yuan, Dr. Sen found a very good opportunity to carry out his work. Much damage had already been done to the prestige of China. He was in a position to consolidate his hold in the southern provinces of China where he declared the formation of republic with Canton as its capital.

Differences in the party

But all was not smooth for Sun-Yat-Sen even within the party itself. In 1922 he developed serious differences with general Chen. Dr. Sen was in favour of having a strong central government. He also favoured the proposal that the Republic should send forces to capture North China, which was not under the Control of Republic. General Chen was of the view that in the country there should only be federal form of government and that before the Republic proceeded further, it should consolidate its hold over what it had already gained. The situation was so tense that Dr. Sen had to leave Canton and go to Shinghai. But after some time, Dr. Sen was in a position to defeat General Chen and bring unity in the party.

Organisation of the Party

So far the Revolutionary movement in China revolved round Dr. Sen. He was the pivot and the revolutionaries had personal loyalties. He was thus the embodiment of party. But now he felt

that it was essential that there should be proper organisation of the party. He sought the help of Russian advisers who introduced the system of membership and also that of introducing discipline in the party. Thus personal royalties were translated into an organisation. He suggested his party men that there should be alliance with Russia and also with the Communists of China. He also made it clear that his party will support the peasants and workers. He laid stress on propaganda among the people.

National Congress

In 1924 Dr. Sen convened National Congress of his party where he go his three principles, namely those of 'Nationalism' Democracy and people's livelihood approval.

Setting up of Military Academy

Dr. Sen realised the significance of a strong army for national unity of China. It was with this end in view that in 1924 he set in Wampo a military Academy under the supervision of Russian trained Hing Kai-Shek, who consequently succeeded Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen. The Academy was responsible for producing many able military commanders and politicians.

Death of Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen

Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen had worked so hard that his health completely broke down. But still he was tireless in so far as work for the national unity of China was concerned. He continued to negotiate with Peking government and in 1925 he went against the wishes of his well wishers, to Peking in search of peaceful settlement for national unity of China. At Peking he found that none was serious about this unity problem. He was so much frustrated that his health gave way and on 12 December 1925 he died at the house of his friend at Peking. Thus came the end of his life.

Yuan-Shi-Kai

The most important personality at the early years of the Republic was Yuan-Shi-Kai. Li-Hung-Chang recommended him to Empress Tzu-Hsi as a man of great ability. He had a dazzling career. He held important positions before he became the president of the Republic. He was the last viceroy of Korea. After the Sino-Japanese war he was the chief instrument in raising the new army of China. The army he built came to be known as Peiyang Army. It was he who persuaded the Manchus to abdicate and that brought about the peaceful republication resolution. But he was not republican. He did not believe in it, the republicanism was the answer to China's ills. Yuan's detractors have characterised him as "a soldier and diplomat from the North", narrow in outlook, altogether a tradition-bound official despite his to update ideas and opportunist and a realist in politics"

Actually Yuan was far more than these with all his personal ambition he was a patriot par excellence who wished to see China is great and strong. he wanted to use the new born Republic as a stepping stone towards a new dynasty. He earnestly believed that a monarchical revival alone could

solve the problems of China. He took two steps to strength himself. They were

1. Contact of the five nations loan and
2. Placement of his own men in the key position.

So he go money from a consotium of British, Russian, German and Japanese Bankers against the wishes of Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen's party.

The newly contracted loan have great financial power and the support of the imperialists to Yuan -Shi-Kai. He also replaced his opponents and put a number of his own men in key military and civil positions in South China. These actions of Yuan confirmed the suspicious of revolutionists. They openly revolted against him in the summer of 1913. But the Kuomintang struggled hard.

Constitutional Monarchy

Once again Yuan became the authoritarian in the land. He created the political council, instead of the National Assembly. It framed a new constitution which came to be known as the constitutional compact. The new constitution enhanced the power of the president. In the mean time Yuan had to face troubles at both the fronts, domestic and foreign. Many rebellions broke out in Mongolia and Tibet. The Russians always ready to fish in troubled waters, fostered Mongols established an independent government at Urga which Russians lent recognition. Yuan had to recognise the autonomous powers of outer Mongolia. The Tibetan Rebellion was solved by an agreement among the Tibet, China and Britain. According western tibet was granted autonorty. China got the right to maintain a resident and small guard at Lhasa and the authority of China was retained in Eastern Tibet. Then Yuan set up constitutional Monarchy. There was a opposition from many quarters. At this stage when the situation was so bad in China, Japan put forth its 21 demands. Yuan accepted some demands, postponed some and reflected those which would have reduced China to the position of a Japanese protectorate.

Death of Yuan

The Monarchial dream of Yuan shattered due to mounting pressure from his own army. Hence he accepted to retire from office. The issue suddenly subsided on account of Yuan's unexpected death on June 6, 1916.

China in the first world war

On the era of first world war internal conditions of China were disturbing. China was exploited both by the Axis and allied powers. The war merely helped to aggravate troubles for China. In the war neither China nor Japan had direct involvement but they were drawn into the conflict by their national interests. Japan violated Chinese neutrality and international laws by sending her forces through the Chinese territory while engaged in driving out Germans from Shantung. Ostensibly

Japan was fighting Germany to preserve the peace of the Far East and to restore Shantung to China. But this was a mere eye wash. Not only did Japan not return Shantung to China but consolidated her hold on the 140 mile long Tsingtao-Tsinan railway.

This forcible seizure of Chinese territory was resented and Yuan -Shi-Kai lodged a formal protest against it. Japanese aggression and her refusal to respect China's neutrality and territorial integrity strained relations between the two neighbours. So strained relations came into existence between China and Japan. At this stage Japan put forth its 21 demands.

Twenty one Demands

The demands were put under 5 groups they were

1. Those relating to Shantung.
2. Those relating to South Manchuria.
3. Those relating to Hanoyeh-ping company,
4. Those relating to Chinese ports,
5. Those relating to miscellaneous demands

They were staggering and were in reality a dictation dictated by a victor to the vanquished. The demands were

1. China should extend in Shantung to Japan all such rights which were enjoyed by Germany.
2. The important ports and cities in Shantung should be thrown open to Japan.
3. Recognition of Japan's privilege in Liaoning, Kivlin and dinners Mongolia.
4. China should agree to the participation of Japan in the operation of Iron and Steel works in Hupeh.
5. China should not give lease to power other than Japan in respect of its harbours, bays, islands etc.
6. There should be Japanese advisers in political, financial and military department.
7. In the police departments there should be Sino-Japanese supervision.
8. The arsenals of China will be jointly operated by both the countries.
9. Japan's right of financing Railways should be accorded to Japan.
10. Permission should be given to China in Shantung to trade and settle there.
11. Terms of Lease Port Arthur, Damly, Manchurian Railway etc should be extended for a period of 199 years.

12. Japan should be given the right to lease or own land in southern Manchuria and lower Mongolia
13. Rights of trade and travel should be given to the Japanese in South Manchuria and Inner Mongolia.
14. Consultation of Japan should be obtained in getting loan from the Third power for south Manchuria and Inner Mongolia
15. Japanese hospital churches and schools in the interior of China shall be granted the rights of owning land.
16. Spread of Buddhism by the Japanese was to be allowed.
17. Mining rights to be given to the Japanese in South Manchuria and inner Mongolia.
18. Military instructors should be appointed in the places in consultation with Japan.
19. China should not dispose of rights and property of Hav-Yeh-ping co without the approval of Japan.
20. Mines owned by that co., will not be worked outside the co., without its approval.
21. Chinese concurrence to be given for Japan to raise railway lines and exploiting mines in Fuke in.

As expected Japan decided to join war on the side of Great Britain and began to expand in China. She also forced China to accept 21 demands. China entered the war due to idealistic pronouncements of President Wilson. China however put conditions for joining war. After prolonged struggle at home the China decided to join war. It entered the war on August 14, 1907. It led serious struggle occurred between parliament with a Kuomintang majority and Tuan. Ultimately Tuan's faction emerged victorious. At the same time the influence of Japan went on increasing. However China gained considerably in the war.

China in the Paris Peace Conference

China joined the peace conference at Paris 1919, under very unfavourable circumstances. At that time in China there was no central authority. One Government was functioning at Peking whereas the other had its head quarters at Nanking. The delegates of China asked for the restoration of former German properties in Shaantung to China, the cancellation of sphere of influence, the withdrawal of foreign troops, the abolition of consular jurisdiction, tariff autonomy, the abandonment of the leased territories and the refusal of foreign concessions and settlements. Almost all the demands of the Chinese delegates were neglected.

The fact the-poteh Chinese delegation at Paris was looked with suspicion by the Europeans

and Japan as in view of China's internal policies it would not speak for the country as a whole. So the Paris Conference constituted a bitter pill to the Chinese. The Shantung decision came as a betrayal of their national interest. A strong wave of anti Japanese movement shook the country. Further she refused to sign the treaty of Versailles and concluded a separate treaty with Germany in which Germany surrendered all her privileges to China. The Chinese youth was up and doing. Backed and guided by the disillusioned intellectuals, the youth inaugurated the famous May fourth Movement.

The May Fourth Movement

The May Fourth Movement in China was engineered by the students of China. At the time of the out break of movement, the condition of China was fastly deteriorating. The people wanted durable peace and prosperity which was nowhere seen in the country. The wealth was concentrated in the few hands alone, Moreover wealth was not being used for productive purposes. The people wanted to have complete control over their national economy if they wanted to have peace and prosperity. The labourers and working classes in China had awakened considerably. China was witnessing new changes in many fields. The scholars provoked new thoughts and brought awakening in the country. This awakening also came among the women. Let us see the causes for the Movement in detail.

1. After the fall of the Manchu Dynasty there was no improvement in the situation. The world lords usurped power and ruled the country without regard to the interests of the people. The army indulged in loot and pillage of the villages. There was no peace in the country. The people were embittered.
2. The rich people became richer and the poor people suffered a great deal. There was corruption and misuse of authority among the officials. The peasants were crushed under heavy taxation with the concentration of wealth and lands in the hands of a few people. The peasants moved to urban areas in search of employments.
3. Another cause for the May Fourth movement was the economic condition of China. The economic condition of the country was critical and the Chinese to improve the same.
4. In China the working conditions of the labourers were miserable. Their wages were low and they had to work long hours. The contact of the French labourers exercised a tremendous influence upon them. This created a new awakening among the Chinese labourer.
5. The main force and source of the movement was the students. They were highly responsible for the same.
6. It was also called a cultural revolution. The intellectuals created a body of western literature by means of translation. Yen-fu and Li-Shu were the two known translators. The former translated the works of Darwin, Spencer, Montesquieu, J.S. Mill and Adam Smith, prof.

Chen's magazine. "The new youth" attacked every thing that was old and traditional and advocated civil liberties, the theory of Evolution. Modern education, the birth control, the Sacredness of Labour, Socialism and Marxism.

In order to support two gentlemen i.e. Mr democracy and Mr. Science, he opposed Confucianism. The code of rituals and chastity, traditional ethics and old politics, in addition to this there were 400 journals in the language of common man. The market was flooded with stories, novels, poems etc., In this way new literature and ideas began to influence the people in their awakening which became one of the major causes for the movement started in 1914.

7. The immediate cause of the movement was the outcome of the Paris peace talks. China's claim over Shantung was turned down with other claims. It was a great national disgrace to them. In May 4th 1919 the students of Peking staged a demonstration against the decision of the conference and also against China. They shouted Slogans like "uphold our sovereignty, Punish the traitors and Boycott Japanese Goods". They also demanded the 21 demands of Japan should be withdrawn.

Significance

The fourth movement was the continuation of the liberty renaissance and the new cultural movement. It was a patriotic movement which soon spread rapidly from Peking to other cities and won the support of other groups. There was nation wide boycott of Japanese goods. This nationalistic outburst known as the May Fourth Movement had wide ramification. It played a prominent part in modernising the country. The Movement developed under the leadership of students into a broad movement of reforms and regeneration of all walks of Chinese life. It was highly responsible for the reorganisation of the Kuomintang and the birth of the Chinese Communist party and in the development of student and labour Movement. It bolstered the growth of a new vernacular literature, facilitated the rapid spread of popular education and hastened the decline of the old order. It also forced the western powers to adopt new postures towards China and to some extent the convocation of Washington conference can be traced to it.

Washington conference

After the first world war, there was a great change in the power equation in the Far East. The might regional powers of the pre-war period Germany, France and Russia lost their dominant position in the post-war era. Germany was defeated in the world war and she lost her far Eastern possession to Japan. France had her domestic and continental problems which kept her pre occupied and prevented her from exerting any significant influence in the far East. Russia had emerged as a communist power and she was busy defending herself against the capitalist power, with there three major powers pushed to the back ground, the far East was left under the domination of England, the U.S. and Japan. This is the general context in which the Washington conference was convened.

The Washington conference was a major event in the History of China. It was convened at the initiative of U.S.A. China before the world. It was convened due to the following causes.

1. U.S.A. was interested in getting trade market in China and also to check the expansion of Japan.
2. Britain wanted to end the Anglo-Japanese alliance concluded in 1902.
3. Western powers also wanted to pacify China which was dissatisfied after Paris peace talks.
4. Japan was feeling isolated now that the Anglo-Japanese Alliance had cooled off. The defeat of militarist Germany had its own lesson for Japan. Her faith in military power had been now badly shaken. The Minsetio party which represented the industrial interest pleaded for a less aggressive policy. At the same time, the boycott of Japanese goods by the Chinese and the wasteful Siberian expedition had ruined her finances. The factors made Japan to seek a diplomatic solution to her problems by joining the Washington Conference.
5. After the world war China was in a great ferment. the spirit of nationalism was seen. China in the face of the treaty of Versailles and the notorious twenty one demands of Japan. The agitation which was almost nationwide culminated in the May Fourth Movement, which left the western powers in no doubt the anger and resentment of a wronged China. So an international conference was found necessary to seek remedies to the injustices suffered by China. U.S.A invited Britain, France, Germany, Japan, China, Holland, Belgium and Portugal. These powers met at Washington on 12th November 1921. It lasted upto February 6, 1922. The main project and object at the conference was to solve Far East problems. It concluded six treaties and adopted thirteen resolutions. Important treaties are given below.

1. The four power Treaty

The four power treaty was signed by Britain, U.S.A., Japan and France. These powers agreed to have joint conferences in future to decide all Far Eastern questions. By this treaty U.S. was included in a system of consultation on matters of common interest. This treaty put an end to the Anglo-Japan Alliance and the Lansing-Shi agreement.

2. The five power naval Treaty

In the wake of the First world war, the U.S.A. and Japan were engaged in a fierce competition of naval armaments. This was ruinous to both the countries. The five power Naval Treaty introduced tonnage ratio of ships of the different countries and there by put a stop to the suicidal naval competition. The treaty fixed the tonnage ratio of the capital ships at 5:5 in 3:1:7:1:7 for Britain, the U.S., Japan, France and Italy respectively. Japan agreed to the lower naval ratio on the specific understanding that the powers would not construct fortifications or bases in the Pacific. Thus, even with the reduced shipping tonnage her position in the Western Pacific became unassailable.

3. The nine powers Treaty

The Nine powers treaty referred to China. By this treaty, all the powers agreed to respect the integrity of China to maintain the open door policy, to refrain from taking advantages of the conditions of China to seek special privileges and to allow China to set her house in order. This treaty lacked effective sanctions and did not free China from the unequal treaties imposed on her in the past. But at the same time, it marked the first positive step in assuming China's sovereignty and in fulfilling the nationalistic aspirations of the Chinese people.

4. The Shantung Conference

The Shantung issue was decided between China and Japan outside the Washington conference. The two powers signed a treaty by which Japan agreed to restore the entire lease hold territory of Shantung to China, While the latter agreed to compensate Japan for improvements and additions made to property during the period of Japanese occupation. Japan refused to the revocation of the 'twenty one demands' on the ground that such a revocation of an agreement signed by China as a free sovereign nation would undermine the whole treaty structure relating to China.

Other Treaties

Besides foreign control over Chinese, postal services were abandoned. The foreign powers agreed to sell at fair prices communication systems including radio stations. The powers bound themselves to call a tariff conference for the revision of the tariff schedule so that China might get an effective five percent advalorem. Some of the important marks of the conference were

1. The nine powers agreed by a treaty to respect the sovereignty, independence and territorial and administrative integrity of China. Equal opportunity in China for the commerce and industry of all nations and to reforms from seeking special privileges that would abridge the rights of citizens of friendly states.
2. The custom duties were to be raised to an effective 5% with in four months and provision was made for a special tariff conference for the periodical review and readjustment of the customs Tariff.
3. To enforce the policy of open door and equal railway rates, a board of reference would be set up in China.
4. The foreign posted agencies in China were to be abolished on January 1, 1923.
5. Establishment of a commission for the progress of Judicial reforms in China.
6. By the treaty of China and Japan the latter agreed to restore the entire leasehold territory of Shantung to China.

7. The powers also promised to withdraw their troops from China and to remit the unpaid money of the boxes indemnity.

Estimate

The Washington conference represents a landmark in the international agreements. It achieved a victory for the cause of disarmament by putting an end to the naval competition between Japan, the U.S.A., and Britain. It made an earnest attempt to secure peace in the specific region. It also made an effort to undo some of the injustices, committed on China by the powers and thereby ushering in an era of international justice. From the Chinese stand point, the Conference was beneficial on several counts.

The conference increased the status and prestige of the U.S. in the far East. She had now come to assume greater responsibility in the affairs of this region. She was able to secure guarantees for the integrity of China and also a renunciation of the spheres of influences by imparting a broader meaning to the Open Door principle.

Chinese Nationalism - Chiang-Kai-Shek

His early life

Chiang Kai-Shek was born on October 31, 1887 in the province so checking in an ordinary family. He lost his father while he was nine years old. His mother took care of him and he was extremely fond of her. The aggrandizement of foreigners in China and their suppression of Boxer Rebellion had left an indelible impression upon the young mind of Shek. He found the army of foreigners to be superior. Hence he decided to join the army for China. He had his military education first in China and then in Japan and then in Russia. He was an ardent admirer and trusted lieutenant of Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen.

Unification of China

On his return he was made the head of the Whampoa Military Academy which trained the officers of Kuomintang army. After the death of Sun he became the commander in chief of the Kuomintang army. He was a moderate not committed to extremes and managed by skilful political manipulations to gain ascendancy in the party. By 1925 he brought Kwangyung and Kwangsi provinces under the control of the Kuomintang. In 1926 Chiang gained striking victories against the war lords of the Yangtse Valley. The unification of China was achieved in two stages.

1. The nationalist army captured all the important cities in Yangtse valley.
2. The nationalist army entered Peking in June 1928. His popularity reached its Zenith due to his successful attempts at unifying the country

Growing Communist influence

Chiang's military successes were marred by internal dissensions. There were heterogeneous elements groups and cliques in the Kuomintang ranks, two most important groups were left wing group ready to follow Russian line and right wing group which was anticommunist and looked to Chiang for leadership. After a bloody clash the right wing Chiang group came to control the party machine. In 1927 once again took place a rupture between the left wing leader Wang and the communists.

Chiang's Success in the struggle for supremacy

The final split came in 1927. The left wing of the Kuomintang and communists organised wide spread strikes and riots. They even tried to oust Chiang from power. But Chiang had the support of the financial magnates of Shanghai. Soon he was joined by the left wing leader Wang due to a quarrel with communists. In June 1928 Chiang devoted himself to the completion of North ward expedition. Chiang captured Peking the ancient capital. By this action China was returned under the military rule of Chiang Kai-Shek. Chiang-Tso-Lin the leader of Peking region fled to Meskhan where he was killed in mysterious bomb explosion. Nanking was made the capital of China. The Kuomintang Government at Nanking was recognised by the twelve western powers including U.S.A., Britain and France. The new Government tried to achieve the three principles of Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen.

Causes of Chiang's Success

Chiang had overcome the opposition of the war lords successfully. He had neutralised the communist party and the left wing of the Kuomintang party. He was a professional soldier. As the head of the Whampoa Military Academy he had trained the officers of the new revolutionary army and was thus able to command the personal loyalty of his men. He had his marriage into one of the most influential families. Because of these advantages Chiang was able to rally under him a powerful coalition of force. His ability, capacity and sincerity brought the solidarity of the Government. In short he was sufficiently efficient to bring the whole of China under his sway.

Abrogation of unequal Treaties

The western powers had imposed unequal treaties on China. They had the right of extra territoriality and the denial to China the right to determine her own tariff. In July 1928 the Nanking Government announced that all the treaties which had expired would be revoked and replaced by new agreements. Treaties that had not expired would be terminated. By 1930, nine countries surrendered the right of extra territoriality.

Struggle between the Kuomintang and the Communists

The Nationalist Government of the Kuomintang party was constantly challenged by the growing

Chinese communist party. The Kuomintang was able to destroy the urban political strength of the communists quickly. But in the interior, they were growing stronger and stronger. They even established a Soviet Republic in the forests of Kiangsi led by Mao-Tse-Tung. The communists formed unions among workers to secure higher wages and better working conditions. They confiscated large holdings and distributed them among the peasants. They reduced the tax burden and encouraged collective farming. These increased the influence of the communists in the land. They set up people's Government over a vast territory of China. They also set up the Chinese Red Army and preserved and expanded the revolutionary forces of the Chinese people.

The Long March

In 1934 Kuomintang party attacked Kiangsi the stronghold of communists to annihilate communism. The communists were defeated and forced to retreat. This was the beginning of the "Long March". The Communist marched and fought along a round about route covering 6000 miles towards Northwest. A lakh communist insurgents and guerillas marched on foot for 268 days and crossed hazardous rivers and mountains in order to reach Shensi. They lost 60,000 comrades on the way. The Long March was indeed a great feat and tribute to the leadership of Mao. But Mao could boast of the existence of a Red Army. Dallin remarked that every revolutionary movement has a period of bravery and in the history of Chinese communism the Long March is a wonderful event. Chiang Kai-Shek on learning the March plan termed it as "The funeral March" with a sardonic humour. Showing unbelievable heroism they captured every fortification. Edgar Snow who visited China in 1936, wrote in his book, "Red star over China". They took their assaults put their astonished enemy on the run and never stopped until they had occupied the ribbon of blockading for its and entrenchments on the southern front., This gave them roads to the south and to the west along which their vanguard began its sensational trek"

"The Long March" was indeed a great military feat authored by Mao-Tse-Tung and his trusted commander Chu-Teh. Thus the Red army played a significant role in the Long March.

Japanese Aggression

Japan did not like the rise of a strong Government in China. She considered a strong China as a challenge to her economic position. To preserve her economic control, Japan seized Manchuria in 1931. Then she threatened to take over the other portions of the north-eastern China. Under the circumstances Chiang unable to face the Japanese accepted in May 1933 Tengku Truce. By this the Japanese accepted to withdraw their troops upto the Great Wall. Chiang's policy of appeasement involved sharp criticism in the country.

Formation of United Front

The communists led Soviet Republic declared war against Japan in 1932. But Chiang wanted

to crush the communists. The communist appealed to Chiang to end the internal war in order to fight a common external war against Japan. Chiang wanted to finalise campaign of total annihilation to Red bases in Sheasi. In December 1936 he was captured at Sian and held prisoner, by his own countrymen. They demanded Chiang to accept the communist proposal for a united front to resist Japan. The life of Chiang was in danger. Chiang was released on Christmas day on 1936. A compromise was arrived at the communists, agreed to bring their army under the control of the National Government. The Nanking Government also agreed to under take a determined resistance against Japan and promised social and economic reforms. But this unit lasted only for two years.

Decline of Kuomintang

Kuomintang regime became weak, inefficient and corrupt. It depended heavily upon the Anglo-American block. The Communists resented at it and declared Chiang had become a puppet in the hands of imperialists. The Kuomintang failed to evoke popular support by reform measures. Rather they resorted to repressive measures. All this lowered its prestige in the eyes of the people.

While the communists had secured popular support through their reform measures, Kuomintang started suppressing the resurgents. Chiang's hatred reached its peak when a communists leader Chang Kuo-Tao defeated and joined Kuomintang. Chiang determined to eradicate communism which was a disease of the heart according to him Chiang was privately reported to have remarked, "The Japanese are a disease of skin". The communist are a disease of the heart". It is written by J. Ldun Mao also pledged a tit-for-tat struggle.

Last day's of Chiang

In 1940, Chiang ordered the Communist Eight Route Army and the New Fourth Route Army to Shift north of the yellow river. The communist refused to obey. The control Executive Committee of the known tang passed a resolution in September 1947. General Marshall tried to avert the out break of a civil war between the communist and the nationalist. But he failed. The civil war broke out in which the communists emerged victorious and Chiang was forced to withdraw from the mainland. He was pushed to Formosa. Chiang ruled supreme in Formosa till his death in 1975. This ended the Kuomintang rule in China.

Growth of Militarism in Japan

The Meiji leaders realised the need for the modernisation of the armed forces. Without a modern army, it was now clear a strong government capable of withstanding foreign aggression would be impossible. Under the To Kugamas the imperial armed forces were drawn from Satsuma, Choshu and Toas domains. Thus there was no national army as such in the earlier days. Immediately after the Restoration, the scattered forces under the different domins had to be unified and for this reason a department of military affairs was created in 1869, and an intensive study of the foreign

military system was undertaken. Yamagata, the vice-minister of military affairs introduced compulsory military training. The feudal military organisation was disbanded and steps were taken for the creation of national army. The military establishment was divided into three. They were

1. Regular Army
2. Reserves and
3. National Army,

All able boded male over 21 years were to be conscripted for compulsory military service. Military Schools were opened of which Pikugun daigakko became very famous. In 1878 a General Staff Office was created of Gesmon pattern. Expert guidance from French, English and German military departments were enlisted.

The development of naval power was taken up side by side. In 1869 a naval training school was established in Tokyo with English instructors. Admiratiojo who was later to be come premier was a product of this institution, the first warship was built in 1875. By 1882 Japan had achieved self-sufficiently in naval vessals with 28 ships and torped boats. Both the Army and Navy were equipped with the latest weapons. Within two years Japan was economically sound, militarily prepared and culturally advanced. It was only natural that Japan would state her claims for hegemony in the Far East. Excessive concentration of political powers and rise of militarism quite after gave birth to imperialistic ambitions and Japan was no exception to this rule. Hence in all war Japan go success and emerged as a great power. Now we have to see about the causes for Japanese imperialism.

The Causes of Imperialism or Militarism

(1) Increase in population

The increase in population has often been linked with the causes of Japanese imperialism. After 1872, the population of Japan had enormously increased. Japan felt need of colonies like the western nations for the settlement of her growing population. Britain had colonised Australia, Canada, South Africa and New Zealand and her citizens worked as high functionaries in India, Burma, Ceylon and other places. So practically all the developed nations of the west had acquired territories and colonies for the welfare and settlement of their people. Japan too was anxious to emulate these nations. In the beginning the Japanese could settle in the vast land of the U.S.A. and in fact, by 1920, 1,10,000 Japanese had settled there. But soon their entry and settlement were clamped with irksome rules and regulations and after some time imigration into American had become well high impossible owing to imigration Legislation. Now Japan turned towards expansion in order to settle her increasing population. Hence it should be remembered that the expansion of population was not the real notive imperialism but was more in the nature of an apology by the imperialist writers.

Search of Protected Market

The search for protected markets was said to be another cause of imperialism. Japan had achieved industrial and economic progress to an extent that she needed protected markets for the consumption of the Japanese goods without any fear of competition. Like the nations of the west, she desired colonies to obtain raw materials and when these are turned into finished goods a protected market for their consumption. This could be possible only when she possessed colonies as England and France had in Asia and Africa.

Nationalism and militarism

The rise of ultra nationalism and militarism was at the root of imperialism in Japan. The Japanese had drunk deep at the fountain of nationalism. They had become intensely nationalistic. They were taught that Japan was a great nation. Her civilization and culture was a thing in which every Japanese should take pride. The country had become more than land and soil from which to mine gold and reap grain. It is the sacred abode of the Gods, the spirits of our forefather to us the emperor is more Arch-constable of a Rechtsstaat or even the patron of a cultural heritage. He is the bodily representative of Heaven on earth blending in his person, its power and mercy." A nation with such a sense of pride in its cultural heritage soon took to militarism. A great military machine came to be nearly perfected in Japan. The growth of militarism coupled with nationalistic favour filled the whole nation with unprecedented enthusiasm seeking outlet in fresh fields,

Political ambition

By the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century possession of colonies had become a symbol of status. The more colonies a nation possessed the greater was its strength. The national self-respect demanded acquisition of colonies. Conscious of national self-respect, anxious to acquire "world-power" status a comparatively later comer in the race of imperialism, Japan was most anxious to acquire colonies as speedily as she possibly could. The political ambition to become a world power could not be resisted in Japan.

Expansionist Societies

As a result of the political ambitions many organisations and societies came into existence in Japan. These organisation by means of propaganda spread expansionist doctrines in Japan. These had come into being specially after the Triple Intervention which had throttled Japan's urge to expand. Spurred on rather than deterred by the Triple Intervention, ultra nationalist expansionist societies like the Black ocean society and the Amur society better known as the Black Dragon society renewed their aggressive efforts. These organisations and societies were no less responsible for the growth of imperialistic tendencies

Influence of imperialists writers and activities

Repurcussions of the ideas and utterances of the prophets of expansionism in other parts of the world including the U.S., Great Britain, Russia, France, Germany and others were felt in Japan. Disraeli's championship of imperialism in England, Jules Jerly's declaration that every fragment of our colonial domain, every tiny morsel of land dissacred to us. Leloy Beaulieu ascertain that 'Colonial expansion must occupy the first place in our national consciousness' in France. The Japanese leaders began to think and plan in terms of their own counter part of the 'white man's burden and Menifest Destiny' The meaning of these imperialistic phrases became clear the Japanese mind. The idea of the domination of Asia captured Japanese imagination.

The hegemony of Asia became their avowed goal. The writing of captain Algred Thayer Mahan of the U.S. Navy, Particularly the influence on the Japanese leaders including Admiral Tojo. The Japanese were watching keenly the formation of the German Naval League in 1898. They too launched a programme of Naval expansion, giving the island empire the third largest navy in the world in a course of only two decades.

Western imperialism around Pacific

The western imperialism in the neighbourhood of Japan also influenced the Japanese leaders to pursue the path of imperialism. The various western nations were busy in expanding their hold on the island of Pacific sea, Russia, France, England and Germany had established there sphere of influences. The French in Indo-China, Russia in Siberia had captured the large chunks of territories. In 1898, the U.S. had also fastened her rule on Hawali islands. The various nations of the west were capturing lands lying in the neighbourhood of Japan much to the changing of the Japan. They thought that their claim was legitimate on these territories because of their being situated in the vicinity of Japan. In a word, the western imperialism also inspired Japanese militarism.

To understand Japanese militarism, it is necessary to have a glimpse of Japan dominated areas of Formosa and Korea. Japan's activity in Manchuria and her China policy during the first world war.

Japan Annexation of Korea

Japan had her interest in Korea from the 16th century. In the past Japan considered Korea as her own territory and under her own area of influence. Korea also accepted Japan's supremacy and paid annual tributes to Japan. Similarly China also established and considered her own supremacy over Korea when Japan followed policy of seclusion and isolation. Her interests in the country dwindled down and those of China considerably increased in the Korea. But when Japan decided to end her isolation, she began to take interest in the country. After restoration, Meiji King began to take active interest in the country. But Korea refused to accept this demand. The patriots of Japan

could not tolerate this national disgrace and more aggressive of them suggested the king to wage a war. This was however not accepted by the king who suggested patience. Though the people got satisfied yet the king did not forget this disgrace and he decided to have an appropriate opportunity for establishing supremacy over Korea.

Korea's Resistance

Between 1870-73 Japan made attempts to have commercial relations with Korea but she was decided and determined to follow a policy of isolation. Korea was decided neither to allow western and foreign traders nor permit entry to Christian missionaries in the country. The net outcome of this resistance was that Japanese attempts to have commercial relations with Korea failed. In the meanwhile in 1873 China and Japan signed a treaty by which it was provided that both will follow non aggression policy against each other. Since China considered Korea under her own influence and her own territory Li-Hung chang who negotiated on behalf of this country came back with the satisfaction that Japan had followed a non aggression policy in her territory of Korea.

Incident of 1875

But Japan considered Korea her own sphere of influence. In the view of Japan the Sino-Japanese Treaty of 1873 did not cover Korea and Japan was free to follow an aggressive policy in there in the way she liked. The opportunity came in 1875, when a Japanese ship on survey worked was fired at by the Koreans. The ship was destroyed. This very much initiated Japanese who decided to wage a war in Korea. They invaded and occupied a fort in the country. In the mean while Japan sent two missions for negotiations one was sent to Peking and another was to Korea. The mission to Korea was also supported with force. At the outcome of negotiation Japan concluded a treaty with Korea by which Japan got a right to have a counsellor there. Provision was also made for the visits of ministers of each other's country. Korea also agreed to open few ports for Japan for trade and also agreed to establish trade relations with that country.

The treaty of Chempulo

But the situation did not continue for long. The regent of minor king of Korea instigated the people of the country to raise against Japan. In instigating the Koreans, China too had a very significant role to play. Moreover, Japan got the supporters of reforms on western lines in Korea. The differences between the conservatives and reformists were so deep rooted that in 1882 war broke out between the two. China tried to restore peace in the country but before that Koreans killed five Japanese and followed the policy of violence against Japanese nationals residing there. In the face of these violence Japanese began to leave Korea in safety of their lives. Japan got alarmed and sent a charter of demands to Korea. By this Japan demanded that the Korea should ask for an apology from Japan. She should also punish all those who were involved in the killings of Japanese people. Guarantee

should be given for the protection of property of Japanese in Korea and those killed by Koreans should be properly compensated. Korea was very reluctant to agree to these terms. In order to end this tense situation, China offered her services as mediator but mediation was declined by Japan who continued to put pressure on Korea. Ultimately on 3rd August 1882 Korea signed a Treaty of Champulo with Japan by which she agreed to accept all terms of the treaty. By this treaty Japan also got right to keep her armies in Korea, and it was also great that Korea will bear all the expenses of Japanese armies stationed in the country.

The effect of Treaty

The Treaty was concluded but had very far reaching effects. One of the effects was that by this treaty differences between supporters of China and Japan considerably increased. This also created tension in the relations between the two countries. In 1884 Japanese with the help of their supporters seized Korean king and set up a new government. China interrupted with the result treaty of Tientsin was signed. But tense situation did not come to an end here. In 1894 Sino-Japanese war broke out which ended in 1895 with the Treaty of Shimonoseki. Then another effect was the conclusion of Anglo-Japanese alliance of 1902. Along with China and a Japan, Russia was also interested in Korea. Japan did not like to have increasing influence of Russia in Korea because for her it was easy to deal with weak China, rather than strong Russia.

Japan gained supremacy in Korea over China in 1895, but unfortunately in that year there was a raising in Korea in which Japanese also participated. In the rising queen was killed and king with the crown prince, took refuge in Russian embassy and went under Russian influence. Japan tried to convince Russia that she had special interest in Korea but Russia showed no inclination to accept this claim of Japan was about to get some concessions in through Yamagata-Labanon Agreement of June 5, 1896 and Nishi-rosen Convention of April 28, 1898. But both times the things didnot come upto her expectation. In 1898 Russia got concessions in lioting for which Japan was quite unprepared. In the meanwhile Russia was also showing keen interest in China as well. This threatened British interest in that country. Thus both Japan and England saw a common enemy in Russia with the result that on January 20, 1902 both Britain and Japan concluded a treaty with each other known as Anglo-Japanese Alliance which lasted for quite sometime.

Still another effect of the Treaty was Russo-Japanese war of 1904-05 in which mighty Russia was defeated by tiny Japan, shich created a great stir throughout the world. In 1903 Japan showed her willingness to accept Russian supremacy over Manchuria provided Japan's interest in Korea were recognised by Russia but this was not acceptable to Russia. Japan upon this decided to break diplomatic relations with Russia on February 7, 1904 and attacked Port Arthur. This resulted in the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-05. This war came to an end in September 5, 1905 by which Russia agreed that Japan had special interest in Korea.

In this way Japan forced major world power to accept her supremacy over Korea. The country had become important for Japan two reasons. Firstly any mismanagement there or any struggle for supremacy was bound to create security problem for Japan. Second Korea was a country where Japan could sell her, surplus rice production. Japan's interests in Korea were accepted primarily, because she had established to the world that her armies had been modernised and were quite prepared to face the armed might of the west if need be in a bid to protect her interests in Korea.

Political Party System in Japan

Party system of government in Japan did not work very successfully. Many government came and went out of power at shorts intervals. There were no political stability in the country and whole experiment of political party system came to an end in 1940.

Beginning of political party in Japan

The beginning of political party system in Japan can be traced back to 1873 when Itagaki withdrew from the government. In January 1874 they organised the first Political association in Japan, the Aikokukoto. The party demanded the establishment of representative assembly in the country. In April 1874 he established another political society called Russia. The new party stood for political reforms in the country. In 1875 however Russia and other political groups combined together into a national party at Osaka called Aikokusha. The party however collapsed in the very same month. Itagaki however continued to propagate his ideas through small newspapers.

In 1881, an imperial rescript was issued by which it was promised that the national will have a parliament by 1890. Immediately after this Itagaki founded a political party called Jiyuto (Liberal party) and Okuma organised another political party called Kaishinto (progressive party.) In organisation of a party of its supporters called Teiseito called (Imperial rule party). In 1882 Itagaki was sent out of country and thus his party received some set back. In 1880 Japan fearful riots and in order to keep themselves away the Jiyuto leaders dissolved the in party and the Kaishinto suspended operations.

Constitution and After

In 1888 new constitution of Japan was inaugurated and in 1890 elections were held for the House of Representative. In the wake of these elections both Jiyuto and Kaishinto were re-organised but none of these parties dominates the lower house and thus there was no political party in absolute majority in the house, which could implement its policies.

After the Sino-Japanese war Ito go the support of Jiyuto and its leader Itagaki was taken in cabinet as Home Minister. In 1896 Okuma, the then foreign Minister organised a new political party called Shimpoo (progressive party) In June 1898 however, the two big political parties Jiyuto and Shimpoo amalgamated to form a new political party called Kenseito.

Two years after the formation of this new party in 1900. Ito founded another political party called Seiyukai and with his support this new political party came to power in the Diet in 1900. In 1908, this party supported Katsura and brought him to power as Prime Minister. It also won an overwhelming Majority in May 1912.

In October 1916 Kato Komei organised still another new political party called Kenseikai (Constitutional Association). It was to head government though the suggestion was not accepted. In the same year when elections were held Seiyukai party gained absolute Majority.

Political parties after World War I

After the world war Takasgash's cabinet supported by Seiyukai party resigned in 1922 and in the Diet Kenseikai party enjoyed good strength along with Seiyukai party. The last mentioned and supported Kato who then became Prime Minister of the country, by 1923 Japan had these main political parties in the Diet namely Seiyukai, Kenseikai and Kaskushin club, in 1923, half of the Seiyukai Diet members defeated and under Tokonami founded a new party called Seiyu honto. In 1925 government was controlled by Kenseikai party. In 1926 it interest into working alliance with Seiyu Honto. But in 1927 when economic crisis developed in the country leader of Seiyukai party was asked to form the government. Subsequently Tonaka also joined this political party, in the same year of 1927 Kenseikai and Seiyu Honto merged together to form a new party called Minseito with Hamaguchi Yuko as president, who was also offered prime Ministership of the country. He continued to remain in power April 1932 when he was criticised for his policies.

Parties during Second World War

In July 1940 all the political parties dissolved themselves and their members woven into Imperial Rule Assistance Association, an organisation founded by Kono. It was formally inaugurated on October 12, 1940. In the words of Arthur Tiedeman, "The new organisation had a pyramidal structure reaching down into each rural village and city ward. Basically it was a device transmitting the government wishes to the people and for keeping the touch with Public opinion".

Basis of Politics in Japan

For finding out the basis of political parties in Japan. It is convenient to study it into two period. The first period was before 1918 whereas the second one after 1918. The main features of the period before 1918 was that it was a struggle for getting more political rights and powers as well as concessions from the Emperor. It was a period when all political parties stood for expansion. All wanted to infuse sense of nationalism among the people of Japan. It was after 1918 that the trend changed. Now Liberals came into politics which was opposed to orthodoxy. Theoretical base was provided for curbing absolutism. Minobe Tatsukichi argued that Emperor was an organ rather than embodiment elite of business executives. Freshly affluent from war profits and boasting a new self

confidence, whole interests called for a larger political role and whose already leverage which they might use on behalf of their state in the world trade."

But an unhealthy trend in politics of Japan after 1918 was that in postwar Japan elite, militarists bureaucrats, business men and intellectuals, no one possessed either the prestige of the intellect of old oligarchs. Now elite also lacked the unity of purpose.

Causes for the failure of party system

In 1940 all political parties were dissolved and in their stead an association came into being. It is therefore worth considering as to why party system failed. It became still more amazing because by 1918 bulk of the middle class had acquired Franchise and parties had acquired the image of vehicle of popular government. As Clyde and Bears says, " Indeed the process of governing through party cabinets was so established that it was known as the normal course of constitutional government".

Some of the important reasons for the failure of party system were

1. During post war Japan, after 1918 neither the militarists not bureaucrats, no businessmen, nor intellectuals possessed either prestige or the powers of old oligarchs.
2. Different sections of power in political life of the country lacked unity of purpose.
3. Then another reason was the role of big businessmen in political life and party system of Japan. These people controlled economic resources of the country and wanted to use them in the way they liked. Thus these business magnets created very uncertain situation in political life of the country.
4. One of the provisions of the constitution was that there will be ministers from the army. These ministers remained beyond party control. They did not care for party discipline and continued to violate that. But still the people respected them. It was primarily because in those days Japan believed and cared more for military expansion than anything else.
5. One more reason which can be contributed for the failure of party system was that the principle of oligarchy government was not shaken. Clyde and Bears say, " The principle of Oligarchical government remained firmly entrenched in the House of Peers, Privy council, Imperial household officials and among the bureaucrats and parties themselves were weakened by defect of character and organisation."
6. In the failure of party government system there was the role of the Genro as well, The Genro were all old oligarchs. They had the authority to nominate the Prime Minister but several times, they nominated a person Prime Minister, against the wishes of our going Prime Minister or Diet.

Political party system in Japan did not work well due to significant role played by the forces outside the parties. These included the businessmen, the militarists the elites and so on. These extra bodies were more interested in enlarging themselves rather than allowing political parties to grow and develop.

Ultra Rationalism

The civilian leaders wounded the national pride by signing the hated London Naval Treaty and thus gave an handle to the reactionary militarists to carry on anti government anti-party propaganda. The Manchurian crisis of 1931 strengthened the hands of military bureaucrats. The militaristic and ultranationalistic feeling became so strong that the democracy and the party government lay wounded at death door and the power came to be yielded by the militarists. The successor of Hamaguchi, premier Inukai was done to death at the behest of right reactionaries on May 15, 1932. The ghastly tragedy of May proved to the death knell of party government. From 1932 to 1939 Admiral Sato, general Araski, Hiroto, Heiyashi, Konei Ailanuma etc., formed the government but Japan set on the course of expansion resigned the membership of the League of Nation. Concluded anti comintern pact with Italy and Germany infringed the London Naval Treaty propounded the doctrine of New Order and Greater East Asian co-prosperity sphere". From Manchurian crisis to the second Sino-Japanese undeclared war which ultimately merges in world conflagration, the sequences of events is interconnected.

The feelings of internationalism could not come up and Ultimately expansionism and imperialism held the ground. The Prime Minister Hara and the foreign Minister Shidhara proclaimed the principle of "Live and Let others Live" Hara said, "If universal peace is to be realised one race or people must cease to menace the existence of another, that the right of all to live and progress must be guaranteed by establishing international equality of economic opportunity and subordinating narrow egosoism to the general welfare of the humanity". Shidahara followed in policy of peaceful penetration in china. He said "Like England we must obtain our sustenance abroad and our products must go to foreign Markets. China markets and materials means to other countries only more trade. To Japan they were vital necessities". These sentiments of peace, humanity and liberalism were short lived. The new prime Minister Tanaka regarded liberal policies of Ishidehara as weak and detrimental to the Japanese interest. He firmly believed that the weak policies of predecessors were responsible for the present state of Japanese affairs. Moreover Japan needed Manchuria, Mangolia and the three Eastern provinces of China for Japan's politico - economic interest.

Manchurian Affairs

Towards the closing years of 19th century, Russia devoted her main attention to Manchuria. The most direct route to Vladivostok from the lake Baikal region lay through Manchuria. Since 1891 Russians had been engaged in the construction of the Trans-Siberian Railway 5000 miles in length.

The idea was not primarily to connect European Russia with Vladivostok, a port remaining ice bound for the larger part of the year. The Russian Statesman had been playing with the idea of a Peking terminal for the Siberian Railway. What Russia wanted was a port in Southern Korea or Manchuria. She was not however prepared to fight Japan on this issue. Following the implication of the Japanese minister in the murder of Korean Queen, Russian fortunes in Korea took an unexpected turn for the better. The Korean king fled to the Russian legation in Seoul from where he ruled the country for some time.

The Russians as already seen persuaded China to agree to the construction of the Chinese Eastern Railway linking it with Trans-Siberian across Manchuria. This company having a Chinese president was in reality a Russian undertaking. Russian's attention was not confined to the Zone of this railway line only. In 1898, she obtained a lease of Port Arthur and a strip of the Liao-Tung Peninsula and built a railway line upto Port Arthur.

At the time of the Boxer uprising, Russia had to pretext for moving large number of her troops to Manchuria and it looked as though Manchuria would come under the complete domination of Russia. Japan naturally alarmed at the growing Russian influence in Manchuria and the possibility of eventual Russian penetration of Korea following Anglo-Japanese Alliance. Japan was bold enough to declare war on Russian. In the war Russia was defeated. Japan won a dramatic victory on land and sea and she came to be acclaimed as the Gallant Little Japan. Japan and Russia signed the treaty of Portsmouth in 1905 by which not only did Russia recognise Japan's special interest in Korea but also agreed to turn over the lease hold of Port Arthur and Liao-Tung of Japan.

After the conclusion of the Portsmouth Treaty, Japan was able to increase her influence in Manchuria. In general the Treaty of Portsmouth divided Manchuria into Russian and Japanese shares of influence. Japan professed to fight for the Open Door policy and the integrity of China in Manchuria. But in practice Manchuria remained for some time under Military occupation and the Open Door Principle was not respected.

The Treaty of Portsmouth was followed by the Sino-Japanese Treaty of Peking in the same year by which Japan also received more right over Manchuria. They were

1. China agreed to open Sisten cities in Manchuria to international residence and trade.
2. Japan agreed to withdraw her troops from Manchuria subject to the condition that Russia also withdraw her railway quards
3. Japan secured the right to maintain the military railway she had built from Antung on the Korean border to Mukken. By a secret protocol, China was pledged not to construct any railway in the zone of the Japanese South Manchurian Railway. To manage the railway and other interest acquired from Russia in the South Manchuria, the Japanese government cre-

ated the South Manchurian Railway Company which had wide powers of civil administration including collection of taxes, it engaged itself in many subsidiary enterprises such as mining, electric powers etc., The company became an effective agent of Japanese penetration in Manchuria. As a result, China lost her effective sovereignty over both the Japanese dominated South Manchuria and the Russia dominated North Manchuria. The defect of administration was in the hands of Japan and Russia in these areas. Far from a decrease in foreign control of Manchuria, the Russo-Japanese war only paved the way for various Sino-Russian agreements by which two powers instead of one claimed spheres of influence there. Naturally under these circumstances, the Open Door Policy received a severe set back and with it the chances of maintaining the integrity of China also seemed dim.

Foreign business interest in China, British and American in particular, had expected great commercial opportunities in South Manchuria. But these opportunities had not appeared. The United States was annoyed at the growing influence of Japan in Manchuria and the violation of the Open door Principle. Time and again, American financiers found their enterprises blocked in Manchuria. This had the effect of straining the U.S.-Japanese relations.

Japan was not thinking in terms of a rapprochement with her nearest enemy, Russia. This led to a series of important Russo-Japanese agreements covering political, commercial and other interest. In addition two political conventions were signed by which the independence and territorial integrity of China was once again assured, by a secret convention, a line of demarcation between north and South Manchuria with a clause for reciprocal non-interference was agreed upon.

The Russian-Japan agreements of 1907 further weakened China's territorial integrity and violated the American principle of Equal opportunity. The United States initiated diplomatic moves with Japan and these led to the Root-Takahira Agreement of 1908 by which America and Japan agreed to respect reciprocally the territorial possessions belonging to each other and pledged themselves to support the status quo and the Open Door Policy in China. The agreement gave some sort of a moral sanction to the special position of Japan in Korea and Manchuria though it did not amount to give Japan a free hand in Manchuria. To the United States, this agreement provided guarantees on the Philippines, Hawai and Alaska and a reiteration of the Open Door Doctrine and the integrity of China. Subsequently the U.S. Secretary of state Knox substituted dollars for bullets and initiated a policy of dollar diplomacy. He proposed the complete commercial naturalisation of Manchuria. Railways to be neutralised by providing China with funds to purchase them through a great multi-power loan. The new American policy met with limited success. It forced American capital by diplomatic pressure into the Far East and thus struck a blow to European financial monopoly in China proper and the Japanese in Manchuria. But Japan refused to budge out of the determination to dominate as much of Manchuria as she could. The secret understanding

she had with Russia as well the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902 entrenched deeply Japan's position in Manchuria.

Anti-Comintern pact

The Japanese synchronised their expansionist activities with such an international situation that the powers found their attentions engaged in other developments. The Japanese march on the continent of Asia, the flouting of league and the creating of Manchukuyo aroused suspicious Washington and London against Japan's intention. The relations with the U.S.S.R. had strained over outer Mongolia and the abrogation of the 1930 naval treaties widened the gulf between Japan and search for political allies led Japan to sign Anti-comintern pact with Nazi Germany in 1936 By this pact the two signatories agreed to suppress communism. Italy also signed the pact on November 1937 and transformed it into the Tripartite Agreement against commintern activity. the Anti-Comintern pact paved the way for Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis.

Japan and Germany

The German-Japanese relations had nothing in common before the rise of Hitler. In fact Kaiser's Germany casigated Japan and called upon the white powers to fight, "Transformed German Japanese relationship". Links with the Far Eastern nations were forged in 1935. Berlin signed a commercial agreement with Manchukuo in April, 1935. The Japanese military and naval Missions paid visits to Germany. Germany founded works in Tokyo to manufacture range-finders for ships and artillery. The economic and military co-operation between two was a prelude to political understanding. The Anti Comintern Pact referred above, was the fruit of this co-operation. The pact was against Bolshevik Menace and envisaged co-operation for blocking all communistic moves and did not aim at alienating Great Britain, so assured German foreign office.

Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis

The Pact was received with mixed feelings. the issue was finally clarified on September 17, 1940 when Germany, Italy and Japan entered into the totalitarian alliance block against the democracies. The pact included.

1. The recognition by Japan of the leadership of Germany and Italy in the creation of a New order in Europe.
2. Germany and Italy to respect Japan's Leadership in the construction of a New order in Greater East Asia.
3. Germany and Italy Japan agreed to help each other with political, economic and military aid in the extent of any power being attacked by a power not involved at the time in European and China war.

4. The pact was to remain in force for ten years and joint commissions, were to be convened to implement and explore co-operation. The Japanese Foreign Minister Matsuoka deplored hostile American reaction to the pact and invited Washington to join the Axis in the formation of a great. New order to be divided into four spheres under the control of Japan, Germany, Italy and the U.S.A.

Second Sino-Japanese War

After the defeat of China in Manchuria, Japan was very much encouraged and followed an aggressive policy particularly towards China. Japan was not satisfied with what she had gained to get but wanted to humble down China still further.

Condition of China in 1937

By 1937, China was in bad shape both politically and economically. In the political field there was a Kuomintang government at Nanking headed by Chiang-Kai-Shek. This government was very strong and most of China was under its influence and control. This government always laid stress on national unity and integrity. Due to personality of Chiang-Kai-Shek this government enjoyed considerably good confidence of the people. Then there was another government at Canton. It was also a Kuomintang party government but the leaders of this government did not agree with Chiang-Kai-Shek. They believed that Chiang was not following the policies and programmes of Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen. Wang-Ching-Mei was the prominent leader of the Government. There were some parts of China which were under political influence and virtual control of communists of China. It was due to Kuomintang communist conflict that Japan was encouraged to invade China. But still there was another part of China which was controlled by local chief. They accepted the supremacy of Nanking government but in theory alone. In fact ruled people in the way they liked. The central authority man usually not strong enough to check their authority and as already pointed out Manchuria had slipped out of China and was under the control of Japan, though on paper an independent and sovereign government was making there.

Such was the political condition of China. But on the economic front also she was in no good shape. The fertile provinces of Manchuria and Japan and slipped out of China and as such considerable portion of income which would have got from these provinces was no longer there. Japan was also dumping her goods in China through Hopie where through Hopie council she had obtained considerably favourable tariff concessions. This had very adversely affected China's internal trade and had virtually dislocated the same. Like many other countries China also witnessed world wide serious economic depression. China which was already economically poor country was still facing the evil effects of that depression. Then another difficulty on the economic front was that U.S.A. was forced to devalue her currency and many advanced countries delinked their currencies from gold to silver. This resulted in drainage of gold and silver from

China which still more adversely affected her economy. China had no other alternative but to devalue her currency to her great disadvantage

But the only ray of hope out of this gloomy picture was that in China now there was a very good feeling of nationalism. The people of China were now prepared to face Japanese on-slaughter. They were now decided not to bow so quickly before any nation of the world.

Causes of the war

There were few serious causes for the outbreak of war. One cause was aggressive mood of Japan. After Manchuria, Japan wanted to conquer more of China's territories. China had however, awakened and feelings of nationalism had come. She was in no mood to accept the subordination of Japan. There were agitation throughout the country and Japanese goods were boycotted. But Japan was at no cost prepared to give up aggressive designs and as such it was natural that at some stage the conflict will breakout. Then another cause was the unity of Kuomintang and communist parties. Japan had always been taking advantages of the internal conflict between the two parties. In 1936, two major parties combined together. By an agreement communists agreed that they will make no attempt to over throw the Government by force. The Red Army will work under the guidance of Nanking government but as a separate unit. A constitution based on democratic principles will be introduced and programme of joint front for ending means of Japan, will be strictly enforce. The Kuomintang party agreed that internal differences were to be patches up and all efforts will be made to throw out the agressor. All political prisoners will be released and the people will have freedom of speech and enjoy liberty to organise themselves. A meeting of representatives of political parties and armies will be called. All efforts will be made to repulse Japanese aggression and attempts will also be made to improve living standard of the people. Accordingly both the parties came very close to each other. Their agreement gave them a great strength and they were prepared to have a war with Japan, if need be.

Still another reason was that economic conditions of China were very deplorable. There was a general feeling that economic misery of the country was primarily due to Japan which was blockading growth of her economy. There was a feeling that the war was the only way for throwing out Japan and as such China was quite ready to take a chance with Japanese at the appropriate time.

Circumstances Leading to War

After Manchurian crisis Japan had been taking advantage of internal weakness of China. First of all Japan strength has positioned in North China. In 1933 Japan conquered Jehol. On May 31, 1933 Japan concluded a true with China known as Tangku true by which a demilitarised zone between Great Wall and Peking. Tientsin Railway was created. By this Japan could control the access to China from the north. On April 17, 1934 a man Fij Doctrine was announced by which

Japan declared that China could share with her only, the responsibility of maintaining peace in the East Asia. But inspite of protest and suspicious of U.S.A Japan continued to follow aggressive policy but at the same time assured the world that she had no interests of expansion in China.

But it appears that Japan was not serious in implementing the assurances. In 1935 an incident took place in which two more Japanese, Chinese newspaper reporters were killed in that part of Tientsin in which Japan had obtained certain concessions. Japan took advantage of the situation and forced her to sign an Agreement known as Ho-Umedu Agreement.

Ho-Umedu Agreement

According to this agreement Japan made China agree that she will remove objectionable troops officials from the territory. China also agreed to put many restrictions on the activities of Kuomintang in Hopei and will also check all anti-Japanese activities in that areas.

Agreement about Hopei

Japan also forced China to sign an agreement with Japan about Hopei by which she agreed that she will withdraw her forces from north Hopei and Japan will have a right to conduct on orial survey of North Hopei to ensure that China had no armies there. After Japan had assured himself that there were no Chinese armies in North Hopei, Japan will withdraw her forces stationed near the Great Wall. It will be the responsibility of Chinese government to maintain Law and order through police in North Hopei but China will ensure that there were no anti-Japanese policemen in this police. In 1935 Japan concluded another agreement with China about Hopei by which Japan demanded that all Anti-Japanese officials in China be dismissed. The Kuomintang organisations working in the area will be dissolved and all anti-Japanese propaganda in the area will be brought to an end. In this way Japan got an effective control and hand in Hopei.

Attitude of China

Japan had created a separate State of Manchukuo but was not satisfied. She was exerting her influence in North Hopei and was designing to create a state of North China. But China was putting up rough resistance to Japan. There were nation wide agitations ans boycotts of Japan. The masses were awakened and they began to resent Japan's increasing influence in China. It was at this critical time that in 1936 Kuomintang and Communist parties of China combined together with the object of checking the advances of Japan in China.

New order in Japan

In 1936, an extremist government under military pressure came into power in Japan which enunciated a new order. According to this Japan took upon itself the responsibility of crushing anti-Japanese activities in China, presuming that China was not in a position to do so. It also said that a new order in Japan must come under which the new born state of Manchukuo should be developed

and Japan. Manchukuo and China should work with close understanding for their economic development. Lastly China should co-operate with Japan in crushing communists from North China and at the same time and western influence from China. Obviously the new order was not acceptable to China. It meant virtual acceptance of Manchukuo for which China was not ready. Moreover, Kuomintang Government of China could not agree to the idea of crushing the communists from China, who were fighting to end Japanese influence in the country.

China's Tough Resistance

It was by now clear to Japan that National Movement in China has considerably increased and that there were no chances of China bending down. China was also now interested in gaining time to consolidate her position so that she could give a rough and tough time to Japan. Japan now demanded that New order should be accepted for which China was not at all prepared. She was demanding favourable tariff revision and also acceptance of China, of Japanese advisers in all branches of administration including military administration. China was not prepared for all this as well and in order to gain time China asked Japan to withdraw her forces from North China. It also suggested that demilitarised zone in North China and Shanghai government to take positive and concrete steps to check smuggling activities of Japanese, Korean and Formosan smugglers. Thus there was a dead lock between the two countries and war appeared to be the only way out.

Out Break of War

On July 7, 1937 at night there were some skirmishes between the armies of the two countries at Marcopolo bridge near Peking. This incident is known as Lukouchiao incident. In the incident there was a firing incident. Both the sides blamed each other for this. Japan was already in aggressive mood and took advantage of the situation. She wanted to use the opportunity for occupying some more parts of China, but due to the rise of nationalism in that country, the people were prepared to face the enemy. On 7th July 1937, Japanese armies advanced forward and occupied the capital of Hopei. Thereafter they occupied Chakar and Shansi provinces. But Shansi could not be brought down due to tough resistance given by the communists. On October 29, 1937 a separate state of Mongolia was setup. Similarly on December 14, 1937 a separate government was established at Taiping. Both the governments were the creating of Japan. In 1939 Japan also invaded Shinghai and captured it. The wealthy town was ruthlessly looted and destroyed. Japan also captured Nanking and forced Kuomintang Government to change the capital. Japan now wanted to consolidate his hold but the Chinese nationalist were in no mood to reconcile themselves to this situation. They wanted to fight on till the aggression was vacated.

Japan was similarly taking steps to consolidate her hold. In the first instance a feeler was sent to Chiang-Kai-Shek offering him rulership of united China, provided he accepted the New order of Japan. Chiang refused. Thereafter search was made for a person who was some what acceptable to

the people of China, as head of new Government. Japan was successful when old political rival of Chiang namely, Wang-Ching-Wei agreed to Japan's suggestion.

Since Chinese nationalists were in no mood to bow, Japan also proceeded further. On 17th October 1938 China occupied Canton and only 4 days later Hankow was also captured. Japan then made every attempt to ensure that China got on military assistance from the western powers either by sea or by land routes. It was under these circumstances that World War II broke out and China sided with the Allied power. In 1941, when Japan also joined war on the side of Germany the whole Sino-Japanese conflict became a part of the global war.

Effects of War

Sino-Japanese war came to close, technically only with the close of the Second World War. The War had its effects on the national and international fronts. One effect on the National front was decrease in the influence of Chiang-Kai-Shek. The people of China, who were under Chiang Government felt helpless. They began to doubt his administrative abilities and capabilities. The another effect was the increased influence of communists. They were already very powerful and now even Chiang was resisting Japanese only with their co-operation. Thus strength of communists increased and also their influence. In the international field there was also significant influence. Japan had set up new puppet governments which were recognised by the supporters of Japan namely, Germany, Spain, Italy, Rumania etc., This had put China in a very disadvantageous position. At this critical time Russia sided with Kuomintang communist government and thus China tilted towards Russia.

Thus when war broke out Japan was in aggressive mood. She had humbled down China and was also increasing her strength there. China was practically incapable of resisting the military strength of Japan and every where bowed.

Second world war in East Asia

The war which had been devastating Europe since 1939 had its repercussions on the Pacific. The second Sino-Japanese war had encouraged Militaristic-imperialistic tendencies and opened the road to Military dictatorship in Japan. Baron Hiranuma said that "Militarism is necessary for the realising of our highest morality". The fascist organisations of Japan exalted war as the father of creation, not to be denounced but encouraged. The military machine was projected and General Tojo became incharge of the newly created military Aviation Department. The Japanese imperialism manifested itself in slogans like, "Asia for Asians, Greater East Asian co-prosperity sphere". New order etc premier prince kono observed that the Japanese Government are resolved to carry on Military operations for the complete extermination of the anti-Japanese Kuomintang regime, and at the same time to produce worth the work of establishing a new order in East Asia together. With

those for sighted Chinese who share over ideas and aspirations". The Japanese new order envisaged a tripartite relationship of mutual aid and coordination among Japan Manchukuo and China in the political, economic and cultural fields. The militarists dream of uprooting western imperialism and said in their manifesto of January 1941 that for establishment of peace was necessary to end seven century old white domination of South-East Asia.

After the out break of the Second World War, America alone was in position to resist Japan's rising meance in the area. She formed a coalition of the so called ABCD powers. Despite the coalition, most of the Japanese believed that international situation favoured Japan to establish her supremacy in the Pacific. They hoped that by striking swiftly they would bring their opponents to compromise. The replacement of premier known by chauvinistic General Tojo began a new chapter in Japan' war history. The Japanese aim in the world war was to bring success finally in the China war, and establish an independent economic order in greater Asia under her domination. She wanted to free herself from dependence on Britain and America for the supply of necessary articles and industrial development. The international situation, the creation of Rome Berlin-Tokyo Axis, Russo-Japanese neutrality pact, the agreement with the government etc. provided her favourable atmosphere for the fulfillment of her designs.

Japan and Indo-China

The Japanese secured important concessions in Indo-China such as stoppage of all military hardwares to the Government of Chiang Kai Shek, the use of Indo-Chinese air stations to intercept supplies to China through Burma China road, stationing of Japanese troops in Indo-China etc. The Government of Indo-China did not oppose Japanese moves and by the end of July 1941, all the French colonies in the Far East came under the Japanese control. The move was well times. France was beaten and could obviously offer no assistance to her distant possessions and the Triple Alliance appeared to immobilise the United States, while Hitler's invasion of Russia removed all threat of interference on the part of the U.S.S.R.

Japan and Indonesia

The islands of Indonesia also formed parts of the Japanese quarter East Asian co-prosperity share. The Dutch East Indies or Indonesia was a Colony of Holland. The whole region was very important for the Japanese economic and commercial interests. The area was an important source for petroleum, rubber, tin and other mineral wealth. The American-Japanese strained relations made it inevitable for Japan to cast her covetous eyes on the Islands. Manchukuo, Inner Mongolia, China, Indonesia, together with other regions of South East Asia make self-dependent economic block. Sometime ago the foreign minister Arita made it clear that Japan had a close economic link with the south sea of Netherlands, dominated Indonesia and both are inter dependent for their economic

needs. Japan also made it clear that any change in the situation of Holland during the war would be a matter of grave concern for Japanese would not allow the allies to overtake the Island of Indonesia in the event of Holland's down fall.

Pearl Harbour

On December 7, 1941, in the early hours of morning 150 aeroplanes of Japan bombarded American naval base in Pearl Harbour, and paralysed 90% of American naval and air power in the area. It enabled Japan to attack other places without an appreciable resistance. Japan's sudden and daring act brought U.S.A. in the bloody conflict. The next day England, Netherlands and China formally declared war against Japan. Japan also attacked Island of Phillipines and Hongkong.

Fall of Malaya, Singapore and Burma

During the first few months after the Pearl Harbour, the Japanese gained victorious and made phenomenal advances. The English, American and Dutch possessions in the Pacific were cleared of their white masters. On December 10, 1941 the Japanese aeroplanes destroyed 'Republic', 'Prince of Wales' the two warship of England in the region. This crippled the naval powers of the Mistress of the seven sea's on January 11, 1942 the Japanese forces captured Kuala Lumpur and pushed ahead, forcing the British to withdraw on January 31, to Singapore Island. The Japanese quickly repaired the blasted cause way connecting Singapore with the Mainland and pushed towards the city. On February 15, the Great British Naval Bastion of Singapore, a symbol of British powers in East Asia, fell into the Japanese hands when General Percival surrendered to General Yamashita with 75,000 troops. After the fall of Singapore, the Japanese forces captured, Moulmein, pushed into Burma and secured Rangoon on March 10. The victorious Japanese had reached at the gates of India and even Australia was threatened by them. The seizure of Hongkong and Burma had cut off supply routes to free China and made her position desperate.

The Greatest East Asia

Despite her astounding success, Japan knew that her victories were far from complete. She now turned her attention to develop the resources in such a way that, effective resistance could be offered to the counter attack, certain to be launched sooner or later. The elicited willing co-operation of the occupied territories Japan played an Anti-White and anticolonial sentiments of the Asians. The Asian Monroe doctrine and 'Asia for Asians' and other catchy slogans received reception. The Japanese respected local customs and institutions and talked of the independence of the liberated regions. Japan's attempt to found a Nipponlea economic-political community after initial reception, was now looked down by the people. The over bearing manners and regimented behaviour of occupation officials had antagonised the local popular. In the economic sphere, Japan endeavoured to organise the rich resources of the area to suit to requirements of

her war machine. But the counter-attack by the allies depleted Japan's strength and brought her efforts to naught.

Towards defeat

The tide of the Japanese victory turned in the Pacific when the American fleet gained great success in the battle of the coral sea. On May 1942 and the Battle of Midway on June 1942. The Japanese on slaughter served to force, wrote Walter Milles, "Our Spawling Confused, uncertain democracy at one blow into the most powerful and best integrated instrument of war which the world has ever seen". After the Midway Battle, the U.S. gradually assumed the offensive and captured Guadal Canal in the Soloman Islands in August.

The Japanese were pushed back from South Western Pacific. Australia was made the head quarter to carry on war against Japan under the commandership of General Macarthur. The strategy of the allies was to strike an offensive against the Japanese held islands. After the downfall of Guadal Canal, the allies hoped from one Japanese strong hold to another which ultimately led to the collapse of Japan. The allies were successful in capturing Taravia and the Aleutians in 1943. The U.S.A. and the England by a treaty ended these eight of extra territoriality and other privileges in China ordered to secure full co-operation from her. In June 1944, the battles were fought on the Phillippines waters in which Japan sustained heavy losses. The allied troops landed on the Island of leyte and fought fiercest naval battle of the Second World War. Japan had staked all her power in the battle like the last stake of a gambler but lost due to American's air superiority.

The Surrender of Japan

The mainland of Japan could not be secured any longer from bombing. In February 1945, a serious land engagement took place at Okinawa in the Ryuku Island. In March, Tokyo was bombed and the whole city was reduced to fire and smoke. The Japanese also withdraw from Manipur and the British re-occupied upper Burma. The British control went on increasing and they resumed their aid to the Government of free China. Following the Yalta Conference on February 1945, Russia also agreed to wage a war against Japan in return the allies promised to give all those facilities in Korea and Manchuria which Russia possessed before 1905. Russian forces invaded Manchuria and wiped out Muchukuo's independent existence. In Europe axis possess were finally defeated and surrendered. Japan was now alone and found enriched by enemies.

In the two weeks since the month of July 1945 her 416 naval ships and 556 aeroplanes were destroyed. The Tojo cabinet had fallen in July 1944 and the Suzuki cabinet initiated peace talks through mediators. The U.S.A., Great Britain and China and the Conference at Potsdam advised the "unconditional surrender of all Japanese forces" but the militarists opposed it. The unconditional surrender was against Japanese morality and the Shinto-Samurai tradition. The spirit of Yamato

Tamashi was still alive in Japan. According to Dr. Jiloharada, "It is the driving force in us. Something in the blood which we ourselves are not always able to explain, crystallised this spirit becomes the sharpest steel, scattered it falls like the petals of the cherry". In their anxiety the allies decided to drop atomic bombs and on August 7 an atom bomb was dropped at Hiroshima, and two days later at Nagasaki killing 2,80,000 human beings in the twinkling of the eye. The dropping of the atom bombs was necessary or not will perhaps remain a matter of controversy. It did shorten the war and on August 14 Tokyo indicated her willingness to surrender unconditionally. General MacArthur reached Japan on August 20 and on September 2, 1945. Japanese representatives signed the surrender document on the American battleship Missouri in the Tokyo Bay. Ninety two years before 1853 it was American Perry who unlocked the cage of isolation which launched Japan on modernisation and it was American MacArthur who made Japanese bow at the same place. Thus Japan saw her phenomenal rise and fall in the Bay of Yedo.

Causes of Defeat

After the acceptance of Potsdam Declaration various causes were adduced by individuals in the press for Japan's defeat. Dr. Yagi attributed the defeat to jealousy and feudalistic sectionalism as well as the absence of the freedom of press. Speech and association professor Taka Saka held irrationalism. Lack of scientific attitude and objectivity, inferiority in science and technology responsible for defeat. Hatoyama Chiro regarded monopolisation by government and few individuals of economic affairs, arbitrary and self righteous attitude, blindness of bureaucracy towards duty as the reason for defeat. The newspaper Asahi asked out at the bureaucratic corruption avarice, selfishness and the lack of competence and conviction.

In fact the unholy alliance between the militarists and bureaucracy, which concentrated all powers in their hands by demolishing party-democracy, was greatly responsible for the national disaster. The chauvinistic ambitions of military clique headed by General Tojo carried Japan to the brink of ruin. The militarists never thought that war would linger on so long and not they were prepared for it. Their decision to jump into the war was impracticable. The belief in German Victory was based on Yellow propaganda. Matsuoka misplaced his confidence on Germany victory. The Japanese also miscalculated about America's strength and will to fight. The boundless Japanese ambition was indeed the chief cause of Japan's defeat.

After Victories, the Japanese war machine lose resilience and began to crumble. In a long drawn battle, the final victory belongs to those who yield better and greater economic, industrial and man power. The allies definitely had an edge over the axis power in the matter. The improved technological and scientific, military, naval and air weapons and devices, possession of atom bombs etc. gave upper hand to allies in the war. Harold Hakwon Sumo in his recent book, Japanese Militarism past and present commenting on the defeat observed that the blindness and conceit of the Japanese

generals the U.S. Military land technical superiority and most important, the U.S.A.'s use of the atomic bombs during the final phase of the war could be listed among the causes of the defeat.

No doubt, America played a major role in the route of Japan but the huge role played by the U.S.S.R. should also be taken note of. Since its entry into the war in August 1945, the society Union defeated a strong Japan army in Manchuria and destroyed a big chunk of Japan's military machine. Finally the lack of coordination between various organs of war led Japan to the brink of precipice. Not only it lacked co-operation but there existed a "Long standing, deeprooted and smoudering army-navy cleavage that broke out in the open during the war and this too played no small part in Japan's defeat. This cleavage could not be parched up despite the formation of Koise-Yonai cabinet after Tojo's downfall which was virtually army-navy co-premier ship. The Chason remained unbridgeable while the table turned upon Japan.

Results of the Second World War

The defeat in the war reduced Japan almost to ashes and she was faced with the tremendous task of economic, political, social and military reconstruction. The flames of the war had burnt. Japanese ambitions, dreams of the Greater East Asian co-prosperity sphere on the one hand and the imperialism of the white nations on the other. Infact colonial Imperialistic structure of the world crumbled and dashed to pieces. India, Ceylon, Burma, Indo-China, Indonesia etc became free because the war depleted men and material resources of the Imperial nations to an extent that they could not retain their hold upon them. Japan indirectly helped in the freedom of slave nations. Japan's own empire was snatched from her hands and her boundaries shrunk to pre 1894 days. Formosa was restored to China. Korea was divided at 38th Parallel north of its falling under Russian influence while the south under America. The Japanese imperial hunge had resulted into destruction and devastation. The American troops under Macarthur occupied Japan, declared an end of despotism and re-instated with a stinge of liberaliam, the constitutional democratic political structure. The land of the rising sun was shrouded in dark clouds for some time as a result of chauvinistic Militarism.

Model Questions

1. Explain the life and works of Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen in China.
2. What was the part played by Yuan-Shi-Kai for Chinese history ?
3. Explain the impact of the First World War over China.
4. What is May Fourth Movement? Write about its importance over Chinese history.
5. Explain the importance of Washington Conference over the Far East.
6. What were the works of Chiang-Kai-Shek for Chinese Nationalism ?
7. Explain the growth of militarism in Japan and how did she annex Korea ?
8. Write an essay about the party politics of Japan.
- ~~9. Why did Japan involve in the Manchurian affairs ?~~
10. Explain how did the second Sino-Japanese War lead to the Second World War ?

M.A.DEGREE EXAMINATION, NOVEMBER 2002**Second Year - Non Semester****History - Main****HISTORY OF EAST ASIA FROM 1840-1966****(For those who have joined in July 2000 and after)****Time : Three Hours****Maximum : 100 marks****Answer any FIVE of the following in ESSAY form.****All questions carry equal marks**

1. Give an account of General Perry's expedition and its impact on the History of Japan
2. Analyse the causes of the First Opium War and discuss the importance of the Treaty of Nanking.
3. Evaluate the part played by Empress Dowager in the history of Modern China.
4. Give a note on the modernization of Japan during the Meiji era
5. Outline the causes and results of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905
6. Give an estimate of Dr. Sun-yat-Sen
7. What were the causes that led to the Anglo-Japanese alliance of 1902 ? What were its effects?
8. What were the reasons for the struggle between Nationalists and Communists in China ?
9. Review the role of Japan in the Second World War.
10. Discuss the development of China under the leadership of Mao-Tse-Tung

Paper 2.2 - History of East Asia From 1840 - 1966

The Origin and growth of Manchu Dynasty opening of China

Japan during the first half of nineteenth century Decay of the feudalism - opening of Japan - its results. The first Opium War(1839 - 42) its treaties Second Opium War - treaties - results- Taiping Rebellion.

An uneasy interlude in China - Frontier relations between China and Russia. The Fall of Tokugawa Shoguns Meiji Restoration abolition of feudal domains - Meiji Constitution. Modernisation of Japan - Reorganisation of army and navy - law - industries - National Educational system - agricultural development - Rise of nationalism

Sino-Japanese war - causes, course, treaty of Shimonoshaki 1895 - results - Three power intervention - concession in China - Open door policy. Hundred days reform movement. Boxer uprising - Manchu attempts at reforms - Role of Dowager empress - Anglo-Japanese Alliance - Russo-Japanese War - Causes courses - Results. Treaty of Portsmouth. The fall of Manchus - The Revolution of 1911. The life and works of Sun-Yatsen - The Presidency of Yuan Shi-kai 1915-16 - First World War in the East Asia - China and Japan in the Peace Conference - Chinese Nationalisms - Chiang Kai Shek. Growth of Militarism in Japan - Annexation of Korea - Party Politics - Ultra Rationalism Manchurian affairs - insurrection of 1936 - Anti comintern pact.

Second Sino-Japanese War - Second War in the East Asia - Japanese occupation of the South East Asia - Surrender

Books for Reference :

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Beasley, W.G.	The Modern History of Japan
Bush, C.A.	Asia in the Model World
Gady, J.F.	South East Asia - Its Historical Development
Chieu Tuean Sheng	The Government and Politics China
Chitoshi, Yamaga	Japan since Perry
Clyde and Beers	The Far East.
Crofts and Buchanan	A History of the Far East.
Eberhard	A History of China
Epstein, L.	From Opium War to Liberation
Gandhidasan, M.	History of China (Tamil)
Gubbins, G.H.	The Makings of Modern Times.
Hughes, E.R.	Far East in Modern Times
Hiang Kuang	Modern History of China
Michael Taylor	The Far East in the Modern word
Morelay	China since 1911
Mills, L.A.	The New World in South East Asia
Murray	Japan
Vinake	A Short History of the Far East in modern times
Wildes M.Emerson	Social current in Japan
Young Carl, W.	Japan's special position in Manchuria