

DJH3E - HISTORY OF FAR EAST- 1840-1970**Unit I**

Historical and Geographical Survey- Early European Intercourse - The Opium Wars – Treaties - Taiping Rebellion - Sino Japanese War - The Triple intervention - Open Door Policy - Reform Movement- The Boxer Rising- Hundred Days Reforms.

Unit II

The Revolution of 1911 - Founding of Republic - Dr. Sun yat sen - China and the First World War - Cultural Movements - The Kuomingtang Party - The Kuomingtang and the Communists - Siankaishek.

Unit III

China and the Second World War- Establishment of the People's Republic - The National Government in Formosa - Mao Tse - Tung - Foreign Policy of China From 1950 – 1970.

Unit IV

Meiji Restoration - Economic and Educational Changes - Religious Changes - Rise of Japan - War with China - War with Russia - Japan and Korea – Mutshihito - His Service - Japan and the First World War - Japanese Militarism.

Unit V

Japan's Economic and Social problems between the two world wars - Japan and the Second World War - Occupation of Regina - Economic Recovery - Foreign Relations.

Reference Books:

1. A Short History of the Far East in Modern Times - S.L. Roy
2. Clyde and Beers - The Far East
3. Rise and Growth of Modern China - M.D. David
4. Rise and Growth of Modern Japan - M.D. David

UNIT: I

CHINA IN 1840

The Manchu Rule in China

The China dynasty or the Manchu dynasty, as it is commonly known ruled over China for about three centuries. During this period the empire expanded as never before. At its height, the dynasty ruled over China proper, Manchuria, Magolia, Sinkiang and Tibet. It received tribute from Nepal, Burma, Laos, Siam, Annam and Korea. Under Manchu rule, China attained a high level of material prosperity. In the latter part of the seventeenth century and through most of eighteenth century, China was more prosperous than any other part of the world. With the coming of the Manchu dynasty, China entered the period of transition from the traditional to the modern. It was during this period that China felt the impact of Western armed might and the Western religion.

The first Manchu Emperor to rule at Peking was Shun Shih. He was succeeded by his son Kang His who ruled for 62 years. Then Yung Cheng who ruled for 12 years. After him Chien Lung (1735-1796) Succeeded. He reigned for six decades and during his period the wealth and population of the realm surpassed all other contemporary states. His son Chia Ching (1796-1820) succeeded him. He Lacked the popularity and was neither firm nor efficient. In 1820 the death a China Ching brought to the throne his son Tao K wang. He was no better than his father. During his reign “China was experiencing the beginning of a dynastic decline characterized by official corruption, inefficient administration a degraded military and fiscal imbalance. The splendor of past glory remained on the surface but beneath it the substance of grandeur was gone. It was at this juncture that the Westerners began to intensify their bit to open China to trade and diplomacy and a new phase of history began”.

The Extent of the Empire

The Manchu period was an era of empire-building. In its heyday and at the time of the advent of the West, the Chinese empire consisted of:

1. China proper, comprising the eighteen provinces.
2. Manchuria, divided into three provinces.
3. Such dependencies as Tibet, Mongolia
4. Nominally vassal states, such a Korea and Annam. Excluding the vassal states, China had a total area of 4,277,170 square miles. They considered their country as Middle Kingdom, as it was surrounded by tributary States.

The Society

The Pre-modern China was not only one of the largest geographical areas, but also one of the greatest population units, The Manchu period saw a major population growth. In the previous periods, China's peak population was probably 100,000,000. In 1812, it was over 362 million, and by 1850. It had gone upto 430 million. Because of the pressure of population, the general economic condition of people was poor. The Chinese people consist of a blending of various racial groups, were to a large extent assimilated into a unified Chinese culture. The Society was divided in to five occupational groups:

1. The scholars or the literates who formed the highest class from whom the officials were selected.
2. Farmers who formed the bulk of the population and who helped to maintain the self-sufficient economy of China.
3. Artisans who worked the handicraft industries
4. Merchants and traders who were low in social status.
5. Servants and soldiers.

Thus the economic life of the country was organized and largely self – controlled – the farmers in the village, the artisans and the merchants in their guilds and clubs. The village communities were, to a large extent, self sufficient. Trade from one coastal place to another was through the highly developed and well-maintained waterways. But Internal communications were difficult as good roads and adequate means of conveyance did not exist.

MANCHU POLITICAL SYSTEM

Confucian Precepts

Confucianism had a great influence in shaping the political structure of old China. Confucian political theory had certain clear-cut precepts. One of them relates to uuity, both social and political. Confucius taught: “As Haven's has not two suns, so the people should not have two kings”. Application of this doctrine prevented political divisions of the empire. Another precept relates to the Heaven's Mandate, made popular by Mencius. This doctrine taught that the emperor enjoyed his position through the favour of the Heaven. The emperor was considered the Son of Heaven and by Heaven's Mandate he maintained his rule. When an incapable or wicked ruler ascended the throne, Heaven withdrew the Mandate and bestowed it on some righteous noble. It then became the duty of the noble to rebel to overthrow the emperor and to ascend the throne himself This doctrine provided justification for

rebellion and also for conquest of territories suffering from misrules as seen from the Chinese point of View.

The Monarchy

In theory, the emperor had unlimited powers. But in practice, the autocratic Manchu emperor was bound by powerful controls such as custom, convention and precedent as defined by the edicts of his predecessors. He was generally influenced by the advice of his ministers. As a matter of fact, the imperial power was not exercised by the emperor himself, but by various ambitious groups such as his kinsmen or generals or powerful families.

Ministers and Departments

The real administration was carried on by six ministries or boards, namely, civil office (appointment of Officials), revenue ceremonies, war, punishment public works (canals, food control, etc). In addition to these six boards there were two other independent branches of government, the military establishment and the censorate. There were also a number of other offices including literary academies and the court. In the days of later Manchus, a grand council consisting of six members was created to advise the emperor on military and other matters.

Civil Service Examinations

There was a carefully graded hierarchy of official servants recruited by means of competitive examinations. The ability to compose what was called the ‘ eight – legged essay, was essential to success in the examinations.

The Provinces

The empire was divided into provinces, which in turn were divided into counties. The provincial chiefs, appointed by the emperor, were semi-independent rulers charged with the duty of preserving peace and order and raising revenue for the central government. The provincial administration was carried by a bureaucracy of officials who were divided into nine grades.

Although there was large measure of provincial autonomy, all provincial officials were appointed, promoted, transferred and dismissed by the central government. High officials were not appointed in their places of birth. There were checks and counter-checks on official power concentration and factionalism.

At the head of the provincial government was the Viceroy or the Governor. There were also a general in command of the Manchu garrison, a treasurer for collection and transmission of revenues, to Peking, an appellate judge, a salt commissioner, a grain commissioner and a literary chancellor to supervise the civil service examinations.

Local Government

As mentioned above the province was divided into a number of counties or districts. The country consisted of a walled city and the adjacent towns and villages. The country was under the administration of the magistrate whose functions were many and varies. He was the collector of the revenues; he was the judge, the registrar of land, custodian of official buildings etc. His main business was the preservation of law and order. Under him there were many local officials who were neither elected nor formally appointed to their offices. The local officials, called gentry, performed functions that the local government could nor or was not qualified to perform.

Thus the Manchu empire had a highly centralized administration with a decentralized territorial system. There was a combination of autocratic element and democratic features. The Central government exercised a minimum of actual power, where as the family and guild system controlled all the activities of the people.

The Gentry

The Gentry, the Scholars who had passed the government examination played a dominant role in the society and enjoyed many unique privileges. They were distinguished from the commoners in style of dress and embellishments. They were exempted from labour service and were acting as intermediary agent between the local magistrate and the people in times of turmoil and unrest the gentry would organise militia and at times even lead the fighting themselves. They were considered as the guardians of cultural heritage. From arbitration of disputes to the sponsorship of public works to the organization of local defence the gentry performed an indispensable function in their home area the gentry status was conferred upon one who won a literary degree in the civil service examinations. Without question the gentry were most important single group in Chinese Society. It is not without good reason that China was sometimes described as the 'gentry state'

Military Organisation

On the eve of the forcible opening of china, the Chinese military establishment was useless as a fighting force. The Manchus maintained two military groups: (1) the Banner organization and (2) the army of the Green Standard. The banner army consisted mainly of men of the northern frontier who were loyal to the Manchus. Units of this army were stationed at provincial capitals and other strategic points. The army remained as a hereditary and privileged military group or caste like the samurai of Tokugawa Japan. After the conquest and in the long reign of peace, this army had lost its character and capacity as a fighting force. The warriors had become useless idlers.

The army of the Green Standard consisted mostly of the Chinese and remained a group distinct (from the bannermen. The Green Standard army was used for suppressing revolts and putting down robbery and other crimes. Its was mostly a police force.

With the decline in the leadership and competence of the Manchu dynasty, the military service had last their morale and discipline. To quote the words of Clyde. “ As the dynasty no longer let the nation, so the officers led their troops. It will thud be seen that in the days of the later Manchus the military services were in poor shape. While the bannermen had become a class of useless idlers; the grebe standard army was ill-equipped utterly demoralized and indiscipline caught in s cesspool of corruption and vice.

Early European Intercourse

From the early times China attracted merchants and adventurers of the Europeans to come from across the seas, the Portuguese were the first followed by the Spanish, the Dutch the English, the French and finally the Americans. The Portuguese having come first were able to establish themselves in 1557 at Macao, from where they exercised a virtual monopoly in the China trade throughout the 16th and 17th Centuries. The Spanish and the Dutch did not make any significant progress in their trade relations with China in the 18th Century. The English took the lead among European nations. All these European traders came to the southern coast of china and made contacts with the Chinese empire through canton.

Canton Trade

The foreign merchants got huge profits from the China trade. They were therefore anxious to extend their trade and to secure better facilities in their

intercourse with China. The Manchu rulers were afraid that the foreigners might strengthen revolutionary tendencies against them. Therefore they tried to keep foreign trade under strict control. Subsequently, Emperor Ching Lung, restricted the foreign trade to Canton, Even at Canton, the foreign merchants were confined to a small area were ordered to remain at Macao for part of the year.

Social Restrictions

The Chinese gave the trade a very low place in the scale of values. The merchants had no social status and they came last in the social scale after scholars, farmers and artisans. Foreign merchants were therefore treated contemptuously, who in their eyes were more ‘dollar grinders’/ The foreigners were prevented from learning the Chinese language. They were also restricted in employing Chinese servants. Women were not allowed to enter the factory areas. Travel of foreigners were also restricted. The Chinese were led to believe that China had every thing That her people needed. Foreign trade was, therefore, to them an unwanted luxury.

Chinese Sense of Superiority

Traditionally the Chinese considered themselves as the only civilized people in the whole world. Their was the Celestial Empire, and their ruler was the Celestial Emperor. All others in the eyes of Chinese were outer barbarians. All foreigners were therefore treated not as equals but as inferior and tributaries. They were required to perform the nine ceremonial prostrations known as ‘Kow-tow’ before the Emperor. The Westerners disliked all this.

The Ching dynasty, though weakened by internal decay, still kept up the face of a great empire and cherished the glory of its former years. It clung to the fond, if fictitious, notion that China, fas the Middle Kingdom on earth, was the center of the known civilized world and that all countries which desired relations with her must accept tributary status. But the westerners insisted on International relations according tot eh law and diplomacy of Europe: but the Chinese would not sacrifice their cherished system. The story of Sino-Western relations thereafter is one of continuous conflict, leading to the ultimate humiliation of the Manchu Empire.

THE FIRST OPIUM WAR (1839 –1842)

The Anglo – Chinese War that took place between the years 1839 and 1842 is better know the Opium War. It was the first attack of the West upon the Celestial Empire which was living in a ‘idle isolation’, and created craks in the fortress of the

Middle Kingdom. It was the first of the series of attempts initiated by the Western Maritime Powers to wide open China to foreign countries for economical exploitation and colonial enterprises, it is really an attack of the ever expanding economic imperialism upon a self-sufficient agrarian China. Opium merely served as a immediate pretext to the war.

CAUS OF THE OPIUM WAR

1. The Chinese attitude toward foreign trade

The Chinese attitude toward foreign trade was an outgrowth of their claim of supreme Sovereign Power over other nations of the world. It postulated that the bountiful Kingdom had no need for foreign things, but that the benevolent emperor allowed trade as a mark of favour to foreigners as a mean of retaining their gratitude. Hence, trade was not a right to be insisted upon but a privilege that could be withdrawn by China for any misbehavior. It required no formal diplomatic relations and no direct contact was allowed between the foreign traders and Chinese government officials. They had a deep faith in the theory of 'economic self-sufficiency'. According of it they felt that their country was a self-sufficient one, and produced all the necessaries of life abundantly and there arose no need to import goods from other countries. The Manchu Emperor Chien-lung in a reply to English King George III in 1793 to the request for the extension of trade clearly stated the traditional Chinese commercial policy. He Said, "We possess all things. I set no value on objects strange or ingenious and have no use for your countries manufacturer". Hence the Chinese are not interested in the expansion of foreign trade, while the maritime powers of Europe took pains to promote commercial activities with China.

2. Chinese ignorance of foreign relations

The concept of equality states was entirely foreign to China. The Manchu dynasty though weakened by internal decay, still kept up the face of a great empire and cherished the glory of its former years. It clung to the fond and fictious notion that China as the Middle Kingdom on earth was the center of the Known civilized world and that all the countries which desired relations with her must accept the tributary status. Hence, China refused to give equal status to other sovereign powers. She did not allow foreign countries to open embassy in the Imperial Capital Peking which remained as a "forbidden city" to foreigners, and refused to accept diplomatic representation on equal terms.

3. Chinese Sense of Superiority

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4. The Canton system of trade

The Manchu government had its own suspicion and fear over the activities of the Western traders, who behaved more or less like pirates. Hence it restricted the foreign trade to one port i.e., Canton, located at the Southern tip of China. All the other ports were closed to foreigners. But the Canton system of trade was either favourable nor acceptable to them. The main features of Canton trade were as follows:

(i) **Co-hong:** The chief characteristic of the Canton trade was its monopolistic structure. The Chinese court authorised thirteen merchants known as “Co-hong” as sole agents of foreign trade. This body had been organized early in the 18th century by Cantonese merchants to control the price of products like silk and tea. The foreigners were compelled to conduct their business only through this group of Chinese merchants and were not allowed to carry on trade with private Chinese merchants. Every foreign ship on arrival at Canton was assigned to one of the Co-hong merchants who became responsible not only for the sale of cargo but also for every operations of whatever kind connected with the arrival stay, and departure of the ship. The Co-hong merchants exploited the foreigners. In conjunction with Hoppo, the commissioner of customs the Co-hong levied both import and export duties and collected a variety of fees.

ii) **Tariff irregularities:** The western merchants were also adversely affected by the absence of a definite tariff schedule. The regular customs were reasonably low, some where between 2% and 4% ad valorem. But the local officials often arbitrarily increased the tariff duties and sometime collected as much as ten times the duties fixed by the Peking authorities. The foreign traders thus squeezed by the local officials.

iii) **Social restriction:** The Chinese gave the trade a very low place in the scale of values. The merchants had no social status and they came lost in the social scale after scholars, farmers and artisans. The Chinese officials treated their own

merchants with contempt. It is no wonder then, that they considered foreigners engaged in trade belonged to lowest order social ladder.

iv) Trade Imbalance: The balance of trade at Canton during the 18th century was very much in China's favour, because she needed few foreign products. While the Western traders purchased large quantities of tea and silk. Foreign ships had to bring silver and gold to purchase Chinese products. (only after she introduction of Opium traffic the balance was redressed).

v) Restrictions upon Foreigners: The Foreigners were obliged to submit to certain rules of conduct. The Violation of these rules could entail the stoppage of trade. The following code formed the code of behaviour for foreigners.

- a. No foreign and warships may sail inside the Bogue (a place near Canton)
- b. Neither foreign women nor fire arms may be brought into the factories.
- c. Foreign ships must not enter into direct communication with Chinese
- d. Foreign factories shall not employ Chinese maids. Not more than eight Chinese males may be employed.
- e. Foreigners may not communicate with Chinese officials except through the proper channel of the Co-hong.
- f. Foreigners are not allowed to row bats freely in the river.
- g. Foreigners may not sit in Sedan-chairs, or use the Sanpan boats with flags, they may ride only in topless small boats.
- h. Foreigners living in factories must not move in and out too frequently although they may walk freely within hundred yards of their factories.
- i. Foreign merchants must not remain in Canton after the trading season. Even during the trading season when the ship is laden they should return home or to Macao.
- j. Foreign ships may only anchor at Whampoa.
- k. Foreigners should not buy Chinese books and learn Chinese language.

These regulations governing foreign behavior doubtless caused much difficulties. But profits were so substantial that the foreigners could not afford to give up Chinese trade. They endured this humiliation in order to keep the traffic moving. However they resented the Chinese attitude.

5. The problem of Jurisdiction

The Chinese government insisted that foreigners committing crimes in China be tried according to Chinese law. On the other hand foreigners demanded exemption from Chinese law, because the Chinese courts dispensed justice and of the harshness of the sentence. Foreigners deeply resented the Chinese practice of holding the supercargo or community chief responsible for crimes committed by others. The lack of proper trial according to European justice, and the inhuman punishment like death by strangulation, forced confessions, and the use of tortures to get information were strongly opposed by foreigners.

6. The ambitious designs of Missionaries

The Christian Missionaries were fanatically eager to spread their religion throughout the length and the breadth of the Celestial empire. But the travel restrictions imposed by the Chinese government prevented them from preaching the gospel.

7. British attempts to establish diplomatic relations

The British government felt that much of the abuses at Canton was unknown to Peking which is 2000 miles away in the North. With a view to reducing the irritations, widening the trade, and placing British-Chinese relations on a regular diplomatic footing through direct contact with the headquarters, London decided to dispatch an official mission to China.

- i) The Macartney Mission : In 1792 a diplomatic mission under the leadership of Lord Macartney to China achieve the following objectives:
 - a) to acquire one or two places where the British traders must reside.
 - b. to negotiate a commercial treaty to extend trade throughout China.
 - c. To relieve existing abuses at Canton
 - d. To arrange diplomatic representation at Peking.

But the mission was 'received with at most politeness, treated with almost hospitality, watched with almost vigilance and dismissed with almost civility'. The request for diplomatic representations, and extension of trade were rejected on the ground that they were inconsistent with Chinese Custom.

ii) The Amherst Mission: In 1816 Lord Amherst the ex-governor of India led a diplomatic mission to China to achieve the same objectives. But he was dismissed even without an audience as he refused to perform the Kow-tow, the humiliating ceremony. Since both a Macartney and Amherst attempts at peaceful negotiations had failed, the British faced three alternatives of action. (1) abandon the China trade (2) Submit to the Chinese treatment or (3) resort to force. For Britain the most powerful nation on earth and the mistress of the seas, the first two courses were unthinkable leaving only the third alternative-force

iii) The Napier Mission : The abolition of the East Indian company monopoly of the China trade by the Charter Act of 1833 was proved as a far-reaching event which greatly aggravated the Sino- British relations. The British government had replaced the East India company in dealing with China, and official relations had been substituted for private relations. While the commercial interests continued to dominate policy considerations of national honour and prestige now assumed a greater importance the ever. Unfortunately the full significance of these changes had not been understood by the Chinese. It was under these circumstances Lord Napier, who was appointed as Chief superintendent of the British trade in China., set out on his mission in 1834 to facilitate British trade in China. As he had violated the Chinese regulations he was ordered to leave China at once.

8. The Opium Trade

In search for a commodity that would be bought by Chinese willingly and eagerly, and thereby straight the trade imbalance, the Western traders at last discovered a very profitable article for Chinese markets i.e., opium. Opium was the only commodity that could be sold in China for cash. The East India Company which established a monopoly of opium trade imported a large amount of opium in the China from India. The annual importation of opium in 1729 was 200 chests, but the import growth was rapid and steady. In the 1830's the volume rose enormously, reaching a peak of 40000 chests in 1838-39. More than 10 million Chinese addicted to the evil practice of opium smoking, which was very much harmful to one's health and mind. The economic repercussions of opium smoking were most serious. The constant inflow of opium caused a continuous outflow of Chinese taels (Silver coins). The drain was most acute in the middle and late 1830's somewhere between 4 and 5 million dollars annually. No civilized government would allow such a dangerous and disastrous traffic. Hence the Manchu Emperor Yung-Cheng prohibited the sale and smoking of opium in 1729 and Emperor Chia-ching outlawed its importation and cultivation in 1796. In 1800 the government issued another edict against the trade of opium.

In spite of these restrictions, smuggling of opium by foreigners in collusion with local merchants and officials went on unchecked. The British considered the opium trade as the goose that laid golden egg. They not only refused to frown upon the opium traffic but cherished it extended it and promoted it.

9. Commissioner Lin at Canton

In 1838 the Chinese government appointed Lin TSU-hsu to suppress the illicit trade on opium in Canton. Lin, armed with special powers to put down opium trade proceeded vigorously to enforce the prohibition edicts. He dealt severely and aggressively with Chinese opium dealers, brokers and consumers and confronted firmly the foreign trade.

He ordered foreign traders to surrender all their opium stocks in three days and sign a bond pledging not to engage in the illicit traffic in the future, violation of the bond would result in the death penalty and the confiscation of the drug, Elliot, the new British Superintendent of trade refused at first. Later surrendered the opium stocks but refused to execute the bond. Lin applied pressure by stopping supplies of food, water and personal service. Hence the British had to retire to Macao.

10. Immediate Cause

The tense situation in Canton area was further strained by the killing of a Chinese villager by a group of English seamen in Kowloon. Lin demanded the surrender of culprits. Elliot refused to submit British subjects to Chinese law and tried them and gave light punishments. Lin on his part irritated with the refusal to cooperate, took measures to expel the British from Macao and the war broke out.

The course of the war

In the first naval encounter in November 1839, two British frigates defeated the entire Chinese navy Canton was blocked by the British warships. In 1841 they occupied Canton, Ningbo Amoy and Chinkiang. The last was an important communication center at the crux of the Grand Canal and the Yanktze River. Alarmed at this, the Chinese sued for peace, and the Treaty of Nanking signed in 1842 brought the war to a close.

The Significance of the Nanking Treaty

The treaty of Nanking signed in August 1842 and the supplementary treaty of the Bogue signed in 1843 vindicated the aggressive free trade philosophy of Great

Britain. The two treaties contained the principles that were to govern China's international status for a century to come.

1. Five important Chinese ports were opened to the residence and trade of British merchants. Britain obtained Hong Kong in perpetuity. The Co-hong was abolished. China was saddled with the huge indemnity payment. Correspondence between the British and the Chinese was to be in future on status of equality.

2. China lost her autonomy. She was forced to agree to 5% and valorem tariff which was not to be increased except by mutual agreement.

3. China's sovereignty was also seriously curtailed by the treaties. The provision for extra-territorial jurisdiction in criminal cases was a major infringement on China's Sovereign rights.

4. The treaty was silent on the important question of opium trade. On moral grounds, the Chinese could not legalize opium trade. On moral grounds, the Chinese could not legalize opium traffic. But at the same time China did not have the machinery competent enough to enforce prohibition.

5. Britain secured the most favoured nation treatment. This opened the way for a stampede by other Western powers like France and United States to secure similar concessions from China. Accordingly the Treaty Whampoa was signed by France, and the Treaty of Naghia by U.S.A.

6. The treaty of Nanking was great humiliation to China. She was rudely jolted out of her age-long isolation. She had to follow hereafter an open door policy to Western commercial and imperial interests.

7. Economically China was impoverished. The Opium drained her wealth and health. There was widespread demoralization among the people on account of the defeat. Internal trade came to a never standstill for lack of silver currency.

8. Commissioner Lin was dismissed and exiled because of his inability to suppress opium trade and his responsibility in creating troubles for Chinese government.

THE TREATY OF NANKING

The first Opium war was the first of the series attempts initiated by the Western maritime powers to open China to foreign countries for economical exploitation and colonial enterprises. The Celestial Empire was living in a state of 'Idle Isolation'

closing her doors to the foreigners. Only a small passage was allowed to foreigners for commercial purposes which was also greatly restricted. The First Opium made cracks in the fortress of the Middle Kingdom. By the Treaty of Nanking, and by the subsequent treaties the foreigners succeeded in securing a foot-hold in China. But the foreigners could not achieve all they wanted. An analysis of the provisions of the Treaty of Nanking would expose its true nature. The provisions of the Treaty of Nanking were as follows:

1. China ceded the Island of Hong Kong to Britain – From now on, that Island became an integral part of the British Empire.

2. China agreed to open five ports Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo and Shanghai – to trade with the right of residence for foreign merchants.

3. The Monopoly of trade enjoyed by Co-hong was abolished. The foreign trade was thrown open to each and every Chinese citizen.

4. A fair and regular tariff on imports and exports was proposed. It was decided a fixed tariff system to be established shortly. The schedule of duties fixed according to the treaty could be rejected by China only with the consent of the British government.

5. China agreed to pay a compensation of 12 million dollars to England by way of war indemnity. 86 million dollars for the destroyed opium was also got by the English.

6. The Principle of equality of nation was accepted by China. Equality in official correspondence was established and the ceremonial Kow-tow was given up.

Treaty of Bogue 1843

A supplementary Treaty of Bogue was forced upon China by the British in the following year. This treaty contains the following clauses:

i) Extra – territoriality: By it the British criminals residing at the treaty ports would hereafter be tried only in British courts. The foreigners, who deeply resented the Chinese Judicial procedures were now satisfied that they could try their own cases in their own law-courts. This was a serious infringement upon Chinese sovereignty of judiciary, and lost her judiciary supremacy in her own soil.

ii) Most Favoured nations treatment: By it China granted Britain whatever rights and concessions that might be co-needed to other. Britain became automatically

entitled to all concessions, powers and privileges that China might offer to other countries.

iii) Fixation of customs duties: The treaty fixed the import duty from 4 % to 13% ad valorem averaging 5% and the export duty from 1.5% to 10.75%

iv) Allowing British navy in Chinese waters: It also allowed British warships to anchor at five ports to protect commerce and control sailors.

Criticism of the Treaties

This treaty was imposed by the victor upon the anguished at gunpoint. The treaty was utterly humiliating to the Chinese as it was signed under pressure. A careful deliberation usually accompanying international agreements in Europe and America was not made by China before signing the treaties. A most ironic point was that opium, the immediate cause of the war, was not even mentioned and left it still more a cause for another conflict. The foreigners could not gain all they wanted. Interior part of China was still closed to foreigners diplomatic representation at the capital was not granted and Peking still remained as 'forbidden city'. The Chinese thought that they had yielded too much while the foreigners felt that they gained too little.

EFFECTS OF THE TREATIES

1. Loss of Territories

Hong Kong an integral part of China was ceded Britain. The cession of Hong Kong gave Britain a foot hold in China for further advancement. The opening of the five ports extended foreign influence to the entire eastern coast of China

2. Loss of Sovereignty

Judiciary authority, one of the sovereign powers of independent nations, now subjected to restrictions. The extra-territorial rights enjoyed by foreigners challenged the Sovereignty of China, for she could not try and punish crimes committed by foreigners on her soil

3. Loss of Economical Rights

Economically the fixed customs rates deprived China of a protective tariff and the inflow of foreign goods destroyed Chinese handicrafts. Her infant industries suffered without protection. The illicit opium trade still drained the wealth of China, and the people became impoverished. China was saddled with a huge indemnity

payment that further drained her silver currency. Moreover China was compelled to abandon her closed door policy which seriously affected her economy and opened way to western economic domination.

4. Exposure of China's Weakness

The Westerners considered China a 'sleeping dragon'. Now after the humiliating defeat in first Opium War they realized it more or less a dead dragon and need not be afraid of her military strength. Her inherent military weakness was clearly exposed and induced foreigners to further armed attacks.

Permission for foreign gun boats to anchor at the five ports, a concession later extended to other ports opened along the Yanktze River, enabled the foreign warships to navigate freely and legally in Chinese inland waterways, exposing the interior of China mercilessly to alien powers.

5. Social effects

The growth the foreign trade in the five ports introduced a new class of business entrepreneurs sometime derogatorily called the "compradore" class who came to wield and increasing influence in Society lost confidence in the Manchu government. The wide spread poverty and the psychological effects of the defeat gave rise to political discontent. The humiliating defeat and the oppressive treaty terms were too much for the Chinese to bear. But it should be pointed out the Opium War did not shock the chines people into realizing their backwardness. They recused to acknowledge China's military inferiority and political degeneration and so allowed themselves to sleep another fifty years.

6. Diplomatic effects

By signing the treaties, China was forced to drop her 'Supreme Sovereign Philosophy' and to stand on equal bar with other countries. China entered in to official contacts with Western Powers and took the first step in her long journey to membership in the international society.

7. Signing of treaties with other countries

The other maritime powers of the West took advantage of troubled situation to press their claim for treatment on the same footing as the British; China which was anxious to avoid now conflicts wanted 'playing off the barbarians against one another'. Hoping to maintain division among them China wanted to follow a policy of "divide and suvive" to seek safety in the rivalry of Western Powers.

i) Treaty of Nanghia (1844) : U.S.A negotiated and signed the Treaty of Nanghia (1844) on the general lines of the British Treaty. It specified the prohibition of the opium trade, extra-territoriality the most-favoured Nation-treatment, the right to maintain churches, hospitals in treaty ports and treaty revision in 12 years.

ii) Treaty of Whampoa (1844): At Whampoa France signed a treaty which included all the provisions of the Treaty of Nanghia . In addition to it the provision for the free propagation of Christian religion was also included.

iii) Belgium, Norway, Sweden and Portugal also concluded similar treaties and obtained all these rights.

8. The beginning of Treaty Port System

The British American and French treaties reinforced each other and formed the beginning of a treaty system which was further enriched and enlarged by later agreements. These unequal treaties encroached upon Chinese Sovereign Powers and reduced her to semi colonial status. In the treaty ports foreign settlements grew in to a State within a Stat ‘with their armies and extra – territorial rights’.

THE SECOND OPIUM WAR

The treaty of Nanking and the supplementary Treaty of Bogue neither solved the outstanding problems between the Western countries and China, nor satisfied both of them,. The foreigners still wanted to extract as much as possible from China. But China considered the concessions already given to be too much. China was still unable to shed her sense of Superiority and meet the west on terms of equality. It became clear foreigners that force had to be used if they wished to obtain additional concessions. They wanted the opening of the whole of China for commercial intercourse and religious propagation. They also insisted on being treated on terms of full equality and diplomatic representation at Peking. These issues strained Sino-British relations and resulted in another armed conflict.

CAUSES

1. China’s evasive tactics

The Second Opium war is best described as a continuing conflict of attitudes and values between the East and the West. From the Chinese point of view, the foreigners were still barbarians, despite their military success. The Chinese continued to display their undisguised contempt for the Western material civilization. The

Chinese government yielded in negotiation but tried to recover the lost ground by evasion and delay. Again since the provincial chiefs enjoyed a large measure of autonomy, the central government had difficulty in enforcing them to respect the treaty obligations. The Western Powers considered that only force could make China more co-operative.

2. Opium traffic

The opium issue still remained to be settle. The Western Powers showed little regard to the moral consideration involved in the opium traffic. Although China had banned Opium trade, smuggling of the drug in to China continued unabated under foreign patronage and protection. China was aggrieved over this question.

3. Coolie trade

Chinese labourers had been going to California, Australia, Cuba, Peru, Chile and the West coast of the United States all through the nineteenth century, providing cheap and submissive labour to the mines and farms of the western countries. The White traders employed fraud and violence in the recruitment and shipped off large number of Chinese coolies to servitude. The inhuman treatment given to these collies caused bitterness amongst the Chinese.

4. Piracy

The foreign ships that now frequently visited the Chinese waters carried on smuggling activities. The Portuguese vessels often indulged in piracy, causing irritation to the Chinese Government.

5. Canton City question

There was also difficulty at the Canton Port. At Canton, the local merchants were hostile to the foreigners. There was intense anti-foreign feeling among the officials as well as the populace. In consequence, there was acute friction. The officials denied the foreigners the right of residence at Canton and attempted to keep the trade in the hands of the Chinese merchants. The local people considered the British entry an insult to their city while the British instead on their right of entry. There were frequent incidents of attacks, insults, stoning and even killing of the British. Hence Sino- British relations deteriorated rapidly.

6. The abuse of extra-territoriality

By the treaty of Bogue, the Western Powers had been given right of extra-territoriality. This right made it obligatory for the Treaty Powers to provide Consular courts and jails in the treaty ports. As a result there was grave abuse of the extra-territoriality rights. Even their Chinese servants were brought before foreign law courts. The Chinese converts were also protected by the extra - territoriality.

7. The uncompromising attitude of Yeh

In 1852, Yeh Min-chen was appointed as the imperial commissioner at Canton. He was anti-foreign, stubborn and arrogant. Openly contemptuous of aliens, he refused to answer their communication or to meet with them. He was of the opinion that high officials of the Celestial Empire ought not debase them selves by receiving foreigners, but should preserved the dignity of their state by avoiding them. The French ministry was unable to arrange an interview with him for fifteen month.

8. The question of Revision of Treaties

According to the American and French Treaties of 1844 a revision must take place in twelve years i.e., 1856. Although the treaty of Nanking of 1842 made no provision for treaty revision, the British claimed that the ‘most favoured nation treatment’ entitled them to similar revision in twelve years. However commissioner Yeh refused to negotiate even on minor issues, saying that if he gave an inch the foreigners would want a foot. Under these conditions, the British patience nearing exhaustion once again decided to resort to war.

9. Missionary Activity

Missionary activity in China had begun long before the treaty days. In the wake of the new treaties, the missionaries sheltered by the legal protection, penetrated into the interior and did their evangelical work . At the time of the Canton trouble in 1856-1857 a French missionary by name Chap delaine was seized by the Chinese in Kwangsi and put to death. This ‘judicial murder’ provided an excuse for the French join hands with the English in a war against China.

10. Lorcha Arrow incident.

Another immediate cause of the war was the incident know as the Lorcha Arrow case. The “Arrow” was a Chinese vessel but registered at Hong Kong. It

carried an English master and the English flag. The Chinese entered this vessel when it was lying in the river at Canton and arrested the crew on charges of piracy. The British Consul demanded the release of the captives on the ground that the Arrow carried the English flag and was registered as a British ship at Hong Kong. Viceroy Yeh released the captives but without an apology. The British Consul Harry Parkes claimed that the British Crown and demanded reparation. When the Chinese refused, war broke out

The War

The British and the French forces bombarded and captured Canton in 1857. The Proud Governor Yeh was captured and sent to Calcutta as a war prisoner where he later died. After the capture of Canton, the allied powers sailed north to the very gateway of Peking. They stormed Taku forts guarding the mouth of the river Pei-ho and took them over. Thus the war brought disastrous defeat to China in land and sea. She was forced to sue for peace.

Tientsin Treaties

In the war, England and France alone participated while the other Powers waited around to receive the spoils. Under the 'most favoured nation' clause of their earlier treaties, all the powers were entitled to identical concessions from China. Following negotiation in June 1858, several treaties were concluded between China and the Western Powers.

The British Treaty

The British treaty contained more than fifty clauses of which the important are given below:

1. Opening of more ports: China agreed to open ten more ports in addition to the five which have already been opened by the Treaty of Nanking (1842)
2. Diplomatic representation: The treaty provided for diplomatic representation at Peking. China agreed to receive a British Resident Minister in the Peking court.
3. Right to Missionaries: China granted missionaries the right of free access to the interior and permitted the missionaries to preach their religion

throughout the Celestial Empire without any hindrance. Safety of life and property was guaranteed.

4. Right to free access: Foreigners were allowed to travel in all parts of China under passport issued by the consul and countersigned by Chinese authorities but no passport is require to travel with in 33 miles of the ports.

5. Tariff duties: The rate of tariff duties, now fixed at 5% ad valorem other Chinese prices was to be revised hereafter only in consultation between the two countries. In effect, this clause meant that China could not revise her tariff duties at her will; she must consult Britain and get her approval before making any such revision. The freedom of China in her own economic matters was thus curtailed by this treaty.

6. Permission for warships to patrol treaty ports: Foreign warships were permitted to enter, anchor in and patrol the sixteen treaty port.

7. Right over Yan-Si-Kiang Valey: Birtain got the tight to utilize the fertile valley of Yang-si – Kiang without any obstruction from the Government of China.

8. Legalisation of opium trade: Opium trade was legalisation and a duty at 30 tales per 100 catties was introduced. This provision was supposed to regulate what was hitherto an illicit traffic.

9. Indemnity: China agreed to pay a juge war indemnity to Britain.

10. Ratification of Treaties: It was also decided that the ratification was to take place in Peking a year form the date of signing.

Sino – French Treaty

The other participant in the war, France concluded separate treaty with China. This treaty was generally on the lines of the British Treaty. The special feature of the Sino-French Treaty was a clause by which the Chinese Government was required to proclaim throughout the empire that missionary activities were permitted. China agreed to return the estates confiscated from Catholics. The Missionaries were also granted the right to purchase land and erect building in all parts of the empire.

Sino – American Treaty

The American Treaty which differed from the British Treaty only in details, also contained a stipulation for the liberation for missionaries and converts.

Renewal of hostilities

The ratification of the treaties was to take place in Peking. The envoys of the Western Powers were to reside in Peking. China tried to evade the ratification of the treaties and to prevent the arrival of the envoys. The Chinese Government wanted to secure an exchange of ratification at Canton or Shanghai or Tientsin. A request was made to the Powers to send their envoys to any of these places and not to Peking. This plea was turned down by the Powers on the ground that it violated the Treaty of Tientsin. Thus hostilities broke out once again.

The burning of summer palace

The Anglo-French forces advanced on Peking and occupied it. The Emperor with his ministers fled to Jehol. The British envoy, Elgin, in retaliation of the death of some prisoners captured by the Chinese, ordered the burning down of the Emperor's Summer Place with all its beautiful art treasures. This brought the Chinese to their knees. The Treaties of Peking were concluded in 1860 and China reluctantly agreed to intercourse with the West on terms of equality. Prince Kung, aided by Russian ambassador the negotiation.

Treaty of Peking (1860)

The Treaty of Peking ratified the Treaty of Tientsin. The Emperor of China expressed his deep regret that a misunderstanding had occurred at Taku the previous year. He agreed that the British minister might reside permanently at Peking and also consented to additional indemnities and to the opening of Tientsin as a treaty port. Kowloon, the mainland peninsula, Opposite to Hang Kong was ceded to Britain. The indemnity was raised to 8 million taels each for Britain and France. Tientsin was opened to foreign trade and residence.

Russian gains

Russian ambassador Ignatiev served as an arbitrator in the Peking Convention between China and the Allies. In return for the services, Russia obtained from China the territory east of the Ussury river including the important port of Vladivostok, and

thus extended her boundaries to coincide with those of China and Korea, preparatory to further encroachments.

RESULTS AND ASSESSMENT

1. Exposure of Chinese weakness

On account of the encounter with the West, China was shaken to her very foundations. A country which had remained in isolation for about thirty centuries was rudely awakened and brought into confrontation with the western world. The military weakness of the Manchu Empire now lay thoroughly exposed and the Western Powers were quick to exploit this weakness. Apart from vast sums of money which the defeated China had to pay, the Western Powers started nibbling at her territory. Britain took away Hong Kong Kowloon and obtained the right to exploit the fertile valley of Yang-si-Kiang. Russia took over the territory east of Ussury, preparatory to her encroachments in Manchuria and Korea. Shanghai became, in due course, an international settlement over which China had no jurisdiction.

2. Loss of Sovereignty

Again, because of her low tariff which opened China to unhealthy western competition, Chinese indigenous industry was adversely affected. China could no longer help the development of her industries by a protective tariff duty at five percent. Which she could revise only in consultation with the Western Powers. This curtailed China's independence of action in her own domestic matters.

3. Loss of Economic Independence

Again, because of her low tariff which opened China to unhealthy western competition, Chinese indigenous industry was adversely affected. China could no longer help the development of her industries by a protective tariff.

4. Increased aggression by the West

The weakness of China, now clearly exposed, encouraged the Western Powers to become more aggressive in their demands, eventually leading to the carving out of China into so many 'sphere of influence' by the Western Powers.

5. Inflow of western trade and ideas

The Treaties of Tientsin and Peking completed the process initiated by the Treaty of Nanking by which China was forced to accept the goods and ideas of the West. China's isolation ended once for all. The winds of change began to blow over China. A new awareness dawned on the ancient people. The military establishment and the administrative institutions began to be changed and modified in the light of western knowledge and experience. The missionaries traversed the empire and brought about fundamental changes in ideas and values. Western education came to be imparted at important centers. Students were sent up to western countries for education.

6. Beginning of Industrialisation

The first beginnings of industrialization were initiated. The Kaiping mines were opened by Li Hung Chung in 1878 and it was this enterprise which led to the building of the Tongshan Railway. The year 1873 saw the organization of the first Chinese Steam Navigation Company. A little later, the Han Yang Iron Works was opened

TAIPING REBELLION

The Taiping Rebellion started under the banner of Christianity in China by Hung Hsiu-Chuan. With a war cry of liberty and equality he attempted at the religious reform and social reconstruction. It was one of the greatest social upheavals taken place in China. No single event in Chinese history had so shaken its social, political structure violently as the Taiping Rebellion. It was ironically called 'the Taiping' or 'Great peace'. It was a curious combination of socio-religious-political elements. As a social movement it aimed at the reconstruction of the existing social order; as a religious movement it founded a new Chinese brand of Christianity, and as a political movement it tried to overthrow the Manchu dynasty.

CAUSES OF THE TAIPING REBELLION

Clyde and Beers point out, "No single evil created this disorder. China suffered from dynastic decline, official corruption, over-taxation, excessive land rents and official discrimination against minority groups". The social, economic and political unrest was the root cause of this rebellion.

1. Social Causes

i. Rapid growth in Population: The Major problem was however the

population pressure. In 1850 China had reached 430 million, a 200 percent increase during the Manchu rule, while land under cultivation increased only by 35 per cent. This resulted in starvation which in turn created social unrest.

ii) Plight of peasants: The Chinese society was for the most part an agrarian society. For two thousand years the social structure and the mode of cultivation had scarcely changed. Continuous shrinkage of individual land holdings resulted in increasing hardship of the peasants. The neglect of irrigation, floods, failure of mansoons increased his sufferings. Many of them sold their land. In 1850 sixty to ninety percent of the people had no land at all. The life of the landless peasant was wretched. Many displaced and unemployed peasants moved to the cities as porters and menial servants, while others went abroad to seek a new life and still others became idlers, rascals and bandits. Had there been large scale industries in China at that time, these surplus persons might have found their way into productive channels, but unfortunately there were no such industries and the jobless became a source of unrest in the society. Moreover the militia created during the First \Opium War was disbanded and it swelled rank of unemployment. A permanent floating populat, of paupers provided the raw material for rebellion.

iii) Sufferings of Minorities: The economic distresses in the South was Complicated and sharpened by the social conflict between the natives (original settlers) and the guest settlers known as Hakka. The Hakkas who moved to the South from Central China were looked down by the natives and were treated as 'Social out groups'. Collision between the two groups was bound to occur. When the Hakkas took up Christianity the natives were mostly recruited from this social group.

iv) Coolli trade: The demand of cheap labour in California. West Indies and in Latin America gave rise to the inhuman coolli traffic. The poor Chinese were kidnapped and shipped off.

2. Economic Crisis

i) Drain of silver : The free imports and the payment of indemnity resulted in the drain of silver in large amount. The price of silver rose but the prices of grain become lower. The silver depletion upset the domestic economy and rocked the exchange rate between silver and copper in the market.

ii) Increase of Opium Imports: After the First Opium War the import of opium grew considerably. In 1853 it reached 52000 chests valued 40 million dollars. The opium trade enfeebled and impoverished China. It is physically disastrous and economically ruinous.

iii) Effects of the abolition of Canton system of trade: The old inland transportation which used to carry the Canton trade was superceded by the opening of new ports to foreigners. Thousands of boatmen and porters could no longer find work.

iv) Foreign competition in trade: The import of British American cotton goods grew ever faster. From becoming an exporter of textiles, China became an importer. Exploitation by European industrial capital was added to exploitation by European mercantile capital. It proved an even greater shock to China's economy. Weavers and other handicrafts men in China were ruined. The influx of cheap foreign textile ruined millions of weavers.

3. Political Causes

i) Withdrawn of Heaven's Mandate: Confucian political theory recognize rebellion as a necessary political institution. The monarch rule the country by the mandate from heaven. If he was wicked and incapable the heaven's mandate would be withdrawn. The people were then at liberty to but an end to the misrule and establish a new regime. The present Manchu ruler Hsien-feng was not only weak but also incompetent. He suffered defeats in the hand of barbarians. So the Chinese began to feel that the Heaven's mandate had been withdrawn they were now free for rebel against the wicked monarch.

ii) Manchus as aliens: Most of the Chinese who lived in Central and South China never reconciled themselves to the rule of Manchus whom they considered as foreigners. An innate hatred against the Manchus was cultivated by the Chinese because they thought the Manchus had usurped the throne from the native Ming dynasty. No wonder they organization Secret Societies to overthrow the Manchus. They are:

1. White Lotus Society
2. SMALL Pax Society
3. Heaven and Earth Society
4. Small Sword Society

These societies roused anti-Manchu sentiments and prepared the ground for bigger uprisings and rebellions.

iii) Political corruption: As the central administration became feeble it was Unable to check the widespread corruption in administration. No attention was paid to the people welfare. But at the same time the officers were busy in filling their pockets with unlawful exactions and bribery. Important posts were sold and purchased. For example one could purchase a magistracy with 3000 taels. The rotten administrative systems gave a lot of trouble to the ordinary people who in a mind of frustration organized rebellious movements.

4. Religious Causes

C.F. Fitzgerald rightly pointed out, “The Taiping movement usually ignored in its religious aspects, was primarily religious revival and only secondarily a revolt against Manchus”. Religious spirit was the heart of the Taiping Rebellion. In the Nineteenth century China, there were flourished three popular religions and all the three were in decay.

i) Buddhism: It had been over simplified and the Buddhist ‘ Eightfold Path’ ceased to exercise any influence on moral and customs of the people.

ii) Confucianism: It was never a ture religion, having limited appeal to scholar officials and none to the populace.

iii) Taoism: It degenerated in to a superstitious one, and turned into a magical cult.

In the prevalent religious spiritual vacuum Christianity made some head way. The foreign missionaries learnt Chinese language traveled all parts of China preached their faith. They constructed churches, Schools and Hospitals and ran Orphanages. They translated Chinese works into Western languages and vice versa. Their selfless services attracted many Chinese weaker sections. But the politicians took it as ‘running dog of imperialism’ and ‘Trojan Horse of Western domination’. Whatever that be, the Christian ideology emerged in China during the Taiping Rebellion in a peculiar eastern garb.

5. Other Causes

i) Defeat if China: The defeat of China in the hand of the Western Powers in the First Opium War followed by the unequal treaties was a national disgrace. There was widespread resentment against Manchu rule, which was responsible for the national humiliation. It exposed the military weakness of the dynasty. Hence Secret Societies and ambitious Chinese were encourage to intensify their nationalistic and racial revolution against the Manchus

ii) Military degradation : The Manchu military establishment which was divided into two divisions the Banner men and the Green Standard was all but useless as a fighting force. The Banner men belonging to the Northern provinces and loyal to the Manchu dynasty, had degenerated into a hereditary class of useless idlers, because of the long reign of peace. The Green standard was little more than a rabble of ill-disciplined men led by corrupt officers. There was no standing army except this ill-equipped in disciplined and inefficient army. The military weakness of the empire was an invitation to rebellion.

iii) Natural disasters : The decades of the 1840 to 1850 were full of natural calamities. Among the major ones were the severe draught in Honan in 1847, the flooding of Yanktze River over four provinces in 1849 and the shifting of the course of the yellow River from the Southern to Northern of People in Shantung in 1852, flooding a large area. Millions of people suffered from these natural disasters. In disgust and desperation the suffering masses were easily swayed to join a rebellion or uprising.

The origin of the Movement

The Taiping movement was founded by Hung Hsin- Chun, a Cantonese of the educated class who had failed to pass the civil service examination. He believed that this failure was the result of prejudice on account of his southern origin and because his Hakka clan had played a conspicuous part in the resistance to the Manchu conquest one hundred and fifty years before. Hung was thus typical of a large class of discontented scholars who labored under a sense of injustice and harbored resentment against the Manchu government.

Visions

The 1837, Hung had a serious illness during which he experienced visions. He believed these visions to be a divine revelation. Later, he read some Christian literature written by the recently established Protestant Missionaries at Canton. On reading this, Hung was convinced that the doctrine expounded in it corresponded to the revelation which he had received during his illness. Thereupon he adopted the doctrine found in the Christian tract and devoted his life to the propagation of the religious.

Doctrines of the New Religion

Though he misunderstood or did not know certain important doctrines of Protestant theology, the religion founded by Hung was a broad form of Christianity. Hung proclaimed himself as the younger brother of Christ and his mission to create

the Kingdom of God upon earth. The success of the movement was extraordinary and it soon attracted the hostile attention of the officials of the province. Orders were issued for the arrest of the leader and the suppression of the ‘ Society of God-worshippers’ as the Taiping were called. Upto this point the movement had been purely religious but as it condemned the practice of all religious and denounced Buddhist idolatry, the Manchu government regarded it as a subversive agitation tending to cause disorder. The official ban had the effect of enhancing and increasing its popularity.

Establishment of Perfect Peace Dynasty

Finally, as a result of persecution and in obedience to his visions, Hung proclaimed himself as the Heavenly King and declared his intention of founding a new rule to be known as ‘Perfect Peace’ dynasty. Hung’s dynamic leadership brought to his banner all the anti-Manchu sentiments latent amongst the Chinese and the progress of his rebellion surprised everybody. Hankow fell in 1852, Nanking in the following year and in 1854, Tientsin and Peking were seriously threatened. This marked the high tide of the movement. Hung established his theocracy in the Yantze valley with Nanking as the Capital.

The Reforms of the Taipings

The political goal of the Taipings was the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty and the creation of new one. The new regime envisioned a primitive communist society. The Taiping social and economic doctrine included a full-scale reorganistiaon of Chinese life based on equality of all men. The rebels wanted to abolish such traditional practices as foot-binding of women, prostitution and polygamy. All movable goods were to be pooled together for redistribution on the basis of need. The rebels held that the state should provide security and protection for the age, the handicapped, the widowed and the orphaned. In short, the Taiping creed envisaged a revolutionary society. In the territories they held, the Taipings introduced several social reforms. Foot binding of woman and opium were forbidden. The position of women was greatly improved and some were even employed in official capacity. Taxation in the Taiping kingdom was very much lighter than tin the Manchu Empire. The Taiping movement effected a great revival of the national character and self – respect.

CAUSES FOR THE FAILURE OF THE TAIPING REBELLION

1. Apathy of the Northern Provinces

Hung had expected a general rising in the north or at least a great increase in his following, but he was disappointed by the poor response received from the North. The northern expedition did not secure many new recruits on its march. The Taiping army,

Small and almost foreign, did not arouse the confidence in the northern Chinese who were closed to the seat of the imperial government.

2. Hung's poor strategy

If Hung had continued his march northward after the fall of Nanking it is almost certain that he would have driven the Manchus out of China. But instead of doing this, he settled down in Nanking, setting about organising his theocracy. Later he sent a small force northward to expel the Manchus. This small army could not accomplish anything. Meanwhile the Manchu had recovered from their initial shock and obtained support from the West.

3. The role of western powers

After a period of neutrality, the Western Powers united together to support the Manchu regime in suppressing the rebellion. Financed by the merchants of Shanghai, an American, Frederik Ward organised a force of free-booters and led a series of successful attacks against the imperfectly armed and trained Taipings. After Ward's death, an Englishman by name Captain Gordon took command of the 'Ever Victorious Army' and continued applying pressure on the Taiping forces.

4. Tseng Kuo-fan and his militia

An imperial official Tseng Kuo-fan gradually created a new militia force better trained and equipped than the regular armies. The recruits were hardy loyal peasants who were well-paid and led by officers selected for character and ability. This militia became popular in its home province of Hunan by suppressing banditry. What was done by Tseng in Hunan was followed by Li Hung Chang in Anhui and a few men of initiative in other areas. These armies, bolstered with foreign assistance, were able to destroy the Taiping.

5. The hostility of the scholar class

The Taiping Movement failed to win the support of the educated official classes. These influential elements were antagonized by the Christian concepts of the Taiping ideology and especially by the attack on the Confucian bureaucracy. The hostility of the influential sections of the society spelt the doom of the Taiping Movement.

6. The weakness of the Taiping leadership

After their initial success the Taiping leaders lost their interest in reform. They became the victims of the very vices against which they had taken up arms. Again the Taipings did not recruit and train new young leaders while in the opposite camp the Manchus acquired a revitalised leadership in prince Kung, Tseng Kuo-fan, Li Hung Chang and others. The military leadership of the Taipings suffered the same decline as its political leadership.

7. The Utopian nature of the Taiping programme

The Taipings wanted to introduce revolutionary changes in the Chinese social political and economic life. They wanted to restructure the society on radical lines, to introduce communal ownership and equitable distribution. These were far-reaching changes for which the Manchu China was not yet ready. Hung's ideas were far in advance of his time and could not become popular among the Chinese. The peasants and traders wanted modest reforms and redress of existing injustices and nothing more. So after the rebellion had run its course for some time it lost the support of the masses.

8. Internal dissension

In 1856 there occurred a fratricidal conflict in Nanking which violently shook the Taiping Kingdom. The basic cause of the trouble was the East King Yang's irrepressible ambition, which had been evident from the start. He even claimed that God had favoured him with visitations. Soon he became the commander in chief of the armed forces. His greatest achievement was the destruction of the imperial camp on the south of the River. Elated with his success he put forth claims to the throne. But Hung got him murdered with the help of the North King who in turn was executed. This strife depleted the spirit and vigour of the Taiping Movement,

SIGNIFICANCE AND THE RESULTS OF TAIPING REBELLION

1. Destruction

While the rebellion was not successful, it left its imprint on the country for many years. There had been devastation and destruction on a scale unprecedented in history. The loss of life is estimated at 20 million. Twelve of the richest provinces of the Empire had been laid waste. During the course of the rebellion and years thereafter collection of revenue from the devastated regions became impossible. Poverty and the prevailing confusion encouraged brigandage. The imperial administration was not able to maintain law and order in large parts of the country. It was now clear that the dynasty was on its last legs and its collapse was only a question of time.

2. Financial disorganisation

The Imperial finances were in disarray. The government needed money for the payment of the indemnities and for buying the new western armaments. And at this juncture the rebellion had paralysed the collection of revenue from some of the richest provinces in the empire. This financial disorganisation led to the introduction of the Linkin tax, first on a temporary basis and then as a permanent fiscal measure. This is an Internal transit tax imposed at various points within the same province and at the boundaries. Though this tax was a good revenue producer, it seriously hindered movement of goods and the development of trade.

3. Foreign administration of Maritime customs

The financial disorganisation had another effect as well. Following the rebellion there was no authority at Shanghai for the collection of customs. The British organised on their own a foreign administered maritime customs for temporary purposes and this was later taken over by the Chinese government as one of its own administrative services. This arrangement continued upto 1920's

4. Foreigner's influence in Chinese affairs

The Taiping rebellion brought into focus the decisive role that the West was to play in China's internal affairs. In some respects the rebellion brought China and West closer and it encouraged European intervention in China and now that the weakness of

the empire was fully exposed . So more pressure came to be applied in exacting greater concessions from defenseless China

5. Military decentralisation

The regional militia which wiped out the rebellion set new trends in the political and military administration. While the traditional Chinese armies (the Banners and Green Standard) functioned under the central military authority, the new armies were not national but regional , recruited and financed by local authorities . This meant a diffusion of military power and a corresponding reduction in the central military authority. It resulted in the rise of Warlords during the first quarter of the 19th century.

6. Rise of regional interests

During the Taiping rebellion and in the years that followed, there was a shift in the focus of power from the center to the regions first in military and then in political spheres. The regions came to enjoy more powers not only in running their own armies but also in the matters of local taxation and administration. Thus a conflict of interests arose between the centre and the regions. Now China was a house divided against itself and it became an easy prey to Western exploitation in the years to come.

7. Good effects

The Taiping rebellion was not without its good effects. The vast destruction of life itself, tragic as it was, eased the pressure of population to some extent. It brought to the fore a new generation of able and devoted leaders are Tseng, Li and Prince Kung. The new taxes together with the foreign administered maritime customs provided some measures of financial stability and flexibility.

8. Source of inspiration to Nationalists

In a broader perspective, the promises of the Taiping rebellion and the socio-economic programmes left a lasting impress on the Chinese mind. The reforms and revolutionaries of latter-day. China drew their inspiration from the Taiping programme. The Taipings were the first to spread the western influence in China, especially in the form of their own Christianity.

9. Nationalist and democratic character

The nature of the rebellion was eventually national and democratic. It aimed at the overthrow of the corrupt and inept Manchu dynasty while it did not show any hostility to the foreigners so long as they did not actively help the Manchus. The rebels welcomed foreigners to their kingdom and gave freedom of trade. The character and achievements of the Taipings clearly show theirs was a democratic revolution. It was hailed by the communists ' the lost of her old style peasant revolt and the first great democratic fight of her people in the modern period.

10. Native Chinese in important government posts

Politically the Taiping effected the transfer of government from the Manchus to Chinese hands. Key Governor-Generalships and Governorship, formerly occupied by Manchus now passed into the Chinese hands.

TAIPING REFORMS

The Taiping Kingdom was theocracy, in which religion, civil and military administration, culture and society in general were all interwoven. In this new theocracy, God was the Heavenly Father, Christ. The Divine Elder Brother and Hung, the Divine Younger Brother. In the beginning stage Hung founded the "Association of God Worshippers". This new order of Christianity was primarily Protestant rather than Catholic, because Protestantism fitted better the nature. In the word of Israel Epstein "Idols were destroyed; temples razed to the ground; It much resembled the religious crusade of the Prophet Muhammad"

The Political set up of the Taipings

Hung Hsien Chuen founded a new kingdom called "Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace" (Taiping tien-kuo) and proclaimed himself as "heavenly king" (Tien-Wang). The dynasty was named 'the Taiping'. Nanking was made capital. Four assistant wangs (Kings) were appointed to help him. They were:

- i. Yang, a charcoal worker, the East King
- ii. Feng, the South King
- iii. Hsiao, the West King and
- iv. Wei, the North King

Besides Shih was appointed as Assistant King. Various offices of the new kingdom were also set up after the institution of the Chou dynasty, 3000 years earlier.

The Social and economic reorganization

The Taipings aimed not merely at the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty but at the transformation of society. They prohibited opium smoking, infanticide, the use of tobacco and wine, prostitution, foot-binding., infanticide, the use of tobacco and gamy. Corrupt on and bribery were made punishable. The abolished group punishment as well as all cruel physical punishments. Slavery and concubinage were abolished. There was a definite puritanical spirit in the early period of the Taipings. Women folk were granted complete equality. Government offices and military were opened for them. Art was encouraged and a board was set up to supervise the production of embroidery, weaving and sculpture. Foreigners were treated as brothers not as barbarians.

Land reforms

“Perhaps the most drastic of the Taiping innovations was the abolition of private ownership of land and property and the introduction of a primitive communism”. They advocated a revolutionary programme of land distribution to give each peasant sufficient land to maintain an ordinary standard of living. They proclaimed an Agrarian Law in 1853 and the spirit behind this law was ‘all the land under Heaven should be cultivated by all the people under heaven’.

They Sang,

“Where there is land
 We will till it together
 Where there is rice
 We will eat it together
 Where there is clothing
 We will wear it together
 Where there is money
 We will spend it together
 No place without equality
 No one cold or hungry”

This simple equalitarianism was put into practice. According to the law every man and woman over sixteen years of age was entitled to a share of land; and everyone under sixteen to a half share. Land was to be divided into nine grade according to its fertility. The unit of administration remained as family, each of which was expected to raise 5 hens and two sows. Every 25 families formed a communal group with a common store-house, a church and a head of temporal and spiritual affairs. He administered the civil, educational, religious, financial and judicial matters of the 25 families. He took charge of their litigations, marriages and funerals. After the harvest this chief was to reserve sufficient grain for his group, sending the surplus to the national store-house for deficit areas. The monthly tax system was introduced.

The Unity of the Military and Civil administration

The peculiar feature of the Taiping administration was the unity of the military with the civilian administration. Soldiers were farmers and officials were assigned civil as well as military duties. Strict discipline was maintained in the army. They banned looting and corruption by at the same time dealt ruthlessly with Manchu officials, big land-lords and money lenders. Guerrilla detachments of women were formed and one fourth of the military was controlled by women.

Unity of Culture and Religion

In the Taiping Kingdom, the inculcation of Christian ideas among the people was a primary undertaking. A new three character classics of 478 sentences based on Hung's interpretation of the Bible was compiled for children. In the opening page it was read 'God our Lord, creates Heaven Earth mountains and Seas provides all things., within six days, all was done'. Ten commandments formed the foundation of their creed.

Civil Service Examination

The Taipings held civil service examinations to select officials for administration. In the examination plain language was used in the place of classical style of writing required in the Manchu examinations. The theses in the Taiping examinations were not taken from Confucian classics, but was selected from the Bibles, Christian tracts and Taiping proclamation.

Other Reforms

A unique calendar was introduced which was neither lunar nor solar. A number of social welfare measures were taken to support the disabled the sick, the widowed and the orphaned,. Water communications were developed and railroads were constructed. Flood and famine relief measures were undertaken by the government.

Criticism.

The Chinese wanted to introduce revolutionary changes in the Chinese social, political and economical life. They wanted to restructure the society on radical lines to introduce communal ownership and equitable distribution. But Hung's ideas were far in advance of his time and could not become popular among the Chinese. The Manchu China was not yet ready for these far-reaching changes. The Utopian nature of the Taiping programme did not appeal to the Chinese. It contained neither Christian philosophy nor Confucian Philosophy and it confused Westerners. There was no relations between the teachings and the practice of Taiping ideas.

THE FIRST SINO-JAPANESE WAR

Till the middle of the 19th century, China looked down upon Japan as a tributary state. This position was completely reversed in the second half of the century. While China was crushed and humiliated by the Western Powers from outside and paralysed by internal rebellion, Japan showed surprising vigour and strength. Within a very short time, Japan accommodated herself to the changed times, learnt from her Western Contacts and grew to be a formidable power.

The Li-ito Treaty of 1871

After the Meiji Restoration, Japan became self – confident and sought to establish relations with China. She tried to secure a privileged position in China trade on a par with Western Powers. The Chinese, on the other hand, were unwilling to give Japan the most favoured nations treatment and the right to travel freely in China. In 1871, a Japanese mission under the head of the famous Count. Ito went to China, negotiated with Li Hung Chang, the Chinese Governor, a treaty of friendship. The important provisions of the treaty were:

- i. Non-aggression towards each other territorial possessions.
- ii. Mutual offer of good offices in case of conflict with a third power.

- iii. Mutual consular jurisdiction
- iv. Trade and tariff in treaty ports only
- v. No appointment of Japanese Merchant consuls in China.

Loocho Island affairs

The formal relations were broken in 1874 when some shipwrecked inhabitants of Loocho Island were killed by the Formosan savages. Over the years, both China and Japan had been claiming Loocho as their tributary. Japan, by way of asserting her suzerain over the Loocho Island. Tension arose and Japan was poised for a trial of strength. But following the British intervention, a conflict was avoided. Sir Thomas Wade, the British representative used his good offices and brought about an agreement between China and Japan by which China agreed to pay a compensation and also offered guarantees for future conduct of the savages. Though hostilities were avoided, mutual suspicion between China and Japan continued. Li Hung Chang, the Chinese Governor realized the potential danger of Japanese power when Japan made an unprovoked attack upon the Loocho Island and annexed it in 1879.

Korean Issue

But the historical relations of China and Japan centered in Korea and it was over Korea they came into serious conflict in the modern period of the history. "China's story in Korea was one of perpetual retreat and eventual humiliation.

Korea's geographical position explains much of her history. She is separated from Manchuria only by a river while south eastern Korea projects towards Japan with only narrow sea separating her from the Japanese islands. It serves as the continental bridge to Japan. Because of her geographical position Korea's fortunes were inextricably interwoven with those of her immediate neighbours, China and Japan

The aims of Japanese Korean Policy

Japanese policy towards Korea was guided by three motives. First, Japan wanted to avoid any powerful hostile state getting control of Korea and using it as a base of attack upon her. From the Japanese point of view China and Russia were possible invaders. Secondly, Japan had vision of an empire and Korea appeared to present the first stepping stone towards their realization. After the Meiji Restoration Japanese imperial ambition took an active turn. Thirdly, the development of Japan into a powerful industrial state made it necessary for her to seek and outlet both for commerce and surplus population.

Japanese treaty with Korea

With the growing power of Russia, Japan found Korea to a pistol pointed to her heart. To bring Korea under her heart. To bring Korea under her sway Japan sent a mission in 1875. This mission led to the treaty of Kingwa in 1876, by which Japan received a free port and extraterritorial right in Korea. The treaty made a significant mention about Korea being an independent state, the implication of which went unnoticed by China.

In 1876, Li Hung Chang of China advised Korea to get the better of Japanese threat by concluding treaties with the Western powers. Within three years Korea entered into a series of agreement with the western powers. Concerned over this development Japan began to create internal disorders in Korea. China for her part sent Yuan Shih Kai, the strong man of China., to the Korea capital to tighten up China's Authority. As a result of his efforts, Chinese and Korean customs were brought under a unified control.

Political factions of Korea

In Korea, there were two political factions. One faction was pro-Japan and stood for the modernization of the country on western lines. The other faction wanted the continuance of the old order. Japan incited the progressives to create trouble In 1885 the factional quarrel took a serious turn. But neither China nor Japan was prepared for a showdown at the moment.

Li-Ito Convention of 1885

In a diplomatic offensive to solve the Korean crisis, the famous Japanese statesman Ito went to Peking for talks with Li Hung Chung. In 1885, the Li-Ito Convention was signed at Tientsin marking a new stage in Sino-Japanese relations. On the basis of this Convention

- 1) China and Japan agreed to withdraw their forces from Korea according to a time schedule.
- 2) The Convention forbade interference of either country in the internal affairs of Korea. Korean army was to be reformed under a neutral aegis.
- 3) In the event of emergency, troop despatches by either power were to be effected with previous notice.

The Li-Ito Convention was a diplomatic defeat for China since its freedom of action as the suzerain power in Korea was curtailed. Japan which had no stake in

Korea formerly obtained a right to be consulted on Chinese military manoeuvres. More over “this agreement virtually reduced Korea to a co-protectorate of China and Japan, eliminated China’s claim to exclusive suzerainty and confirmed Japan’s right to send troops”.

Circumstances leading to the war

The Treaty of Tientsin concluded between Ito and Li-Hung Chang in 1885 did not bring lasting peace. The Sino-Japanese relations became increasingly stained in the decade following the treaty. War became imminent and the two powers decided to cross sword in Korea

Causes of the War

1. Under the treaty of Tientsin, the Korean army was to be reorganized under foreign direction. The Russian were commissioned to undertake the reorganization. In return for her services Russia obtained Port Lazaroff, a comparatively ice-free naval base. China did not raise any objection to this Russian acquisition, but Japan saw it a threat to her security. Already in 1891 the construction of the strategic Trans-Siberian Railway by Russia pose a military threat to Japan. The growing Russian influence in Korea induced Japan to launch counter measures.

2. Japan had economic motives over Korea. Korea was rich in rice. Japan was facing acute food shortage and Korea, if sub jucated, could enlarge the Japanese food supply. Japan was already controlling a larges part of Korean import trade and it was but natural that she wanted to ensure economic ascendancy Korea, if necessary by war.

3. Inside Japan, the opposition was gathering momentum against Ito. It was found necessary to diver the nation attention away from the internal problems. A foreign war offered the Japanese leadership an excellent opportunity to defuse the internal tension.

4. The domestic unrest in Korea was a nuisance to Japanese commerce. In her own interest. Japan felt it necessary to bring peaceful conditions to the faction – ridden Korean politics

5. China had her own reasons for entering the war. All along the she had followed a passive policy in Korea and this had caused the loss of her suzerainty over

that country. It was time for China to stand firm and correct her previous policy of indifference in Korea.

6. Again China had her internal conflicts. At Peking strong anti-Li party was demanding firm action in Korea. In order to maintain his prestige in imperial court, Li Hung Chang was forced to adopt a firm policy against Japan.

Immediate causes of the war : The Tonghak Insurrection

7. The Korean religious sect called Tonghak (Easter Learning Society) developed at this time into a political organization for championing the cause of the oppressed and the deprived people. It was anti-foreign, anti-Christian and anti - Japanese. The members of this quasi-political body proclaimed a vendetta against all foreigners and started slaughtering corrupt officials. In the riot Kim ok Kium, a pro-Japanese progressive party leader, was murdered. This act caused widespread chaos and confusion unable to put down the Tonghak revolt, Korea sought the help of China. China, after notifying Japan in accordance with the Tientsin Treaty, sent troops to Korea. Japan also sent her troops. The revolt, was however, put-down even before the arrival of Chinese and Japanese troops. China in exercise of her suzerainty over Korea continued to keep her army in the peninsula while Japan insisted on Korea's independence and withdrawal of the Chinese troops. Eventually Japan declared war against China on August 1, 1894.

Defeat of China

Surprisingly enough Japan won the war. China, despite her huge resources and manpower was beaten. The Japanese army and navy equipped and trained on Western Lines carried everything before it. The Japanese pushed into Manchuria and when they were on the point of invading. China proper, the Manchu government started negotiations of peace.

Causes for the defeat of China

China could not mount a unified war effort against Japan. South of the Yangtze river, people treated the war as private affair of Li Hung Chang. The Chinese forces were neither properly equipped and trained nor discipline. The Japanese on the other hand had good military leadership and an army and navy equipped on Western lines. The Japanese forces were braver dedicated and patriotic.

Treaty of Shimonoseki

On April 17, 1895 a peace treaty was signed at Shimonoseki. The Treaty provided for:

- 1) The complete independence of Korea;
- 2) Handing over of Formosa, the Pescadores and the Liao Tung peninsula with Port Arthur to Japan;
- 3) Payment of an indemnity of 200 million taels of China;
- 4) The Abrogation of all the previous treaties between China and Japan and their replacement by a new treaty on the lines of China's treaties with Western Powers with the most favoured nation clause and rights of extra territoriality and
- 5) The Opening of four new ports of Shensi, Chunking, Suchow and Haungchow to Japanese trade.

Special Commercial Treaty

In addition, Japan secured a unique privilege-not obtained by any Western Power. By a separate treaty signed at Peking in July, 1896, Japan was free to carry on trade and industry in all the trade ports of China and also to ship any of its machinery to any port freely after payment of customs duty in to china. Moreover, all commodities manufactured by the Japanese in to interior of China were exempted from all taxes.

EFFECTS OF THE SINO – JAPANESE WAR

1. Exposure of Chinese Weakness

The Sino-Japanese War exposed once again the utter weakness of China. Now that the fringes of Chinese empire in the south and the north had been trimmed, the political integrity of China was in grave danger The road had now been cleared for the Chinese melon to be craved out by the Power. The proud Middle Kingdom caused to exist, for there were no longer any dependent state that recognized China's suzerainty. The Manchu government was revealed beyond any shadow of doubt as decrepit and corrupt. The radicals demanded a revolution to replace the Manchu dynasty with a republic.

2. Strengthening of reform movement in China

Following the defeat, more and more Chinese began to realize the need for reform on Japanese pattern. Various parties and groups advocating reform came up in China. The advocates of reform realized that the Manchu dynasty had lost the mandate of heaven to maintain her independent sovereign status. The progressives advocated modernization of Meiji Revolution.

3. The rise of Japan

Japan emerged as a power to be reckoned with. The Western Powers Were quick to grasp the implications of Japanese rise and they acknowledged this fact by allowing the revision of the unequal treaties imposed on her. Her rise to great power status encouraged her army and navy and become a strong power with the help of the war indemnity received from China. In the economic sphere, she opted for the gold standard, covered her deficit and launched on an expansion of her industry,. Internally, Ito was able to unify the nation. Peace prevailed and huge war budgets were passed by the Japanese Diot. Japan followed from here on a vigorous policy of expansion on the Asiatic continent. Korea served as spring board to jump and Manchuria.

4. The Triple Intervention

The disastrous defeat of China had grave consequences. China seemed to be on the verge of being partitioned. The Western Powers, Russia, France and Germany considered that the possession of Liao Tung by Japan would endanger peace in the Far East and therefore they forced Japan to give up Liao Tung in return for an additional indemnity from China. Japan could not reconcile herself to the loss of Liao Tung which should be hers by virtue of her victory over China. She nursed her grievance against Russia which had been instrumental in robbing Japan of the fruits of victory. As Russia too aspired for supremacy in the Far East clash became inevitable.

5. Scramble for concessions

The defeat exposed the helplessness of the Manchu dynasty and invited foreign powers to engage in a scramble for concession. Foreign imperialists began to parceled out China into leased territories and spheres of influence within which they constructed railways opened mines established factories and operated banks. It turned China a semi- colony.

6. Oppression of Native Industries

The right to establish factories and industries in China, won by Japan in the peace treaty was extended to all treaty powers through the most favoured nations clause. It enabled imperialists to manufacture locally. They, with their vast capital technical know how and privileged position had a marked advantage over Chinese. The native industries could not compete with the foreign and hence suffered losses.

REFORM MOVEMENT

The Hundred Days Reform was the first internal reaction of China in adjusting herself to the Western Impact. It was also a reaction against the ineffectiveness of Manchu rule in the face of the changed condition of life and the active aggressions of the powers'. This first heroic efforts towards radical reforms are associated with Kang Yu-Wei, who brought Emperor Kuang-Hsu under his influence from 11th June 1898 to 20th September for hundred days. Some forty to fifty reform edicts were issued in rapid successions in the areas of education, government administration, industry and international cultural exchange, aiming the transformation of China from a Confusion State to a modern one.

CAUSES FOR THE GROWTH OF REFORM MOVEMENT

1. The workers of the Christian Missionaries

The general awakening to the need for reform was partially result of missionary influence. They established schools, gave public lectures, opened libraries and museums and published newspapers and magazines. They not only preached 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'. The Society had undertaken the pioneer work in the field of social and political reform. It worked for an introduction of Western civilization through translations and promotion of the caused of reforms. Through the missionary efforts the mental horizons of Chinese intellectuals became broadened and they developed a new respect of Western patterns in administration, production, etc.

2. Chinese contact with the west

After the Burlingame Mission, China established relations with Western countries. Now the Chinese saw with wonder the scientific technological

developments of the Western world. The students who were sent abroad for higher education were full of eagerness to modernize China on the pattern of the Western World.

3. Western Military Superiority

The Western armies with their advance techniques and equipment with the outdated military establishment of China exercised considerable influence on the thinking sections of the Chinese. Li Hung-Chang the leading and influential politician of the day stressed the military aspect of modernization. According to him 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. All this added upto a gradual infiltration of new western ideas which resulted in the emergence of a reform party.

4. The humiliating defeat in the hands of Japan

Ever since China's defeat in the French war in 1885, the Chinese felt the necessity of modernizing China. But the humiliating defeat that they sustained in the hand of their tiny neighbor who hitherto was considered as one of the most backward country in the world, opened the eyes of the Chinese to the real condition of China. They wondered how that country was transformed so quickly as a powerful modern country and realized the fact that it was the Meiji reforms that transformed her as a first rate modern power Hence the reform movement began to gain popular support.

5. The imminent danger of the dismemberment of China

The continuous defeat of China from 1839, demonstrated the inner weakness of their administrative and military system and clearly proved their inability to cope with the challenge of the time. The foreigners already parceled out China into 'spheres of influence' gol lease holds; and there appeared the danger of partition of China. There seemed no hope of saving her from complete dismemberment. The only way to prevent the dynasty from complete collapse was the introduction of western reforms that would strengthen her political and military institutions.

The early Reformers

During 1860's a number of far-sighted persons preached, the 'Gospel of Reforms'. These fore-runners reform movement had done the spade work for that movement.

i) Feng Kuei-fen: He was the early reformer called to adopt the superior Western Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry and Geography. He argued that China should initiate measures to reform her educational and examination systems, to abolish the eight-legged essays and to encourage industrial manufacture. These far-sighted views were two advance for Feng's time.

ii) Wang Tao : He praised the Japanese imitation of western institutions. He was not a radical but he was for a gradual grafting of useful Western elements on to the Chinese foundation.

iii) Weng Tung-ho: The imperial Tutor weng was an advocate of conservative reform, He made it clear that Chinese moral principles and ethical teachings must remain as the foundation of the State, which needed to be supplemented , but by no means replaced by Western learning.

iv) Chang Chih-tung: He was a moderate reformer. His idea was 'Chinese learning for the foundation. Western learning for application'.

Kang – Yu Wei

The first heroic efforts towards radical reforms are associated with Kang Yu-Wei, a dynamic personality, started his career as a Neo-Confucian Scholar, Kang was fired with the zeal for a Western style political reform. He associated himself with the 'Modern Rex Movement' and tired to use it as a vehicle to advance his cause. His Important work was 'The book of Universal Common Wealth' in which he visualized a Utopian World. He then formed 'Study Societies' which sponsored lectures on reform, translated western works, published newspapers and established libraries and museum. In 1898 he organized a National Protection Society which attracted thousands of graduates and provincial officials. The society's objectives were to protect the people and religion of China sovereignty and territory of China and to promote domestic Institutional reforms. Soon branches of 'protection Society' Sprang up in provinces. Besides, he submitted a number of 'Memorials' to the throne in which he stressed the necessary for reforming China. In one of his memorial he requested the Emperor to pursue three courses of actions. They were:

- i) Proclaim a national policy on reform after the fashion of peter the Great, and Emperor Meiji-"May Your Highness adopt the heart Peter the Great of Russia and the administration of Meiji of Japan".

- ii) Gather all the talents of the country to prepare for an institutional reorganisation.
- iii) Allow the provincial authorities to initiate institutional reform within their jurisdiction.
- iv) Finally he warned that any delay would invite further foreign encroachment and ultimate extinction of the dynasty.

Kang's Policy towards reform

1. Kang was neither a conservative nor a revolutionary. He did not want to destroy the Manchu dynasty but he was for the monarchical system a constitutional monarchy, controlled by the elected representatives of masses.. The age-old imperial Confucian System should be abolished.

2. The reforms should not be introduced slowly or gradually but immediately and quickly.

3. He was not for isolated minor reform, but for complete and through reforms, effecting drastic changes in the existing social, political and economical set ups.

4. The reforms should not stick to one aspect, but must cover all aspects and all institutions.

Emperor Kuang Hsu and Kang.

In 1889, the Dowager Empress Tzu-his retired to the Summer Palace and the Emperor Kuang Hsu took the administration in to his own hands. He was drawn to the idea of reform by his tutor Weng Tung-ho who introduced Kang to the emperor remarking that 'Kang's ability was a hundred times superior to his own'. Emperor who was painfully watching the scramble for concession felt that the only way to save China from dismemberment was to initiate reform movement. So on the advice of Weng Emperor was pleased to give an audience to Kang. He successfully impressed Emperor of the fact of the immediate necessity initiating the reform movement. Completely won over by Kang, the Emperor began to issue reform edicts. As the results of these edicts, the following reforms were introduced.

I) Education

1. 'Eight-legged essay' in the civil service examination were replaced by essays on current affairs.
2. An Imperial University at Peking was established.
3. Schools were opened in provincial cities to impart Western Science. Private academies in provincial capitals were converted into colleges, in perfectual capitals into high schools, in the districts in to elementary schools.
4. For the overseas subjects special school were opened.
5. Under the Imperial University a medical school was opened.
6. An official newspaper was published
7. Special examinations were to be conducted in political economy.

II) Political Administration

1. The Sinecure and unnecessary offices like, the Supervisor ate of Imperial Instruction, the Court of State Ceremonial and the Governship of Hopeh Kuangtug, etc., were abolished
2. The progressives like, Liang Chi-chao and Lin Hsu were appointed in important posts.
3. A simplified administrative procedure was introduced. The administrative efficiency was to be improved.
4. Private citizens were encouraged to give suggestions to improve the efficiency of the government.
5. The Manchus were permitted to engage in trade.

III) Industry

1. Railway constructions, agriculture, industries and commercial activities were to be promoted by the government.
2. New scientific inventions were to encouraged.
3. The capital city was to be beautified with avenues, parks and clean roads.

IV) Others

1. High officials were sent Western countries to learn the techniques of administration and industries.

2. Missionaries were to be protected
3. Chinese legal code should be improved and simplified
4. Annual budget should be prepared.'
5. Twelve new Bureaus or Boards were established in the place of traditional 'Six Boards' to improve the efficiency of administration.

CAUSES FOR THE FAILURE OF THE MOVEMENT

Although the reform programmes were vigorously pushed by the Emperor and was implemented with great zeal, and with 'the spirit of New Deal' by Kang it ended in failure. The main causes for the failure are as follows:

1. The Coup D'etat of Dowager

From the first, there was serious opposition to the reforms. The Opposition came from the high officials in the Manchu government, as their position was seriously threatened. They therefore appealed to the Empress Dowager to intervene. The Empress her self was a diehard conservative opposed to all reforms, but she waited for the opposition to gain momentum. The reforms, but she waited for the opposition to gain momentum. The reformers who were fearful of her intervention made an attempt to arrest the Old Buddha. But this attempt failed. With the help of army officers, the Empress staged a comeback, had the emperor arrested and asserted herself in authority in September 1898. The emperor remained in confinement until his death ten years later. Kang Yuwei, the leader of the reform movement fled to Japan. Many of the reformists were capture and killed. Thus ended the Hundred Days of Reform. After taking charge, the Empress declared all the reform edicts null and void.

2. The emperor was a weakling without any experience in stat craft. Although he had high ideals, he was a poor match to the scheming Empress, who trained her from boyhood to respect her and fear her.

The reforms themselves were far too advanced and idealistic. They sought to bring about a transformation almost overnight. This was clearly an impossible feat.

3. 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.

4. The reform movement was mostly concentrated in the southern provinces and in particular at the points of Western contact. Thus the movement had no nation-wide support.

5. The traders, agriculturists and the gentry did not support the reforms. They feared that the reform would disturb the existing order and there by cause confusion. They wanted only solutions to the pressing problems rather than revolutionary socio-economic changes.

6. The most important factor which brought about the failure of the movement was the opposition of the reactionary forces of the Manchu officialdom. The officials saw in the reforms a serious threat to their power and privileges. Because of their strong influence and entrenched position, the reactionary forces were able to foil the reform movement.

7. Kang was idealist and philosopher rather than a practical statesman. He had very little knowledge of the reality of the power politics. Impatient to achieve quick results, he hardly considered the effects of reforms on others.

8. The emperor and his reformers had no army at their direct command. Hence they turned to Yuan Shih-Kai, the commander of the army of Kuangtung, to suppress the opposition to reforms. But he proved himself as a traitor to side with Empress Dowager.

The Significance of the reform Movement

The reform movement though suppressed by the high-handed Empress Dowager had great significance to subsequent Chinese history. The repercussions were far-reaching.

Firstly it proved that progressive reform from the top to down was impossible, by peaceful means.

Secondly under the Empress Dowager and die-hard conser vatives the court was totally incapable of leadership. There were wide-spread corruption and incompetence among the officals.

Thirdly the success of the reactionaries strengthened the conservatives and encouraged anti –foreignism and fostered the Boxer Movement.

Fourthly, it was rightly pointed out the 'Reform benefited the Chinese, but hurt the Manchu's'. The court began to follow an anti-Chinese policy to punish the reformers and thereby widened the gulf between the Chinese and the Manchus.

Finally the reformists came to feel that change could not be accomplished by peaceful means and only a bloody revolution from below could effect it. They thought that the complete over throw of the Manchu dynasty would facilitate the introduction of reforms. The Chinese began to rally under the banner of Dr. Sun Yat-sen who raised the banner of revolt.

OPEN DOOR POLICY

In the beginning of 19th century China wanted to close her doors to foreigners; but the irony was that at the end of the same century the foreigners wanted to close doors the others. Now. U.S.A wanted that European powers should open the doors of their respective areas of spheres of influences and lease-hold territories to foreign commercial intercourse. It was 'pious wish'- not motivated by high ideals to it China should be equally opened to all to exploit,. It seems, 'Exploit, let others to exploit' was the motto of this policy.

Factors that saved China from Partition

After that treaty of Shimonoseki of 1895, the European Powers vied with one another in securing concessions from China. While the country was cutup into several spheres of influences 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 power themselves. They could not all of them act in concert and bring about the dismemberment of China. Another factor was the stone anti-foreign sentiment that the various concessions roused amongst the Chinese. The Boxer uprising was typical of such strong anti foreign and anti-Christian attitude. The Anglo Japanese Alliance and the American Open Door policy and the other factors which acted as a powerful deterrent on the expansionist ambitions of the individual Powers. The Open Door Policy and the circumstances giving rise to it require some detailed consideration.

The U.S. And China

At the time the scramble for concession was taking place (1897-1898) the U.S. was otherwise busy. Domestic issuers were engaging attention. Besides, she was engaged in a war with Spain. During the years 1865-1898, the American nation went

through a transformation and emerged as an industrial power. Americans felt that foreign markets were needed to absorb the country's expanding industrial production. Added to this economic interest, she came to have an interest in international relations particularly with her new acquisition Philippines in the Far East. This interest necessitated a positive reaction on the part of U.S.

The U.S. was not interested acquiring territories in China. But at the same time she was keen on safe-guarding her interests in the growing commerce with China.

The Doctrine of Open Door

It was against this background the U.S. enunciated the 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. The doctrine was propounded by the then Secretary of State, John Hay and the doctrine is therefore also known as the Hay's doctrine. The main feature of the doctrine are

1. The power having spheres in China should assure that it would not interfere with any treaty port or any vested interest or leased territory they might have in China.
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.
4. All concessions which the European countries have already obtained from China would be respected.

In essence, the Open Door Policy was a guarantee of Open Chinese market and a uniform tariff for all nations. What the U.S. wanted was a neutralization of the special interests acquired by the Western Powers. The motives behind the Open Door Doctrine are obvious. The U.S. Had not secured so far any concessions which the other Powers had already got. She had been a late comer. But the Chinese market was too attractive for it to be given up. As Owen Lattimore aptly points out the American

Open Door Policy was nothing better than 'me too' imperialism. Briefly stated, America wanted a share of the spoils in China. But in theory the Americans claimed that the Open Door Policy championed the cause of equal opportunity and the territorial integrity of China. Though this claim is plausible the U.S. had never lived up to this idealism. Her conquest and colonization of Philippines was a flagrant violation of the high principle she was propounding for others. The truth is that the U.S. was not so much inspired by high idealism as by self interest.

The implications of the Open Door Policy

The two 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 of 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 co-operative policy for a more effective exploitation of China in the place of the exclusive and the limited sphere of influence.

The Open Door was a declaration of principles rather than a formal policy of United States, which had neither the will nor the power to enforce it militarily.

Reaction of the Powers to the Open Door

Two Powers-the U.S. and Britain were interested in safeguarding China as a whole as a market for their goods and as a field for investment of their capital. Both these countries did not wish to acquire territories in China. But they were keen on trade with the Chinese empire. Therefore Britain agreed to follow the Open Door Doctrine provided the other powers also toed the line. The western powers were quick to realize the practical utility of the Open Door Doctrine as a co-operative policy for the exploitation of China and they all agreed to this policy. But Russia did not give her full support to the doctrine.

Result of the Open Door Policy

The acceptance of this doctrine by the powers temporarily checked the movement towards the partition of China. Following the enunciation of the doctrine the United States began to take more interest in China. As a result of her interest the aggressive designs of the European nations were kept in check and the integrity of China was preserved. This was perhaps the only benefit that China derived from the application of the Open Door Policy. Internally, however, the lesson of the Sino-Japanese War and the events that followed was clear to China. She must reorganize herself in such a way as to withstand attacks from outside.

BOXER REVOLT

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 an effort to drive the foreigners out of the country. The defeat of China in war and the consequent humiliation, the haughtiness of the foreigners in the treaty ports, the scramble of Western Powers to carve China into so many spheres of influence and irritating activities of the missionaries roused bitter feelings among the Chinese. The popular and spontaneous resentment was the Boxer Uprising. In the words of Immanuel Hsu "It was a foolish and unreasoned outburst of emotion and anger against foreign imperialism. Yet one cannot overlook the patriotic element inherent in it"

CAUSES OF THE BOXER UPRISING

Activities of Missionaries

i) Though the Christian Missionaries did some useful social and educational work, the Chinese distrusted them and looked upon them as the advance guard of Western Imperialist Powers. They were considered as 'the running dogs of imperialism' and 'the Trojan horse of Imperialism'. Because Christianity entered into China with the protection of gunboats and imposed treaties.

ii) The local converts to Christianity considered themselves as superior persons and a privileged class. They claimed preferential treatment in service and courts. They did not respect the traditional Chinese practices. They refused to Kowtow to idols and to worship Confucius and ancestors. The behaviours of Chinese Christians irritated the country gentry.

iii) There were a number of popular believes in the interior part of China. The Christians were believed to indulge in strange inhuman practices such as plucking out the eyes, and extracting the hearts of children to make medicine out of them. These believes though baseless, aroused hostility towards Christians.

iv) The missionaries often intervened in litigation on behalf of the converts and interceded with the magistrates on their behalf. The converts took advantage of their association with missionaries and tried to bully their fellow countrymen and to evade the law.

The priests also demanded magisterial honours in their dealings with officials. This added to the hostility of many officials and to induce them to indulge in violence against the missionaries.

2. Anger over imperialism

i) The defeat of China at the hands of Japan and the scramble for concession made the partition of China imminent. Almost every Western Power had got some territory from China over which it had created a sphere of influence. The situation was grave enough to threaten the integrity of China. Naturally Patriotic Chinese were roused to action.

ii) When the Chinese realized the fact that their 'Powerful Middle Kingdom' and the 'proud Celestial Empire' had degenerated into a semi-colony, their anger towards Western imperialist knew no bounds that resulted in the outburst of a Popular Uprising.

3. Feeling of national humiliation

Half a century of foreign humiliation, in war as well as in peace had deeply wounded their national pride and self – respect. The presents of haughty foreign ministers, fire-eating consuls, aggressive missionaries and self-seeking traders constantly reminded them of China's misfortune. This sense of injustice generated a burning desire for revenge.

4. Antipathy towards West

The Westernising policy of Emperor Kuang Hsu was one of the important Causes of the Uprising. The establishment of foreign institutions and the far-reaching

change proposed by the reform measures supplied fuel to the already existing anti-foreign sentiment and precipitated the crisis.

5. Foreign Economic domination

The influx of foreign imports after Opium Wars caused a disastrous effect on the native economy. The fixed 5 percent and valorem customs duty ruined China's protective tariff. Foreign cotton cloth sold for only one-third of the price of the Chinese cloth, driving the native weavers and textile manufacturers in to bankruptcy. Handicraft household industries fared badly in the face of foreign competition, throwing many workers into unemployment. Further expansion of foreign trade resulted in an ever increasing foreign domination of the Chinese markets.

6. Increase of Tax burden

In 1899 China suffered a trade deficit of 69 million taels. To meet the deficit the court increased taxes and solicited provincial contributions, the burden of which ultimately fell on the people.

7. Natural Calamities

Added to the economic hardship a series of natural disasters intensified further the difficulty of life. The Yellow River, which shifted its course from Honan to Shantung in 1852, and flooded frequently after 1882 broke again in 1898. It flooded hundreds of villages in Shantung, affecting more than a million people. More over a severe draught followed in 1900 in most of North China including Peking. The victims blamed the misfortunate foreigners who, they thought, had offended the spirits by propagating a new religion.

8. The activities of the Secret Societies

There were many secret societies in China such as the Eight Diagram Society, White Lotus Society. These Societies were fiercely nationalistic and anti-foreign in their attitude. They raised slogans against the foreigners and declared that power and strength was in their fists. They secretly practiced gymnastic exercises.

The Origin of the Boxers.

Boxers was the name given by foreigners to Chinese Secret Society called 'I-ho-Chuan' means 'Righteous Harmonious Fists'. It was an offshoot of the 'Eight

Diagram Society' . Their programme was the practice of magic arts by which they claimed immunity to bullets. They used charms, incantations and rituals to invoke the supernatural power to neutralise the effect of guns.

Originally anti-Manchu, the Boxers in the 1890's became pro-dynastic and anti-foreign. They were determined to exterminate the foreigners and their Chinese collaborators.

The Course of the rebellion

In the initial phases of the uprising the Boxers consisted of strong-anti-Manchu elements as well as others with the anti-foreign sentiments. The anti-Manchu elements wanted the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty and the driving out of the foreigners. In the later phase of the movement, the anti-Manchu rebels were suppressed and the others were absorbed in to the local militia. The Empress Dowager saw in the tense situation an opportunity, to perpetuate Manchu rule. On the one hand, she was faced with the break-up of the empire into foreign controlled spheres and on the other, there was the movement for reforms to westernise the country. Having crushed the reform movement, the Empress now threw her weight behind the parties of reaction and tried to direct the mounting discontent away from the throne and tried to direct the mounting discontent away from the throne and towards the foreigners. She supported the Boxer first secretly and then openly. Assured of the support of the Empress, the Boxer movement grew more militant and fanatical. In 1900, prompted by conservative officialdom, the boxers indulged in slaughter and destruction in Shantung, Chihli, Shansi and Manchuria. They burnt up churches and murdered Christian missionaries. They destroyed railways and telegraphs. The whole of Northern China was plunged in violence. In June 1900, the government openly declared war on the foreign powers and permitted the Boxers to lay siege to the foreign legations in Peking. The declaration of war was ignored by the southern provinces on the ground that it had not received the emperor's sanction. Thus the military operation were confined to the north. The siege of the legations itself was half-hearted and lasted for eight weeks. Jung Lu, the old general refrained from using artillery against the legations.

Foreign Military intervention

An allied army of 18,000 troops under the leadership of the German General Waldersee entered Peking and planted the allied flags. The Empress Dowager fled from the capital in disguise. She later confessed that her support to the Boxers was one of the greatest mistakes of her life. The international army hunted down the Boxers by instituting a reign of terror.

Boxer Protocol

After long and interminable delay, a settlement known as the Boxer Protocol was signed in 1901. By the terms of the Protocol China agreed to

1. Make an official apology to Germany and Japan whose representatives had been killed.
2. Pay an indemnity of 450 million taels in 39 installments.
3. Punish the Boxer leaders and officials for the outrages and the atrocities.
4. Suspend for five years all competitive examination for the administrative posts in Boxer towns.
5. Forbid the importation of arms and ammunitions.
6. Permit the allies to maintain legation guards in Peking.
7. Destroy the fort at the mouth of Taku River.
8. Revise commercial treaties and create a ministry of foreign affairs.
9. Accept military occupation of strategic points between the capital and the sea.
10. Erect Monuments in desecrated foreign cemeteries.

Nature of the Movement

The Boxer movement may be divided into three phases. In the first phase, the boxers showed their hatred against the foreigners and tried to expel them. They were both anti-Manchu and anti – foreign. In the second phase, they adopted a favorable stand towards the Manchus and directed their activities against the foreigners. In the third and the final phase, they wanted to get rid of the inefficient bureaucracy and corrupt officials. In essence it was a movement against all westernising influence, coming as a reaction of the people against the intolerable conditions of poverty and misery.

Strictly speaking, the Boxer Uprising cannot be called a rebellion, because a rebellion signifies a revolt against a properly constituted authority. In this case the Boxers fought against the foreigners and in this fight the Manchu government had a hand. The Boxers cannot therefore be called rebels. It was in fact a product of blind and ignorant patriotism directed against the ‘foreign devils’, their strange and intolerant religion and their insufferable airs of superiority. Since the southern provinces did not participate in the movement it cannot also be called a wholly national uprising. But the Marxist historians today consider the Boxer movement a primitive form of a patriotic peasant uprising with the right motive but with the wrong method.

Causes of its failure

It is interesting to know why such a popular uprising, which had the support of the court failed so miserably. The reasons are not far to seek.

1. The agitation was confined to the north in provinces. The south ignored the uprising even during the later stages on the ground that it did not have the sanction of the emperor. What was worse, the Governors of these provinces concluded agreements with foreign powers for suppression of any possible uprising in their areas. Thus, the movement though virulent in the north was not nationwide.

2. The Chinese army did not act in co-ordination. The Empress herself was only half-hearted in giving her support to the movement. She was more keen on maintaining herself in power. The Chinese army had no strong central command. General Jung Lu did not use artillery against the foreigners for fear of escalating the war. The military commanders had neither confidence in themselves nor in the army.

3. The Boxers acted in blind reaction. They acted negatively. If they had captured the imagination of the masses by putting forward constructive programmes, the course of the uprising would have been different. The Manchus, in all probability, could not have added eleven unearned years to the life of the dynasty. The foreign powers would have also learnt to respect the sentiments of the Chinese.

4. The Boxers did not have inspiring leadership. There were no glamorous personalities to rally the masses.

5. The Superior military strength of the joint Western expeditionary force was a decisive factor in the suppression of the uprising. The advanced technology, the greater fire power and better strategy of the West Proved invincible.

Effects of the movement

1. As a consequence of the Boxer protocol, China was subjected the further humiliation. She had to give many concessions to the foreign powers compromising her sovereignty and dignity. The huge indemnity payment crippled her economic strength.

2. The Boxer Uprising hastened the fall for the Manchus. The mass discontent now full to the brim swept the dynasty out of power in 1911

3. The Western Powers sensed the mass discontent and moderated their ambition. Boxerism checked the disintegration of China.

4. The Boxers made the Manchu court to think in terms of reform. The reforms that came immediately were very conservative. All the same they marked the beginning of a change.

Reform Movement of Manchus

We have already seen how Empress Tzu His foiled the Hundred Days Reform and also how she tried to perpetuate herself in power by inciting the Boxers. Now we shall note briefly the part she played in the conservative reform movement.

Tzu His was the concubine of Emperor Hsien Feng. When the Emperor died in 1861 she asserted herself in power by a series of successful palace intrigues. She poisoned the Emperor's legal wife and placed on the throne a boy of five and assumed the regency herself. The Empress continued to govern China as regent of one child-emperor after another for more than forty years.

Circumstances leading to the proclamation of reforms.

The Boxer Catastrophe proved a bitter experience. Following the Allied occupation of Peking, she made a humiliating and hurried escape westward in a donkey cart suffering hardship for the first time in her life. She was without food and comfortable lodging for days together. She felt remorse and shame for having led her country into an unprecedented calamity. She was shrewd enough to understand the underlying causes for these sufferings. In order to regain foreign esteem and domestic respect she resolved to show some semblance of repentance and to institute measures of political reforms. In 1900, while still in flight she issued a decree blaming herself for China's misfortune. After the court had been established at Sian she proclaimed the desire to institute a reform of her own only for the purpose of survival the Manchu court instituted reform towards constitutional government.

1. Educational Reforms

A large number of foreigners were appointed to teach in the educational institutions. The traditional Confucian education leading to civil service examinations had continued for a thousand years giving power and prestige to the ruling scholar officials. It was now realized that the classical education was no longer adequate. In 1905, the whole system was scrapped, Public education was thoroughly reorganized

with western curricula. Women's education began to receive attention from 1907. A ministry of education was set up. The idea was to create a new body of public servants educated in modern ideas to rebuild China. Thousands of schools sprang up all over the country. In the year 1910, there were over 57,000 schools with nearly 89,000 teachers, students started going to the western countries and Japan for studies in ever-increasing numbers. 'The Eight –legged Essay' was replaced by current topics in Civil Service Examinations.

2. Social Reforms

In 1902, reform edicts removed the ban on inter-marriage between the Chinese and the Manchus. People were advised to abandon the practice of binding the feet women.

A vigorous effort was made to stop import of opium with the co-operation of the other Powers. Domestic production of opium was also drastically cut.

3. Administrative Reforms

Unnecessary offices were abolished. A number of new offices were created. Tsungli Yamen was replaced by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Ministries for commerce, military training, police and education were created.

4. Military Reforms

Old model military examinations were terminated. The Green Standard Army was reduced. Provincial Military Academies were created and the Bureau of Military training was established.

5. Other Reforms.

The building of railroads, construction of arsenals and mining operations were encouraged. Steps were taken to tone up the efficiency of administrative machinery. Torture and other cruel forms of punishment were discontinued. A number of useless posts were abolished. Although a number of economic measures were initiated, Progress was slow on account of official indifference.

6. Constitutional Reforms

The Russo- Japanese War of 1904-1905 brought home to the Chinese the urgent need for constitutional reforms. In this war Japan, Which had constitutional

government, was able to defeat Russia which was an autocracy. The lesson of the Russian and the Chinese defeats at the hands of Japan was clear; constitutional government made a nation automatically strong.

The constitutional reform movement received inspiration from reformers like Liang Chi-chiao, a former disciple of Kang Yu-wei, Liang trained himself in the philosophy of Rousseau and Montesquie and published a series of periodicals from Japan. Liang's pamphlets and periodicals attracted young intellectuals of China. He succeeded by his propaganda in creating the necessary climate for constitutional reform. He organized a political information club and outlined a programme for a responsible cabinet system, for local autonomy and a foreign policy to maintain China's integrity and equality among foreign Powers.

Though the Empress Dowager was unwilling to share power with the people, she was forced, by prevailing climate of public opinion to send a commission of officials abroad for a study of constitutional reforms.

Constitution of 1908

After a study of the constitutions of England, Germany and Japan, China adopted the Japanese system. The provisional Constitution of 1908 gave the emperor wide power. He alone could make laws, Summon and prorogue parliament, declare war and conclude peace. All were allowed freedom of speech, idea and association. The constitution provide for a parliament of two houses. It could deliberate only upon matters affecting the entire nation. It has no power to interfere in provincial affairs. Like wise its power over the budget was limited.

The Empress Dowager wanted the programme to be taken up by gradual stages covering a period of nine years. In the first stage, the provincial assemblies were to be inaugurated. The constitution was to be fully adopted in 1917.

The constitutional proposals amounted to very little. The liberals and the revolutionaries who were growing in strength were disappointed. The wide powers conferred on the emperor were not to the liking of the reformists. They wanted a constitutional monarchy with large popular participation. Instead, the constitutional reforms proposed increased powers to the Manchu ruling clique. Thus, there was widespread discontent.

In 1908, both the emperor and the empress died almost simultaneously. The death of the Empress Dowager removed from the scene a strong and capable woman

at a critical juncture. She was vain, proud and ruthless. But all the same, the old Buddha was a woman of great force of personality. IN the long-drawn- out story of the collapse of the dynasty, her colourful career stands as important episode.

Collapse of the Manchus

The policy of graduation initiated by the Empress Dowager was short-lived. Radical elements who suspected the sincerity of the Manchu rulers demanded a thorough-going change including the overthrow of the Manchus and the setting up of a popular government. Mere paper reforms could no longer do. Following wides pread chaos and civil war, they at last overthrew 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. The new reforms were fundamental transformation of the Chinese tradition and their implementation gave impetus to China's twentieth century revolution. Yet the reforms did not save the dynasty. Modernistion involved abandonment of the Confucian order.

The attempts of reform during the period remained only on paper. There was no strong centralized government to implement them. The Manchus attempted to perpetuate their rule by a programme of graduated reforms. They hoped to retain real power giving the people only the right of being consulted. As in Japan, the basic social structure and the political philosophy of the country were to be maintained. But this was incompatible with modern constitutional reforms. The Chinese government lacked the foresight and vigorous leadership required to bridge the gap between the traditional and the modern. The Manchu granted the reforms under pressure. They were too late and too little to satisfy the people.

According to Immanuel Hsu " The Dowager's programme was essentially a noisy demonstration with out much substance or promise of accomplishment. Only three concrete improvements were actually made namely (1) the abolition of Civil Service Examinations; (2) the establishment of modern school and (3) the sending of students abroad.

The Role of Empress Dowager

The Empress Dowager Tzu-his, (also called as Budha) was the concubine of Emperor Hsien-feng (1851-1861). At the death of the Emperor at Jehol in 1861, she was able to grasp the power of the State into her hand by a cunning devices and controllee the court for 48 years until her death in 1908. Tung chich and Kuang-hsu were the two boy emperors, during whose reigns stat power vested with her and she ruled supreme nearly half a century. She remained as a strong hand at the Manchu court and it was pointed out that she possessed more power that Queen Victoria.

Her Policies and principles

Tzu-his was not without native intelligence and decisiveness; but was basically ignorant conservative, veral , narrow minded and selfish. She placed her own interest above those of the dynasty and the country at large. She had a strong belief in the Confucian philosophy and sought to improve her position and power by applying the philosophy in socio-political aspects. She was a master fulminded lady but was cool, cunning and calculative. She never openly asserted her power and position, remaining behind the scene she would accomplish her interests through her confidents in the court. Whenever she felt that her power and position were at stake she would react sharply, and never hesitated to resort to unscrupulous ways and means. She was endowed with large measures of determination, will power, ability for quick decision, still she was without much education and mental breadth. She was totally uninformed on the nature of the modern world that had been thrust upon China.

Her role in 1861 Coup

Emperor Hsien-feng died in 1861 when the Manchu court still refuge at Jehol. His crown queen was childless. But Tzu-his, his concubine bore him a son. Before his death the Emperor named him as heir apparent who was only six years old. A council of regency was formed to rule the country during the minority of the boy emperor But Tzu-hsi, jointed hands with Prince Kung staged a coup in which the regency was overthrown. Emerging victorious from the coup detat, the queen, Tzu-hsi (Two dowagers) and Prince Kung became co-regents. The two dowagers sat behind a silk screen while administrating state affairs. In due course of time Tzu-hsi became the real head of the State. The queen who was known more for virtue that ability was over shadowed by the crafty Tzu-his. According to one version she poisoned the queen in 1881 and became all powerful. As the Emperor was minor far eleven years it was very easy for her to retain her control over state affairs.

Her attitude towards Self-Strengthening Movement.

Tzu-his supported the Self –strengthening Movement of the Tung-chih period, not with a view to transforming China into a modern state, but to preserve the old order and her own position. All she sought from the movement was to suppress domestic revolt and resist foreign imperialism. She permitted peace-meal improvement instead of full scale regeneration, partly because she feared subversion by those Chinese who were in charge of modernization. She was therefore responsible to a large extent, for failing to provide constructive leadership.

Manipulation of imperial Succession in 1875

Emperor Tung-chih was a minor during eleven of his thirteen reigning years, and a weakling in the remaining two. In February 1873 he began his personal rule and tired of the mother's interference struck upon the idea of reconstructing the Summer palace. Shortly afterwards he died at the age of nineteen. The brief life of Tung-chih was a strange episode which could be interpreted as a delicate reaction to his mother's high-handed control. He died without an issue, but his empress was pregnant. Now the question of imperial succession became a matter of delicacy and intrigue. Tzu-his quickly saw her opportunity to reign the regency. She thought that new ruler must be minor. She had begun her machinations she dismissed Prince Kung's suggestion that the succession be delayed until empress had borne a child. At a council of twenty seven princes she autocratically announced her choice; her nephew Knang-Hsu a boy of four years. Once again the Dowager Empress became co-regents during the minority. When the Emperor reached his majority in 1887 he was denied personal rule for another two years during which period he was to learn from the Dowager the art of government. Finally in 1889 the Dowager officially retired to the Summer Palace, but no one doubted that she took with her the ultimate power of the State.

Tzu-hsi and Hundred Days of Reform.

Emperor Kuang Hsu, who was greatly influenced by the radical reforms Kung Yu-wei initiated the famous Hundred Days of Reforms. A number of edicts were issued to transform the Confucian state into a modern one. In order to create a new administrative set up a number of unnecessary posts were abolished. As a result the Manchu nobles lost their power and position. The old Eight legged Essay in the civil service examination was also abolished. This measure removed altogether the Confucian influence from the administrative lines. Now the affected party the high Manchu officials appealed to Dowager Empress to intervene. The Empress herself

was a diehard conservative opposed to all reforms, but she waited for the opposition to gain momentum. The reformers who were fearful of her intervention made an attempt to arrest her. But this attempt failed.

For 37 years since 1861, the empress Dowager had been the ultimate power of the state. She was too experienced and too well entrenched to be uprooted by a handful of inexperienced reformers. Thought in retirement since 1889 she was in firm control of political and military affairs. Her confidants in the Grand Council reported to her all policy decisions. There was not a thing that escaped her notice. Now when she saw that the Confucian philosophy, upon which her power and position rested, was uprooted. She staged a come-back with the help of the military officials. She raided the Emperor's palace and intercepted all reform documents. She announced publically that a serious illness had incapacitated the Emperor and hence she had to take control of the state affairs. For the third time in her life the Dowager return to administer state affairs. The Emperor was put under detention on a small island in the Imperial Garden. The reform came to an abrupt end.

Her role in Boxer Rebellion

In the initial phase of the movement, the Boxer Uprising was anti-Manchu and anti-foreign. The Boxers were against the discredited Manchu rule and believed that the dynasty lost its mandate of Heaven. But in the later phase, the Empress Dowager aided the Boxers and there by tried to divert public discontent from the throne towards the foreigners alone. She saw in the tense situation an opportunity to perpetuate Manchu rule. On one hand she was faced with the break up of the empire into foreign controlled spheres and on the other there was the movement for reforms to westernize the country. Having crushed the reform movement, she turned her attention towards foreigners. She had ample reason for resenting the foreigners, who had reduced the Celestial Empire into a semi colony by parceling out the territories into spheres of influences. The behavior of foreign ministers in Peking, too had been down right insulting. Frustrated by her inability to resist foreign interference, she now turned the Boxers against the foreigners. She was much impressed by magical charms and supernatural powers. She first gave her blessings to the Boxer secretly, then supported them openly. Assured of the Empress, the Boxer Movement grew more militant and fanatical. Within a short period the whole of North China was plunged into violence. In June 1900 the government openly declared war on the foreign powers and permitted the Boxers to lay siege to the foreign legations in Peking. The foreign powers organized an Allied army of 18000 troop. Under the leadership of German general Waldersee. The allied army landed in China occupied Tientsin and planted

their flag in Peking. The Empress Dowager fled from the capital in disguise. Late she confessed that her support to Boxers was one of her greatest political plunders.

Her attempt to reform China

The Boxer Catastrophe proved a bitter experience. She felt remorse and shame for having led her country into an unprecedented calamity. Her attempt to wipe out the humiliations imposed by foreigners upon China, only resulted in the heaping of further insults and disgrace. At last realized the necessity of reforming China, she thought that was the only way to strengthen her power and to regain her lost respect. Accordingly she proclaimed her desire to institute a reform of her own. Her reform programme was to involve the educational system, the army and navy, the form of government and a great array of miscellaneous matters including a crusade against opium traffic. All this seemed to indicate that the Empress Dowager was intent on a house cleaning. There was still however the question of the depth of her sincerity and whether this masterful but unscrupulous woman had the capacity to rebuild the fortune of the dynasty and the people it ruled. But the reforms were too little and too insignificant to make any impressive improvement in social economic structure. It was actually a shrewd effort on the part of the Dowager to disguise her shame over her role in the Boxer catastrophe. Hence it is rightly pointed out that the Dowager's programme of reform was essentially a noisy demonstration without much substance or promise of accomplishment. Disillusion and disappointment generated mounting anti-Manchu sentiment and swung public feeling towards the revolutionary cause.

Her health

At the age of 73 the Dowager suffered a serious illness and in less than three months she died in 1908. On the preceding day of the death of the Dowager, Emperor Kuang Hsu also died suddenly, under strange conditions. Indications point to the possibility that she poisoned him the day before she died.

UNIT II

CASUES OF THE REVOLUTINON OF 1911

1. Economic Causes

The basic caused of the Revolution of 1911 were economic. During the twenty five years preceding 1911, there was a phenomenal growth of population. From 377 million in 1885, the population rose to 430 million in 1911. This increase in population was not matched by any increase in food supply. In 1910-11 normal conditions of food production were disturbed by floods in the central provinces. There were droughts in some seven provinces. Millions of people were actually starving and dying. Naturally, there was widespread discontent among the masses of people. The situation was only relieved to every small extent by migration to Manchuria and other thinly populated areas of the empire. But the famine conditions were cute enough to provide material for a widespread revolt.

Another economic factor was finance. The expenditure of the government steadily increased because of the reorganization of the army, the construction of the railways, and the establishment of new educational institution. In addition, the government had to meet payments on the indemnities arising out of the Sino-Japanese War and the Boxer Uprising. As a consequence, the taxes became increasingly heavy and new charges had to be levied, making the tax burden altogether unbearable, and adding to the discontent and dissatisfaction with the dynasty.

2. Rise of Revolutionary ideas

The economic unrest created a receptive state of mind among the people for revolutionary idea. There was already a revolutionary part since the time of the Hundred Days of Reform. This party operating from Tokyo was headed by Kang Yu-wei and his disciple Liang Chia Chao. They preached the doctrine of constitutional monarchy. There were then the anti-dynastic revolutionaries led by Dr. Sun Yet Sen. In 1905, Sun traveled extensively preaching the doctrines of his society. He affiliated many of the secret societies that had a permanent existence south of the Yaugtze to his cause. A new model army was organized, consisting of anti-Manchu elements. The role played by Dr. Sun Yat Sen in the revolution was truly great. It was he who transformed the mass discontent into a successful revolution. Another center of revolutionary propaganda was among the new, student class. After 1900, a large number of students went abrow to study. These students on return usually found that there were no government positions open to them. They were naturally aggrieved

and, because of their foreign experience and training provided active leadership to the revolt.

3. Growth of Revolutionary Parties

The Anti-Manchu sentiment never disappeared throughout the 268-years dynasty. The germ of revolution was kept alive in underground organization and secret societies, which aimed the over throwing of the Manchu dynasty.

- i) The revolt of the Three Feudatories
- ii) The rising of Heaven and Earth Society
- iii) The White Lotus Rebellion and]
- iv) The Taiping Rebellion

Were some of the popular uprising against the Manchus.

4. Role of Missionaries.

In this connection, mention should be made of influential role played by the missionary schools in providing converts to the cause of revolution. These school provided Western democratic ideas and created new generation of students imbued with a progressive outlook. Some of the brilliant students went abroad and came in contact with liberal Western institutions. These contacts and the resulting influenced had a tremendous significance in the context of the prevailing conditions in China.

5. The works of Chinese immigrants.

The Chinese Immigrants who were going to the West had difficulties. In 1880 and 1890, the United States passed the exclusion acts by which America closed in doors to the Chinese immigrants. Denied admission to the United states, the Chinese turned to Hawaii, the Philippines, Malay states etc. These Chinese numbering about two and half million sent home large remittances and subscribed to the cause of the revolution. Those of the Chines who returned after staying in the Western countries brought with them Western ideas and propagated them among their countrymen, Thus awakening them to a new consciousness.

6. Modern communication system and press

The improved means, communication, the extended posts, telegraph and railways helped the rapid spread of revolutionary ideas throughout the empire. Added

to this was the Chinese vernacular press which now included a number of reformist and revolutionary papers, carrying the new ferment far and wide.

7. Indifference of provincial authorities.

The attitude of the provinces was one of non-co-operation with the center. The Provincial chiefs asserted their powers, taking advantage on the weakness of the central government. There was constant friction between the central and provincial authorities. One of the source of friction was then new contracts that were being assigned to foreigners for the construction of the railways. The provincial authorities wanted to have a voice in the center's decision relating to their areas. When they found the center irresponsive to their activities of the revolutionaries.

8. The Superiority Complex

The Chinese generally considered themselves as they only civilized people in the whole world and on the basis of this logic, all outsiders were barbarians. The Manchus had this superiority complex even in a larger measure. This complex prevented them from learning from experience. They refused to adapt themselves to new ideas not only in civil but also in military matters. The results was that the Chinese armies could not face the Western forces successfully. In contrast, Japan which had a more or less similar back ground learnt form the West, built herself in to a strong power and there by earned the respect and admiration of the western countries.

9. Weakness of the Centre

China was territorially decentralized. This territorial decentralization weakened the center greatly, The regional and provincial chiefs asserted themselves in authority and did not cooperate with the center even in times of emergency. For instance, at the time of the Opium Wars, there was no unified military effort. The provinces that were not directly affected by the hostilities remained aloof, and did not contribute their shares of Li Hung Chang. Thus each region and province tried to look after its own interests with out concern for the integrity of the country as a whole. The lager Manchus were weakling and could not check the growth a regionalism. They were more interested in the pleasures of the palace life than properly administering the country.

10. Poor System of Administration

The Manchu rulers did not introduce any sound system of civil administration. The writ of imperial authority did not run throughout the country. In the first place, there was no coordination between the center and the provinces. In the second place, there was no co-ordination between the provinces and the local administration. The result was each local unit behaved as if it were an independent entity by itself. At the center the officials were utterly corrupt and inefficient. The provincial chiefs were interested only in strengthening their position. The system of checks and counter-checks that once restrained the provincial administrators were no longer being enforced. The financial administration was unscientific. The local authorities were allowed to squeeze as much as possible. So long as they contributed their quota of revenues to the center. The dynasty failed to check all these evils with the result that the people desire overthrow it.

11. Indifference to reforms

The Manchu wanted to be absolute monarchs and were unwilling to share their power with other parliamentary institutions. The Manchus showed an utter disregard to all progressive reforms. By means fair or foul, they foiled all reformist movements in the country. The Taiping Rebellion, the Hundred Days reform and the Boxer uprising indicate the new consciousness that was awakening among the people. The Manchus suppressed all the movement ruthlessly and did not realize that the time had come for popular reforms. When the reforms came, they were too late in coming and too inadequate to meet the needs of the situation.

12. Manchus as foreigners

All through the 18th century, the secret societies in the south were agitating for the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty. The Manchus were not strictly speaking Chinese, but belonged to the ethnic group of Mongols. They never identified themselves with the aspirations of the Chinese people. Therefore the people regarded the Manchus as foreigners and usurpers. Thus, there was already a latent hatred among the people against the Manchus.

13. The Western Impact.

The most significant factor which was responsible for the collapse of the Manchus was the Western impact on China. The Chinese hated the Western 'barbarians'; at the same time they were profoundly impressed by their military

efficiency and by their liberal ideas and institutions. The western ideas of democracy, independence, human rights and freedom exerted a profound influence upon the Chinese. At the treaty ports, the Western settlements served to disseminate Western ideas and practices. These liberal influences weakened the tradition of the emperor's mandate from heaven. The Confucian code of filial piety, the division of classes etc., were seriously undermined. The Manchu rulers who were conservative and reactionary in their outlook could not bring about the necessary adjustments to meet the needs of the changing times. Their repeated defeats at the hands of the foreigners exposed their utter weakness providing the necessary temptation for rebellion.

14. Economic Domination of the west

The country was partitioned into so many spheres of influence by the Western Powers. In their respective spheres of influence each of the Powers opened mines, constructed railways, etc., and started exploiting the region as if were a colony. This economic domination of the West resulted in the impoverishment of the handicraft industries as the respective spheres of influence were used by the Powers as their market for their mass-produced goods. The Manchu government did not take steps to industrialise the country in a manner that would absorb the displaced artisans. Not only did they fail to industrialise the country, but they freely allowed the foreigners to exploit the economic resources of the land.

15. The Death of Dowager and the Loss of Leadership

At a time when the country was in need of strong and efficient leadership, the Empress Dowager died, and left a vacuum in the political leadership of the country. The Empress, in spite of her many drawbacks, was a strong and forceful personality who managed to keep the revolutionaries at bay as long as she was alive. The Puppet prince also died more or less simultaneously making the situation further worse. Along with these royal personages, many of the important and capable leaders who guided the destinies of the Manchu dynasty also disappeared from the scene. So the dynasty which was bereft of leadership succumbed before the rising tide of revolution.

16. The Defeat of China at the hands of Japan

The Sino-Japanese War delivered a death-blow to the absolutist monarchy of China. The victory of a tiny county like Japan over China proved the efficiency and effectiveness of constitutional government. Japanese example clearly showed that parliamentary form of government necessarily meant strong and capable government. So it was not without reason that China modeled her constitution after Japan. Since the

Manchus had set their face against all reforms, it became clear that constitutional reforms could be carried out only when the Manchus were overthrown.

17 Humiliating defeats and imposed treaties

The Manchus suffered defeats in the hands of Westerns. These defeats not only brought national humiliation but also forced her to submit to the dictated terms for the westerners. As the result of these imposed treaties, China lost her territories, control over her tariff system, and sovereign powers. These treaties proved as iron bars that encircled her freedom. Hence the Manchu government forfeited her right to rule as well as the confidence of the people.

18. Russo – Japanese War

When the Chinese saw that Japanese scored a brilliant victory over the Russians in 1905, they also wanted to follow the path of Japan. They saw that the conservative Manchus were the only obstacles in their progressive path. The Japanese victory not only infused national spirit but also strengthened the Anti-Manchu elements.

Immediate Causes of the Revolution

The railroad nationalization by the government provided the necessary spark to an already explosive situation. From 1905, Chinese financiers were forming combines for building railroads, side by side with foreigners. In 1911, the government nationalized the private railway building rights. The purpose was to mortgage these rights to raise a foreign loan of six million pounds. This was construed by the revolutionaries and the provincial authorities as a bid to crush the revolt with foreign money. When a protest march was in progress, the viceroy ordered the arrest of the leaders and firing on the mob. On October 10, 1911 an accidental explosion at Hankow in the house of a Russian revealed the activities of the revolutionaries. Fearing repression the revolutionaries broke out into open rebellion.

Significance and Character of the Revolution

The important characteristics of the Revolution lay in the fact that it was anti-Manchu, anti-traditional and anti-foreign with a strong dose of nationalistic ferment.

The Revolution of 1911 brought the Manchu rule in China to an end. Obviously the dynasty had lost its moral basis to rule China. It was but inevitable that

an incompetent, corrupt and decadent dynasty like that of the Manchus should sooner or later collapse. Its end was however hastened by the mounting western impact and the national spirit that came in its wake. The political transition from the anarchical Manchu misrule to Republic was deceptively peaceful. The Republic had a constitution, parliamentary procedures, codes of law – but only on paper. The constitution was not understood, the parliamentary procedures were not followed and the law codes were never enforced. The result was the Republic opened on an era of disorder and turmoil.

In the early Republican years, china was faced with internal chaos, increasing foreign economic pressure and the tyranny of the provincial war-lords. Although the Revolution of 1911 did not bring in the promised bright era for China, it had immense significance for the future. The confectio order was discarded once and for all. The old moorings to which China had clung for about two thousand years were cut loose. The old barriers were broken and China launched herself in to the modern world. Dr. Sun Yat Sen's Tung Ming Hui was converted in to Kuominang which consolidate. The greater part of China into integrated unit under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek.

The Bloodless revolution of 1911 was the hand-work of one of the China's greatest leaders, Dr. Dun Yat Sen. His three Principles Democracy, Nationalism and Socialism provided the ideological foundation for China's future.

The Revolution of 1911 brought to an end the discredited Manchu dynasty and inaugurated the Republic. It provided thus a constitutional from of government, the replacing absolutist monarchy. It proclaimed the sovereignty of the people, though it was long before the implications of this sovereignty were worked out. Socially, the Revolution was anti-traditionalist. The old moorings were cut loose and China embarked on her modern era. The Confucian codes and traditional loyalties which remained much eroded on account of foreign influence and western education was now given a clean sweep. Another fundamental feature of the revolution was the emergence of the spirit of nationalism. The foreign penetration and exploitation of China had already created a strong anti-foreign sentiment. The Revolution provided a focal point for her expression of the nationalist sentiment.

FOUNDING OF THE RUPUBLIC

Yuan Shi-kai

The first president of the Chinese Republic was Yuan Shi-kai. He had held important positions before he became the President of the Republic. He was the last

viceroy of Korea. He was responsible for raising the new army of China after the Sino-Japanese War. It was he who made the Manchus to abdicate the throne. He was responsible for bringing about the peaceful Republican Revolution of 1911. He was not a republican at heart. He was essentially ‘ a soldier and diplomat from the north, narrow in outlook , altogether a tradition – bound official, despite his up to date ideas, and an opportunist and a realist in politics’. No doubt, he was a patriot who wanted to make China strong and prosperous, but he was too ambitious for the task.

Early Political Career of Yuan

He was specially selected by Li Hung-Chang to be appointed as Chinese diplomatic agent in Korea in 1882. He was also assigned with the duty of training the Korean army. As a Chinese agent he tried his best to check Japanese influence in Korean court and counteracted Japanese designs successfully.

After the First Sino- Japanese War, he was appointed as a military officer to train 7000 men near Tientsin. When the leaders of Reform movement approached him for help he proved as a treacherous man by unfolding the whole plot to Jung-lu, the leader of the reactionary party.

During the Boxer Rebellion he kept a loof from the court patronage of Boxers and even tried to suppress that rebellion, and earn the goodwill of the Westerners. He then remained as the trusted confident of Dowager Empress. But he was relived off the military responsibilities and was transferred to Peking as Grand Councillor. There he was serving as minister of foreign affairs. According to wide spread rumour he participated in the plot hatched by Dowager to poison Emperor Kuang Hsu because he had betrayed him in 1898 and dreaded his return to power after the death of Dowager.

Yuan assumes supreme control of Manchu Government

In 1909 he was eliminated from power and forced out of the government. But in the dying struggle for survival during the Revolution of 1911, the Manchu court recalled him and appointed him Governor General of Hunan and Hupeh. But Yuan put forth some demands as a condition to take that office. Under the pressure of the military defeat and the rapid secession of the provinces, the Manchu court had no choice but to turn to Yuan, and conceded to the demands. Yuan was appointed as Imperial commissioner in full charge of the army and the navy. In the following month he was made premier.

The aims of Yuan

Yuan Shi-Kai desired to preserve the Manchu dynasty but in the status of a constitutional monarchy. To bring the rulers to an acceptance of this status, Yuan felt that it was necessary for the rebellion to continue to make some headway. Therefore he never allowed his army to push forward to a decisive victory over the revolutionaries. Meanwhile, the revolutionaries occupied Nanking and made it their capital

Negotiations

Yuan Shi-Kai with his superior military advantage sought negotiations with the revolutionaries. Li Yuan Hung brought a council of delegates from the rebellious provinces. Dr. Sun Yat sen who had just returned to China was elected the provisional president. As both the imperialists and the republicans were financially weak, the necessity for a settlement became increasingly apparent to both sides. Dr. Sun Yat Sen offered Yuan Shi-Kai the presidency in a gesture to hasten the advent of the Republic and the abdication of the emperor.

Settlement

At last on February 12, 1912, the dynasty abdicated. The emperor transferred his authority to Yuan Shi-Kai instead of to the revolutionary government at Nanking. The Manchu emperor was assured of a substantial annuity He was allowed to keep his palace guards. Provision was also made for the protection of the private property of the Manchus and the ancestral temples.

After the abdication, Sun Yat Sen resigned from the presidency and had Yuan Shih Kai elected as the President of the re-united Chinese Republic. Though the revolutionaries had suspicions about the sincerity of Yuan, there were unable to continue the fight for his elimination.

Clash with KMT

Yuan believed that strong monarchy alone could solve the problems of China. So he wanted to make use of his presidency as a stepping stone to a new dynasty. As a result of the motives of Yuan Shi Kai, hostilities developed between Yuan and Sun Yat Sen. Yuan wanted to have his capital at Peking where the army was strong. But he had accepted at the time of assuming the presidency that he would run the government from Nanking. So when he persuaded the National Council to transfer its headquarters to Peking, the revolutionaries suspected that Yuan was trying to become a military dictator. Yuan proceeded to strengthen his position without concern for the opposition

from Sun Yat Sen and his party, the Kuomintang (KMT). First of all, he contracted huge loans from a consortium of British, French, Russian, German and Japanese Bankers against the wishes for Sun's party. The loan gave Yuan great financial power. He replaced his opponents and put his own men in key military and civil positions in South China. These actions confirmed the suspicions of the revolutionaries. An open revolt broke out in 1913. Dr. Sun called upon his party men to throw Yuan out of power. But the revolt was suppressed and the important Kuomintang partymen were forced to seek refuge in Japan.

Constitutional Compact

With the suppression of the Kuomintang party in 1913, the first Republic of China virtually came to an end. Yuan became all powerful. Through underhand methods. Yuan got himself reelected President for a period of ten years. He dissolved the national assembly and in its place created to Political Council which was purely and advisory body. This body drafted a constitution as the Constitutional Compact. The new constitution gave enormous powers to the president. It was ironically called the 'Glorious Constitution'. In fact, the 1914 Constitutional compact converted the President into a director. To quote the words of Li-Chien Hung, "With the new constitution which were proclaimed in December, Yuan became a dictator for life". After strengthening his position, Yuan curtailed the freedom of speech and expression of the people.

Revolt in Mongolia

Taking advantage of the confused situation in China, Russia encouraged secessionist movement in Mongolia. This was the first of the independence movements against the Republic of China. The Mongol nobility was dissatisfied on account of the encroachment of Chinese settlers in Inner Mongolia. With the help of the Russians, the Mongols established an independent government at Urga and Yuan had to recognize the autonomous power of Outer Mongolia.

Revolt in Tibet

Tibet followed the example of Mongolia. The Tibetans drove the Chinese garrison from the country and declared their independence. Yuan was not in a position to restore his authority in Tibet. He was therefore obliged to conclude a treaty after an Tripartite conference in 1914 in which Tiber, China and Britain participated. According to the terms of the treaty, 1) Western Tibet was given autonomy, 2) China was to maintain a Resident at Lhasa and 3) the authority of china was retained in Eastern Tibet.

Yuan's Monarchical dream

Yuan was not satisfied with the president ship. He decided to become a monarch.

Unmindful of these internal troubles, Yuan went a head with his plan of setting up a new dynasty. Yuan had the support of his loyal troops and the passive acquiescence of the peasantry. The Confucian officials who were also dissatisfied with the Republican system, lent support to the restoration of monarchy. The western powers saw in Yuan a strong man with whom they could negotiate and safeguard their imperialistic interest. So they too supported his claim for monarchy. With so much of support, Yuan decided to ascend the throne in 1916. By the time when Europe was engaged in the First World War, Yuan convened a Convention of district delegates at Peking. The delegates were Yuan's men chosen for the purpose of reconsidering the question of restoration of the monarchy. The delegates appealed to Yuan to become the monarch. Yuan accepted the offer.

Japan's Twenty one Demands

In 1914, the First world War broke out in which all the countries of Europe were involved. China tried to remain neutral, but she was forced to join the war eventually.

As already seen, Yuan was trying to restore monarchy in China by himself becoming the successor to the Manchus on the throne. But the revolutionaries demanded the withdrawal of the proposal for restoration. There were in consequence internal disturbances. Revolt broke out in Yuan. Yuan sent the army to crush the rebellion. But he could not succeed in his effort. Other provinces followed suit. The governor of Kiangsi raised the standard of revolt. A number of provinces declared their independence. The situation was getting out of hand. It was in the midst of this confusion that Japan made her infamous twenty one demands. In August 1914, Japan had taken over the German leaseholds in Shantung. Yuan was not able to prevent this aggression. In January 1915, Japan served on China the twentyone demands. These demands if accepted would turn China into a colony of Japan. The Western Powers which needed Japanese help in the prosecution of the war did not intervene. In the face of the aggressive demands of Japan, the nation united and stood behind the President. But Yu an accepted some of these demands while postponing some for future discussion and rejecting some of the very objectionable demand.

These demands fall into five categories:

1. Those relating to Shantung

2. Those relating to South Manchuria;
3. Those relating to Han-Yeh-Ping Company;
4. Those relating to the Chinese ports and
5. Those relating to miscellaneous demands. These demands were handed over to Yuan Shih Kai by the Japanese Minister Kioke. Yuan had no other alternative but to accept at least some of the demands. This policy of appeasement towards aggressive Japan roused resentment among the Chinese people. There were demonstration and the boycott of Japanese goods.

Failure of the schemes of Yuan

Yuan tried to secure the co-operation of Japan in perpetuating himself in power. But Japan did not accept the restoration of monarchy in China. It had its own aggressive intentions. Mean while the law and order situation in the country was worsening. The provinces were declaring themselves independent. The revolutionaries were gaining in popularity. On May 12, 1915, the representatives of the independent provinces assembled at Canton and declared their formation of a republic. The new Republic was weak and it had no support from abroad.

Yuan was in a difficult situation. The central authority had weakened. There was external danger and internal confusion. Already a number of provinces had broken was and declared themselves independent. Even the military leaders like Tuan-Chi-Jui and Feng Kuo Chang who were close to Yuan deserted him in the hour of crisis. Finding the situation beyond hope, Yuan renounced the throne. Deserted by his supporters and overcome with shame, anxiety and grief Yuan died suddenly in June 1919. The 'tragi-comic drama of monarchism' came to an abrupt end.

DR. SUN YAT SEN

Dr. Sun Yat Sen is regarded as the father of modern China. He was a revolutionary reformer who wanted to introduce sweeping changes in Chinese life. He devoted his entire life to the cause of revolution. He lived and died for the cause of revolution. He lived and died for the cause of Chinese freedom. He was a symbol of national unity.

Early Life

Dr. Sun Yat Sen was born in 1866 in a poor peasant family. Even When the he was a child the stories of Taiping Rebellion exercised a profound impact on him. He had his early education in Honolulu and later obtained his medical degree at Hong Kong. While he worked at the Alice Memorial Hospital, his revolutionary ideas began to take shape. While practicing as a doctor he became a revolutionary. He became

convinced that national unity could be achieved only by reforming the educational system. He memorialized to the throne suggesting several educational and economic reforms to strengthen China. But the Manchu rulers did not respond. He became in course of time anti-monarchist and a nationalist republican.

Hsing – Chung-Hui

In 1894, Dr. Sun founded Hsing Chung Hui or the Revive China Society. In 1895, he organized his first revolt in Canton. But this was suppressed. He fled to England where he was arrested and confined in the Chinese legation in London. But he was later released. The Revive China Society had two main branches in Honolulu and Yokohama, which became the headquarters of Dr. Sun's activities. Dr. Sun used the Boxer Uprising as an opportunity to start a revolution. The failure of the progressive elements was sympathetic with him and he soon came to be regarded as a revolutionary leader of China.

Tung Meng Hui

At the time the Manchu government was contemplating constitutional reforms, Sun Yat Sen organized a new revolutionary society – Tung Meng Hui. With the formation of the society in 1905, the pro-revolutionary elements came under a single banner. The society propagated the idea of the Republic of China. A Tokyo newspaper (people's paper) gave wide publicity to the revolutionary ideas of the new party. Dr. Sun envisioned a three-in-one revolution.

- i. a nationalist revolution to overthrow the Manchu dynasty and the imperial institutions.
- ii. A democratic revolution to establish a republic and popular sovereignty and
- iii. a Social revolution to equalize the land rights and to prevent the ills of capitalism.

The founding of the Tung-Meng-hui constituted a mile stone in the Chinese Revolution. It provided a unified central organization that resembled a modern political party. It served a rallying point for all revolutionary and progressive forces in the country. As such it fittingly received the tribute "The mother of the Chinese Revolution".

The organization was however weak as the members of the party had no clear conception nor any genuine belief in the principles of democracy.

The first Congress of Sun's revolutionary party met in Brussels and the members pledged themselves to drive out the Manchu barbarians, restore China to the

Chinese and to create a republic. Sun stayed in England and Germany and France. In the course of his long exile, he persuaded the Chinese students studying there to join his party. Many branches of the party were formed in European countries, but Japan was the center of the revolutionary organization. In September, 1905, a constitution for the party was adopted and Dr. Sun was elected its general director.

The Three Principles of the People

Dr. Sun's ideas evolved over the years, during his stay in Europe. He was inclined to support constitutional monarchy. In this behalf he petitioned several times to the throne for reforms. But these petitions were in vain. He came to realize that only through a revolution could China become a strong nation. So he advocated republicanism at a later stage. His ideas are embodied in the three Principles of the People. They are San-min-Chui' Nationalism, democracy and peoples livelihood (on Socialism).

Principles of Nationalism

The first of the Three Principles was nationalism. Dr. Sun compared China to a rope of sand the particles of which were alike. But the rope did not become strong unless it was bound with the cement of nationalism. So, he wanted to establish strong political unity in the place of the cultural unity which was the heritage of China. His concept of nationalism stood for a political unity embracing all the Chinese irrespective of their geographical, ethnic and other differences. The principle of Nationalism embodied the idea of a unity embracing Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Tibetans and various lesser groups. His nationalism stood against imperialism and colonialism. It called for not only the overthrow of the alien Manchu rule but also the removal of the foreign, imperialistic yoke.

Principle of Democracy

Dr. Sun's second principle was the principle of democracy, Sun's ideas on democracy were derived from both western practice and ancient Chinese ideas. He wanted a strong central government based on the sovereignty of the people. Political powers were to be exercised through the executive, legislative and judicial branches of the government superimposed by a system of examinations and censorship. He divided men into three categories: (1) the leaders, (2) the immediate followers and (3) the rank and file. The Second principle aimed at achieving the Four Rights of the people – Initiative, referendum, election and recall – and the Five powers of the government; Executive, legislative, judicial, control and examination.

Dr. Sun envisaged a gradual evolution towards a full fledged democracy. In the first place, there would be a period of military control; in the second, there would be a period of tutelage in which the people would be trained in the use of their powers and the last phase would arrive when the people had been prepared to exercise their powers.

The Principle of People's livelihood

Dr. Sun's third principle is called the principle of people's livelihood. Here we traces the ancient Chinese Utopain idea of 'land to the tiller'. This principle could be divided into two parts: (i) Equal distribution of land and (2) The control of capital. Dr. Sun was opposed to Marxian materialism and the class struggle. So he advocated preventive measures to avoid concentration of capital in the hands of a few individuals. The first Congress of the Kuomintang Party spelt out the principle of the people's livelihood. "We hold this principle in regard to the equalization of land as essential. All enterprises such as banking and shipping industries will be undertaken by the state so that the economic life of the nation shall not pass into the control of the capitalistic few".

Dr.Sun and Yuan

In 1911, Dr. Sun established a parallel republican government in southern China with Nanking as capital. In the north, Yuan Shih Kai had his government at Peking. Dr. Sun offered Yuan Shih Kai had his government at Peking. Dr. Sun offered Yuan Shih Kai the presidency of a consolidated China if he would persuade the Manchus to abdicate the throne. Yuan agreed to this proposal. Accordingly, Dr. Sun resigned his Presidency in 1912. After the Manchu abdication, Yuan was elected the first President of the new Republic. In 1912, Dr. Sun reorganized the Kuomintang by merging the Tung Ming Hui and other revolutionary organization into one. Thus the new consolidated Kuomintang Party emerged as a powerful political force with its programme of the three principles of the people. Yuan did not prove true to his word. He had scant respect for the republican ideal. He sought to establish himself as the monarch. Dr. Sun opposed this and organized a revolutionary movement against the proposed restoration of the monarchy. In 1916, Yuan died and China fell into the hands of the warlords.

Dr. Sun and the Revolution of 1911

The nationalization of the railways in Szechwan provinces resulted in popular uprising. When the imperial government was taking measures to suppress the railroad agitation, an even of taking measures to suppress the railroad agitation, an event of

momentous import occurred in the Central Yangtze Valley. At Hankow on October 9, 1911, a bomb, being manufactured by revolutionaries in the Russian concession exploded. The explosion brought to day light the secret activities of the Revolutionaries. The police raid resulted in the arrest of revolutionaries, and seizure of important documents and weapons. As a defensive measure the revolutionaries were forced to take up arms against the government. They successfully persuaded the Imperial Commander Li Yuan-hung to lead the revolutionary forces. Within a brief period the three Wuhan, cities-Hankow, Hanyang and Wuchang-were in the rebel hands. From this center the revolution spread rapidly in the provinces south of Yangtze.

Dr. Sun was in abroad when the revolution broke out. Immediately he hurried back to home. On the way, he secured the sympathy of the British government. He was in Chinese soil on December 25 four days later he was elected nearly unanimous vote of the province 1 delegates to be provincial president of the Republic of China. After some 27 years of struggle Sun's life – long dream came to a glorious fulfillment.

Relation with Soviet Russia

Throughout the republican period, Sun was plagued by the threefold problem of foreign imperialism, party disunity and civil strife from which he could find no escape and solution. At this moment the Bolshevik Revolution showed him new light and inspiration. So when the Soviets offered friendship he readily agreed. In 1922, the Soviet government sent Adolf Joffe as its representative to China. An agreement reached between Sun and Joffe. It was agreed that Communism was not suitable to China; Russia reaffirmed its earlier announcement regarding the renunciation of special rights and concession in China and was willing to assist China by sending advisors. With the help of Russia he tried to maintain party unity and to build to strong organization for national unification and reconstruction. In 1923, the Soviet sent Borodin, an experienced diplomat, to help Sun reorganize the Nationalist Party. Now full co-operation was established between the Kuomintang and the Chinese communist Party, Under the influence of Borodin he proclaimed new three principles, i.e.,

- i. Alliance with Soviet Russia
- ii. Alliance with the Chinese Communist party and
- iii. Support for workers and peasants movement.

Founding of South Chinese Republic at Canton

After the death of Yuan, Sun Yat Sen Once again established a military government at Canton, in 1917. His government controlled almost the whole of China South of Yangtze River. Soon dispute arose between Sun and his military commanders. He was forced to seek shelter in Shanghai Later he was able to recover Canton and revived his government. Torn by internal troubles and insubordination of this commanders, Sun Sought the support of the western powers, who patted the Warlords.

His death

After the stabilization of the Canton government Sun turned his attention towards north to unify the whole country. In 1924 Feng a warlord of the North occupied Peking and invited Sun to a conference on national unification. Though his health was failing, Sun made a trip and arrived in Peking. But before he could accomplish anything his condition turned worse and died in 1925.

In his will and last testament Dr. Sun urged his followers to continue the struggle until national liberty and international equality are achieved. Now all the political parties in China claimed to be the loyal and true followers of Dr. Sun's ideals and doctrines. And indeed, after his death sun became a stronger influence that ever before during his whole revolutionary life.

TWENTY ONE DEMANDS

“The Twenty One Demands” was the ‘arrow of the naked aggression’ aimed at the economic prosperity and the political sovereignty of China. Japanese neo-imperialist attitude over China was clearly exhibited by demands. Torn by internal strife, confused by political opportunism of Yuan and dreaded by the outbreak of world war the condition of China became a deplorable one. It was no wonder that Japan wanted to fish in the troubled waters of China. At the same time, the unscrupulous policies of Yuan was foiled by unscrupulous demands of Japan.

Circumstances under which Japan presented the Twenty One Demands.

In 1914, the First World War broke out in which all the countries of Europe were involved. China tried to remain neutral, but she was forced to join the war eventually. Yuan once remarked “Japan is going to take advantage of this war to get control of China”,

As already seen, Yuan was trying to restore monarchy in China by himself becoming the successor to the Manchus on the throne. But the revolutionaries demanded the withdrawal of the proposal for restoration. There were in consequence internal disturbances. Revolt broke out in Yunan. Yuan sent the army to crush the rebellion. But he could not succeed in his effort. Other provinces followed suit. The governor of Kiangsi raised the standard of revolt. A number of provinces declared their independence. The situation was getting out of hand. It was in the midst of this confusion that Japan made her infamous twenty one demands. In August 1914, Japan had taken over the German leaseholds in Shantung. Yuan was not able to prevent this aggression. In January 1915, Japan served on China the twenty one demands. These demands if accepted would turn China into a colony of Japan. The Western Powers which needed Japanese help in the prosecution of the war did not intervene. In the face of the aggressive demands of Japan, the nation united and stood behind the president. The details of these demands are as follows.

1. China would extend in Shantung all former privileges enjoyed by Germany to Japan
2. Principal ports and cities in Shantung should be thrown open to Japan
3. Japans privileges in Liao Tung, Dairen and Inner Mongolia should be recognized.
4. China should agree to Japanese participation in the operation of Han-yeh-ping Iron and Steel Works in Hupeh and Pinghsiang Colliery in Kiangsi.
5. Japan demanded that China should not lease any harbor along Chinese coast to any other power.
6. In China there should be Japanese advisers in political financial and military Departments.
7. Police departments in all the principal cities in China will be placed under Sino-Japanese supervision.
8. China's arsenals should be jointly operated by both the countries.
9. China should accord to Japan the right of financing railways from Wuchung to Nanchang.
10. China was to permit trade and residence rights to the Japanese at ll the important places in Shantung.

11. The lease of Port Arthur and the South Manchurian Railway should be extended for a period of 99 years.

12. Japanese subjects in South Manchurian and Inner Monagolia should have the rights to lease or own land.

13. Japanese subjects should have full freedom to travel and carry on business in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mangolia.

14. The Chinese government should consult the Japanese government whenever loans are obtained form a third power against the security of the taxes of South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia

15. Japanese hospitals, churches and schools in Interior China should be granted the rights of owning land.

16. China was to agree to the Japanese subjects spreading Buddhism in the country.

17. China was to grants to Japanese subjects all mining rights in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia.

18. Japan demanded that China should agree to consult Japan in obtaining military advisers in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mangolia.

19. China should not dispose of her rights and properties of Han-Yeh-piing Company without the approval of Japan.

20. Mines owned by Han-yeh-ping should not be worked outside the company without its approval

21. China was to accord Japan rights of building railway and exploiting mines in Fukein

The nature of these demands

The demands falls into five categories

- i. Those relating to Shantung
- ii. Those relating to Manchuria and Inner Mangolia
- iii. Those relating to Han-Yeh-Ping Company-joint operation China and Japan
- iv. Those relating to the lease of Chinese ports-non –alienation of coastal areas to any third power.

- v. Those relating to miscellaneous-control by Japan of China's several important domestic administration

The first four groups if conceded by China, would not affect her format independence sovereignty or integrity. But actually she would be brought the sway of Japan, in the manner of modern imperialism. But group five consisted of the sweeping demands which would have virtually deprived the Chinese government of control over its own affairs. The employment of effective Japanese advisers in political, financial and military affairs; the joint Chino-Japanese organization of the police forces in important places; the purchase from Japan of a fixed amount of munitions of war – 50 per cent or more; and the establishment of Chino-Japanese jointly worked arsenals were included in these demands. The latter involved effective control over the armament and military organization of China'. No sovereign government would accept such a group of demand that would reduce it to a position of dependent states.

Japanese Pressure

The out-break of the First World War gave a great stimulus to Japanese industries. This industrial expansion not only needed the supply of raw materials but also a market place. This new industrial capitalists and commercial magnets forced the Japanese leaders to fulfill their demands. In turn the Japanese leaders to fulfill their demands. In turn the Japanese government headed by Okuma prepared and submitted the Twenty One Demands

In presenting and pressing its demands the Japanese government attempted to bring a double pressure to bear on Yuan. In the first place the possibility of military invasion upon China forced her to concede to the demands. Secondly the fear of Japanese support to Chinese revolutionary elements in Japan also compelled Yuan to view it seriously. In the words of Vinacke. "The Japanese government threatened both the continued existence of China as a State and Yuan – shih-kai as its ruler, while at the same time offering a bribe to the president in the form of support for his personal and family aggrandizement.

Chinese Opposition

When the Chinese public came to know the Japanese Twenty One Demands they became furious. A Spontaneous public feelings of anger was turned toward the Japanese. Newspapers denounced the demands and promoted anti-Japanese sentiments. Nineteen governors urged Yuan to withstand Japanese threat. They were in favour of resistance to the point of war. A fund called National Salvation Fund, was started and subscribed to by all people for the purpose of preparedness. There were

public demonstrations. Japanese goods were boycotted; Chinese students in Japan returned to their mother country.

Yuan's Submission

Although all the factions of the country rallied under the banner of Yuan in resisting the Japanese pressure. Yuan was fully aware of the fact that China was not in a position to check any attempted military attack. The European powers which had the real power to check Japanese aggressions, were engaged in a life and death struggle' in the European continent. Yuan's position in China was also somewhat unsteady. He had no other alternative than to accept at least some of the demands. Under the pressure of Japanese ultimatum in May 1915 Yuan accepted the first four groups, while putting reservation on the fifth. Then, without the consent of the legislature, he concluded a treaty with Japan. In the final agreement Group Five was set aside for future consideration and not given up. Consequently it continued to hang over the heads of the Chinese as a potential threat.

CHINA AND THE FIRST WORLD WAR

In 1914, when the First World War broke out, China was in the throes of internal strife and confusion. Though neither China nor Japan were directly involved in the war they were drawn into conflict by their national interests.

China was the victim of exploitation both by the Axis and Allied Powers. Yuan Shih Kai declared China's neutrality in the hope of keeping hostilities out of the country.

China tried to obtain with the help of the U.S.A an assurance from the Powers that China's neutrality would be honored. Except Germany, none of the countries were ready to comply with China's requests.

Japanese Occupation of Shantung Peninsula

The First World War came to Japan as a welcome opportunity. She planned to increase her hold on China at the cost of the Western nations. As Keeton puts it, "Seen through Japanese eyes, the First World War was merely a suicidal struggle between the chief Western Powers, during which Japan could quietly gather strength and take up a position in the Far East from which it would be impossible subsequently to dislodge her." Accordingly, Japan joined the war as an ally of Great Britain and declared war against Germany. She served the Shantung ultimatum on Germany asking her to withdraw her armed vessels from Sino-Japanese waters and to hand over to Japan the leased territory at Kiachow. The Japanese army violated Chinese

neutrality and international law by passing through the Chinese territory in their encounter with the Germans in Shantung. Japan Claimed that she was fighting Germany to preserve the peace of the Far East and also declared that she would restore Shantung eventually to China. But all this was an eyewash. Japan did not return Shantung to China. But she Consolidated her position in that area. Yuan shih Kai could do nothing more than to lodge protest.

The Twenty One Demands

But the relations between the two countries became strained. Japan instead of vacating Shantung served her twenty one demands on China. These demands were staggering in their magnitude and were in reality the dictates of a victor to the vanquished. The list of demands included five categories. Japan wanted to have complete monopoly over Shantung leasehold. She wanted to largest mining company in China to be turned into joint Sino-Japanese enterprise. Again she wanted that China should not lease out any territory to a third power along China's coast. Japanese citizens were asked to be given the right to own property, etc., in southern Manchuria and Inner Mongolia. Not only this, Japan wanted China to employ Japanese political, financial and military advisers and demanded that China should set up a joint Sino-Japanese police organization to Police in important places.

As most of the Western Powers except the U.S.A were pre occupied with the war, they could not do anything to check the aggressions of Japan. Finally, when the fifth group of demands was reserved for future discussions, Yuan Shih Kai accepted the four groups with some modifications. These were embodied in the treaties of 1915 between China and Japan. These treaties established Japanese supremacy in Southern Manchuria, Easter, Inner Mongolia and Shantung.

China's entry into war

In 1916 and 1917 the Allied Powers suffered sever reverses. The Germans were victorious in different theaters of war. France and Britain recruited a larger number of Chinese laborers in 1916. Partly inspired by the idealistic pronouncements of Western leaders and party with a view to gaining a seat at the peace conference, China entered the war in 1917 against the Axis Powers. China's entry in to the war created an internal crisis. There arose a struggle between Tuan, the warlord who was in control of Peking and the parliament with a Kuomintang majority. The Kuomintang Party opposed Tuan's bargain with the Allied Powers as it suspected Tuan's motives. Ultimately, however Tuan's faction emerged victorious.

Results of China's entry into War

China permitted recruitment of about one lakh and seventy five thousand Chinese laborers for service in war theatres. She was prevented from taking an active part in the struggle because of internal difficulties. She made certain gains by entry into the war as detailed below:

1. China secured a substantial revision of the tariff in her favour
2. The Allied Powers cancelled the unpaid German and Austrian shares of the Boxer indemnities and suspended for five years the payments of the Boxer indemnity due to them
3. China was allowed to take over the German concession in Tientsin and Hankow
4. China was also given a share in the Allied control of Russo-Manchurian railways.
5. China was assured a seat at the peace conference.

As against these gains China came under increased pressure from Japan. The treaties of 1915 increased Japanese influence in China greatly. Even the U.S.A acknowledged by an agreement signed with Japan in 1911. (Lansing Ishihara Agreement) the Japanese special interest in China.

China at the peace Conference

China sent a delegation to the Paris Peace conference which took place at the end of the war. The delegates, were from both the Peking and the Canton governments. The delegation asked for the restoration of former German properties in Shantung to China, the cancellation of the spheres of influence, the withdrawal of foreign troops, the abolition of consular jurisdiction, tariff autonomy, etc., The U.S.A alone favoured the restoration of Shantung to China. The other Chinese demands were not taken up for debate as they were considered to be outside the purview of the conference.

Rejection of Chinese demands

China was faced with two specific difficulties at the Peace Conference. In the first place, there was no central authority in China. There were two governments functioning at Peking and at Canton. As such the Chinese delegation at the Paris Peace conference could not speak for the whole nation. Secondly, as against China, Japan had emerged as a powerful nation out of the war. The Allies were interested in using Japanese naval bases. The European Allies had secretly assured Japan at a critical phase of the war that her rights in Shantung would be protected. Because of this secret treaty obligation the Allied Powers, except the U.S.A supported the cause of Japan.

Eventually, even the U.S.A softened its attitude and toed the line of the European Powers. Thus Japan got her rights over Shantung duly recognized by the powers. This was not acceptable to China. The Shantung decisions came as a betrayal of Chinese national interests. When the news reached China, a strong wave of anti-Japanese sentiment swept the country. There was rioting in Peking and there was a general boycott of Japanese goods. China refused to sign the Treaty of Versailles and concluded a separate treaty with Germany where by Germany surrendered all her privileges to China. The Sino-German Treaty is an important sign a treaty with China on a footing of equality.

MAY FOURTH MOVEMENT

China's discomfiture at the Paris Peace Conference proved to be the last straw that broke the camel's back. The people had held high hopes, but they were frustrated. The news of the Western Nations betrayal of the Chinese interests on the Shantung question reached china on April 30, 1919. Immediately there was a wave of protest. It was an explosion of Public anger, an outburst of nationalism and a deep disappointment in the west. Several thousand students staged a mass demonstration against the traitors of the Versailles decision and organized a boycott movement of the Japanese goods. The government tried to repress the rioting but it only added fuel to the fire.

Causes of the Movement

1. After the fall of the Manchu dynasty, there was no improvement in the situation. The warlords usurped power and ruled the country without regard to the interest of the people. The army indulged in loot and pillage of the villages. There was no peace in the country. The people were very much 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 employment.

3. During the war, there was some measures of economic development. A number of textile mills came into existence. A central bank was established and a number of commercial banks came into being. A number of new industries also developed. But the natives had no control over the export trade. They had to face very stiff competition from foreign businessmen. The people of China now realized that only by controlling the economy they could improve their lot.

4. In China, the working conditions of the labourers were miserable. Their wages were low and they had to work long hours. In addition they were addicted to opium and other vices. But during the war they came in contact with the French labourers who were well organized and enjoyed better working conditions. This created a new awakening among the Chinese labourers.

5. The main source of strength of the movement was the students. They were inspired by the scholars and thinkers. The students realized that rejection of Western civilization would not be advantageous to the country. They thought that China should have a combination of the old and the new civilization. A number of journals appeared and one of them, the New Youth, was very influential. This journal was founded by Chen played an important part in the cultural revolution. He discredited the old Confucian standards and advocated new ideas.

6. The immediate cause of the cultural movement was the Paris Conference and the Versailles Treaty. The Treaty of Versailles dealt a severe blow to China by recognizing Japanese claims in Shantung.

The Course of the Movement

On the 4th May 1919, some three thousand students organized a demonstration in Peking. They went in a procession shouting for the punishment of the traitors and the boycott of Japanese goods. They demanded the withdrawal of the twenty one demands by Japan. The procession ended in violence as the students entered and looted the houses of the ministers. The students were rounded up. This sparked off rioting on a large scale. The enraged people co-operated with the students. The labourers struck work Japanese goods were boycotted. There was a wave of violence all through the country. At this juncture the railways workers threatened to strike. This unnerved the government. The arrested students were released. The Pro-Japanese ministry resigned. The students' rebellion became the May Fourth Movement.

Nature Character and Importance of the Movement

The May Fourth Movement was the result of national indignation. The scholars and the literary figures supplied the inspiration to the movement. They attacked Confucianism. The Old literary styles were given up and the language of the people was adopted. Chen-Tu-Hsiu established the 'New Youth'. It was in fact a cultural upsurge. The people wanted to protect their self respect and the movement focused attention on the discontent of the people against the policy of exploitation followed by the western powers and the weakness of the national government. The

movement made it clear that the people were not satisfied with the traditional approach of the government. Thus the movement by nature and character was socio-political, economic and cultural movement. In the words of Li Chien Nung, “ The background of May Fourth Movement was a protest against the warlords policy of selling the interests of the nation as well against the making of unequal treaties. In other words it was a prelude to anti-militarism and anti-imperialism”.

The movement created an awakening among the labourers and the students . It helped the reorganization of the Kuomintang Party and also gave birth to the Communist Party of China. The movement brought forth a new language and also a new vernacular literature which was within reach of the common people. The old Confucian ideas began to fade. The traditional ways and time honored institutions began to disappear. Education began to spread among all classes of people. In short the movement brought China out of the traditional period of the modern era. It was during this movement the working class emerged as a political force. It also marked the growth of student political power.

Externally, the intensity of the movement made the Western Powers to moderate their attitude towards China. They realized the need to pacify China and the realization led to the convening of the Washington Conference.

The May Fourth Movement is a very significant movement in the history of China. It was a patriotic movement directed against imperialism. It was a democratic movement aimed at destroying the last vestiges of feudalism. Nationalism, public opinion and mass demonstration had emerged as new forces in Chinese Politics. It is rightly hailed as the first genuine mass movement in modern Chinese history.

The Rise of the Party

The Kuomintang Party was evolved out of Tung Meng Hui, the secret revolutionary organization that had played an important part in bringing about the successful Revolution of 1911, After the overthrow of the Manchus, Dr. Sun Yat Sen brought together this and other revolutionary organisations and welded them into the ‘National People’s party or the ‘Kuomintang’. In the first parliament, Kuomintang Party strongly opposed Yuan Shih Kai’s attempts to strengthen his personal power. In the struggle with Yuan, Dr. Sun had only limited success. Eventually, Kuomintang separated from the Peking government and formed the Chinese Republic at Canton with Dr. Sun as president

CAUSES FOR THE RISE OF NATIONLIST PARTY

During this time, there were several favourable factors for the growth of the Kuomintang. The First World War, the Twenty One Demands by Japan, the Revolution of 1917 in Russia and the disappointments at the Paris Peace Conference created a strong national sentiment in China. Patriotic students were drawn in their thousands to the Nationalist Party. In the early twenties the Kuomintang and other revolutionary political organizations began to draw close together. Following the Soviet Revolution the Chinese intellectuals founded a communist party. Soviet Russia wooed the Chinese nationalists as it found in the Kuomintang a good propaganda vehicle for communism.

Alliance with Soviet Russia

In the initial phases, Kuomintang was divided in its attitude towards Soviet Russia. A section of the party rejected Moscow's overtures while another section was strongly in favour. The Chinese nationalists were deeply impressed by the anti-imperialist stand of Moscow. The Patriotic Chinese were attracted by the Russian claim that its aim was to prevent Japan from absorbing Manchuria. After some unsuccessful efforts to canvass Western support, Dr Sun approached the Soviet Union which greeted him with open arms. The Soviets praised his struggle against the foreign imperialists and promised him all possible help. Sun declared in 1923, "We no longer look to the Western Powers, Our faces are turned towards Russia."

Reorganisation of Kuomintang

The Russians sent a diplomatic and military mission to Canton, Minchael Brooding was the principal adviser from Russia. Under his guidance, the Kuomintang was reorganized on Russian Communist Party lines. Political commissioners were appointed and stricter discipline among the party ranks was enforced. A party army was developed and a propaganda machinery was setup. Under Soviet inspiration, the Kuomintang adopted a programme that embodied a nationalist doctrine of anti-imperialism and socio economic, agrarian and labour reform. The blending of the two ideas greatly strengthened the 'Kuomintang. But the Kuomintang did not identify itself with communism.

The First Congress of 1924

The first Congress of the Kuomintang was held in 1924. Sun Yat Sen's three principles of the people were accepted as the political doctrines of the party. In the manifesto which gave the programme of the party, the Kuomintang committed itself to three policies: 1. Alliance with the Soviet Union. 2. Alliance with the Chinese

Communist Party. 3. Support of workers and peasants. It appealed to the peasant – farmers and urban workers, students and overseas Chinese to strengthen the revolutionary cause. As for foreign policy, the Congress demanded the abolition of the territorial concessions and extra territoriality enjoyed by the Treaty Powers. The Party also established the Whampoa Military Academy under the Moscow-trained General Chiang Kai Shek.

Draft Constitution

The first Congress drafted a party constitution according to which a central executive committee was created. This Committee became the centre of authority and responsibility. The committee was the nucleus of the one-party government. Thus the Kuomintang dictatorship came into being. But the Kuomintang was a loosely knit organization. There were several groups in the party. There were the right wing nationalists who wanted political nationalism and a strong state. There were moderate liberals and then there were the leftists who clamored for social and economic reforms. The presence of so many elements created factions which ultimately weakened the Kuomintang.

Split in the Party

In 1924, a split in the party occurred because of the growing Communist influence in the party. The moderates left for Shanghai and formed a white Kuomintang, in opposition to the Red Party in Canton. But Sun Yat Sen as long as he was alive was able to prevent an irreparable break.

Death of Dr. Sun

In 1925, Dr. Sun died and a forceful personality was removed from the scene. During the two subsequent years the imperialists, threat on the one hand and the military expedition undertaken to unify the country on the other kept the Kuomintang together. All the while, the Communists increased their influence owing to their better organization and powerful propaganda machinery.

Chiang Kai Shek

After Sun's death there were three guiding figures in the Kuomintang. Wang Ching-wei was the left wing leader; Borodin, the Russian adviser was the boss of the party; Chiang, the youngest member of the trio was the ablest military leader.

Unification of China

On his return from the Soviet Union, Chiang Kai shek was made the head of the Whampoa Military Academy which trained the officers of the 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 skillful political manipulations to gain ascendancy in the party.

By 1925, he brought Kwangtung and Kwangsi provinces under the control of the Kuomintang. In 1926, Chiang gained striking victories against the warlords of the Yangtze valley. These victories were made possible by the high training and fighting qualities of the nationalist army. The unification of the country by Ching was accomplished in two stages.

In the first stage, the nationalist army captured Hankow to which the nationalists' capital was transferred from Canton. In the second stage, the nationalist army entered Peking in June 1928.

Growth of the Communist Influence

Meanwhile, the Kuomintang was split into two factions; right wing and communist. This event was to have a very great significance on the course of the Chinese History. The communist agitation aroused the peasants against the landlords. The communists dominated labour unions. They struck hard at capitalist interests. The capitalists landlords and the wealthy middle-classes were alarmed at the trend of events and they wanted desperately to check the advance of the radicals. The only hope in situation was Ching. He had the military Power and might turn the scale against the communist radicals. The Capitalists and the landlords persuaded Chiang to act. Chiang also entertained ambitions of becoming the sole leader of the Chinese revolution.

Chiang's Victory in the struggle for Supremacy

The final split came in 1927. The left wing of the Kuomintang and the communists pushed their Chinese Nationalist Revolution to the verge of an explosive social revolution. The intensive propaganda mounted by the communists resulted in widespread strikes and riots. They even sought to remove Chiang from power. But Chiang had the backing of the financial magnates of Shanghai.

In the meantime, the left wing leader Wang and the communists had a quarrel. Wang who came to know that the communists were striving to take over the

Kuomintang. Started eliminating them from Wahan. Wang Joined hands with Chiang, and Chiang emerged as the leader of the Kuomintang in January 1928.

In June 1928, Chiang devoted himself to the completion of the northward expedition. The nationalist army under Chiang captured Peking. The leader of the Peking regime, Chang Tso Lin fled and was subsequently killed by a mysterious bomb explosion. After his death, his son who still controlled the three eastern provinces made a compromise and accepted the Kuomintang flag. Thus, China was united under the military rule of Chiang Kai Shek. Nanking was made the capital of China.

The Nanking Government

The Nanking government was recognized by the twelve Western Powers including the United States, Britain and France. The new Republican government claimed to have realized the first principle of nationalism set out by Dr. Sun Yat Seb. The Kuomintang declared that it would implement forthwith the second principle the principle of democracy, and thereafter take up, for implementation the third principle, the people's livelihood.

Struggle between the Kuomintang and the communists.

The Nanking government now controlled more of China than any previous regime since the beginning of warlordism. The recovery of tariff autonomy and the end of extraterritoriality had greatly enhanced national prestige. But the Nanking government was plagued by internal political pressure. The nationalist government was constantly challenged by the growing Chinese communist party. The Kuomintang was able to destroy the urban political strength of the communists rather quickly. But in the interior, the communists were going strong. They even established a Soviet Republic in the wilds of Central Kiangsi south of the Yangtze now led by Mao Tse Tung. Intellectuals and peasants joined him to large numbers. The communists formed unions among workers to secure higher wages and better working conditions. They confiscated large land holdings and distributed them among the peasants. In the areas under their control the communists reduced the tax burden and encouraged collective farming. These good reforms increased the influence of the communist party. ' The Peasants and worker provided recruits for the new Chinese Red Army. "Holding high the great standard of revolution, they rose in armed resistance and over a vast territory in China they set up people's government carried out land reforms, built up a people's army, Chinese Red Army, and preserved and extended the revolutionary forces of the Chinese People". (Mao: Selected workers)

The Long March

In 1934, the Kuomintang attacked the Kiangsi stronghold of the communists in an all out effort to annihilate Chinese communism. The Communists were defeated and forced to retreat. This was the beginning of the “Long March”. After breaking through encircling Kuomintang forces, the communist marched and fought along a round about covering some six-thousand miles through China south-west. Finally surviving untold perils, Mao and about 20,000 of his followers arrived in northern Shensi in 1935. Here in the forbidding lands of the north-west, the communists created a new revolutionary base and found the means of repelling the encroaching Japanese. The Long March was indeed a great feat and a tribute to the leadership of Mao. Chiang failed in his attempt to eliminate the Red Army and this eventually weakened his position.

The Japanese Aggression

Japan did not like the rise of a strong government of China. She considered a strong China as a challenge to her economic position. To preserve her economic control, Japan seized Manchuria in 1931. In the following years, she threatened to take over the other portions of the north-eastern China. IN the face of the Japanese threat Chiang was forced to act cautiously as he was aware that China and Kuomintang were not politically and militarily prepared for a conflict with Japan. So he accepted in May 1933 the Tongku Truce by which a cease-fire was agreed upon and the Japanese troops withdrew to the Great Wall. This policy of appeasement with Japan was not however liked by Chinese nationalist.

Attempts at Political Unity – Sian Incident

The Communist-led Chinese Soviet Republic took a tactical step in declaring war against Japan in 1932. Chiang was at this time trying to crush the communists. The Communists appealed to Chiang to end the civil war in order to maintain a united front against the Japanese. Chiang disregarded their appeal as well as the pressure of the nationalists for a united front continued in the form of open letters and telegrams. Unmindful of the Red Propaganda, Ching flew to Sian to finalise the campaign of total annihilation of Red bases in Shensi. In, December 1936, Chiang was captured at Sian and held prisoner by his own countrymen. They demanded the acceptance of the communist proposal for a united front and a firm resistance to Japan. The life of Chiang was in danger for a time. Mao sent Chou En Lai for negotiations at Sian A compromise was reached. The communists led by Mao agreed to bring the autonomous regime and their army under the control of the national government. They also agreed to abandon their plan of establishing a Soviet system after overthrowing

the existing regime by force. Chiang was set at liberty on Christmas Day in 1936. The Nanking government agreed to undertake a determined resistance against Japan. It also promised social and economic reforms and also a democratic government.

The settlement was widely welcomed in China. Mao publicly announced that the re-union of the two parties was about to inaugurate a new era in the Chinese Revolution. But this unity lasted only for two years during which China withstood the first shocks of the Sino-Japanese War that started in 1937.

The Sino – Japanese War of 1937-45

Chiang adhered to the terms of the compromise and offered stout resistance to the Japanese. Japan was upset by the Kuomintang. Communist alliance and tried its best to frustrate the unity. Japan offered Chiang even a proposal of joint defence against communism. But Chiang remained true to his nationalism and offered stiff resistance to the Japanese invaders. But the Japanese moved swiftly and captured many cities as well as large areas of China. The capital itself fell and the government had to retreat to Chungking. During the war China received generous help from England and America and the war with Japan merged into the Second World War.

The decline of Kuomintang

The Kuomintang government tried to maintain resistance against Japan and to plan at the same time for the reconstruction of the country. After introducing some limited reforms in the beginning of the war, the Kuomintang regime became increasingly weak, inefficient and corrupt. The government depended heavily on the Anglo-American Bloc. This provided propaganda material for the communists who declared that Chiang had become a puppet in the hands of imperialists. The Kuomintang also failed to mobilise popular support by pushing through timely reform measures. The Kuomintang sought to maintain its hold by repression and military methods. It failed to root out official corruption. All this lowered its prestige in the eyes of the people. Though Japan was finally defeated by the Allies, the Kuomintang emerged out of the war bettered and bruised.

The fall of the Kuomintang Party

Late in 1940, Chiang ordered the communist 8th Route Army and the New 4th Route Army to shift north of the Yellow river. The communist evaded this order and accused Chiang of conspiring to surrender to Japan by removing the communist army from the scene. The central executive committee of the Kuomintang passed a resolution in September 1943 to resolve its differences with the Communists. In 1947, General Marshall made an attempt to avert the outbreak of civil war between the

Communists and the nationalists. But Marshal failed in his mission. The civil war broke out in which the communists won and Chiang was forced to retreat to Formosa. Thus ended the rule of Kuomintang over China.

Chinese Communist Party

The Successful Russian Bolshevic Revolution of 1917 evoked the interest of the Chinese intellectuals. Professor Li Tao-chao and Chen Tu-hsiu of the Peking university organized the first Marxist study group in China 1918. After two years, in September, 1920 Chen Tu-hsiu founded the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) under the guidance of soviet agents. Mao Tse Tung, Liu Shao-Chi, Chou En Lai and Chu The were among the original founders of the CCP.

Early History

The Communist Party's goal; like that of its Russian counterpart, was the establishment of the dictatorship of the Proletariat. In the early phases of its growth, the CCP maintained close contacts with Moscow. In line with the Russian directive, the CCP cooperated with the Kuomintang and acted as its junior partner between 1923 and 1927. During this period of collaboration with the Kuomintang, the CCP increased its strength by enrolling new members and by developing a well knit party organization and the Red Army. The split between the CCP and Kuomintang came in 1927 when Chiang Kai Shek's nationalist forces staged a surprise attack on the communists.

Period of Comintern domination (1921-27)

The period 1921-27 in the growth of the CCP was marked by the domination of the Russian Community Party (Comintern). The Comintern's agent Voitinsky helped Chen in founding the CCP. After the Soviet Revolution, Russia was isolated and it needed allies against Western imperialism. Anti-West sentiment was strong in China during this time and Russia wanted the Chinese communists to co-operate with the Kuomintang to mount a united attack against Western imperialism. The first decade off the CCP was not a period of spectacular success. But it saw the transformation of the Marxist study groups into a band of professional revolutionaries, dedicated and well organized with the nucleus of an army.

The Rise of Mao Tse Tung

Between 1927 and 1930, the Communist Party led a series of unsuccessful uprisings. In August 1927, the Communists staged an army uprising followed by a peasant uprising in Hunan under the leadership of Mao Tse Tung. These uprisings,

however, failed. Mao Tse Tung retreated to Kiangshi and established a Chinese Soviet there. With the aid of Chu The, the nucleus of the Chinese Red Army was also formed at Kiangshi. From this difficult terrain Mao defied the assault made by the much superior Kuomintang forces until he was compelled to move from Kiangshi to Shensi in 1934. Mao Tse Tung and some 20,000 of his followers fought and marched along a round – about route covering six thousand miles. This event has become the famous 'Long March' Mao Tse Tung shifted the headquarters of the CCP to Shensi in 1935. By 1934, Mao had become the undisputed leader of the Chinese Communist Party.

Early Phase of the Communist rule

As noted earlier, the CCP co-operated with Kuomintang under the directive of the Russian Comintern in the task of national liberation. In 1927, CCP and Kuomintang, parted company. The Kuomintang launched an anti-communist drive and the communists had to seek refuge in the Yunan-Kiangshi mountainous region in the areas under their control, the communists established agrarian Soviets, confiscated large holdings and redistributed the land. Prices were controlled and reduced. They conscripted young men of the area and organized the Red Army. They formed assemblies elected by popular vote in the liberated areas. When they moved to Shensi, they instituted moderate reforms. They adopted a programme of progressive taxation, rent and credit controls. By judiciously combining popular reform programmes with firm party discipline and determination of purpose, they were soon able to dominate north-west China.

The New Democracy

Mao formulated his concept of New Democracy from his war time base in Shensi. Mao argued that China was not yet ready for complete socialistic rule and pleaded for a mixed economy of state-owned, Private and co-operative enterprises. He advocated a preparatory coalition government of the party, the proletariat, the peasantry and national bourgeoisie to administer the New Democracy. In the process of working the New Democracy feudalistic and bourgeoisie elements would be gradually eliminated. In the next stage, the establishment of the full-fledged socialism would be accomplished. Mao developed this moderate programme as China has as yet no class-conscious peasantry or proletariat. Mao maintained that his programme was a reinterpretation of Sun Yat Sen's Three principles of the people. The Programme of New Democracy received popular support.

The Japanese Aggression

The Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 created a strong anti-Japanese feeling in China. Taking advantage of the national mood, the CCP declared war on the Japanese in February 1932. The communist organized anti-Japanese mass meetings and roused popular hatred to a fever pitch. Mao raised the slogan, "Chinese unity against the Japanese". To resist Japan, the communists offered to co-operate with the Kuomintang. But Chiang Kai Shek wanted to root out the communists before resisting the was held a prisoner and his life was threatened, Chiang Kai Shek agreed to accept the communist co-operation in fighting the Japanese. Throughout the war, the coalition between the Kuomintang and CCP was in the nature of an uneasy truce.

As the Japanese advance and occupied a large part of the country, the communists and nationalists forces remained behind the Japanese line. The communists were more successful in harassing the Japanese with their experienced and well organized guerilla activities. Because of these successes, the communists were able to absorb the nationalists guerillas also into their organization. When the Japanese surrender, the liberated area came under the control of the communists.

The growth of the Red Army

The Red Army co-operated with the nationalist forces on the understanding that the Red Army would be reorganized under Chiang's authority. Despite this understanding, the Red Army retained its separate identity throughout the war. Under leadership of Chu Teh, the Red Army received intensive political indoctrination and attained a high degree of flexibility and efficiency. The army was divided into three parts: (1) the regular army (2) the will trained guerilla forces and (3) the peasant militia. By the end of the war, the communist armed forces rose to a strength of three million. Thus at the time of Japanese surrender, the CCP was ready to fill the vacuum with a well-disciplined army, an efficient party machine and an attractive programme of land redistribution and land reform.

The Civil War

The united front of the Kuomintang and the CCP was enthusiastically welcomed by the Chinese. But the parties to the coalition were mutually suspicious. Japan launched a full scale invasion after conquering Manchuria in July 1937. All the important cities and line of communication fell before the Japanese. In 1938, the People's Political Council was set up with Chiang as the leader. A programme of resistance to the Japanese and national reconstruction was adopted. But nothing came of this. Chiang accused the communists of using the council as propaganda forum.

There were charges and counter charges. In 1939, Open clashes between the two forces occurred and in January 1941, the Kuomintang made a surprise attack on the communists, in South Anhwei and killed six thousand Reds. As the defeat of Japan became imminent the two parties prepared themselves for a final encounter.

Encouraged by the Soviet declaration of the war on Japan, Chu The ordered the Red Army to take over as much area under the former Japanese occupation possible. Chiang Kai Shek ordered Chu The to cancel his instructions which was evidently a communist plan to seize power. Chu The ignored Chiang's order. This was the signal for fresh clashes between the nationalists and the communists, and China was caught in the throes of a civil war even before her external war had concluded.

Futile U.S. Intervention

The United States had been fighting the Pacific War since the Pearl Harbour incident and had supplied enormous aid to nationalist government in its war with Japan. The U.S now stepped in and urged both the nationalists and the communists to continue the war –time front for the reconstruction of the country. Even when the U.S was negotiating, clashes between the Kuomintang and the communist forces continued and the nationalist government decided to mount a full – scale offensive against the communists, President Truman of the United States sent General Marshall to act as a mediator. Though Marshall was able to bring the contending parties to the conference table, nothing worthwhile was achieved. The nationalists refused to make any substantial concessions to the communists. Chiang, assured of continued American help, adopted a stiff attitude. But Chiang's China was in bad shape and was fast disintegrating as result of economic and political chaos. The U.S mediators found the Kuomintang to be a 'coterie of conservative political cliques' interested primarily in preserving years of civil war and seven years of Japanese offensive. The communists had grown because of mass support. Confident in the nationalists, the communists remained firm in their stand. Marshall's mission, thus failed.

Communist Victory

After the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by the American atom bombs, the Japanese surrendered in August, 1945. The nationalists and the communists hastened to take over the areas left behinds by Japan. In the ensuing scramble, conflicts became inevitable. Hostilities broke out between the nationalists and the communists in Manchuria and north China. In the opening phases of the struggle, the nationalist had considerable success because of their larges and better-equipped army. They swept through the north-west and even occupied the old communist break the morale of the communists. Driven out of the cities they strengthened their hold on the

country side. And harassed the nationalist forces. They broke the communication lines of the nationalist forces. The Red Army now styled as the people's Army, nationalist reeled before the concentrated attack of the communists. Many nationalist army units surrendered to the communists. Before long, the communists became the masters of the entire mainland of China and Hainan. In 1950, the remnant of the nationalist forces retire to Formosa.

CHIANG KAI SHEK

After Sun's death there were three guiding figures in the Kuomintang. Wang Ching-wei was the left wing leader; Borodin, the Russian adviser was the boss of the party; Chiang the youngest member of the trio was the ablest military leader.

Chiang's early life

Chiang Kai Shek was born in 1887 in the province of Chekiang in an ordinary family. Chiang passed his early years when the country was passing through a great national crisis. It had fallen a helpless prey to foreign domination. The suppression of the Boxer rebellion by the foreign troops who had superior arms and technology left a deep impression on Young Chiang. He decided to become a soldier. He received military education first in China then in Japan and then in Soviet Russia. He was an ardent admirer and trusted follower of Sun Yat Sen.

Unification of China

On his return from the Soviet Union, Chiang Kai Shek 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 skillful political manipulations to gain ascendancy in the party.

By 1925, he brought Kwangtung and Kwangsi provinces under the control of the Kuomintang. In 1926, Chiang gained striking victories against the warlords of the Yangtze valley. These victories were made possible by the high training and fighting qualities of the nationalist army. The unification of the country by Chiang was accomplished in two stages in the first stage, the nationalist army captured Hankow to which the nationalists' capital was transferred from Canton. In the second stage, the nationalist army entered Peking in June 1928.

Growth of the Communist influence

Meanwhile, the Kuomintang was split into two factions; right wing and communist. This event was to have a very great significance on the course of the Chinese history. The communist agitation aroused the peasants against the landlords. The communists dominated labour unions. They struck hard to capitalist interests. The Capitalist landlords and the wealthy middle – classes were alarmed at the trend of events and they wanted desperately to check the advance of the radicals. The only hope in the situation was Chiang. He had the military power and might turn the scale against the communist radicals. The Capitalists and the Landlords persuaded Chiang to act. Chiang also entertained ambitions of becoming the sole leader of the Chinese revolution.

Chiang's victory in the struggle for Supremacy

The final split came in 1927. The left wing of the Kuomintang and the Communists pushed their Chinese Nationalist Revolution to the verge of an explosive social revolution. The intensive propaganda mounted by the communists resulted in widespread strikes and riots. They even sought to remove Chiang from power, But Chiang had the backing of the financial magnates of Shanghai.

In the meantime, the left wing leader Wang and the communists had a quarrel. Wang who came to know that the communists were striving to take over the Kuomintang, started eliminating them from Wuhan. Wang joined hands with Chiang, and Chiang emerged as the leader of the Kuomintang in January 1928.

In June 1928, Chiang devoted himself to the completion of the northward expedition. The nationalist army under Chiang captured Peking. The leader of the Peking regime, Chang Tso Lin fled and was subsequently killed by a mysterious bomb explosion. After his death, his son who still controlled the three eastern provinces made a compromise and accepted the Kuomintang flag. Thus, China was united under the military rule of Chiang Kai Shek. Nanking was made the capital of China.

The Nanking Government

The Nanking government was recognised by the twelve Western Powers including the United States, Britain and France. The new republican government claimed to have realized the first principle of nationalism set out by Dr. Sun Yat Sen. The Kuomintang declared that it would implement forthwith the second principle, the principle of democracy, and thereafter take up for implementation the third principle, the principle of people's livelihood.

Causes of Chiang's Success

Thus by 1928, Chiang was the virtual ruler of China. He was the General of the Revolutionary army. He had overcome successfully the opposition of the warlords. Likewise he had neutralized the left wing of the Kuomintang and the Communist Party by his skillful diplomacy. Formerly Chiang had been broker and businessman in Shanghai. He was professional soldier. He had wide contacts in Japan and Soviet Russia. As the head of the Wham-po military Academy, he had trained the officers of the new revolutionary army and was thus able to command the personal loyalty of his men. His marriage into one of the most influential families further enhanced his prestige. Because of these advantages Chiang was able to rally under him a powerful coalition of forces.

Abrogation of unequal Treaties.

The Western Powers had imposed unequal treaties on China. These unequal treaties had two sets of provisions which the Chinese hate. They were the right of extraterritoriality and the denial to China the right to determine her own tariff. The Chiang government now proceeded to end these hateful encroachments on China's sovereignty. In July 1928, the Nanking government announced that all treaties which had expired would be revoked and replaced by new agreement. Treaties that had not expired would be terminated. The Western Powers realizing the changed circumstances and the new mood of the nation allowed China tariff autonomy. By 1930, nine countries surrendered the right of extraterritoriality. Henceforth, the foreign law breakers were to be tried in Chinese courts under Chinese laws.

Struggle between the Kuomintang and the Communists.

The Nanking government now controlled more of China than any previous regime since the beginning of warlordism. The recovery of tariff autonomy and the end of extraterritoriality had greatly enhanced national prestige. But the Nanking government was plagued by internal political pressure. The nationalist government was constantly challenged by the growing Chinese Communist Party. The Kuomintang was able to destroy the urban political strength of the communists rather quickly. But in the interior, the communists were going strong. They even established a Soviet Republic in the wilds of Central Kiangsi south of the Yangtze now led by Mao Tse Tung.

The Long March

In 1934, the Kuomintang attacked the Kiangsi stronghold of the communists in an all out effort to annihilate Chinese communism. The Communists were defeated

and forced to retreat. This was the beginning of the 'Long March'. After breaking through encircling Kuomintang forces, the communists marched and fought along a round about route covering some six-thousand miles through China's south west. Finally surviving untold perils, Mao and about 20,000 of his followers arrived in northern Shensi in 1935. Here in the forbidding lands of the north-west, the communists created a new revolutionary base and found the means of repelling the encroaching Japanese. The Long March was indeed a great feat and a tribute to the leadership of Mao. Chiang failed in his attempt to eliminate the Red Army and this eventually weakened his position.

The Japanese aggression

Japan did not like the rise of a strong government in China as a challenge to her economic position. To preserve her economic control, Japan seized Manchuria in 1931. In the following years, she threatened to take over the other portions of the north –eastern China. In the face of the Japanese threat Chiang was forced to act cautiously as he was aware that China Kuomintang were not politically and militarily prepared for a conflict with Japan. So he accepted in May 1933 the Tongku Truce by which a cease-fire was agreed upon and the Japanese troops withdrew to the Great Wall. This policy of appeasement with Japan was not however like by Chinese nationalists.

Attempts at political Unity-Sian Incident

The Communist-led Chinese Soviet Republic took a tactical step in declaring war against Japan in 1932. Chiang was at this time trying to crush the communists. The communists appealed to Chiang to end the civil war in order to maintain a united front against the Japanese. Chiang disregarded their appeal as well as the pressure of the nationalist for a joint defence of the country. The Red Propaganda for a united front continued in the form of open letters and telegrams. Unmindful of the Red Propaganda Chiang flew to Sian to finalise the campaign of total annihilation of Red bases in Shensi. In December 1936, Chiang was captured at Sian and held prisoner by his own country men. They demanded the acceptance of the communist proposal for united front and a firm resistance to Japan. The Life of Chiang was in danger for a time. Mao sent Chou En Lai for negotiations at Sian. A compromise was reached. The communists led by Mao agreed to bring the autonomous regime and their army under the control of the national government. They also agreed to abandon their plan of establishing a Soviet system after overthrowing the existing régime by force. Chiang was set at liberty on Christmas Day in 1936. The Nanking government agreed to undertake a determined resistance against Japan. It also promised social and economic reforms and also a democratic government.

The settlement was widely welcomed in China Mao publicly announced that the reunion of the two parties was about to inaugurate a new era in the Chinese Revolution. But this unity lasted only for two years during which China withstood the first shocks of the Sino-Japanese War that started in 1937.

The Sino-Japanese War of 1937-45

Chiang adhered to the terms of the compromise and offered stout resistance to the Japanese. Japan was upset by the Kuomintang Communist alliance and tried its best to frustrate the unity Japan offered Chiang even a proposal of Joint defence against communism. But Chiang remained true to his nationalism and offered stiff resistance to the Japanese invaders. But the Japanese moved swiftly and captured many cities as well as large areas of China. The Capital itself fell and the government had to retreat to Chungking. During the war China received generous help from England and America and the war with Japan merged into the Second World War.

The decline of Kuomintang.

The Kuomintang government tried to maintain resistance against Japan and to plan at the same time for the reconstruction of the country. After introducing some limited reforms in the beginning of the war, the Kuomintang regime became increasingly weak, inefficient and corrupt. The government depended heavily on the Anglo-American Bloc. This provided propaganda material for the communists who declared that Chiang had become a puppet in the hand of imperialists. The Kuomintang also failed to mobilise popular support by pushing through timely reform measures. The Kuomintang sought to maintain its hold by repression and military methods. It failed to root out official corruption. All this towered its prestige in the eyes of the people. Though Japan was finally defeated by the Allies the Kuomintang emerged out of the war battered and bruised.

Difference With the Communists and the ultimate defeat of the Kuomintang

The difference between the Kuomintang and Communists surfaced after two years of unity. The Communist pursued a policy of combining nationalism with reform that won considerable support among the peasantry. The reduction of interest rates and rents, confiscation of land holdings and their redistribution and other such economic reforms increased their popularity. The communists organized rural guerilla bases and liberated 150 counties.

The Kuomintang resorted to a policy of suppression Following the defection of the communist leader Chang Kuo Tao to Kuomintang in 1938, three important mass organisations of the Communist Party were forcibly suppressed. Chiang was unable to

reconcile himself to the Chinese communists. In his own words, ‘The Japanese are a disease of the skin. The Communist are the disease of the heart’. Mao pledged a tit for that struggle against the counter revolutionary party.

Late in 1940, Chiang ordered the Communist 8th Route Army and the New 4th Route Army to shift north of the Yellow river. The communists evaded this order and accused Chiang of conspiring to surrender to Japan by removing the communist army from the scene. The central executive committee of the Kuomintang passed a resolution in September 1943 to resolve its differences with the communists. In 1947, General Marshall made an attempt to avert the outbreak of a civil war between the communists and the nationalists. But Marshall failed in his mission. The civil war broke out in which the communists won and Chiang was force to retreat to Formosa. Thus ended the rule of Kuomintang over China.

UNIT - III

The Second Sino-Japanese War

Following Japan's conquest of Manchuria in 1931, politics carried both China and Japan ever closer to a broader conflict. The Chinese nationalism, often unorganized in coherent, even leaderless had become vehement against foreign encroachment. In Japan also the militarist, flushed with success influenced the politicians to find solutions of their problem by armed force. The result was the renewal of Sino-Japanese hostilities on a grand scale and the final merger of this conflict with the world conflagration when Japan attacked Pearl Harbour in 1941. Actually it was an 'undeclared war' called lightly by Japanese as 'Affair' or 'Incident'.

The causes of the war

1. The weakness and the internal strife of China induced Japan to make further encroachment in Chinese soil.\
2. The attitude of Chiang Kai-shek was also favourable to the Japanese. He considered Japanese aggression was a mound on the skin while the communist menace was a disease in the heart. So he signed the Truce of Tongku with the Japanese. This was an indirect recognition of Japanese occupation of Manchuria.
3. Japan was also emboldened by her successful aggression upon Manchuria. The Japanese militarist party, flushed with this success, induced the politicians to commit further aggression upon China. The Lack of powerful international sanction also encouraged them.
4. Japanese link with the Axis Powers of Europe infused an aggressive mentality. Moreover as the signatory of the Anti cominter party, he was bound to fight against the spread of communism.
5. The growing anti-Japanese sentiment also worried the Japanese government. Red Army's propaganda and its guerilla activities irritated them. Finally the formation of National United Front against Japan alarmed her and decided to destroy it before it became too powerful.
6. Some of the provocative activities on the part of China was also responsible for the outbreak of hostilities. A Japanese druggist was killed in Kuangtung Province. A consular police man was killed at Hankow. Bombs were

discovered in a Japanese consulate. Japanese sailors were shot dead at Shanghai by a Chinese in the international settlement.

7. The immediate cause – Lu Kou-Chiao incident: The young Japanese officer of Kuangtung Army manufactured an incident at Lu-Kow-Chiao (Marco Polo Bridge) about ten miles west of Peking on July 1937 precipitating a clash with the Chinese garrison. Invoking the Boxer Protocol of 1901, which permitted foreign signatories to station troops between Peking and the Sea, the Japanese garrison in North China in early July 1937 held a field exercise outside Peking, near the Marco Polo Bridge. On the pretext that a soldier was missing, the Japanese demanded to enter the nearby city to conduct a search when refused by local Chinese garrison, the Japanese army bombarded the city, thus precipitating an undeclared war between the two countries

THE COURSE OF THE WAR (1937-1941)

1. The initial stage

In the beginning the Japanese were able to occupy all the strategic points outside Peking. The United China faced the challenge boldly. All the political parties including the communists rallied under the banner of Chiang who declared “Let there be no distinction between North and South age or youth, but let all implicitly and with iron discipline follow the guidance of the Government”. But the modernized Japanese army proved more than a match for the Chinese. The Japanese were poised to attack Peking, which was evacuated by the Chinese in order to preserve the priceless historical relics and art treasures of that city.

2. Second Front in Shanghai

In August Japan opened a Second Front in Shanghai the financial center of China to destroy China’s economic capacity of war.

3. Capture of Nanking (December 1937)

When the Chinese heroically defended Shanghai, Japan outflanked the defenses and advanced to the gates of Nanking, the capital, which was fell in December. The fall of Nanking was followed by indiscriminate massacre of 10000 civilians accompanied by atrocities. This was the notorious “Rape of Nanking”.

4. Occupation of North China

In North the Chinese were driven south of Yellow river. From Nanking a Japanese force moved Northward and Tientsin was capture.

5. Fall of Wuhan and Canton (1938-39)

The next major battle was fought at Wuhan which was also taken in December 1938. It was followed by the fall of canton in October 1939.

6. From the fall of Wuhan to Pearl Harbour attack

The next stage of war was basically one of attrition, where the Japanese occupied most of the cities and lines of communication lines in the eastern half of China, While the Chinese pursued a scorched-earth policy followed by strategic withdrawal and guerilla warfare.

7. Forming of Puppet Government

IN spite of this success, the Japanese could not win the war “Tokyo finally resigned itself to a stalemate; it adopted the policy of living off the conquered land with the help of Puppet Governments. In 1937 a Mongolian Autonomous Government was created. With a help of a traitor Wang Ching-wei they founded the Reformed Government of Chinese at Nanking.

8. Now order in East Asia

In order to establish Japanese political and economical hegemony the Japanese Premier Konoé proclaimed a ‘New Order in East Asia’. It was a kind of Japanese ‘Monroe Doctrine’ aiming at the domination of Asiatic countries.

Strained relations between CCP & KMT

For the smooth functioning of the United Front “Peoples Political Council” was organized. It was a common front in which communists were also admitted. Chinese Red Army was reorganised as 8th Route Army and put under the control of Nationalists. But soon differences arose because of mutual Jealousy, fear and misunderstanding. So the United Front was functioning only in name sake. Throughout the reminder of the war the KMT-CCP conflict was never resolved

Events led to the Second World War in the Far East

It was Japan's imperialist ambitious design that brought the Second World War to the Far Eastern theatre. Japan had already become the partner of Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis. It had signed Anti-Comintern Pack with Germany and Italy. In September 1940 Anti – Comintern Pact was converted into a military alliance against U.S.A. As all the powers of Europe were engaging in a 'life and death war'. U.S.A was the only power showed at least some amount of seriousness in the Far Eastern affairs, and that was able to check Japanese aggressive moves. When Japan decided to take control of Indo-China, America condemned it. It also retaliated by imposing restrictions on exports from U.S.A to Japan on the things like iron steel, machineries, etc. The Lese and Land Bill was amended in such a way that it allowed China to receive assistance from America. This worsened Japan – U.S.A relations. Japan immediately denounced American-Japanese commercial treaty and America issued orders to freeze Japanese assets in U.S.A. At the same time negotiations were conducted by both parties to gain time. But Japan attacked and destroyed Pearl Harbour, America's naval base in Hawaii, and there by declared war against U.S.A. Thus the 'Second World War' started in Far East.

China and the Allies

From the outbreak of War in July 1937 to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour in December 1941, China fought alone. She received only sympathy, moral support and some small loans from Western Powers. The outbreak of the war in Europe in September 1939, however, substantially altered the foreign picture. Russia, Britain and France leaned backward to avoid irritating Japan. But in the wake of worsening Japanese-American relations U.S.A came forward to assist China.

The attack on Pearl Harbour changed the character of the China war and transformed the foreign aid picture. Anglo-American declaration of war against Japan, and similar Japanese action against the Axis powers turned the war in Asia into a part of World-wide struggle against aggression and totalitarianism.

China's role in the Second World War

It was rightly pointed out, "For China the global scale of hostilities assumed by the close of 1941 appeared as a limited blessing". It was due to following causes.

1. Although Britain and America assured China of immediate help, they were not in a position to do that. According to their war strategy, the European theater of war was given first and fore most preference. Their fullest attention and efforts were turned towards that front. Of course, they realized the critical position of China

which was in the grip of Japanese onslaught. But their position was in such condition that they were able to do only 'libservice'.

2. As Russia had signed Non-aggression pact with Japan in 1941, she was not able to come forward to help China openly. Russia was very cautious in her dealings with China in order to avoid complication with Japan.

3. As most of the China's coastal areas were occupied by Japan and the Pacific islands were under her occupations, the Allied Powers found it difficult to render any effective military help to China.

4. As all the coastal routes to China were closed, America's 'flying tigers' attempted to cross the mighty Himalayas by flight. By the so called 'Himalayan Himp, American was able to give some assistance. Later the famous "Ledo Road" was constructed for sending supplies to China.

5. The massive U.S.A aid reached 500 million dollars in 1945. As the American Secretary of War pointed out, "The brilliant resistance to aggression which the Chinese have made and are making and their contribution to the common cause deserve the fullest support we can give".

6. Joseph Stilwell a former American language officer in Peking was sent to Chunking as Chiang's Chief of staff.

7. During the Second World War China was generally on the defensive side. It had successfully stopped the further Japanese push in the interior part. The head quarters was shifted to Chunking. As Japanese effort was diverted do South East Asia, China was relieved off temporarily from the fierce Japanese offensive attack.

8. Throughout this period the relations between the KMT and CPP were not up to the mark. Mutual jealousy, suspicion and fear prevented them from forming a strong united front agains Japan.

9. In the Cairo Conference of 1943, Chiang Kai Shek sai with President Roosevelt and the British Premier Churchill and discussed the strategy of war in the Far East. The Cairo Declaration demanded for the first time the unconditional surrender of Japan, and complete restoration of territories lost to Japan since 1894.

10. The Potsdam Declaration of July 1945, demanded Japan's unconditional surrender of prompt and utter destruction when the Japanese Government ignored the warning, the first atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima on August 6. Two days later the Soviet Union centered the war. On August 9, the second atomic bomb fell on

Nagasaki on August 14, the Japanese Emperor declared the unconditional surrender of Japan. The instrument of surrender was signed on boards the U.S.S Missouri in Tokyo Bay.

After eight years of fighting China had emerged victorious. Chiang's prestige rose high, for he had led the country through the darkest days of war to ultimate victory . China's international position was also improved very much. It was China who had fought the longest fight from 1937 to 1945 against aggression and totalitarianism. China was given big power States in the UNO

The effects of the War

1. China was relieved off the western pressures and economic control. The previous treaty rights like extraterritoriality were cancelled China admitted in the UNO as a big power, having a permanent seat in the Security Council with 'Veto Power'. "Never before in her modern history was her international prestige higher than at this point".

2. The nationalist government, which bore the major burnt of fighting was so depleted physically and spiritually that it was manifestly in capable of coping with the new challenges of the post war era.

3. The chronic ill of Chinese deficit budget increase tremendously because of mounting military expenditure. It caused inflation, which damaged army morale, destroyed administrative efficiency, ruined civilian lives and reduced the middle class to destitution.

4. Having Patiently endured all the suffering during the eight years of war the Chinese people felt a psychological weariness. They were too weary to undertake any struggle, and they needed nothing but peace.

5. The unresolved communist problem and its ominous implications once again appeared in the Chinese Politics. When the common enemy i.e. Japan disappeared the old jealousy and suspicion between the erstwhile allies. i.e., the communists and the Nationalists. Mao-Tse-Tung who had waited patiently to make his bid for power, began to challenge Nationalist Supremacy. The result was once again China was plunged into a terrible civil war. Which ended in a complete Communist victory.

CULTURAL REVOLUTION

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was a gigantic social, political and cultural upheaval, taken place in China during mid sixties. It began in 1965 as a criticism of artist, writers and academic scholars was transformed into a far reaching national movement organized in a militant spirit to remodel the Chinese Society according to the thought of Mao. The proclaimed aim of this revolt was to carry socialism into the superstructure and to remove all the remnants of bourgeois and manners.

THE CIRCUMSTANCES IN WHICH THE REVOLUTION TOOK PLACE

1) The failure of Great Leap Forward Movement and the Communes

The results of the 'Great Leap' and the communes were deeply discouraging and highly unsatisfactory and there was great discontent among the people. These economic distresses and discontentment forced some of the Chinese leaders to divert and modify the implementation of Mao's policies.

ii) Growing disillusionment towards Mao's Policies and leadership

Because of these new developments some of the senior party men grew increasingly critical of the Mao's politics. They felt that Mao ran the country with a guerilla mentality out of tune with hanging times. Mao's approach to Socialist transformation seemed to be hasty and excessive', particularly the Great Leap was ridiculed a 'petty bourgeois fanaticism', 'a rush blood to the brain' 'a high fever of unrealism.' Etc.

iii) The Echo of De-stalinisation Policy of Russia:

In February 1956 Khrushchev, the Russian Communist leader denounced Stalin's personality Cult' and his wrong policies, and recommended a 'collective leadership'. In response the Chinese Communist Party called its 8th National Congress in September and adopted resolutions to abate the practice of 'Mao's cult' and to reorganize the party structure in line with the Soviet developments. It also omitted the reference to 'Mao's thought' as the guide of CCP.

iv) Sino-Soviet Split

The Sino-Soviet split also deeply affected the Chinese politics. Because of ideological differences Peking under the leadership of Mao began to question the authority of Moscow over communist principles. The Maoists began to attack Russia

particularly Khrushchev as ‘revisionist’ and also condemned their policy of peaceful co-existence with capitalists. Because of these attacks and criticism Russia had withdrawn her economical and technical assistance. But at the same time one powerful element in the Party became highly critical of Mao’s handling of the dispute with the Soviet Union, Whose continued aid, they considered important to ‘China’s economic, military and scientific development.

v) The rise of Capitalist roaders in CPP

The reorganization of the CPP and the principle of collective leadership brought forth new leaders, Liu Shao-Chi, the president of the Republic, and Teng Hsiao-ping the General Secretary of CPP . They were more pragmatic and less idealistic than Mao. They believed that only a revision of Mao’s policy could save China from political confusion and economical chaos. They began to introduce a policy of liberalism in the place of rigid communism. They treated the artists and intellectuals as privileged section, and the result was, rank, prestige, consciousness and careerism began to rise.

vi) Rise of capitalist and the rightist element in the literary and artistic circles

According to Maoists danger signals appeared in the literary and artistic circles. Party intellectuals were not creating work that reflected the socialist transformation and it seemed of them regressed back to the old cultural traditions. Even ‘ Forum Confucius’ was sponsored. They wrote essays and plays using historical allegory to satarise the leadership. To Maoist it was a deliberate attempt to glorify the old virtues of human heartedness’ and benevolent government.

vii) Division of CPP into two warring Camp

The net result of these development was the division of CPP into two warring camps. One was headed by Lin Shao-Chi, the President of the Republic another by Lin Piao. The former was for a diluted Marxian policies, a professional army and close relation with Soviet Russia, while the latter was upholding Mao’s principles and policies.

The Beginnings of the Cultural Revolution

The first shot of the Cultural Revolution was fired by the editor of the paper ‘Liberation Army Daily. In the issue of November 1965 he condemned some of the university professors whose works reflected capitalists feelings. Following this criticism there raised a war cry against the so called ‘capitalist roaders’. In June 1966 posters appeared on the walls of Shanghai attacking the policies of the principal of

Peking University. In August, the Eleventh plenary session of the Eight Party Committee adopted key resolutions and promulgated its decision concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. It also laid down sixteen points as the basic structure of the Revolution. It attacked those within the Party who are in authority and who were taking capitalist road.

Cultural Revolution in Progress

1. *The abolition of Four Olds:* It was decided that the bourgeois mentality of old customs, old habits, old culture and old thinking must be replaced by new customs new habits, new culture and new thinking.

2. *The Party Purge :* The first signs of the Cultural Revolution came in the dismissals and denunciations of important party officials and men of letters. Mao utilized this opportunity to expel his opponents from the party and the power. The notable victims of the Cultural Revolution were Liu Shao-ci, the Head of the State, Teng Hsiao-ping, the Secretary of CPP, and Pen Chen Mayor of Peking.

3. *The establishment of Cultural Revolutionary Groups Committees and Congresses of all level:* In November 1966 a seventeen member Central Cultural Revolutionary Committee was formed with Mao's Private Secretary Chen Po-ta as Chairman, and Mao's wife Chinag-ching as first vice Chairman. This revolutionary Committee together with the Military Committee under Lin Piao, and the State Council under Chou En-lai became the ruling triumvirate under Mao's guidance.

4. *Appearance of Wall-posters:* During the Cultural Revolution, the wall posters played a unique role in shaping and molding the public spirit and directing it towards Revolution. The first poster appeared in June 1966 criticizing the principal of Peking University. Mao himself hailed this poster and instructed that it should be published in Press. Later Mao himself put up his own poster under the title 'Bombard the Head Quarters'. The posters not only spread the ideas of Revolution and but also kept the spirit of the public in a feverish manner. It also served as an easy means of mass-communication.

5. *Red Guards :* A new Youth organization to spear head the Revolution was founded i.e., Red Guards In 1966 Mao recruited a high school and college students as Red Guards and changed them with a new mission for eliminating the 'four olds'. These Youthful Red Guards envisioned themselves as ' Revolutionary successors' and 'revolutionary rebels' dedicating to uphold the Thought of Mao and to expunge bourgeois influences and revisionist tendencies. "They wrote big-character wall-posters, ransacked private property, rampazed cities renamed streets attacked those

with modern attire and hair cuts and humiliated foreign diplomats. But he zealous rebellious youths committed so many excesses that they had to be checked in due course of time.

6. *The rate of People Liberation Army (PLA)* : PLA a politicized army under the control of Lin Piao played a leading role during the cultural Revolution. It was an egalitarian set up without uniform, rank and stars. The soldiers of PLA not only spread the message of the Revolution but also ran farms and industries.

7 *The seizure of Power* : The final stage of the Revolution was the seizure of the powers from the hands of reactionaries in all institutions. By September 1968. Maoists had seized the control of entire twenty nine provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities. Revolutionary Committees were constituted to run the administration.

End of the Cultural Revolution

In April 1969 the Ninth Party Congress were convened. It unanimously elected Mao. Chairman of the party and the Central Committee with Lin Piao as vice-chairman. The new party constitution reaffirmed the ‘Thought of Mao’ s the guiding policy of the party and the state and designated Lin as Mao’s successor.

The Significance of the Cultural Revolution

1. The immediate result of the Revolution was the elimination of the party

Leaders who opposed Mao’s policies. It re-established the supremacy of Mao’s authority and insured the permanency of his thought and ideology.

2. It stopped the incipient revival of capitalism and individualism, and prevented the rise of Soviet Revisionism in China.

3. It sharpened the political awareness of the masses and gave the youth a chance to relieve the revolutionary experiences and to learn the problems of socialist transformation in order that the might become worthy revolutionary successors.

4. It was part of a continued ‘rectification movement’ that erupts periodically to insure the purity of the party and the correctness of the line.

5. Maoist cult became a predominant feature in Chinese political and social sphere. Mao was more or less deified and was hailed as great leader, great supreme commander, etc. The ‘Little Red Book’ that contain Mao’s quotations became a bible.

6. It also taught a lesson that no one in power was immune from attack when failing to follow the correct line, and also served to reduce the distance between the rulers and the ruled.

The People's Republic of China

After the Victory over the Kuomintang, the communists proclaimed the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949. The new government was essentially a communist dictatorship. The new government was based on three documents; (1) the organic Law of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC); (2) the organic Law of the Central People's Government (3) The Common Programme of the CPPCC. These documents were replaced by a constitution adopted in September 1954. The internal policies of the new communist regime was marked by caution.

Efforts were directed to consolidate the communist victory and authority of the People's Republic. There were no immediate expropriations. Only surplus lands, houses and agricultural implements were confiscated. Small farmers and proprietors were not affected. In industry, properties of the former government alone were socialized. There were rent reductions, redistribution of land and other ameliorative measures. Thus, the masses were won over. At the same time, the traders and the more prosperous peasants were not driven to panic.

1. Land Reforms

The Chinese Communist government launched a vigorous agrarian revolution to cure China's age old problem of landlordism. In 1950 the government promulgated the Agrarian Reform Law which called for the abolition of the land ownership system of feudal exploitation and the confiscation of land owners holdings and farm implements for redistribution to landless peasants. By the end of 1952 some 700 million mou (1/6 acres) of land had been re-distributed to 300 million peasants.

2. Agrarian Reforms and collectivization

The new government addressed itself to the most important task of making China self-sufficient in food. It proceeded cautiously with collectivisation of land, gaining from the experience of the Soviet Union in the 30's. The land programme was divided into three stages: the mutual aid period, producer's co-operative and the collectivisation itself. In the first stage, the peasants retained control over their production, consumption and sale, with only a temporary pooling of labour. In the next stage, the tools and labour were pooled with joint cultivation and planning of the production. The peasants had the right at least in theory to withdraw. In the last stage,

the peasants lost their right of ownership and the theoretical right of withdrawing at will. By active propaganda, the communists tried to develop a high degree of co-operation, preparing the way for the radical measures that were to come.

3. Economic development

The communist government took efforts to eliminate inflation and restore fiscal stability. To promote financial stability the communists issued a peoples currency in May 1949 and banned the circulation of the foreign currencies as a medium of exchange. Efforts were made to achieve price and wage stabilization . The wage-point system for payment of workers was introduced. Communications were restored to facilitate the exchange of commodities. A new taxation system involving agricultural, industrial commercial sales and income taxes were introduced. With these measures by 1950 inflation was controlled and the government budget balanced.

4. The Commune

In 1958, the regime sought to revolutionize the existing socio-economic structure by the introduction of communes which were to be basic units of the Chinese Communist society. Within a year about 24000 communes covering 500 million persons were organized. These communes were brought into existence by forging together several small co-operative farms. These communes contained anything from a thousand to ten thousand families each. They were also the basic administrative units. The introduction of communes did not bring about a sudden increase in the agricultural production. Now was there an overnight transformation of China into a truly communist state. There was opposition to the communes because of the suppression of individualism and regimentation of life in the communes.

5. Industrialisation and the State

The new regime in China laid great emphasis on industrialization. In the beginning it followed a mixed policy, assigning a substantial role to private capital. As the regime gathered strength, more radical measures were introduced. Gradually private initiative gave way to state planning and control. In 1953, the first five-year plan was inaugurated. It was a modest plan and it succeeded in meeting the targets. Encouraged by the success, the planners sought to reach out more ambitious targets in the subsequent five year plans. Despite many shortfalls in several spheres, considerable progress was made towards the industrialization of the country during the first decade of the communist rule.

The Great Leap Forward Movement(1958)

To accelerate the expansion of the economy the government plunged ahead a new drive called “Great Leap Forward Movement’. It aimed at the increasing of production of iron, electricity, coal etc., Targets were fixed., and every one was urged to participate in industrial production. The result was by 1958, 600000 back-yard furnaces were sprang up all over the country. At the end of that year the government announced a boastful list of achievement. ‘Machine tools had tribled, coal and steel had doubled, oil increased by 50% and electricity by 40%.

The Cultural Revolution

After the lapse of fifteen years when the communist power had already been well established, the people were allowed a short speli of freedom of expression. In 1957, Mao raised the slogan, “Let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of though contened”. Mao declared, “Thought, culture, customs must be born of struggle, and the struggle must continue as long as there is a danger of return to the past.” Following this pronouncement, there was much criticism of the communist system in1958, a great revolutionary rebellion was launched against old ideas, old culture, customs and habits. The cultural Revolution thus got under way. Mao utilized the upsurge to remove from power revisionists, opportunists and other detractors. The Central Committee of the CCP laid the dictum Trust, the masses rely on them and respect their initiative; cast out fear; do not be afraid of dis order. Mao was the fount of inspiration behind cultural Revolution. The student Red Guards went on a rampage, shouting slogans and demanding to turn the old world upside down. A number of Mao’s long-time comrades lost their positions. Vice Chairman Liu Shao Chi was demoted and Peng Chen disappeared from the political scene. The Cultural Revolution escalated into fullblown Red Guard rebellion and re-established the authority of Mao on a firmer basis. It was claimed that the great revolutionary waves wash away all the filth of bourgeoisie trends in art and literature and open up a new epoch of socialist proletarian art and literature. The old-world scholar tyrants who had ridiculed Mao’s conception of China’s ‘leap forward’ were stripped and expose.

Social and Psychological control

A basic ingredient of Maoism is the continuous organizations of mass movements for the attainment of specific objects. Predetermined by the party, practically everybody belongs to some mass organizations through which the party and the government exercise their control and carry out national policy. In addition, their monopoly of the communications media and the presence of their security police and party carder have combined to make the society a water tight-compartment.

The new society under the communists encouraged the forging of a new life style and the creation of a new socialist man.

Through mass organizations, secret police, mass communication media and indoctrination, the government had succeeded in controlling and remolding the society and the people to an extent unknown in Chinese history. The once individualistic Chinese have become the most regimented people in the world.

MAO TSE TUNG

The emergence of communist power in China is inextricably bound up with the personal career of Mao-Tse-Tung. The figure and personality of Mao-Tse-Tung dominated China from 1920 to 1976. It is obviously not possible to understand or Chinese developments without recognizing the significant and magnificent role that Mao had played in shaping them and giving them a direction.

Early life

Born in 1893 in the province of Hunan, Mao was rebel by nature. He rebelled against his father, rebelled against his teachers and grew to become a self-taught scholar and statesman. After completing his education at Changsha, he moved to Peking where he worked in Peking University Library as an underpaid clerk.

His early political career

He was first drawn to Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen and his revolutionary organization. He heard later on of the Russian Bolshevik Revolution and came under the influence of Marxism. He was one of the founder members of the Chinese Communist Party. In 1921 together with a handful of ardent revolutionaries, he founded the Chinese Communist Party. In the beginning the CCP was in alliance with the Kuomintang Party. Thereafter his fortunes were linked with the party in which he gradually rose to a position of prominence and prestige.

Autumn Harvest Uprising

The year 1927 was a critical year to the communists but at the same time it proved a turning point in the political fortunes of Mao. In that year at Whan, "White Terror" was let loose against the Communists, and thousands of party men were killed in cold blood. But the Communists, according to Mao, "were not frightened, not

conquered not annihilated. They stood up again wiped out the blood stains, buried their fallen comrades and went on fighting”.

The CCP in its special conference in 1927 called on peasants to take up arms. Mao who was deeply interested in peasant organization the rural area, established Chinese Soviet in rural areas of Hunan and Kiangsi. In the autumn of the same year he organized Autumn Harvest Uprising. It was a failure but it earned him a name in the party circles.

Then along with the Chu The he organized the famous ‘ Red Army’ which was destined to play a leading role in establishing Communism in China. By 1930 there were 15 Red Army bases in the region. Another important achievement of Mao during this period was the establishment of a “ Central Rural Workers Government at Juichin in Kiangsi”/ By the end of 1931 the CCP was able to proclaim a Chinese Soviet Republic with Mao as Chairman.

The Long March (1934)

Between 1930 to 1932 the KMT sent four expeditions against Hunan and Kiangsi bases. But their German trained armies were defeated by the Red Army, which was skilled in guerilla war-fare their tactics were expressed in four slogans.

- (i) When the enemy advance we retreat
- (ii) When the enemy halts and encamps we trouble them
- (iii) When the enemy tries to avoid a battle we attack
- (iv) When the enemy retreats we pursue.

In 1933 a fifth expedition was sent to crush and encircle economic blockade. Half a million troops supported by 400 aircrafts were sent in move. The Red Army was indeed caged and on the point extinction in the iron-ring of an economic blockade. But Mao had the courage and strategy to effect a break through in the blockade and started the famous Long March leading 85000 soldiers 15000 government and party officials. From Kiangsi bases they moved west-ward, then marched towards north and finally reached the southern base of the Great Wall in Shensi where they settled.

On the way they crossed the mightiest rivers and highest mountains, 11 provinces and traveled 6000 miles. Really it is one of marvelous achievements of History.

Mao's Eight Point Code

The Red Army had 8 point code on its march. They are

1. Replace any article used
2. Roll up the straw mat and handed it over to the peasants.
3. Be courteous and help where ever you can
4. Return all borrowed, articles
5. Replace all damage goods
6. Be honest in all transactions with peasants.
7. Pay for all articles received
8. Maintain hygiene and establish latrines at a distance from people's houses.

National United Front against Japanese

The Red Army subordinated all other issues to the main one of opposing Japanese aggression. Their Slogans were:

“Go north to fight against Japanese”

“Form a United Front”

“Resist Japan”

“Chinese do not fight against Chinese”

So during Sian incident they showed an attitude of compromise and even prepared to abandon armed insurrections and place the Red Army under the command of KMT leaders. The result was the formation of the National United front against the Japanese.

The Civil War (1945-49)

Following the Japanese surrender once again the mutual jealousy and rivalry between CCP and KMT raised their heads and China was once again plunged in to civil war, in which Mao scored a brilliant victory over the KMT forces. Finally the KMT forces were driven out of China and were forced to take refuge in Taiwan. The people's Republic of China was proclaimed in October 1949.

His Principles

1. ***The New Democracy:*** The New Chinese Government was constituted on the basis of the principles laid down by Mao in his work “New Democracy”. But it he recommended a joint dictatorship of all anti-imperialist and anti-feudal people, led by the proletariat, not a democratic dictatorship of Workers and peasants.

2. ***“Let a Hundred Flower Blossom”*** : By this slogan he allowed freedom of expression for a short period.

3. ***Rectification Movement*** : By it he wanted to combat I) Subjectivism and unorthodox tendencies ii) Sectarianism with in the party ranks and iii) formalism in literature

4. ***New Revolutionary principles:*** The ideas of two stage revolution, and mass peasant movements were emphasized by him. He also explained that all social process were functioning term of struggle, conflict and combat.

He also said that class struggle must go on throughout the period of socialism. According to him “Political powers grows out of the barrel of gun”. And there by he laid stress on the power of armed forces.

Foreign Policy of China

1. The period of Honeymoon

i) The early years of the people Republic of China was marked by a intimate friendship and a close co-operation between the two countries. It maintained close ties with Soviet Union. In 1949 Mao announced his ‘lean one side policy’. The said, ‘The Chinese people must lean either to the side of imperialism or to the side of socialism. There can be no exception. There can be no sitting on the fence; there is no third path’.

ii) Russia not only accorded immediate recognition to China out also pleaded strongly for her rightful place in the U.N.O. The emergence of Communist China was hailed in Russia as greatest victory to communist camp.

iii) The friendship was cemented by the signing of the Treaty of Friendship “Alliance and Mutual Assistance” in 1950. By this treaty the two countries agreed to assist each other in case of aggression and the violation of peace on the part of Japan and any other power assisted by Japan. The two countries agreed to co-operate with each other in all important international questions and to develop and strengthen economic and cultural ties. Russia withdraw from port Arthur and Dairen and even

gave back to China the control of Manchurian Railway. Russia also promised to provide experts to help with Chinese industrialization and modernization. The Moscow-Peking Axis became the corner stone of the Peoples Republic's foreign policy for the greater part of its first decade. Mao praised this Axis as 'lasting, unbreakable and invincible'. Soviet government dispatched to China a large number of scientists, technicians and military advisors and agreed to help to build 156 production enterprises. In 1957 Russia even agreed to assist China in nuclear development, and a year later sent a heavy water-type reactor.

II. First signs of strain

Beneath this co-operation and friendship sign of strained relations appeared because of the following developments.

1. In 1955 Khrushchev and Bulganin undertook a tour of India and Burma which was viewed by the Chinese as Russian Counter to the Chinese pretensions in Asia. Russia brought to bear upon China that her interest in Asia were in no way less than that of China.

2. Russia's help to newly independent countries was severely criticized by China.

3. China's Great Leap Forward Movement and the cultural Revolution irritated the Russian.

4. De-Stalinization policy initiated by Khrushchev was not linked by Chinese leaders. They thought that it was indirect attack upon Mao. Who was hailed as a great hero in China.

5. Mao also did not recognize the Russia's leadership in the Communist camp.

III. The Widening of rift

During the close of the 1950's the relations between the two countries became bitter. There were a number of causes contributed to the growth of enmity between the two powers.

1. In 1958 during the Quemoy-Matsu crisis the Soviets failed to support Peking efforts to capture those offshore islands from the Taiwan Nationalist regime.

2. In the following year Moscow did not endorse China in the border dispute with India. During the Indo-Chinese War (1962) Russia remained a neutral power, and did not come forward to support a communist brother in times of need.

3. The friction between the two countries came out in public at the time of 22nd party congress meeting held in 1961. Khrushchev attacked the Albanian Party which was receiving support from China.

4. A further irritation arose in 1959 when Khrushchev went to China and requested the right to operate a radio station on Chinese soil to maintain contact with Soviet submarines in the Pacific and also asked for a privilege of refueling and repairing his ships in China. The outright rejection of Mao angered the Russian leaders.

5. The other issue which further heightened the friction between the two countries were the recall of the Russian technicians and experts from China. Russia also slowed down her supply of oil to China.

6. Russia's refusal to help the Chinese to manufacture atom bomb as viewed as a great betrayal on the part of the Russian. The promise for a sample atom bomb was also turned down.

7. In the Cuba crisis Russian withdrawal was considered as an act of cowardice by the Chinese who ridiculed Russia as 'Paper tiger'.

1V. The ideological dispute

Outwardly, the immediate cause of the Sino-Soviet split was precipitated by Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin and his attack on personality cult at the 20th congress of the Soviet communist Party in 1956. Mao had little respect for Khrushchev. He was determined to be the ideological leader of international communism and make Peking the new venter in the Socialist bloc. The uniqueness of Chinese communism with its rural based guerilla tactics and a peasantry movement challenged the urban workers revolutionary principle of Russia. Moreover when Chinese Communists recognised the inevitability of a clash between the Socialist and Capitalist world Russia laid stress on the principle of peaceful co-existence. The Chinese ridiculed the idea of peaceful co-existence as a mirage argued for increased support for wars of liberation and national independent movements and belittled the chances of a peaceful take over.

The rise of Mao and the challenge of Communist China to Soviet hegemony raised the question of whether or not the Socialist world could tolerate two leaders and

two centres, A number of Communist Parties around the world evinced sympathy for Peking's dynamic stance. Soviet attempts to expel China from the international Communist movement have so far been unsuccessful. The monolithi-structure of the Socialist camp crumbled and the indisputable leadership of the Soviet Union was broken.

The Territorial Controversy

The territorial controversy over 4,150 miles Sino-Soviet border caused a deep sense of injury to the Chinese who believed that the Tsarist Russia and Stalin's Soviet Russia had done a great injustice to the Chinese nation. Like all patriotic Chinese, Mao also wanted to rectify he injuries that had suffered in the past. Chinese grievances over lost territories are historically deep –rooted. The previous treaties like Nerchinsk of 1689, Kaikhata of 1727, Aigun of 1858 Peking of 1860. Petersburg of 1881 robbed China thousands of square miles. In 1963 Peking published a list of lost territories including part of Southern Siberia., the maritime province and at least 50000 square miles in Central Asia. China denounced that the present Sino-Soviet frontier was a producer of unequal and illegal treaties. Negotiationism were conducted to find out a peaceful solution to the border dispute, but they ended infailure. Both countries leveled accusation of border violations, which brought the two nations to the bring of war. Both sides made feverish propaganda out of the border clashes, held exhibition to illustrate other sides atrocities and organized vast demonstration to stir up national sentiments and war scares.

Nevertheless the danger of war seems to have receded but the high tension between the two countries persists and it only benefits the capitalists. It also destroyed the unity of the socialist world and weakened the cause of communism in the developing countries like India and Sri Lanka. It is rightly pointed out "When the bear and the dragon fight the eagle reaps the benefit"

China and India, the largest countries of the world had freed themselves from foreign yoke more or less at the same time. They had a common frontier, which was not violated for a long period. They had cultural link through Buddhism, which was prominent religion of China. Hence it was no wonder that the relation between the two countries were very cordial and many factors favoured the continuity of the friendly relations.

1. India was one of the countries to recognize the communist regime in China, and to establish diplomatic relations.

2. India pleaded strongly China's case for the membership to the U.N sessions after sessions India moved resolution to admit Red China in the world body.

3. Though India was shocked when the Chinese army entered Tibet in 1950, later she concluded an agreement with China in 1954 by which India recognized Chinese sovereignty over Tibet.

4. They also concluded the famous "panch sheel" in 1954 by which they agreed on the following principles.

- i) Mutual respect for each others territorial integrity and sovereignty
- ii) Non aggression
- iii) Non-intervention in other domestic affairs.
- iv) Mutual benefit and equality and
- v) Peaceful co-existence.

By this treaty India recognized the right of China to set up its commercial agencies in New Delhi, Calcutta, and Kalimpong. In return India was allowed to establish her own trade center in Gangtok in Tibet.

5. During the 'cold war' period India followed the policy of Non-alignment; China was pleased to see that India did not ally herself with American block.

6. Moreover when America organized SEATO to counter act Communist China's activities in South East Asia India refused to join in it.

7. Some of the principles of the foreign Policy of both the countries were the same. Both countries condemned imperialism colonialism and racialism. They supported the African states in their struggle for freedom from Western imperialism.

8. During the Korean War of 1950-52 India strictly followed the policy of neutrality. When America tried to cross the 38th parallel and thrust the war beyond River Yalu, India opposed . Besides it was India that proposed the resolution for cease-fire in Korea and worked for a peaceful settlement.

9. In the Bandung Conference in 1955 the two-co-operated stood unitedly and maintained Afro-Asian solidarity.

Causes for the strained relations

1. Although both the countries tried their best sincerely to develop and cultivate the cordial relationship the ideological differences persists. The road they had chosen for their progress was altogether different and the ideological difference proved a source of friction between the two nations.

2. India's successful economical venture, her Five Year plans and industrialization evoked jealousy in the heart of Chinese diplomats. They even feared that India would surpass them in economical development.

3. In 1959 an uprising took place in Tibet, which was promptly suppressed by China with great atrocities. There was deep indignation in India and Indian press condemned the atrocities committed by China in Tibet.

4. When Dalai Lama fled from Tibet he was given asylum in India. This naturally embittered the relations between India and China.

5. Moreover Chinese internal difficulties, disappointment and dissatisfaction reflected in her foreign policy. The failure of Commune System, and Great Leap Forward Movement, and the emergence of Sino-Soviet rift, and the subsequent withdrawal of Russian assistance created a mind of frustration. In order to make the people to forget these failures they began to divert the peoples attention towards Indian border.

6. Ever since the emergence of the Communist regime in China, the government published maps that showed some Indian territories inside Chinese region. When India brought to the notice of the Chinese authorities they sent only vague reply. Later they insisted that theirs was the correct map.

7. In 1959 China occupied Longju and 12000square miles of Indian territory in Ladakh, and also claimed NEFA. Frequent border violations were mad by China and in October nine Indian soldiers were killed.

The outbreak of War (1962)

To reduce tension the Prime Ministers of the two countries met at New Delhi in 1960, official teams of the two countries also visited each other. But no agreement could be reached and border incursions continues. Ultimately in 1962 China treacherously mounted a full fledged attack on India-in NEFA and Ladakh. India also as a defensive measure ordered her forces to drive out the Chinese. Thus a war

between India and China started which ended in a military debacle for India. However China made a unilateral declaration of withdrawal.

The Afro –Asian countries to bring India and China together for settlement of disputes and submitted the ‘Colombo Plan which was accepted by India and was accepted by China with certain reservations. Still thousands of square miles of India territories were under the illegal occupation of China.

China’s Support to Pakistan

The Sino-Indian conflict led to the close relations between China and Pakistan. The two countries concluded agreement regarding boundary. China rendered Pakistan with huge financial and military alliance and it began to support Pakistan ambitious designs in Kashmir. During the Indo-Pak conflicts of 1965 and 1971 China condemned India as aggressor and supported the cause of Pakistan.

India’s positive approach

In spite of the sharp difference India continued her traditional policy of supporting China’s cause for admission to the United Nations. She was also tried to keep the door open for negotiations to settle the outstanding border disputes. But China was busy in improving her military strength, and raising her to the status of big power by producing nuclear weapons. She also want to see India weak so that the latter cannot Challenge her leadership in the region. The Janata Government tried its best to improve relations. At the result of it Ambassadors were once again appointed in Peking and New Delhi; The foreign ministers of the two countries exchanged visits. But the military activities of China in Vietnam collapsed all the patient efforts of the Indian Government.

China’s Relations with America

In early years, China had developed an aversion towards America because of two reasons. First, it felt that America was a capitalist country which opposed communist China. Second, America had helped Chiang Kai Shek to fight against the communist China. The deep antipathy felt in America against communist China in largely due to a sense of frustration. The Americans felt that their security depended upon maintaining the balance of power in the Far East. From 1949 to 1971 America continued to help Nationalist government in Taiwan. She also opposed the admission of communist China in the United Nations.

America intervened in Korea to preserve its Southern Part from the Communist influence. As a result, China lost about 100,000 soldiers in the Korean problem. This

aggravated the relations between China and America. As in the case of Korea, China and Russia intervened in the Vietnam problem and opposed American advance in the East. This again in widened the strain relations between America and China. America wanted to bloothe greater co-operation between Russia and China. At the Banding conference Chinese Premier announced that China was prepared to have cordial relations with America. But it resulted in failure.

In beginning of the nineteen seventies, relation between China and America was revived for he food,. The historic visit of President Nixon to Peking in 1971 made the world wonder struck. America supported the entry of the Communist China into the United Nations in 1971. Since then, the Sino – American relation have been improved well.

UNIT – IV

MEIJI RESTORATION

The advent to Perry, the fall of the Shogunate and Meiji Restoration are all events which are inter connected and form links of the same chain of causation. Perry's expedition appeared in the Japanese waters for the second time in 1854 which marked the opening of Japan to western trade. In 1867 the Shogunate came to an end and the Meiji era began. The Meiji Restoration is undeniably a note worthy and memorable event in the history of Japan. Those who spearheaded the revolution endeavored at the outset to enable the people to understand that the Shoguns were usurpers of the imperial prerogative, and that they emerged as a special and privileged class puissant enough to held the reins of government out of the civil anarchy due to conflict among provincial daimyo during the medieval period. The Tokugawa regime contained several internal contradictions which gradually weakened its authority. A reference has already been made to these factors. Of these factors, the most important which precipitated the fall of the Shogunate and the emergence of the Meiji era are as follows.

1. Most of the important feudal lords lived far away from Yedo where the Shogun resided. This weakened the control of the Shogun over the feudal lords. While the authority and the military power of the Shogun was declining the feudal lords strengthened themselves.

2. The middle classes were growing restive because of foreign aggression and exploitation of the country. The Shoguns had imposed a rigid feudal structure which was now useless in the face of the challenges posed by the changing times. The rigid class structure and the absolute feudalism shut out all means of progress.

3. The Samurai was a powerful soldier class in the country though it constituted a small percentage of the total population. It is this class which formed the backbone of national stability and security. Being a military class, the men of the Samurai were deeply hurt by the nation's humiliation. They considered the shogun to be directly responsible for the weakness of the country and the consequent national disgrace. Therefore, they started a movement for the revival of national power first by putting an end to the Tokugawa regime and second by the revival of the old imperial authority. The movement started the Samurai gained momentum and prepared the ground for the changes that were to take place in the years 1867-1868.

4. The Japanese Scholars exposed the untenable position of the Shogunate. They pointed out that the Shogun had deprived the emperor of his powers and

assumed them himself. The authority and weight of the scholarly opinion gave impetus to the anti Shogun movement.

5. After the forcible intrusion of the foreigners, the Tokugawas realized their weakness and turned to the emperor for advise and support. Their inability to meet the challenge of the foreigners effectively and to handle the negotiations independently gave their political opponents an opportunity to undermine their position. The great Satsuma and Choshu clans led the attack against the Shogunate.

Thus the arrival of Perry and the opening of Japan a decade earlier provided a catalyst in precipitating events of the 1860's in Japanese History.

The Restoration

The crisis reached its climax in 1867. In the previous year Tokugawa Keiki had succeeded as the new Shogun. In the same year the Emperor Keimiki expired and his fifteen year-old son, Mutsuhito, known to history as Emperor Meiji (enlightened peace) ascended the throne. A memorial was presented to Keiki, the Shogun by Lords Satusma and Choshu Hizen and Tosa asking him to resign and restore the imperial order. As a civil war broke out between the followers and opponents of the Shogun, Keiki realized the untenability of his position and voluntarily surrendered his power to the young emperor. The staunch supporters of the Shogun were unwilling to surrender power and they mad a last bid to retain it. They were, however, defeated by the strong lords and the Restoration was effected. The Shogun placed himself and his estates in the hands of the empor prepared to face whatever loyalty required of him. All the other Daimyo soon followed suit. Only the presence of Great men could have delivered Japan from the situation in which the nation now found itself, without government., without modern knowledge and without money. But she had the men, and the rest was easy.

The Restoration of the emperor led to revolutionary changes. Soon there was a complete transformation in all spheres of the nation at life. With Restoration modern Japan emerged.

Nature of the Restoration : The rapidity and the ease with which the Restoration as completed and the thoroughness of its achievements were amazing. The Restoration had to aspects: it was a revolution in the sense that it brought to an end the obscurantist and feudalistic. Shogunate and paved the way for thorough going Changes in political, economic and social spheres; it was a traditionalist restoration in the sense that the old imperial authority was restored.

Cause for the success of the Restoration: The conservative were won over to the cause of Restoration by an appeal to the past. The progressive section of the population were sympathetic to the Restoration because the legitimate monarchy was being restored to power. The resentment felt against the Shogunate by all sections of the people found a rallying point in the emperor. The reverence with which the emperor was looked upon by the Japanese was an important factor in making the Restoration a success. Still another reason for the success of the Restoration was the lesson that the Japanese drew from the happenings in China. The anti-foreign and anti-Shogun feeling roused in the country symbolised by the emperor.

Once the Restoration was effected the patriotic leaders were quick to realize that westernisation was only hope of strengthening the country, notwithstanding their dislike for the West.

Transformation of Japan

After the Meiji Restoration a number of steps were taken to strengthen and modernize the Japanese nation. The enlightened rule of the Meiji effected a sweeping transformation and inaugurated a new golden era.

Japan entered upon an international career during this period and earned for herself a respectable place in the comity of nations. This fact was a matter of great significance not only to her own domestic politics but also to international power balance. We shall now make a study of the reforms carried out by Meiji regime in some detail.

Social Reforms

The Tokugawa regime had contained an outmoded and antiquated social system based on feudalism and class restriction. The Social classes had already lost their rigidity by the time of Meiji Restoration and now whatever social inhibitions remained were removed once and for all. Everyone was given the freedom of movement and the right to choose any occupation. In the place of the old classes new ones came into being. The feudal lords became the nobles; the Samurai became gentry and the rest became commoners. All were guaranteed equality before law. Practices such as abortion, infanticide etc. were banned. There was a large scale shift among the population to western modes of dress and habits.

MILITARY REFORMS

The Meiji leaders realised the need for the modernization 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 Tokugawas the imperial armed forces were drawn from Satsuma, Choshu and Tosa domains. Thus there was no national army as such in the earlier days. Immediately after the Restoration, the scattered forces under the different domains had to be unified and for this purpose 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 organization was disbanded and steps were taken for the creation of a national army. The military establishment was divided into (1) regular army (2) reserves and (3) national army. All able-bodied males over 21 years were to be conscripted for compulsory military service. Military schools opened of which *Pikugun Daigakko* became very famous. In 1878 a General Staff office was created on German pattern. Expert guidance from French, English and German Military departments was 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. Admiral Tojo who was later to become Premier was a product of this institution. The first warship was built in 1875. By 1882, Japan had achieved self-sufficiency in naval vessels, with 28 ships and 24 torpedo boats.

The army and navy were equipped with the latest weapons.

Education Reforms

The Charter of Oath given by the emperor declared that knowledge would be sought from all quarters. The Meiji leaders wanted to eradicate ignorance, illiteracy and superstition. To this end, a programme of compulsory education was launched. All people high or low, male or female should receive education, declared the law. The new education aimed at building and creating devotion to the nation and the emperor. Western sciences received special emphasis. The new education which became compulsory in 1872 was based on French model. The whole of Japan was organized into eight university districts each university district into 32 secondary school districts and each secondary school district into 210 elementary school districts.

The curricula of education were drawn in accordance with the American system. A teacher's training school at Tokyo was opened in 1872 and American education experts were invited to advise in the preparation of text books, teaching materials etc. English language was made a compulsory subject and this brought Japan closed to the West.

Women's education received high priority. In the former feudal set-up, Japanese women had been condemned to a position of obscurity and subservience to men. The foreign missionaries established a number of schools for girls. The first public school for girls was founded in Tokyo in 1872. From here on, Women's education received a new impetus.

The reorganized curricula included music, medicine, engineering, social sciences, biology and a variety of other disciplines were introduced. The emphasis was on duty, patriotism and devotion to the country and the emperor. There was indeed a revolution in education quite as striking as the political and economic revolutions of 1867-71.

Religious Reforms

In the religious field, an enlightened policy was encouraged. The government which was hitherto hostile to Christianity now became tolerant to that also. The anti-Christian edicts were removed and the Christians who had been detained were set free. The State Shinto religion received great encouragement. The Shinto religion emphasized the divinity of the emperor

Land Tax Reform

Before Meiji came to the throne, land tax was collected in the form of rice. This created fluctuations in revenue because the income of the government was linked with the price of rice. This system was ended. Tax was hereafter collected in cash. In 1872, the government issued land ownership certificates and the system of private ownership of land was introduced. Taxes were fixed in relation to the capital value of land, instead of the produce. The annual tax on land was fixed at three percent of value of the land. This measure however increased the tax burden on the peasant. This caused another difficulty too. Since the tax had to be paid in cash within a specified time the peasant had to sell his crops at prices unfavorable to him.

Economic Reform

It was now realized that the country had to be economically sound and progressive. By 1871, with the feudal framework already destroyed, Japan had a new and unified political system. The new Restoration government was backed by the merchants, capitalists and the Samurai class, who realized the need for economic progress. The government therefore created the necessary facilities or infrastructure for economic development. First, it created strong financial institutions so that capital could be mobilized and made available for investment in industries. Secondly the government itself took the initiative in starting strategic industries and such other

industries as required heavy investment and long period of development. In this regard the existing shipbuilding industry, iron industry, arms and ammunitions industry were expanded on western lines. Vigorous steps were taken towards expanding communications, telegraph and railways. Mining and machine tools were also started by the government. Thus, the basic industries necessary for further economic development were directly sponsored and operated by the government.

Having taken steps to create the infra-structure, the Meiji government encouraged private enterprise to paly its part. In the economic development, Subsidies and low-interest loans were offered to private entrepreneurs. Silk industry, cotton textile industry and a number of other industries came up with the help of the government, Thought Japan lacked experience and capital, the private enterprise responded to the challenge and started playing an active role. After 1880, the government turned over specific enterprises to the financial house Zaibatsu at low rates. This policy of first developing the industry under government auspices then handing over the developed industries to private ownership and management greatly accelerated the pace of economic development. After the Sino-Japanese War the pace of industrialization increased further. The indemnities received stabilized the Japanese currency. Japan adopted gold standard which opened her industry to the international money market. Towards the close of the 19th century. Japan was able to get tariff autonomy and new sources of raw materials and new markets.

Japan had plentiful supply of cheap labour which enabled her cotton and silk industries to thrive and compete successfully in the international markets; but she lacked iron and coal and other raw materials. As a result, her industrialization hinged on a flourishing foreign trade. Naturally, her shipping industry proved vital for her very existence and it made dramatic progress in the 20th century.

Zaibatsu

Any note on the economic developments of Japan will be incomplete without a mention of Zaibatsu. The Zaibatsu is an organization similar to the American cartel or trust having a single aristocratic family as its nucleus. This organization formed around a single family in due course acquired interests in all the fields of Japan's economic activity and developed into several multi-millionaire families of which Misui, Mitusubushi; Sumitomo and Yasuda are the most important. In the early days of the Meiji regime when material resources and technical experience were limited, the Zaibatsu provided the financial and industrial leadership, it acted in fact as the principal instrument of national economic policy.

Although it played a key role in the economic transformation, it was not without its drawbacks. In the days of party government its campaign funds corrupted politics. The militarist policies of latter day Japan are to a large extent explainable in terms of the profit motive of this fanatical gain.

The Russo-Japanese War

After Meiji Restoration, the Japanese statesmen realized the potential antagonism of Russia to their ambitions. Though the Sino-Japanese war ended in a victory for Japan, it brought her in confrontation with Russia. Japan realised the danger of Russian railroad construction and penetration into Chinese territory, attacked China, defeated her and wrested from her vast territorial and commercial concessions. Russia in conjunction with other powers which were interested in the independence of a weak and exploitable China, forced Japan to relinquish a part of her spoils. Japan successfully eliminated the Chinese influence from Korea; but now she found herself forced to share the position of dictator to the Korean government with the ever-expanding power, Russia, Korea thus became the bone of contention between Japan and Russia. But there were also other contributory causes to the Russo-Japanese War.

Causes of the War

1. In the 1875, Russia seized the island of Sakhalin. Which reasonably belonged to Japan. This was very high-handed action on the part of Russia. Though Japan was not prepared to go to war with Russia at that time, she could not forget it and looked forward to an early opportunity to recover the lost island.

2. The Triple intervention of which Russia was the leader, as another sore point. In the Sino – Japanese War, Japan defeated China and by the terms of the treaty of Shimonoseki of 1895 Japan should have got the Liao Tung peninsula together with Port Arthur as the just fruits of victory. But Russia, France and Germany intervened and forced Japan to part with these gains. At the time of the intervention Japan had no ally among the Western Powers, and therefore she had to accept the diplomatic defeat. But now Japan had the friendship of Great Britain because of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. Now was therefore the opportunity for Japan to avenge this humiliation.

3. The growing Russian influence in China was another source of irritation to Japan. Russia posed as the champion of the Chinese cause and built her influence in Peking. In 1898 Russia got many concessions in the Liao Tung Peninsula including a 25 years lease of Port Arthur.

4. The Korean issue was the most important cause of the war, But the treaty of Shimonoseki, Japan and China recognized the Independence of Korea. But this independence was only in name; because a contest for supremacy in Korea between Russia and Japan began immediately afterwards. For a short period following the treaty, the influence of Japan was in the ascendancy in Seoul. But the Japanese attempt to transform Korea overnight into a modern state and to exploit the country brought a reaction . In 1896, taking advantage of an uprising in Korea, Russia sent a force to Seoul. The Korean king, disgusted with the Japanese control, fled to the Russian legation for asylum, and for a short period, the Japanese ascendancy in Korea was replaced by that of Russia. This annoyed Japan, and she viewed it with anger and displeasure. The Russian moves were not only dangerous to her ambitions but threatened her very existence. But a head on conflict between Russia and Japan was avoided till 1904. In 1896, the Yomagata-Lebonoff Protocol, Japan and Russia agreed to support the Korean government in restoring internal order and stability and in making a concerted effort at bringing about financial reforms. After two years, a Convention was also signed by Japan and Russia recognizing the sovereignty and independence of Korea. Russia promised not to interfere in Japanese commercial relations with Korea. But the Russian moves in Manchuria showed her sinister designs on Korea.

5. During the Boxer troubles Russia consolidated her position in Manchuria.. She had already constructed there the Trans-Siberian Railway. Seizing the pretext of the Boxer uprising now, she brought thousands of troops into the railway zone. Even after the Boxer troubles were over, she kept postponing the evacuation of the troops from Manchuria. She had no intention for evacuating the troops. After the conclusion of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, Russia was insulated in the Far East. Realising her peril, she agreed to withdraw her troops from Manchuria in three stages. But she never honoured this agreement. She kept moving her troop[s] from one part of Manchuria to another. Then she obtained from China a declaration of non-alienation of Manchuria, there by closing of that province to other Powers. By this time Moscow and Port Arther had been connected by a through railway and Manchuria had become virtually as Russian province, From this vantage position, Russia started making menacing moves in Korea. The Russian troops crossed Yalu river and occupied a port in Korea. The Russian penetration into Korea continued as she connected the north Korean points with her military posts in Manchuria by constructing highways and telegraph line.

Naturally Japan became alarmed at the rapid increase of the Russian influence in the area. She opened direct negotiations with Russia in July 1903, for an understanding on both Manchuria and Korea. She proposed an arrangement where by:

1. Chinese sovereignty and integrity in Manchuria would be respected.
2. The administration of Manchuria would be restored to Chinese hands, Russia retaining only rail road guards.
3. Japan would recognize Russian rights in Manchuria based on recognized treaties.
4. Russia would recognize Japan's political as well as a commercial and industrial interests in Korea as already set forth in the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. She also pressed for a definite date by which Russia would evacuate her troops from Manchuria. During the negotiations Japan wanted Russia to respect the integrity of China and Korea. But Russia adopted a high-handed attitude. She claimed for herself a free hand in Manchuria while she was not willing to allow Japan to have her own way in Korea. Finding Russia to be adamant, Japan resolved to decide the issue by war. Accordingly, in February 1904, she suddenly broke off diplomatic relations and torpedoed the Russian fleet off Port Arthur. The Japanese army entered into Korea. War was formally declared on February 10.

The Anglo-Japanese Alliance concluded in 1902 was directed against Russia. Britain and Japan were anxious about their possessions in the East because of the southward expansion of Russia. The Alliance increased the prestige and power of Japan. Since Britain had a powerful ally in the United States, the other Western Powers remained aloof and did not come to the rescue of Russia during its war with Japan. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance gave Japan the courage and confidence to go to war with Russia. Coupled with this, the expansionist ambition of the rising Japanese nation supplied the necessary motive for the war.

The War

During the war, the other Western Powers kept aloof. On account of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and on account of the warning given by the United States, French and Germany could not openly support Russia. Thus, the war was a straight fight between Russia and Japan. It was the first time that a small Power like Japan was pitting itself against a giant like Russia. The Russian army suffered defeats on land while the Russian fleet was totally routed by the admiral Tojo in the battle of Tsushima. The battle of Tsushima is memorable and deserves ranking with Trafalgar. The Japanese victory was a tribute to the better organization and greater efficiency of her army. Japanese tenacity and patriotism combined with her unity of purpose enabled her to overcome a great military power like Russia.

Although Japan had won technical military victories on land and sea, Japan had failed to destroy the Russian armies. The nation's economy was strained at home to the point of danger. So the Japanese government realized its inability to continue the struggle much longer. At this time American President Roosevelt came forward to act as the mediator for negotiating peace between Japan and Russia. The Russians also realized that the internal situation was becoming critical, with the threat of an imminent revolution. Soon receiving Roosevelt's suggestions, Nicholas II sent Witte, the Finance Minister, as negotiator for this peace treaty. On the side of Japan, her foreign minister, Viscount Komura attended the conference.

At the peace conference Japan demanded:

1. The recognition of supremacy of Japan in Korea which was secured by it from England in the revision of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance effected towards the end of the war.
2. The transfer of Japan of the Russian interests, including the leasehold and the railroad in South Manchuria.
3. The surrender to Japan of all Russian war vessels stationed in neutral ports during the war and the limitation of Russia's Far Eastern naval force.
4. An indemnity to cover the cost of the war.
5. The grant to Japanese subjects of fishing rights off the coast of Siberia and the cession of Saghalin to Japan.

Russia, in her counter proposals agreed some of the demands, but refused to consider the limitation of her navy the demand for an indemnity and cession of Saghalin. As a lost concession Russia agreed to abandon port Arthur and Dalny and the southern port of Saghalin, with the provision that it should not be used for military purposes or fortified. Russia demanded that further guarantees should be given by the Japanese for the functioning of the Chinese Eastern Railway as a Russian concession. After a few minutes silence the Japanese Foreign Minister simply announced that the Japanese government accepted Russia's conditions. Finally the peace treaty of Portsmouth was signed on 5 September, 1905.

The Treaty of Portsmouth

By the treaty of Portsmouth, Russia agreed to restore to Japan the island of Sakhalin she had seized in 1875.

Russia recognised the independent status of Korea and Japan's paramount interest in the country.

Both the powers agreed to evacuate their troops from Manchuria and to assist in the restoration of Chinese sovereignty there and to follow the Open Door Policy on the basis of equality.

Russia agreed to transfer to Japan her lease of Port Arthur, Dairen and the adjacent portions of Liao Tung peninsula. She also agreed to handover to Japan her mining and railway privileges in south Manchuria.

The Results of the Russo-Japanese War

The Russo Japanese War profoundly influenced the course of the history of the Far East in particular and of the world in general. In the broader context, the balance of power in Asia and Europe was upset. In Europe Russia lost her importance now that her military weakness was clearly exposed by her defeat at the hands of a small Asian Power. In Asia Japan emerged as a major Power. This Change in the balance of Power created a series of pressures and tensions affecting different countries in different ways. We may now examine these results with reference to the individual countries concerned.

Russia

The victory of Japan put a stop to Russian advances in Asia. Not only that, Russia retreated from her former positions in the East. Russia had to return the Liao Tung peninsula to Japan. She lost her control over China. This setback in the East forced Russia to turn her attention to Europe where she came in conflict with Germany and Austria precipitating the First World War. Russia remained isolated during and after the war. This was however neutralized by the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907. Domestically, the defeat discredited the Russian autocracy. There were mass uprisings in the country. They were put down, but Czarism was definitely on the decline.

Japan

By her victory over Russia, Japan became a dominant power in the East. Her international prestige went up and she was praised by all nations for having achieved such a rapid rise to international power. Japan joined the company of Western nations on an equal footing.

With the removal of the Russian threat, Japan asserted herself in Korea and annexed the country finally in 1910. In Manchuria she strengthened her position. In the Liao Tung, peninsula, preparatory to further aggressions on China. She gained control over a part of Manchuria.

Economically Japan experienced a boom in the wake of the war. Korea and Manchuria provided the necessary raw materials for her industrial development as also markets for her products.

Politically the consequences were far from good. Since the government did not insist on an indemnity from Russia the political leadership was blamed and discredited. There were riots by the extreme nationalist groups against the Katsura cabinet. Both at Shinmonoseki and Portsmouth, the civil leaders had suffered diplomatic defeats in contrast with the splendid military victories achieved by the armed forces. Thus there was a definite shift towards militarism. This trend had far-reaching significance in that it made Japan an aggressive and militant expansionist power in the East.

The Japanese victory and the treaty of Portsmouth brought Japan into conflict with the United States. There was a fear among the Americans that Japan would curb their activity in the East.

China

In China, the Western nations recognised Japan as a serious rival. As a consequence, there was a fresh scramble for concessions. This had the effect of fanning the flames of nationalism in China leading ultimately to the Chinese Revolution of 1911. In addition, the reform and revolutionary movement in China received a fresh impetus on account of the victory of Japan which had adopted parliamentary democracy. China now turned to Japan for guidance and inspiration. A large number of Chinese students came to Japan for studies.

In general, the victory of Japan was looked upon as a symbolic Victory for the cause of nationalism. In countries like India, East Indies and Indo-China it encouraged the nationalist upsurge.

As noted earlier, the immediate consequence of Japanese victory was the establishment of the Japanese protectorate in Korea and consolidation for Japanese possessions in Manchuria. The ultimate consequence was the emergence of nationalism in the East.

Japan and Korea

The earliest European contacts with Korea occurred in 1593 with the visit of a Spanish Jesuit to the peninsula. Subsequently in the 18th and 19th centuries, Catholic Christianity reached Korea by way of the Jesuit mission at Peking. The coming of the new faith was a source of friction between the local followers of Confucianism and the converts. The converts being a minority were persecuted. Korea had avoided all relations with the West. The British, the Russian and the French who tried to open Korea in the early 19th century to Western trade were repelled. Following a great wave of anti-Christian persecution in 1886 which virtually wiped out the Christian community of converts, France fitted out an avenging expedition to Korea but it was decisively defeated. The United States too, showed interest in Korea. She sought a treaty with Korea for the protection of the Americans shipwrecked there and followed it up by a naval expedition. But Korea remained unyielding.

Korea had, however, direct trade links with Japan for a fairly long time. In 1868, Japan sent a mission to Korea to announce the Restoration of the Emperor and to seek the reopening of relations. But the Korean government treated the Japanese mission with contempt. When a Japanese gunboat was fired upon by the Koreans in 1875. Japan with the help of China negotiated a treaty for the opening of three Korean ports. For Centuries China had been claiming suzerainty over the Korean Peninsula. But this suzerainty was more ceremonial than real. Japan waited for an opportunity to challenge China's claim. Mean while she strengthened her position in Korea by intrigues and by other means. In 1894, there was a revolt in Korea followed by the entry of Chinese troops to assist the Korean king. This gave Japan a pretext for armed intervention. The Japanese navy sank a Chinese troopship. The Chinese fleet was defeated and the Japanese army was expelled from Korea. Subsequently, China was obliged to recognize the complete independence of Korea. Korea thereupon came under the control of Japan

Soon after the Sino-Japanese war; the Korean Queen was murdered by a gang of Korean and Japanese desperadoes. The murder took place with the connivance of the resident Japanese Minister. The Japanese Minister was called back to Japan and after a Sham trial was acquitted. The Scandalous trial and acquittal roused bitter anti – Japanese feelings in the Koreans.

The Russians were having an eye on Korea of long. They had first directed their attention to Manchuria and persuaded China to the construction of the Chinese Eastern Railway across Manchuria. Subsequently they had obtained the lease of Port Arthur and the territory at the tip of Liao Tung peninsula and had the railway line extended to Dairen and to Port Arthur. Thus Manchuria became a territory of

considerable strategic importance to the Russian Far Eastern policy, as it opened the possibility of eventual Russia penetration of Korea. Now, Russia used the prevailing anti-Japanese feeling amongst the Koreans to build her own influence in Korea. Japan, on the other hand, was looking for an opportunity to drive the Russians out of Korea and the Liao Tung peninsula.

Early in 1902, Japan and Great Britain signed the Anglo Japanese Alliance by which Britain recognised Japan's special interest in Korea. Japan armed with the Alliance braced herself for the coming struggle with Russia. Before the actual conflict, Japan sought a negotiated settlement of the Korean questions. The Russians demanded the establishment of a natural zone north of the thirty ninth parallel. This was not acceptable to Japan. In the Russo-Japanese War that ensued Russia was thoroughly beaten and by the treaty of Portsmouth signed in 1905 she was forced to recognize Japan's paramount political, military and economic interests in Korea. Russia agreed to transfer to Japan the lease of the Liao Tung Peninsula and the railway connection Port Arthur and Mukden. In addition , Russia ceded to Japan the southern half of Sakhalin. The Russian threat to Korea was thus removed. The Japanese tightened their grip over the peninsula and in 1904 Korea was forced to accept Japanese financial and diplomatic advisers. In the following year, Korea was also forced to sign an agreement giving control of her foreign affairs to the Japanese Resident General. The Koreans bitterly resented their loss of independence, and did not co-operate with the Japanese advisers. So in 1907, the Japanese Resident General Ito presented new demands to the Korean king proposing that the Japanese advices should initiate and approve of all executive and legislative measures. Rather than accept such a humiliation, the king chose to abdicate. The Crown Prince who succeeded to the throne bowed to Japanese pressure and Korea was thus reduced to the position of a colony of Japan. Ito believed that in modernizing the country, Japan would be able to win the goodwill of the Koreans. But the army leaders at Tokyo wanted to set up a stern military administration. With the change of the Japanese cabinet in 1908, Ito's influence in Japanese politics greatly declined. He resigned his appointment in Seoul and while returning home he was assassinated by a Korean in 1909. Japan seized upon this murder and made it a pretext for annexation of Korea. By the terms of the treaty signed in 1910, the king renounced his throne and Korea was annexed with Japan.

After the annexation, Korea was rename 'Chosen' (Land of Morning Claim) and the country continued to be under Japanese rule for thirty five years. Japan conferred a great many material benefits on the country. Korea had an efficient government. But little regard was paid to Korean susceptibilities. The Japanese army was always on the alert to suppress any signs of political disaffection. Japan regarded Korea as an outpost for further expansion into the mainland. She exploited the

resources of Korea during her rule though the material advantages conferred on Korea were not altogether in signification.

Japan and the World War I

Japan entered into the World War I on two grounds (1) Japan's commitment under the Anglo-Japanese Alliance; (2) The larger political and military purposes of her emerging Asian Policy. Japan had a long-standing grouse against Germany for her role in the Triple Intervention of 1895 and this was the occasion for Japan to strike back against Germany.

In August 1914, Great Britain requested Japan to destroy the German fleet in the Pacific. In making this request, Britain sought an explicitly limited Japanese participation in the War. Japan ignored the limited nature of the request and demanded Germany not only to surrender its armed ships in the Asiatic waters but also to surrender the Kiaochow leasehold in Shantung.

As Germany ignored Tokyo's ultimatum, Japan entered the war. In entering the war, she realized a welcome opportunity to destroy German influence in East Asia and to enhance her own international position. Japan was not in reality entering the World War I to fulfill her commitment under the Anglo-Japanese Alliance but to establish her own dominance in the Far East.

China preferred to remain neutral. She sought the help of America in getting the powers to respect China's neutrality. Though the American policy favoured the policy of territorial integrity, the United States could not do much to bring pressure on other countries. As China was left alone, Japan proceeded to attack the Kiaochow lease territory by landing troops on China's soil far to the north. She occupied the railway zone from Tsingtao to Tsinan. Kiaochow surrendered and Japan took over not only the leased territory but also all German interests in Shantung including the Tsingtao-Tsinan Railway on the plea of military necessity. She also took over from the Chinese the policing of the railways outside the leased territory. Thus the ousting of the Germans was thorough and complete and the Japanese replaced them.

The Japanese navy operated in the Pacific and the Indian Oceans in co-operation with the British against German raiders. During these operations Japan occupied the German islands of Marianas (excepting Guam), the Carolines and the Marshalls.

The Twenty One demands

After the Collapse of Russia in 1917, the Allies were facing a critical situation. Taking full advantage of this crisis Japan extracted secret promises from Britain,

France and Italy that they would support the Japanese claims to Shantung and the island in the Pacific taken by her from Germany. By the unfortunate Lansing-Ishii Agreement of 1917, the U.S. also recognised Japan's special interests in China. Late in 1917, the Bolshevik Revolution had created a political vacuum in Siberia and the zone of the Chinese Eastern Railway in North Manchuria. During the years 1918-1920 Siberia, North Manchuria and outer Mongolia became a confused battle ground for different Powers, after the fall of the Czarist regime. There was a revival of the movement for the Siberian autonomy which was opposed by the local Soviets. These groups were however suppressed. The Allied Powers had the necessity to protect the supply centers on the Russian Pacific coast and also to aid some Czech troops who were operating in Siberia. Great Britain, France and Italy were hard pressed the Bolsheviks to convert Russia into her ally. The Allies thought it imperative that Russia be brought back into war under non-Bolshevik auspices. To this end they urged Japan and the U.S to undertake a joint expedition to the Ural Mountains.

Japan contributed a large army to this expedition. Her aim was to prevent the establishment of Bolshevik regime close to Manchuria and Korea. Further, she wanted to participate in the economic exploitation of Russia's Far Eastern territory. The Japanese army pushed westward along the Trans-Siberian Railway and through Eastern Siberia. She invaded northern Sakhalin and occupied it. Japanese troops remained on Russian soil long after other nations had evacuated Siberia. The Japanese at times lent support to certain Cossack leaders and added to the internal political and civil confusion in Siberia. The aggressive measures of Japan and her reluctance to evacuate Siberia aroused suspicions about her ulterior motives. In fact Japan did not evacuate northern Sakhalin until 1925. When Japan finally terminated this aggressive intervention long after the other Allies had withdrawn, she had only few gains to show. This costly military adventure gave her only a little more influence in Manchuria, which the resistance of the army to give up the expedition brought it discredit.

Japan at the Peace Conference.

The Japanese delegation pleaded for recognition of Japan's holding in Shantung at the Paris Peace Conference. It also made a plea for the cession of the Marshalls and the Caroline islands formerly held by Germany. China protested against granting any such special right to Japan in Shantung. The American President supported the Chinese case but he met with strong opposition from England, France and Italy. When Japan threatened to walk out of the peace conference if her claims were not accepted, the Opposition of President Wilson weakened. Finally, the Allied Powers agreed to Japan taking over Germany's former rights in Shantung on condition that the concessions should in due course be returned to China/. In addition, Japan was

granted mandate over the former German-occupied islands in the Pacific north of the equator. Before these concessions were given, Japan revealed the secret undertaking given by Great Britain and France to support Japan's claims to Shantung. The Japanese delegation, however failed to get inserted in the Covenant of the League of Nations a declaration of the principles of racial equality. Despite Japan's admission to the Great Power's Club she was not still regarded as a full equal by the nations of the West. Japan's request in this regard was thwarted by the joint opposition of the United States, the British Dominions and the Latin American countries. Though President Wilson initially approved of the proposal, he was obliged to veto it eventually.

UNIT V

JAPAN IN THE INTER-WAR PERIOD

Economy

The First World War brought substantial benefits to the Japanese economy. The whole of the Western world was pre occupied in a fight for survival. In the East, Japan was the only important producer of military equipment. She supplied arms and equipment to the Powers in Europe and made enormous profits. The war materials industry of Japan was in boom. At the same time, the countries of the East could no longer get manufactured goods from European sources again on account of the war. Japan stepped into the commercial vacuum created by the stoppage of supplies from Europe. A number of important items like drugs and dyestuffs were completely stopped from their European sources. Japan started manufacturing and exporting these items. The unprecedented demand for military equipment arms and ammunition and consumer goods throughout the world created an industrial boom in Japan. Existing enterprises were expanded and many new ones were added. The Japanese merchant marine took an increasing share of world trade. Japanese traders covered the whole of China and South East Asia, their salesmen swarmed through South America and Africa. Between 1914 and 1919, Japan's foreign trade tripled in value. From being a debtor country, Japan emerged as a creditor nation enjoying undreamt of prosperity.

But the economic expansion did not bring prosperity to the general mass of the Japanese. The small land owners, the tenants, the industrial workers were all caught in the inflationary spiral and only suffered increased hardship. After the war, there was a worldwide economic crisis and Japan was affected like other countries. The situation was further aggravated by the Chinese boycott of Japanese goods. In the new markets of East Asia, where she enjoyed a near monopoly, she had to face competition from Western merchants and investor. All this strained the Japanese economy. The government continued to support industrial expansion and sought to protect the business community from the recession. But these attempts of the government failed to boost the economy. A financial panic swept the country and thousands of concerns faced bankruptcy. The relief measures which the government quickly took saved many concerns but they did not bring relief to the masses nor did it stimulate foreign trade.

The earthquake of 1923 brought untold sufferings to Japan. There was tremendous destruction of life and property. Following this disaster, the government

launched a reconstruction programme. Huge Imports were made for this purpose. The yen was devalued and this led to an increase in exports.

The hardest hits were the Japanese peasants. Agricultural prices fluctuated widely, resulting in a great fall in production. High taxes and the increased debt burden forced many agriculturists into bankruptcy. The urban labour also faced a grave crisis. As the landless laborers swelled the ranks of the labour forces, there was a decline in wages and the working conditions deteriorated. Labour disputes were galore, but the Peace Preservation Law was enforced to muzzle the labour union.

The problems of the day were unstable prices, high operating costs, faulty exchange rates etc., Failure to solve these problems resulted in the great bank panic of 1927. It led to the closure of a number of banks and industrial concerns. To solve the financial crisis, imports were reduced and the government discouraged non-essential industries. Exports were encouraged.

The role of Zaibatsu

As already noted, the commercial and industrial development of Japan was largely dominated by a financial group known as Zaibatsu. The word Zaibatsu refers to a capitalized organisation resembling a cartel or Trust. Zaibatsu was originally organized around a single family and it had interest in nearly all the areas of economic activity. The Meiji government was determined to hasten the industrialization of the country. As material resources and technical experience were scarce, industrial growth tended to get concentrated in a few immense concerns known as the Zaibatsu. The Zaibatsu consisted of several multi-millionaire families. These families came to dominate the Japanese economy because of their capacity to aid the government industrially and financially. In return the government bestowed privileges on these houses. These financial houses were the principal instruments of national economic policy. The Zaibatsu owned banks, trust companies, insurance and leading firms in every line of industry. They also invested in other undertakings. The Zaibatsu had a monopolistic position prior to World War II.

Much of the economic transformation of Japan in the early part of the Meiji era was accomplished by the Zaibatsu. The Meiji leadership bestowed paternalistic protection to the Zaibatsu. Their most rapid growth took place in the 20th century during the First World War. Japan's limited involvement in the war gave it great industrial and commercial advantages. In a world, between 1905 and 1920, the transformation of the Japanese agrarian economy into a powerful industrial nation was to a significant extent due to the role played by the Zaibatsu.

In course of time Zaibatsu built up enormous influence. The Firms under the Zaibatsu now obtained less protection from the government. Conscious of their power, they began to abandon their servitude to the government. They organized the Japanese Chamber of Commerce for putting pressure on the government to reduce taxes and military expenditure.

The Zaibatsu houses proliferated into different fields and they began to cultivate intimacy with the bureaucrats and the legislators. Members of the Zaibatsu began to make gifts to party funds and election campaigns. They even resorted to bribes. These activities contributed to the corruption of the bureaucrats and the politicians. In the twenties., Zaibatsu interest dominated policies which stood for peaceful economic penetration of China.

The Political implications of the growth of Zaibatsu were far-reaching. In effect, Japanese policy came to be patterned after the interests of Japanese capitalism. The Japanese society lacked a powerful democratic base as the Zaibatsu hindered the growth of a middle class. The Zaibatsu in spite of its shortcomings was a unique organisation which played a key role in the economic development of Japan.

The Manchurian Crisis

As Seen earlier, Japan cherished ambitions of expansion at the cost of China. At the Paris peace conference, Japan obtained possession of the German holding in Shantung. At the Washington Conference, China asked for the elimination of all special privileges enjoyed by foreigners within her borders. Japan agreed to return the leased territory of shantung to China. But after 1927, the old imperialistic tendencies of Japanese politics asserted themselves once again. The Tanka Memorial envisaged the conquest of Manchuria as a stepping stone to the conquest of China.

In the early thirties, Manchuria became a hot issue between Japan and China. From the stand point of China, Manchuria was the first time of defense, as it was the granary of China and a place where the Chinese peasants from overpopulated areas could migrate. From the standpoint of Japan, she had a claim on the province because she had saved it from Russian designs in 1905 and developed it. Though China was the legal owner of Manchuria, Japan controlled much of the territory through her railways and leasehold on the Liao Tung peninsula. The bone of contention was the Liao Tung peninsula, a territory which was leased to Russia for twenty five years but later transferred to Japan under the Portsmouth Treaty on a lease of 99 years.

In this context, it may be worthwhile to note why a country like Japan which had been following a policy of insulation until the middle of the 19th century became

an expansionist power all of a sudden. There were many factors responsible for such a radical change: (i) One of the factors was the swift increase in population after the process of industrialization making it necessary to find new outlets for emigration, sources of raw materials and markets for her expanding industrial economy (2) The growing importance of the militarists encouraged an expansionist and adventurist policy. (3) During the worldwide depression of the late twenties, Japan successfully competed with the European and American manufactures, and her cheap consumer goods flooded the Eastern and South Eastern Asian markets. She was able to dump her goods in the U.S and Western Europe. To counteract this, Japanese were also denied the rights of extensive emigration. This forced Japan to look for new markets. (4) In February 1929, China was given tariff autonomy, much against the opposition of Japan. This affected the Japanese economy as she had a large share of China's maritime trade. It now appeared that acquisition of colonies on the mainland of China was the only solution to her problems. (5) The economic depression of 1929 in the U.S. brought about a sharp fall in the export of Japanese silks to that country. As America was the major market for the Japanese silks, thousands of Japanese farmers were seriously affected. As a remedial measure, the government resorted to deflation and retrenchment, including the reorganization of the army which angered the militarists. Taking advantage of the rising tide of popular discontent, the militarists began to press for a take-over and utilization of the resources of Manchuria. (6) After the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, Japan was isolated. She became aware of the growing insecurity of this isolation. Added to this, there was the American Immigration Law which further restricted Japanese immigration. There were also other developments which wounded the sentiments of the proud Japanese. (7) The construction of a naval base by Britain at Singapore evidently directed against Japan increased the already growing sense of insecurity among the Japanese. The militarists in Japan decided to overcome all these problems by pursuing a vigorous foreign policy and striking in Manchuria.

Immediate Causes of Japanese Aggression

Kwang Tung Army : Japan created a special army known by the name Kwang Tung Army for the defense of Japanese railroads and commercial interests in Manchuria. The army officials acted as spies and tried to alienate the people from China.

Korean Settlers' Issue: Japan encouraged Koreans to settle in Manchuria. China naturally viewed with alarm the inflow of Koreans into Manchuria. The enraged Chinese government forcibly pushed out the Koreans. This led to the intervention of the Japanese government on behalf of her Korean subjects.

The Nakamura Incident : The Japanese captain Nakamura was murder incited public opinion in Japan to a fever pitch. The Japanese Government had to appease public opinion by resort to force against China.

The Bomb Explosion : With the growth of nationalism anti-Japanese feelings were high in Manchuria. Already, there were clashes between the local people and the Japanese. In September, 1931, there was a bomb explosion on the tracks of the South Manchurian Railway. The Japanese army blamed the Chinese soldiers for the explosion. The Chinese on the other hand said that the whole affair was faked by the Japanese. On the plea of self-defence, the Japanese moved troops into Manchuria's important cities and strategic point and occupied them.

China's Appeal to the League of Nations.

China appealed to the League of Nations for intervention. The Japanese delegate argued before the League that Japan had no desire for territory and declared his country's preference for direct negotiations with China. China refused to have directed negotiations so long as the Japanese soldiers remained in unlawful occupation of the Manchurian territory outside the railway zone. The League appointed a commission of Enquiry headed by Lord Lytton to go into the matter.

The Lytton Commission agreed that China, Japan and Russia had special interests in Manchuria. It recommended the reorganization of the Manchurian government without prejudice to Chinese sovereignty and at the same time with suitable safeguards for the special interests of the Powers. The Lytton report tried to satisfy everyone but actually satisfies none. The report remained a dead letter as Japan resigned the membership of the world body.

The Action of the United States.

The U.S. was concerned over the unsatisfactory handling of the Manchurian crisis by the League of Nations. While cooperating with the League, she proceeded to follow a course of her own. Accordingly, the U.S. Secretary of State H.L. Stimson demanded that nothing should occur in Eastern Asia which would disturb the existing treaty structure fundamentally. Stimson wrote to Japan and China stating that the United States 'cannot admit the legality of any situation de facto, which may impair the treaty rights of the United States'. The Stimson's doctrine of Non-recognition did not produce any deterrent effect on Japan. Nor did the other countries pay and heed to the American reaction since the European Powers were in the midst of a financial crisis.

The Shanghai War

Unable to get justice at the hands of the world body, China registered her protest and indignation against the Japanese by a general boycott. This boycott inflicted heavy financial losses on the Japanese. At this time, Japan landed a force in Shanghai, more to shift the attention away from the boycott movement, and seized it in May 1932. China once again appealed to the League of Nations. The League by a unanimous vote, adopted the Stimson's doctrine of non recognition. Japan retorted by getting out of the world body. Thereafter, she concluded an armistice with China and withdrew her forces from Shanghai.

The birth of Manchukuo : Even while the Shanghai war was going on, Japan sponsored and independence movement in Manchuria. In February 1932, Manchuria was declared a free state under the name of Manchukuo, Ostensibly, the state of Manchukuo came into being in fulfillment of the national aspirations of the local people. But the world was not deceived by these pronouncement of Japan. The World Powers did not recognize the puppet government of Manchukuo. The League of Nations condemned the aggression of Japan in 1933, but nothing came out of this.

The Tongku Truce: Manchuria was only a stepping stone for Japan for her further aggressions. In 1933, he K wang Tung Army overran Jehol and annexed it with the newly created kingdom of Manchukuo. As Japan needed some breathing time for consolidating her base in Manchuria, she concluded a truce at Tongku with China.

Development of Manchukuo: Since Japan regarded Manchuria as her life line, she started the development of Manchukuo after its occupation. Under Japanese control and guidance Manchukuo developed economically and proved a valuable source of materials for the Japanese industry. It also provided the much-needed food for the growing millions of Japan. Manchukuo enjoyed a stable government and provided an increase security of life and property/

Effect of the Manchurian 'Incident'

1. In Japan, the easy military victory achieved over Manchuria strengthened hands of the militarists. Japan was encouraged to embark on her aggressive expansionism in China and other places.

2. The rich resources of Manchuria was systematically exploited by Japan, and she integrated the economic and strategic values of Manchukuo to further the cause of her expansionist ambitions.

3. The weak and ineffective handling of the Manchurian 'incident' by the League of Nations discredited the world body. Japan flouted the League and went unpunished for her unprovoked aggression. This encouraged other countries to follow her example. The weaker nations came to realize the ineffectiveness of the collective security offered by the League.

4. Russia viewed with concern Japan's progress in Manchuria as it posed a grave threat to her Far Eastern interest. To counter this, Russia began to develop rapidly her possession on the Pacific. She increased the defences of Outer Mongolia in readiness for any eventuality.

5. United States and Britain viewed with alarm the growing power of Japan and this fact brought the two countries closer together.

Japan and World War II

By 1936, Japan realized her political isolation. The march of Japanese on the continent of Asia, the failure of the League of Nations and the creation of Manchukuo were not linked by Great Britain and the United States. After Japan had renounced the Naval disarmament Treaties, her isolation became more acute. At the same time, her relations with Soviet Union were never friendly. It is against this perspective the relations of Japan with other countries of the world on the eve of her entry into the World War II have to be viewed.

Japan and the Axis Powers: In a desire to end this isolation, the military leaders of Japan entered into an alliance with Nazi Germany in 1936 and with Italy 1937. Under an anti-comintern Pact. The signatory Powers pledged themselves to suppress the communist menace where ever it was found. Hitler's success in Europe raised the hopes of the Japanese militarists.

Japan and Soviet Russia : Since the rise of Bolshecik power in Russia. Japan's relations with the U.S.S.R were never cordial. The ill-defined frontiers, controversy over fishery rights and other disputes plagued the Russo-Japanese relations. Even after the Russian-owned North Manchurian Railway was acquired by Japan there was no easing of tension. Russia was determined to keep her Far Eastern possessions in tact against any Japanese intrusion. After the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact of 1939, Japan too signed a neutrality pact in 1941.

Japan and Britain : In the early years of the 20th century, Japan relied on the Anglo-Japanese Alliance to strengthen herself. Even after the abrogating of the Alliance, Britain continued to support Japan. But in the thirties, when Japan made a determined effort to crush China, Britain was alarmed. To safeguard the Chinese

government and the aids were routed through the British-held Burma. Though this help was not much, it opened up a supply route to blockaded China. Under pressure from Japan, Britain kept the Burma road closed for three months. The Japanese occupation of French Indo-China and the threat to Burma convinced Britain about the need for strong action. In consequence, she strengthened the defenses of both Burma and Malaya.

Relation with France and Netherlands: In 1940, Japan had an opportunity to give life to her New order in Greater East Asia. After the fall of Holland and France to the Germans and when Britain herself was under threat of invasion, Japan made inroads into Indo-China. Already she had bombed the rail line running from Hanoi to Kunming, thus cutting off the supply line to Chiang's Nationalist China. Subsequently she looked to the Dutch East Indies for supplies of oil, rubber, tin and other materials. When the Dutch refused to oblige, Japan decided to apply force.

Japan's relations with the U.S : The United States had always been suspicious of Japanese intentions. Great Britain broke away from the Anglo-Japanese Alliance only under pressure from the United States. At U.S. initiative, Japanese naval ration was reduced at the Washington Conference. Thus the U.S. had been trying to contain Japan quite for some time. After the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, the relations between these countries further worsened, particularly because the Japanese planes attacked and sank an American vessel on patrol duty in Yangtze. Though Japan offered an apology, the U.S. continued her hostile attitude. The U.S. helped China liberally and imposed a moral embargo against the sale of planes to Japan. The commercial treaty with Japan was broken off and export of U.S. Strategic materials to Japan was broken off and export of U.S. Strategic material to Japan was curtailed and in 1941. Japanese assets in the U.S. were frozen. These restrictions practically closed the American market to Japan.

The same time, the United States launched a diplomatic offensive against Japan by forming a coalition of ABCD Powers (America, Britain, China and the Dutch). Japan continued in her belief that she could still establish her supremacy in the Pacific by striking swiftly and getting a compromise settlement.

Japans' entry into the War

The Japanese Ambassador in Washington, Admiral Nomura carried on negotiations with the U.S. Secretary of State Cordell Hull in 1941. Premier Konoye had resigned and General Tojo had taken over in Tokyo. Tojo sent Kurusu to assist Nomura in the negotiations. Even while the negotiations were continuing, Japan bombed the American naval base at Pearl Harbour in December 1941. There had been

no formal declaration of war. This surprise attack crippled the American Pacific fleet. Thus started the war with U.S. Soon Great Britain and Netherlands declared war against Japan.

The Course of the War

In the early phase of the war, the Japanese gained dramatic victories. Japan inflicted crushing defeats on the British, American and Dutch possessions in the Pacific. The Philip pines, Malaya including the British naval base at Singapore, the Dutch East Indies and Burma fell in rapid succession. It looked as though the Western domination of south East Asia was at an end. The victorious Japanese were pressing on India and Australia

Japan turned her attention to develop the resources of the occupied territory. She was certain of the counter-attack that was to come sooner or later. She wanted to cultivate the goodwill and the co-operation of the occupied areas so as to ensure a more effective resistance to the eventual counter-attack. She worked out the concept of Greater East Asia and called the entire region under her control as the 'co-prosperity Sphere'. She strove in fact to create a group of satellite states to sustain her expansionist ambitions. She even granted independence to the Philippines and Burma. In the economic sphere, she tried to organize the resources of the area to suit her war machine.

In the beginning the occupied areas reacted favorably to the Asian Monroe Doctrine. The Japanese army, too respected many of the local customs and institutions. But the food impression did not last long. The overbearing manner itself and the people in the occupied areas became disillusioned about the Japanese good intentions. Nor was Japan able to mobilise the entire resources of the occupied areas, because the combined attack of submarines, airplanes and surface craft of the Allies depleted the strength on the Japanese carrier ships.

The Turning of the Tide

By the middle of 1942, the tide of Japanese victory turned in the Pacific. The American fleet won signal victories in the Battle of the Coral sea and in the Battle of the Midway. Subsequently the U.S. assumed the offensive and made a series of hops from one Japanese-held island to another. The strategy of Allies consisted in striking at different Japanese held islands, outflanking the inner areas of strongly-held territories. By 1944, the Allies regained much of the lost ground and were already bombing Japan. After the capture of Iwojima and Okinawa in 1944, these bombing raids were intensified and at the same time the vital Burma road was reopened thus

bringing back the main supply line to China. By the end of 1944, the defeat of Japan was imminent, though she continued to resist. After the defeat of Germany, the Allies met in a conference at Potsdam and demanded the unconditional surrender of Japan. On August 6, 1945, and three days later, Hiroshima and Nagasaki were atom bombed and completely destroyed. In shortened the war and on August 14, 1945. Tokyo indicated willingness to surrender unconditionally. On September 2, the Japanese representatives signed the surrender document on the American battleship Missouri in Tokyo Bay.

Effects of the World War II on Japan

Japan entered into the World War II with hopes of conquering the whole of East Asia. She started the war by destroying the American Pacific fleet at Pearl Harbour. She advanced rapidly and overran Burma, Malaya, Singapore and Philippines. She intended to launch attacks on India and Australia. She wanted to consolidate her quick successes by means of a compromise peace with the western Powers. But the tide of war turned against her by 1943. The Americans inflicted irreparable damage to her naval power and merchant marine. With the loss of her merchant fleet, Japan lost access to the raw materials. And other sources which she had hoped to get from the occupied territories. The Allies, particularly the Americans, after the initial shock of defeat, rallied themselves for an all-out offensive against Japan. They re-occupied many of the territories overran by Japan and finally tightened their control on Japan itself by incessant air raids. With the dropping of the atom bombs and the entry of Russia into the war, the Japanese had no alternative but to surrender.

The proud Japanese race had to accept the humiliation of defeat and occupation by foreign troops. They accepted the surrender and co-operated with the American Occupation Authority.

As a result of her defeat, Japan lost all the territories she had acquired since the Meiji Restoration. She lost Korea, Manchuria and other possessions from where she used to get her much needed raw materials for her industries. The dream of an empire had been shattered and this had a profound psychological effect on the Japanese people. The militarists, were discredited and disgraced. In the post-war period, the Japanese people showed in general an extremely pacific attitude. During the Occupation, Japan's war machine was dismantled and destroyed. Demilitarization was enforced quickly and with thoroughness. The ministries of war and navy were abolished. Production of arms and ammunitions were prohibited. Existing military stores were either destroyed or taken over by the Allies.

The Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP) introduced a new constitution which came into effect in May 1947. Under the new constitution, the emperor was reduced to a mere ceremonial head. The people were made sovereign. The judicial and administrative structure was recast on modern Western lines. A new code of labour relations was brought into being by which old abuses were eliminated. The Watch-words of the new constitution were democracy and decentralisation. The Zaibatsu was dissolved. An ambitious programme of land reforms was introduced.

The existing structure and the spirit of state controlled education system received a deadly blow. A new system modeled on that the U.S was introduced by which education was decentarised and the curriculum altered in such a way as the emperor was dethroned from his semi-divine position. The mystique surrounding the emperor was soon dissipated.

Three cardinal points emphasized in the constitution were the monarchy should be retained but it must be subject to the will of the people, war must be foresworn for ever and all forms of feudalism must be abolished. Thus a constitutional monarchy with a parliamentary government was established in Japan.

The Japanese people obtained freedom and this stimulated political activity. New political parties were formed. The left wing movement gained a new impetus with the release of political prisoners. The Japanese Communist Party emerged as a solid force.

The Japanese became acquainted more intimately with Western ideas and Western ways of life as a result of the American Occupation.

New Japan

After the end of the American occupation in 1952 Japan had a number of problems to face. The economic problem was the important of them. As Mac Arthur's financial adviser put it, "Japan had too many people, too little land and too few natural resources". Following her defeat, she had lost 46 percent of her pre-war territory. Formerly she used to get mineral and agricultural resources from Korea and Manchuria, sugar and rice from Formosa and paper pulp from Sakhalin. She had access to the waters of Korea and the Kuriles and other shores for fishing. But now she had none of them. While her territory had shrunk the population and increased at a high rate from 72 million in 1945, to 90 million in 1955. Worse still was the disappearance of Japan's overseas markets. Despite these difficulties and handicaps, Japan made a miraculous recovery within about twenty years. She attained new heights of economic achievement which gave her the third place in the world as an

industrial power, after the U.S. and the Soviet Union. Her real economic growth had averaged around 9 percent annually for the past fifteen years, a sustained rate unmatched by any other nation. Her private saving and investment are one third of the G.N.P whereas the corresponding figures for the U.S and West Germany are 17 and 25 percent respectively. By the late 60's, Japan produced more than half of the electrical energy generated in all of Asia, excluding Soviet Siberia. Japan was fifth in the production of crude steel and fourth in the production of cement. She led the world in merchant marine. Let us now see how this miracle was achieved by Japan.

1. **Japanese Character:** The fundamental factor responsible for this was the Japanese character, industriousness, social discipline and concern for education. The true strength of the nation is in the character and skills of its people not in its natural and physical resources. It was a unique combination of the traditional spirit and modern skills that gave new impetus to Japanese economic growth.

2. **Occupation Policy ;** The American Occupation, in its later phases fostered economic recovery. The Japanese businessmen were quick to take advantage of the favorable situation to demonstrate their talents.

3. **Korean Conflict:** The Korean conflict came to the Japanese as a windfall. Japan became the major supplier of industrial goods and services to the U.S. force in the Western Pacific and South East Asia. The U.S. government spent large sums towards aid and special procurement. These expenditures provided a powerful stimulus to economic development enabling Japan to balance her payments and build a surplus in foreign exchange. The substantial profits earned by the Japanese suppliers were invested in new industrial constructions using the latest technology. Thus, by the time independence was gained in 1952, Japan's industrial development was forging ahead rapidly and by 1955 output reached the pre-war peak.

Agricultural production improved because of the land reforms carried out by the Occupation authority. Application of chemical fertilizers and insecticides reached the highest level per unit in the world making Japan largely self-sufficient in food.\

Low Military budget and Low Taxation: In the Post occupation period, Japan's rate of military expenditure has been the lowest. Under the new constitution prohibiting rearmament Japan was spared the heavy costs of maintaining large military train the lowest rate of taxation of any modern country. Along with this tax advantage, the Japanese manufacturers had the benefit of installing the latest productive equipment in replacement of the old equipment destroyed during the war. These advantages gave the Japanese manufacturers an edge over their foreign competitors.

Cheap Labour availability in the earlier stage of industrialization : Japan had initially a plentiful supply of cheap, yet skilled, labour that made it possible for the Japanese industry to take advantage of labour intensive production in such new fields as electronics.

Effective birth controls which has limited the population increase to less than one percent year was another factor which served to ease the economic pressure. Under the Eugenics Protection Law of 1948, both birth control and abortion were encouraged. The Japanese population is expected to level off at 100 million towards the end of the century.

American Technical and Financial help : Another important factor in the connection has been the availability of American technological know-how together with substantial loans and aids. Between 1950 and 1967, foreign technology was obtained in as many as 4000 instances that enabled the Japanese industry to reduce the technological gap. Japanese engineers often improved on the imported technology and sold it back to the Western firms.

Expanding Domestic Market: Japan's post-war miracle was also base to a large extent on the expanding domestic market. As per capital and standard of living rose, there was an increasing demand for a host of new Japanese products such as T.V. sets, motor cycles, automobiles etc. The Japanese automobile industry took rapid strides and it now occupies the second place in the world, after the United States.

Progress in Education : A major factor which mad the Japanese nation as a whole receptive to far-reaching changes was the new educational opportunity made available to all the citizens. Japan enjoys a higher of literacy that the U.S. In the post-war period, under the democratization programme of the American Occupation, great progress was achieved at secondary and university levels of education Japanese educational system produces the type of labour needed for the most technologically advanced society.

Japanese Value System: The source of Japan's material success is the vitality and social discipline of her people. The Japanese value system places a greater stress on obligations than on rights. As a result industrial relations are generally smooth. The employers are considerate and sympathetic which the employees view their work as a life-long commitment and are mostly loyal and sincere. This has led to a responsible co-operation between the employer and the employees on the one hand and between the industrial concerns and the government on the other. The same spirit of co-operation runs through the various levels of the economy unifying and vitalizing the whole by traditional personal links.

Social Changes in New Japan

The American Occupation brought about a social revolution in Japan. The power of the hereditary aristocracy and the military elite was broken. At the same time, there was an expansion of individual opportunity to benefit the down-trodden. This was a process of leveling up and leveling down. The reforms during the Occupation and after laid the foundation for a new evolving society with a new middle class. One of the striking features of the new transformation was the erosion of the old practices such as the display of deference by the inferiors to the superiors. The younger generation began to assert itself as the family controls relaxed and women showed an increased self-confidence and independence. Personal relationships and everyday behavior suggested less of status and more of equality.

Political Changes

After the humiliating defeat, nationalism in its extreme forms disappeared from Japan. The earlier adventurism of the militarists was openly denounced and discarded. The emperor ceased to be a divine personification of the state. In his altered status, the emperor was no more than the symbol of the state and of the national unity. Despite this change the emperor was a popular figure and continued to be the most powerful focus of political loyalties. The royalty too imbibed the spirit of the new times so much so the crown prince took a commoner for his wife.

Another aspect of the political scene was the emergence of Marxism. Japanese intellectuals discredited military nationalism and seized upon communism and socialism as a viable alternative.

Russia

After Six years of Occupation, Japan regained her independence and status in the world community. While the other countries ratified the Peace Treaty in 1952 the Soviet Union refused to come to terms. In a world divided into armed camps, defenses Japan had to seek American protection with American military bases on Japanese soil. The Japanese had always viewed Russian ambitions in the East with distrust and fear. Russia took the Kuriles and the small islands off the Japanese coast after the War. Thus Soviet Union became Japan's nearest neighbor. Another source of concern was the Russian supported North Korean regime which had ambitions of controlling the entire peninsula. Further, a Sino-Soviet Alliance came into being in 1950 specifically directed against Japan.

This confrontation between the Communist Powers and Japan was partially eased by negotiations. Japan and Soviet Russia terminated the state of war and

resumed diplomatic relations. Soviet Union dropped its veto against Japan's admission into the United Nations, as also its reparation claims. Japan secured limited fishing rights in the Russian controlled waters. But Russia did not give up the Kuriles.

Economic co-operation between Russia and Japan increased in the wake of Sino-Soviet rift.

China

Japan and China, two great neighboring powers have close cultural links and common interests. In the post-war period, two Chinas emerged; the Communist China and the Nationalist China. The Communist China was the de facto power, while the nationalist China which had authority over only Formosa derived its moral and military support from the U.S Japan being dependent on the U.S came naturally close to Nationalist China.

American hostility to the Chinese Communist regime stood in the way of Japan's closer relations with mainland China. Japan's continued dependence on the U.S in military and economic term prevented it from following an independent policy in regard to its relations with China. Most of the conservatives and the business community favoured normalization of relations with a view to economic benefits. While the left wing supported the same course for ideological reasons. A new compromise policy by which business and politics were sought to be kept apart was evolved. Under this policy, businessmen and others have been visiting China. In due course the rearmament of Japan and the diversification of the overseas markets and sources of raw materials might reduce Japan's dependence of the U.S and give a realistic orientation of Japan's foreign relations. Meanwhile Sino-soviet differences had brought Japan and the communist China closed. China wishing to end her dependence on Russian goods looked to Japan as a possible source of supplies China would like to lure Japan into its economic orbit. But as yet only a limited trade potential between these countries has been exploited. The American tutelage of Japan had bedeviled the natural growth of commerce and the trade between these two countries.

Korea

Korea has long been considered as the dagger pointed at the heart of Japan. In spite of Japan's anxiety to restore normal relations even with the American dominated South Korea. Koreans distrust the Japanese because of their unhappy colonial relations. In 1965, South Korea and Japan entered into diplomatic and commercial

pact. But the Korean people remained very suspicious of a reassertion of Japanese influence in their country.

The United States

By the peace treaty of 1952, American occupation of Japan came to an end. Thereafter, the relationship between Japan and U.S became intimate and fruitful. The trade between the two countries increase enormously and Japan occupied the second place as a market for American products, while the U.S. remains Japan's leading customer. As Japan's economic strength grew, the unequal relationship of victor and vanquished was replaced by that of a true partnership. The U.S championed Japan's cause in World forums. It sponsored Japan's admission to the United Nations.

In the early years of the post-occupation period, the establishment of numerous American bases on Japanese soil produced strong anti- American feelings in Japan. Respecting Japanese feelings , the U.S relaxed her pressure of Japan to rearm. In 1954, the two countries signed defence agreements by which Japan consented to reform gradually to the limit of her resources while the U.S promised supplies of arms equipment and financial assistance.

In the following years, agitations against the presence of American air and sea bases in Japan continued. The Japanese feared that this might make them a target of Russian lockets in the event of a war between Russia and America. In 1960 the earlier security pact of 1951 was redrawn setting a ten-year limit for the continuance of American bases.

The U.S returned the Bomin islands to the Japanese and agreed to the return of Riukyu and Okinawa in 1972.

Under the continual prodding of America, Japan accepted a role of leadership in Asian affairs. In 1964, Japan was adopted as the first full Asian member of the organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). In return Japan pledged to devote on percent of her G.N.P to foreign aid. As a founding member of the Asian Development Bank (ADB), Japan had taken the economic leadership of the Asian countries.