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TWO YEAR MASTER'S DEGREE COURSE

(CBCS in Accordance with NEP2020)

SEMESTER-I

HISTORY OF EAST ASIA (1839-1949)

HISTORY

Surya Kumar Bhuyan School of Social Sciences

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COURSE INTRODUCTION

This is the third Core Course in the First Semester of MA Programme in History. The title of this course is History of East Asia (1839-1949). The cournse contains a total of 14 units. The course is designed to make the learners familiar with the historical background of Japan and China and their rise to power. The first seven units of the Course is dedicated to the study of Japan and the other seven of explains the opening of China to the West and its fight for supremacy.

The first unit is titled *Feudal Japan* which throws light on the state and society of pre-modern Japanese period.

The second unit titled *Tokugawa Japan and the Western Powers* discusses the rule of the SHogunate and the opening of Japanese door to the West.

The third unit *The Meiji Restoration and Modernisation of Japan* discusses the return of the monarchy and the introduction of reforms leading to the waves of modernisation in Japan.

The fourth unit titled *Rise of Japan as World Power* analyses the factors that leads to the rise of Japan as a strong power.

The fifth unit titled *Democracy in Japan* discusses the emergence of political consciousness and the growth of political parties along the Constitutional lines.

The units six and seven titled *Japan between the Wars and Japan and World War II* discusess the political development in post World War I Japan and gradually the role of Japan in World War II.

The units eight and nine titled *Understanding China and Opening up of China* discusses the history of pre-modern China and the conditions under which it was compelled to open its doors to the Western powers.

The tenth unit *Popular Reform Movement d*iscusses the Taiping and Boxer Revolution.

The units eleven and twlelve titled *Emeregence of Nationalism in China and Political Movement in China* discusses the marked changes in the political spehere within China before the World Wars.

The thirteenth unit titled *China during the World Wars* discusses the role of China during both the World Wars.

The fourteenth unit titled *Communist Movement in China* explains the rise of Communism in China and consequences leading to the Civil War

While going through this paper, you will notice that some boxes are put in the left hand or right hand side of the text. These boxes are meant to serve the purpose of in-text glossary for you. Again, you may find some boxes marked with: “LET US KNOW”. These boxes will provide you with some additional interesting and relevant information. The boxes marked with “ACTIVITY” will help you in making your learning more active and efficient. And, at the end of each section, you will get “CHECK YOUR PROGRESS” questions. These have been designed to self-check your progress of study. It will be better if you solve the problems put in these boxes immediately after you go through the sections of the units and then match your answers with “ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS” given at the end of each unit.

UNIT 1: FEUDAL JAPAN: STATE AND SOCIETY

UNIT STRUCTURE

1.1 Learning Objectives

1.2 Introduction

1.3 Social Structure

1.4 Development of Feudalism

1.5 Let Us Sum Up

1.6 Further Reading

1.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

1.8 Model Questions

1.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to learn

- The social structure in medieval Japan
- The political system in medieval Japan
- The factors responsible for the rise of feudalism in Japan.

1.2 INTRODUCTION

Japan, known as the 'Land of the Rising Sun' is an archipelago or string of islands on the eastern edge of Asia. Lying on the northwest of the Pacific Ocean, Japan has four main islands - Hokkaido, Honshu, Shikoku, and Kyushu. More than 50 percent of the land area of the main islands is mountainous due to the volcanic origin of the country. Only a narrow strait separates her from the Korean promontory, which is the natural Japanese point of entrance to the continent. Through Korea, Japanese culture was influenced by Chinese culture. The lack of navigable rivers and traditional animal rearing affected the economic development of the land. Rice and sericulture were the most highly developed rural activities in Japan while barley and wheat were raised on the uplands. Fish is the major source of protein for the Japanese. The population of Japan consisted of Japanese, Ainu minority, and Koreans. Japan is in a very active earthquake zone which has influenced its architecture.

1.3 SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Japan since 700-800 CE had a pyramidal social hierarchy. At the apex, was the office of the Japanese emperor or mikado, which was monopolized by a few imperial clans. The emperor was considered to be of divine origin and derived his authority from his relationship with the sun. However, from 1185, the effective political powers of Japan were concentrated in the hands of various Shoguns or military leaders who served as the de-facto ruler of Japan with his seat at Edo while the emperor at Kyoto served only as the symbolic and cultural head. The period of the Shogunate is generally associated with feudalism in the context of medieval Japan. Next to the 'Shoguns' there were the 'Daimyos' or feudal lords who ruled over their respective domains and controlled large armies. 'Daimyos' were followed by 'Samurai' or the warrior class who aided the Daimyos and held privileged positions in society. Below the Samurai, were the peasants, artisans, and merchants, in that order.

Japanese society can broadly be divided into two classes- 'the governing' and 'the governed.' The governing class constituted an appointive civil bureaucracy, high civil officials, military officials, provincial governors, and local officials. Between the eighth to twelfth centuries, these offices became hereditary. Operating far away from the central authority these hereditary officials enjoyed large-scale autonomy. They were granted rice fields to be held during their tenure in office. These granted rice lands were often geographically disparate or distant from their traditional family homes. In such cases rather than managing them directly, they appointed stewards (Jitō) and they were assisted by constables (Shugo). These officials were responsible for the management of such estates including the collection of taxes and the protection of the estates. The rice lands granted to the hereditary officials were exempted from paying revenue.

The remainder of the rice land was divided among the supporting or governed classes, subject to the theory of periodic redistribution. The peasants constituted the vast majority of the population who worked on land and paid taxes. Among the people of the governed class, the peasants

ranked top in social importance. Rice, barley, and wheat were cultivated. Tea plants also occupied an important place in the Japanese economy. Though the farms in Japan were small, cultivation was very intensive. Next to the farmers, stood the artisans. Merchants and traders occupied the lowest rung in Japanese society. In the Confucian way of thinking, merchants were simply parasites in a society full of productive citizens since they did not produce or create anything, nor did they provide protection like the samurai class.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: Who were the Daimyos?

.....

Q 2: Who were granted rice lands by the emperor?

.....

Q 3: Who were placed at the bottom of the social hierarchy in Japan?

.....

1.4 DEVELOPMENT OF FEUDALISM

The term 'Feudalism' is derived from the German word 'Feud' which means 'a piece of land.' Charlemagne, the king of France and the 'Roman Emperor' is called the father of feudalism because feudalism as a social system developed in medieval France during his rule (768-800 AD). Feudalism as a socio-political and economic system was based on the principle of personal loyalty or vassalage. It was characterized by a hierarchical structure of land ownership and obligations. A vassal pledged loyalty to the lord in exchange for land and protection and assistance in times of need. Peasants performed labour services in the lands owned by the lords. Authority was decentralized as power was distributed among various lords through their control of huge areas of land known as fiefdoms. All these lords were vassals of the king. Key characteristics of feudalism were seen in different parts of the world with certain regional variations at different points in time.

Within Japan, feudalism developed during the Shogunate period. The administrative setup of 'Old Japan' paved the way for the rise of feudalism. As mentioned earlier, the appointive bureaucracy was supported by the grant of rice lands to be held during the tenure of office by the officials. Such land grants were revenue-free and the provincial administrators were given large autonomy. Between the eighth and twelfth centuries, originally appointive offices became hereditary enjoying hereditary ownership right over revenue-free land. The remaining rice land was divided among the supporting governed classes. Since only the rice landswere so distributed, other lands were open to occupation by those who could make use of and hold them.Consequently,the appointive bureaucracy that had gradually turned hereditary built-upgreat estates.Besides, as the expenses of the government gradually increased and taxes were assessed only on the rice land assigned to the governed classes, the burden imposed on the holders became heavier. So, some people found it unprofitable to remain in possession of the land assigned to them. In such cases,they surrendered their landsto the governing class or the large estate owners. When these lands came under the bureaucrats, they were exempted from taxation. As this process went on, a class of territorial magnates with comparatively great resources came into being and some of the territorial nobility became more powerful than the emperor. This paved the way for the formation of a feudal society in Japan. Men who gave up their land at the hands of the nobility began to offer personal services to those landed estate owners. These large estate owners to maintain and protect their estates or to acquire more land by force began to create military forces of their own. Consequently, the governing class became divided into two distinct groups- the civil bureaucracy and the military nobility. The bureaucracy remained under the control of the central authority while the military remained under the territorial or provincial administrators. Ultimately, this led to the decentralization of power on a feudal basis. By the end of the twelfthcentury, this transfer of governing of power was complete.

From the thirteenth to the end of the sixteenth century, the internal history of Japan was characterized by a succession of attempts to unite the

country under the direction of the strongest of the feudal lords who also wanted to control the Imperial Establishment. The emperor began to 'reign without governing;' as he became the nominal ruler in the hands of one after another feudal military chief or Daimyo and the government of Japan became militaristic. The emperor was forced to appoint the successful Daimyo with the office and title of 'Shogun' or Barbarian Subduing General. After 1185, the political authority in Japan was centralized under different Shoguns, who effectively governed the nation from their base in Edo, while the emperor in Kyoto held a ceremonial and cultural position with limited real power.

1.5 THE BAKUHAN SYSTEM

The political structure of governance that developed under the Shogunate is called the 'Bakuhan' system which linked the Bakufu or the military camp government of the shogun and the hans or domains of the daimyos. The daimyo clans derived a high social position from their ownership of huge domains of land called Han (like European fiefs). The daimyo's domain was the system of effective local administration that replicated what the shogun did in his domain in terms of administration, issuing legal codes, and taxation. The central mechanisms of the Bakuhan system were feudal in character. All daimyos were treated as the personal vassals of the shogun, bound to him by an oath of personal allegiance that was renewed each time a new shogun was installed. Below the daimyos were the samurai - a militia or a band of armed retainers maintained by the daimyos who served them in many capacities. The samurai's social position and numbers increased during wars while they became redundant in times of peace and stability. Next in the hierarchy was the peasant class who enjoyed some respect because they were the basis of production in a largely agrarian Japan. The lowest rung included the social menials – slaves, criminals, and the banking and trading (chonin) classes since trade and usury were considered immoral according to Confucian norms. They were accorded very scant respect and were not allowed to carry arms. Earlier shoguns invented the Bakuhan system but it was the Tokugawas who came

to power in 1603, after winning the battle of Sekigahara that shaped the nature of the Bakuhan system as we know it today. The great military figure of Japan, Ieyasu belonging to the Tokugawa clan was made the Shogun by the Emperor. They ruled for nearly two centuries before being overthrown by the imperial restoration or Meiji Restoration in 1867.



LET US KNOW

The Warring States period in Japan, known as the Sengoku period, lasted roughly from the late 15th century to the late 16th century. It was characterized by constant military conflict, political instability, and social upheaval among various feudal lords, or daimyo, who vied for control over Japan. The Battle of Sekigahara on October 21, 1600, was a decisive moment in Japanese history, leading to the establishment of the Tokugawa shogunate, which lasted for more than 250 years. Tokugawa Ieyasu and the eastern army won a hard-fought engagement in which those who did not fight influenced the outcome alongside those who did.The Tokugawa Peace, also known as the Pax Tokugawa or Edo period peace, refers to a relatively stable and peaceful era in Japanese history that lasted from the early 17th century to the mid-19th century, under the rule of the Tokugawa Shogunate.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 4: 'The Chonin class referred to the peasants in feudal Japan' True or False?

.....

Q 5: The Bakuhan system matured under which dynasty?

.....

Q 6: Which place was the seat of the Japanese emperor?

.....

Q 7: What is the meaning of the term 'Shogun'?

.....

Q 8: Who was the first Shogun of the Tokugawa clan?

.....

1.6 SOCIAL DIVISIONS

Another significant feature of social life in Tokugawa Japan was 'mibunsei' or the system of status. There was a traditional fourfold division of honour and function. The main divisions were – samurai, farmer, artisan, and merchant (shi-no-ko-sho).

The samurai as a distinct class were placed at the top of the fourfold division of Japanese society. They were elite warriors, identifiable by their unique attire including two swords worn at the waist. Samurai were expected to uphold a strict code of conduct, which included loyalty to their lords that included willingness to die for their lords, should the need arise. They enjoyed a privileged and prestigious position, including special criminal proceedings. They often served as the enforcers of societal norms. But despite the romanticized image often associated with the samurai in popular imagery, many samurai faced economic challenges during periods of peace and stability, because their services were more in demand in times of war. Their reality encompassed various roles beyond warfare, including civil administration and household management, and this class too was marked by internal divisions and hierarchies.

Farmers ranked second only to the Samurai in honour and function within the traditional hierarchy and accounted for 85 percent of the population. They played a significant role in sustaining the nation. Village life was communal with shared responsibilities. Entire villages were punished for individual misdeeds.Villages were not homogenous and much social stratification within the villages was evident, with privileged farmers, enjoying exclusive rights and influence. Below them were the middling landowners, followed by the tenants and servants who were often economically dependent on and subject to the authority of the wealthy peasants.During the period of relative stability under the Tokugawas, the growth and autonomy of the peasants increased over the years. Improved productivity led to rural specialization and the emergence of a new elite interested in agricultural

investment.

The third category was of the chonin or townsmen which included artisans and merchants that lived in the towns and cities. While both were clubbed together, there were significant distinctions between them. Artisans were seen as contributing to society by producing essential goods, such as housing and tools. On the other hand, merchants who focused on trade were seen as a nuisance since they profited from goods that they did not produce themselves. As the towns and cities expanded, artisans and merchants accompanied daimyos to their domains and engaged in specialized crafts. Artisans, especially carpenters, played vital roles in the construction boom of the Shogunate period characterized by the extravagant city of Edo and various Daimyo castle towns. Major merchants wielded considerable influence and wealth but were subject to government scrutiny. Despite an expansion in wealth, the merchant class was unable to climb the social ladder because of the perceptions placed upon them by Confucian ideals that viewed merchants negatively. Thus, upward mobility was very difficult within the rigid Japanese social system. Overall, the category of chonin constituted a diverse urban populace, encompassing artisans, merchants, and laborers, each playing distinct yet interconnected roles in Japan's evolving socio-economic landscape.

Besides, there were various subcastes that existed alongside the established social hierarchy, each with its distinct roles and obligations. This included groups like entertainers and beggars. While some intellectuals of the time criticized social compartments, others saw them as conducive to overall well-being, contrasting the system with the period of turmoil before the coming of the Tokugawas.

Outside this hierarchy was the imperial nobility who formed a separate, insular society with a strict hierarchy. Marriage ties between major daimyo houses and court nobles strengthened, fostering a sense of kinship among Japan's highest class. Although politically powerless, the emperor symbolized tradition and legitimacy, deeply intertwined with Japan's social fabric and cultural identity.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 9: The four-fold division in Japanese society was known as?

.....

Q 10: What are the two groups that formed a part of the Chonin category?

.....

Q 11: What is the basis of the hierarchical division of society as per the ideals of Confucianism?

.....

Q 12: 'Upward mobility was a regular feature in feudal Japan.' True or False?

.....

Q 13: 'The importance of the samurai class increased in times of war.' True or False?

.....

1.7 DEBATE OVER THE NATURE OF THE STATE AND SOCIETY

There is a debate over the nature of the political state under the Shogunate in Japan. Many early European historians like Sir G.B. Samson and Moore describe the Tokugawa Bakuhan as an era of oppressive feudal rule in which hierarchical divisions were strictly maintained and change was loathed. EH Norman points out certain feudal elements like the importance of land and its link to social and political status, and pyramidal social hierarchy. He opines that a society in which political power is derived exclusively from agricultural produce, regardless of the extent of subinfeudation might be called feudal. Revisionist historians however describe the political system as a rational "integral bureaucracy". Andrew Gordon, Asakawa, and Fukuda Tokuzo have denied that a state so highly centralized could be called feudal. Gordon cited instances of economic

development, urban revolution, national market, and social mobility in this era in support of his argument for a centralized state.



LET US KNOW

Subinfeudation refers to the subdivision of feudal estates or fiefs by vassals who held them from their lords. Essentially, a vassal who held land from a lord could, in turn, parcel out portions of that land to sub-vassals in exchange for various services or obligations.

The Tokugawa Shogunate may have failed in building a cohesive centralized system but it was making all efforts to centralize political power through economic, land, and bureaucratic reforms within the Bakuhan system. They adopted the practice of establishing a hereditary Shogunate by crowning the new Shogun during the lifetime of the current Shogunto prevent succession wars. The daimyos were subjected to a whole series of regulations designed to prevent them from expanding their power at the shogun's expense. Under the 'SankinKotai'system, every daimyo had to maintain two residences and spend half their time in Edo while leaving members of his family in the capital at all times, as a deterrent against rebellions. The shogun provided for them and tooka keen interest in their education and marriage as a means of instilling a sense of loyalty in them. The cost of travel, gifts, and maintaining two elaborate residences economically drained and weakened the daimyos leaving them without time or resources to organize a rebellion against the Shogunate. The SankinKotai system concentrated the interests of the ruling class on life at the capital, so much so that second-generation daimyos born in Edo, did not visit their domains until they reached the age of maturity. It facilitated the development of a system of national communications. Gradually a national Japanese culture centred around Edo developed. These measures were designed to preserve the peace won after a long period of instability called the 'Warring States period.'

The Tokugawas also formed a strict hierarchy among daimyos based on their loyalty in the battle of Sekigahara. They rewarded the daimyos who

were loyal (fudai) by giving them land, titles and positions. While those on the losing side (tozama) were persecuted by the Tokugawas. There was a major reorganization of land. Fudaihans were closer to the Tokugawa bakufu while the tozamahans were placed in the far flung non fertile areas and exiled from the capital. As a result of this harsh treatment, the tozama daimyos continued to be recalcitrant. Another means of controlling daimyos was instituting a centralized parallel bureaucracy and a network of spies. They were posted in the 'hans' of daimyos as representatives of the shogun and were intended to monitor the activities of the daimyos to keep a check on their activities and power.They assisted daimyos in the collection of revenues, thus keeping a strict eye on the finances of the daimyos. The daimyos were allowed only to maintain a certain number ofsamurai retainers and there were restrictions placed on castle-building activities of the daimyo in terms of height, thickness of walls, fortifications, etc. They also tried to keep a check on the powers of religious institutions like Buddhist Sanghs who were feudal lords too. Tokugawas used Shintoism to their advantage and created many Shinto shrines and derived religious legitimacy from them. The Tokugawas also introduced Confucianism in Japan to build and legitimize a social hierarchy. All these reflect a fundamental suspicion of the latent power of the daimyos. These very checks and balances that so well preserved the feudal loyalties intact led to social tensions in the later stages of the Tokugawa Shogunate.



1.8 LET US SUM UP

After going through this text, you have learnt:

- Japan's social hierarchy was pyramidal, with the emperor at the apex, followed by shoguns, daimyos, samurais, peasants, artisans, and merchants, in that order.
- From 1185, political power in Japan shifted to various Shoguns who became the de facto rulers, with the emperor serving as a symbolic and cultural head.

- Feudalism emerged during the Shogunate period, characterized by land ownership, hereditary bureaucracy, and decentralized power. Although its nature is debated among historians
- The administrative setup of Old Japan supported the rise of feudalism, with appointive offices becoming hereditary. The feudal political system that developed in Japan came to be known as the Bakuhan system.
- The Tokugawa Shogunate established a hereditary Shogunate to prevent succession wars and regulated the daimyos or feudal lords through measures like the SankinKotai system, mandatory maintenance of two residences and strict control over their activities.
- These measures initially aided the Tokugawas in the consolidation of their power but gradually led to social tensions that became the cause of their decline.
- Tokugawa Japan had a fourfold social division known as mibunsei, consisting of samurai, farmers, artisans, and merchants, with samurai at the top of the hierarchy.
- Within this system, there were complexities and hierarchies within each class, with economic challenges faced by many samurai, varied social stratification among farmers, and limitations on upward mobility for merchants due to negative perceptions influenced by Confucian ideals.



1.9 FURTHER READING

1) Vinacke, H.M., 1994. *A history of the Far East in modern times*. 6th Ed. Kalyani Publishers. Ludhiana.
2) Sansom, G.B., 1978. *Japan: a short cultural history*. Stanford University Press.
3) Gordon, A., 2021. *A modern history of Japan from Tokugawa times to the present*. Oxford University Press.
4) Jansen, M.B. and Hall, J.W. eds., 1989. *The Cambridge History of Japan* (No. 1). Cambridge University Press.

1.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: The Daimyos were the feudal lords in Japan.

Ans to Q No 2: The governing classes like the Daimyos who later turned into hereditary feudal lords were granted lands by the emperor.

Ans to Q No 3: Merchants and traders were placed at the bottom of the social hierarchy in Japan.

Ans to Q No 4: False

Ans to Q No 5: The Bakuhan system matured under the Tokugawa dynasty

Ans to Q No 6: Kyoto was the seat of the Japanese emperor.

Ans to Q No 7: The term Shogun refers to the 'Barbarian subduing general.'

Ans to Q No 8: Ieyasu was the first shogun of the Tokugawa clan.

Ans to Q No 9: Mibunsei or (shi-no-ko-sho).

Ans to Q No 10: Artisans and merchants.

Ans to Q No 11: The economic productivity of a particular social group.

Ans to Q No 12: False

Ans to Q No 13: True

1.11 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) VERY SHORT QUESTIONS (Answer each question within 50 words)

Q 1: Which religion did the Tokugawa rulers promote?

Q 2: What was the basis of classification among different sections of Japanese society?

Q 3: The Tokugawa Shogunate began ruling in which year?

Q 4: The Battle of Sekigahara was fought in the year?

B) SHORT QUESTIONS (Answer each question within 150 words)

Q 1: Discuss the two different categories of daimyos that emerged during the Tokugawa shogunate.

Q 2: What are the two classes into which Japanese society can be divided?

Q 3: How do revisionist historians, such as Andrew Gordon, reinterpret the political system of the Tokugawa era?

C) LONG QUESTIONS (Answer each question within 300-500 words)

Q 1: What measures were implemented to control the power and influence of daimyos within the Tokugawa political structure?

Q 2: Describe the feudal nature of the relationships between the shogun, daimyos, and samurai within the Bakuhan system.

Q 3: Discuss the issues that led to the emergence of feudalism in Japan.

Q 4: There were internal divisions within the peasant.

*** ***** ***

UNIT 2: TOKUGAWA JAPAN AND THE WESTERN POWERS

UNIT STRUCTURE

2.1 Learning Objectives

2.2 Introduction

2.3 Major developments in the Shogunate period

2.4 Policy of Isolation

2.5 Rise of the Merchant Class

2.6 Opening of Japan

2.7 Fall of the Tokugawa Shogunate

2.8 Let Us Sum Up

2.9 Further Reading

2.10 Answers to Check Your Progress

2.11 Model Questions

2.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this chapter, you will be able to learn

- about the end of the feudal system in Japan
- about the modernization of Japan's economy
- and the opening of Japan to foreign countries for trade.

2.2 INTRODUCTION

Dear learners in the last unit, we discussed about feudal Japan. In this unit we will discuss the Shogunate power in Japan.

Since the year 1185, the effective political powers of Japan were concentrated in the hands of the Shogun who served as the de-facto ruler of Japanwith his seat at Edo while the emperor at Kyoto served only as the symbolic and cultural head.Under the Shogunate system, the emperor was obliged to live in seclusion and obscurity in the capital Kyoto surrounded by court nobility. Although the emperor commanded much respect as the theoretical head of the state, he 'reigned without governing' by performing

ceremonial functions only. In 1603, 'Ieyasu' from the Tokugawa family rose to the position of Shogun and his dynasty practically ruled the country for the next two centuries, until the Meiji Restoration of 1867. This lengthy rule by one dynasty was possible because of the development of a system of administration called the Bakuhan system within which the power of the dynasty could be ensured, despite the weakness of Ieyasu's less capable successors. The Shogunate capital at Edo became the real nerve center of the government. The Tokugawa Shogunate established a hereditary Shogunate to prevent succession wars and regulated the daimyos or feudal lords through measures like the 'Sankin Kotai' system as discussed in the previous unit. The Shogun was advised by a council of Elders. A member of this Council acted as Regent if the Shogun was a minor. There was a lower council of Elders to advice the lesser vassals of Tokugawa. Below their Councils was a large civil services, the bureaucracy proper, most of whom were drawn on an hereditary basis, from the Tokugawa and other feudal families.

Social System

The Japanese Society was based on Tokugawa political pattern. The hierarchical division of Japanese society based on status and productivity was very rigid and prevented upward social mobility. At the top of social structure, there were the members of the Imperial family, the Court nobles and Emperors immediate Vassals. Next were the Samurai or military men.

The Court nobility and the Samuri were the privileged classes. All the other classes i.e. peasants, artisans and merchants had very few privileges. The lowest class was untouchable class consisting of tanners and executioners. They were not included in the Census.

While such rigid compartmentalization has been argued to have contributed to peace and stability in the initial period of Tokugawa rule, in later years, it began to create social tensions. These social tensions were further intensified by the forceful opening of Japan to Western powers under unequal treaty obligations.

2.3 MAJOR DEVELOPMENTS IN THE SHOGUNATE PERIOD

Three major changes in sixteenth-century Japan shaped the future development of the country. First, peasants were disarmed and only the 'samurai' class was allowed to carry swords. It ended frequent wars and hostilities and ensured peace and stability. Second, Daimyos were ordered to live in the capital of their respective domains with a large degree of autonomy. Third, lands were surveyed to identify owners and taxpayers, and the lands were graded based on their productivity to ensure a stable revenue base. Hideyoshi granted exclusive rights over their farms to the farmers. This gave a strong incentive to the farmers to increase productivity, promoting agricultural development. Better farming techniques that developed in the period led to a doubling of agricultural products between the mid-sixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries. Thus, a farmer was worth two 'samurai,' but in practice, the peasant was regarded and was treated as a machine to produce rice for the 'samurai' to swallow. Statesmen thought highly of agriculture, but not the agriculturalists.



LET US KNOW

By the mid-seventeenth century 'Edo,' the capital of the Tokugawa Shogunate emerged as the world's most populated city. Two other cities Osaka and Kyoto also became famous. Besides, there emerged more than half a dozen other cities with populations over 50,000. There were around 300 feudal lords in the Tokugawa period and they transported agricultural products, mainly rice, which were cropped in their domains to Edo, Osaka, and other cities.

As the Daimyos were given more autonomy, their capitals became bigger. This rapid urbanization led to the growth of a commercial economy. The Tokugawa Shogunate exclusively held the sovereignty to issue the currency that was effective all over Japan and prohibited the use of any other kind of money. The currency consisted of gold, silver, and copper

coins. While gold and silver coins were mainly minted at Edo, the minting of copper coins was entrusted to the merchants in the cities throughout the country. As metal money permeated the economic life of the people, rice lost its function as a medium of exchange and by the end of the seventeenth century, it was completely disregarded. This translated into new importance to the merchants and other service classes in the towns whose wealth and power consequently increased. This rising middle class began to take the initiative in modernizing Japan. Thus, developments in the fields of agricultural production, increased use of money and creation of a financial and credit system, creation of a stock market in rice, show that the economy of Japan during the Tokugawa period was developing towards modernization.

2.4 POLICY OF ISOLATION

Under the Tokugawas, Japan adopted the policy of 'Sakoku' or Isolation from 1639 to 1853. During this period, Japan maintained almost complete isolation from the rest of the world. But before this development, foreign traders and missionaries were permitted and even encouraged to come to the island, just as Japanese traders and travelers were allowed to visit other countries. Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, English, and Chinese vessels anchored in Japanese ports, and Japanese vessels went to foreign Asiatic ports. However persistent attempts of the Europeans to convert the Japanese to Christianity, the conduct of the foreigners themselves, their selfish interest, and their tendency to engage in unfair trading practices, created distrust in the minds of the Japanese. This distrust was strengthened by tales of Spanish activities in the Philippines, of Portuguese behavior on the China coast, of British and French actions in India, and the Dutch exploits in the East Indies. Besides, the activities of the converted Christians who tended to withdraw themselves from the effective control of the central government and made appeals to the Pope against the ruler of Japan strengthened the dislike for Westerners. The activities of the converted Japanese Christians led the Shogunate to believe that the spiritual conquest of the missionaries might be followed by political conquest by the military. Consequently, the Japanese government was compelled to promulgate an

edict to expel the foreigners and to limit foreign intercourse in 1639. For two centuries that followed, Japan limited external trade. Only the less aggressive Dutch and Chinese were allowed to carry on trade with special charters through the port of Nagasaki.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: Who was entrusted with the task of minting copper coins?

.....

Q 2: Name two cities besides Edo, that were very important in Tokugawa Japan

.....

Q 3: Which nations were allowed to continue to trade with Japan during its Isolationist period?

.....

2.5 RISE OF THE MERCHANT CLASS

During the Tokugawa period (1603-1868), Japanese society was classified based on their usefulness and productivity, and merchants were placed at the bottom. In the Confucian way of thinking, merchants were simply parasites in a society full of productive citizens. The confiscation of all weapons from the non-warring classes during the period of Toyotomi Hideyoshi was the first step towards curtailing the power of the merchants in society. The Shogunate also denied merchants power by effectively ending international trade which limited their area of influence and hampered their source of livelihood. Since at the beginning of the Tokugawa period, the Japanese economy was based solidly on agriculture, the Shogunate did not see any reason to protect the businesses of the merchant class.

Despite state apathy and in response to it, the merchant class came up with new ways of consolidating their wealth. The establishment of internal peace and stability in the Tokugawa period, along with improved farming techniques led to an increase in agricultural production. According to the Cambridge History of Japan, between 1550 and 1650 agricultural productivity

doubled. An increase in food production led to population growth, which meant more people to produce goods and spend money. The rapid urbanization following the 'Warring States Period' helped in the growth of the merchant class in the castle towns of the feudal lords. These castle towns created new demands such as the demand for workers to build houses of the Daimyos and Samurais and markets from which to buy their goods. People from the countryside were attracted to these castle towns and towns like Edo quickly grew into cities. To support the rather luxurious way of life that developed in these towns and cities as well as to meet the heavy demand of the Shogunate for income, the 'rice economy' had to be translated into a 'metal economy.' Many merchants saw an opportunity in these rapidly growing castle towns and established lucrative businesses.

As agricultural techniques were perfected, different regions began to specialize in certain areas or crafts. The specialization in production in different domains created a dependence on trade that benefitted the merchants. It made the job of the merchants necessary for the survival of the Shogunate.Commerce, in general, increased and trade became a necessity of Japanese life. Daimyos invested in infrastructure like roads, better ports, and new channels to ease travel and trade between areas in their domains. The high demand for luxury products in Edo allowed the merchants to raise prices, however high they pleased. Thus, a wealthy merchant class emerged in the cities, but since no authority came with it, they created their own way of life which was known as 'Ukiyoe.' They engaged in the pleasures of theater and brothels in the cities like Edo, as an exhibition of power and status. Although the merchant class became increasingly wealthy during this period, they were continuously denied a social status equal to their wealth which was a constant source of discontentment among the merchants against the order of things in the Shogunate.

The Tokugawa Shoguns established a ***de facto*** authority over entire Japan. The Shoguns preserved their form and dignity of the imperial rule. Though the Shoguns was the actual ruler, but he submitted a report of his actions to the Emperor and obtained the Mikados sanction on matters of

national importance. The Daimyos or feudal lords were required to swear allegiance to the Shogun. Those who fought against Tokugawa Shogunate were known as Tozams or outside Lords and not allowed any share in the Government of the country. Moreover Satsuma, another group of nobles held power in Kyushu were the serious rivals to Tokugawa Shogunate.

Tokugawa Shogunate followed the policy of exclusion and seclusion both in internal and external aspects. Internally it was meant to safeguard the security of the Shogunate from a possible combination of the rebel nobles with the foreign powers. Externally, it was intended to prevent direct contact between the westerners and the people, and to limit all unavoidable relations to the authorized representative of the Shogunate at a specified part. Later the Dutch were allowed to trade from a small inlet of Deshemia, Japan's window to the west near Nagaski. In spite of the policy of isolation, Japan's contact with the outside world was increasing in the early part of 19th century. The policy of isolation was definitely broken when Perry knocked the door of Japan.

2.6 OPENING OF JAPAN

The arrival of Commodore Matthew Perry of the United States and his squadron of four ships in Tokyo Bay on July 8, 1853, changed the course of Japanese history by opening up the country to foreign traders with various treaty obligations. American interest in Japan was influenced by several factors. The combination of the opening of Chinese ports to regular trade and the annexation of California, creating an American port on the Pacific ensured that there would be a steady stream of maritime traffic between North America and Asia. The American steamships in the Pacific needed secure coaling stations, where they could stop to take on provisions and fuel and to repair damages while making the long trip from the United States to China. The advantageous geographical position of Japan and rumors that Japan held vast deposits of coal, increased American interest in establishing commercial and diplomatic contact with the Japanese. The Americans, engaged in the whaling industry in the North Pacific desired safe harbors in case of shipwrecks. Moreover, many Americans believed

that they had a special responsibility to modernize and civilize the Chinese and Japanese. The American missionaries also believed that Protestant Christianity would be accepted in Japan where Catholicism had generally been rejected. Besides the United States saw the possibility of a large market in Japan.

The expedition led by Perry was not the first modern attempt by foreign nations to open Japan. Due to its geographical proximity, Russia showed interest in establishing relations with the Japanese government. In 1792 and 1804 Russia made two unsuccessful expeditions. England also tried to obtain a foot hold in Japan but failed. The increasing activity of Westerners in China influenced the nations of the West who demanded Japan to open their country to commercial and diplomatic relations. American interest in the Pacific led U.S to make a determined bid for opening Japan. America was influenced by several factors— 1. The opening of Chinese ports to regular trade and the annexation of California, creating an American port on the Pacific ensured that there would be a steady stream of maritime traffic between North America and Asia. 2. The American steamships in the Pacific needed secure coaling stations, where they could stop to take on provisions and fuel and to repair damages while making the long trip from the United States to China. 3. The advantageous geographical position of Japan and rumors that Japan held vast deposits of coal, increased American interest in establishing commercial and diplomatic contact with the Japanese. 4. The Americans, engaged in the whaling industry in the North Pacific desired safe harbors in case of shipwrecks. Moreover, many Americans believed that they had a special responsibility to modernize and civilize the Chinese and Japanese. 5. The Americans, engaged in the whaling industry in the North Pacific desired safe harbors in case of shipwrecks. Moreover, many Americans believed that they had a special responsibility to modernize and civilize the Chinese and Japanese. The American missionaries also believed that Protestant Christianity would be

accepted in Japan where Catholicism had generally been rejected. Besides the United States saw the possibility of a large market in Japan.

In 1851, however, President Millard Fillmore authorized a formal naval expedition to Japan and selected John Aulick to accomplish the task; but before Aulick left for Japan he was relieved of his post and was replaced by Commodore Matthew Perry. The objects of the expedition were stated as follows:

a. Protection for shipwrecked sailors
b. Opening of ports for the entry of vessels to repair and obtain coal
c. Opening of ports for trade.

On November 24, 1852, Perry sailed from Norfolk along with four ships through Bonin (Ogasawara Islands) and the Ryukyu Islands and steamed in Yokohama Bay on July 3, 1853. Disregarding all signals to stop, he sailed north to Edo Bay. The arrival of the so-called 'Black ships' created great excitement in Edo. According to a native writer "The popular commotion in Edo at the news of a 'foreign invasion' was beyond description. The whole city was in uproar. In all directions were seen mothers flying with children in their arms, and men with mothers on their backs. Rumors of an immediate action, exaggerated each time they were communicated from mouth to mouth, added horror to the horror-stricken. The tramp of war horses, the clatter of armed warriors, the noise of carts, the parade of firemen, the incessant tolling of bells, the shrieks of women, the cries of children, dinning all the streets of a city more than a million souls, made confusion worse confounded." Perry carried a letter from the US President to the Japanese emperor along with a variety of gifts including a working model of a steam locomotive, a telescope, a telegraph, and a variety of wines and liquors from the West to impress the Japanese emperor and to convince the Japanese of the superiority of Western culture. Perry was instructed to follow a pacifist mode and to preserve peace in the Pacific. He was permitted to use force only as the last resort and for self-protection. Yet, in an audacious display of force, displaying his readiness to use force, Perry approached the forbidden waters around Tokyo to convince the

Japanese authority to accept the letter. He then withdrew to the Chinese coast declaring that he would be back the next spring for an answer. The shogun was uncertain how to deal with this crisis and hence asked for the opinion of the daimyos on the matter. This was a political debacle leading to the exposure of the weakness of the shogun. The following spring, Perry returned with an even larger squadron to receive Japan's answer. This time, he was well received and the Japanese government displayed an eagerness to accept the demand to open Japan. Accordingly, the Treaty of Kanagawa was signed on March 31, 1854. According to the provisions of the treaty-

a. In addition to Nagasaki, Japan would open two ports – Shimoda and Hakodate to American ships for coaling, provisioning, and refilling.
b. Japan would protect shipwrecked sailors.
c. The United States was granted the right to appoint consuls in these port cities.
d. Japan promised 'most favored nation' treatment to the United States, through which it was accepted that all future concessions to be granted to the other foreign powers would also be granted to the US.

The first United States consul assigned to the Japanese port of Shimoda was Townsend Harris who arrived there in 1856. It took him a long time to convince the Japanese to regularize the contacts and intercourse initiated by Perry because he lacked a navy squadron. In the meantime, the Japanese had learned of how the British used military action to compel the Chinese government to open its doors. So, Japan now decided that it was better to open its door willingly than to be forced to do so. Subsequently, Japan signed her first true commercial treaty- 'The Harris Treaty' in 1858. The terms of the treaty granted the rights of:

a. Establishment of regular diplomatic and consular relations with Japan.
b. Opening of four additional ports and carrying on trade at the ports.
c. In return, the United States offered its "good offices" to Japan in case of trouble with other states.

In addition, the treaty established a tariff on goods imported into and exported from Japan through which Japan was deprived of her right to regulate her trade. The United States received some extraterritorial rights in

Japan. The treaty stipulated for the introduction and free exchange of foreign coins in the country. Similar treaties were signed subsequently with Britain, Russia, and Holland as well. The Anglo-Japanese Friendship Treaty was signed on October 14, 1854. According to the terms of the treaty the ports of Nagasaki and Hakodate were opened to British vessels and like in the case of the United States, Britain was also granted 'most favored nation' treatment. The Treaty of Shimoda between Japan and Russia on February 7, 1855, opened Shimoda, Hakodate, and Nagasaki to Russian ships for supplies and repairs. Russia was empowered to appoint a consul to be stationed at one of these ports. 'Most favored nation' treatment was also granted to Russia. The Treaty of Amity and Commerce between France and Japan on October 9, 1858, provided the exchange of diplomatic agents, the opening of ports like Edo and Nagasaki for foreign trade, and the granting of extraterritorial rightsto the foreigners for the subjugation of foreign residents to the law of their consular courts instead of the Japanese law system. Another treaty of Amity and Commerce was signed between the Netherlands and Japan on August 18, 1858, which opened several Japanese ports and cities for Dutch trade and confirmed extraterritoriality to Dutch nationals in Japan. A similar treaty was also signed with Portugal on August 3, 1860, through which diplomatic relations and trade between the two countries were opened.

These "unequal treaties" were humiliating in theory and in practice which imposed a semi-colonial status upon Japan at a time when the Shogunate was tangled in a succession struggle. In addition, a lot of European cheap products were dumped into Japanese markets which drove Japanese producers out of business and the Japanese mercantile class started facing an economic crisis as a result of stiff competition. The value of silver was less in Japan and there was no mechanism to check its flow which led to the collapse of the Japanese currency and caused sharp inflation. Consumers and producers alike responded with violent protest. As the Tokugawas sought to keep the foreigners at bay, they could not effectively deal with an expanding body of political activists and recalcitrant Daimyos around the country further reducing the Shogunate's legitimacy.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Give short answers:

Q 4: Name the treaty signed between Russia and Japan.

.....

Q 5: What do you mean by extraterritorial right?

.....

Q 6: Name three Japanese ports that were opened to the foreigners as a result of her treaties with the foreigners.

.....

2.7 FALL OF THE TOKUGAWA SHOGUNATE

The Tokugawa Shogunate ruled Japan from 1603 until the accession of emperor Mutsuhito to the throne in 1868. Revisionist historians opine that it was because of internal social and economic contradictions within the Bakuhan system that the Bakuhan system and subsequently the Tokugawa regime declined. Fairbank attributed the uniqueness of Japan's 'centralized feudalism' as the cause of its success as well as the recipe for its downfall. The very checks and balances that so well preserved the feudal loyalties intact led to social tensions. For instance, the 'SankinKotai' system created a frustrated class of daimyos who were made to leave their families behind at Edo as collateral.

- The Tokugawas carried out an economic restructuring at a time when financial crisis prevailed throughout the empire. They put pressure on all social groups for increased taxation which resulted in peasant insurgencies and daimyos and samurais getting impoverished. But the economic system had not collapsed yet, there was just a rearrangement in the surplus appropriation system by the Shogunate. Production did not decline. However, there were major ramifications of this later with the arrival of the Europeans. The regulatory measures used to keep different social classes aloof to maintain the feudal order led to certain socio-economic changes that were not in conformity with the spirit of feudalism.
- A money economy was emerging as opposed to the rice economy,

due to the long period of peace. As a result of the economic changes, all classes in Japan began to experience several profound social changes. The samurai witnessed a drastic decline in their social and economic position as they were unemployed during the long years of peace. This led to the rise of the 'ronin' class of samurai - impoverished unkempt samurais who were now wandering the streets and were agitated with their fate under the Tokugawas. Later they came to be employed by the recalcitrant Tozama daimyos in their struggle against the Tokugawas. The merchant class despite being economically strong in the later years was unable to climb the social ladder because of the conservative social hierarchy and was in search of an opportunity to bring down the Tokugawa House. Thus, there was a breakdown of the rigid social hierarchies of what Fairbank called "centralized feudalism".

- Traditional European scholars like Barrington Moore Jr. however do not agree with the revisionist and think that external factors like Western intervention were a catalyst of change for the stagnant and unchanging Japanese society leading to modernization. According to WG Beasley, just like China was opened up by Western countries, Japan was too by the American intervention. They believe that the Bakuhan system might have continued essentially unchanged had Japan not been forcibly opened by Western nations referring to its isolationist policies. The internal contradictions were compounded by the aggressive entry of Westernersinto Japan through unequal treaties after a prolonged period of restricted isolation policies. All the foreign powers wanted definite treaty rights to guarantee shipping interests in Japan.
- From the early 1800s, the process of dealing with the pushy foreigners created a modern Japanese nationalism. A new conception took hold - of Japan as a single nation, to be defended and governed as such. As this happened, the Tokugawa claim to be Japan's legitimate defender began to wither. The Japanese scholarly class began writing about a unified Japanese nation and in their imagination and writings, the emperor was an integral part and he became central to Japanese identity and nationhood.
- Contemporary Japanese scholars saw the Tokugawa downfall in

terms of a millenarian movement marked by the restoration of the God-appointed Emperor Meiji. They believed it would bring peace, prosperity, unification, and a new era of reform and renovation and Japan would be freed from Western and Chinese hegemony. Travelogues reflect that Japan was now culturally more unified and homogenized. These writings aroused the sympathy and support of the masses. Thus, in the middle of the 19th century, an anti-bakufu alliance was formed by thetozama daimyos, ronin samurais, chonin merchants, and the scholarly class that helped in bringing about the downfall of the Tokugawa and facilitated the restoration of the emperor Meiji. The emperor who in the past had made many unsuccessful attempts to restore their power enjoyed the renewed reverence from obscurity and embraced the developments.

The Tokugawas accepted the foreign demands to buy themselves some time and avoid a similar fate as China but the submission of the Bakufu to the threat of military force from the West by signing various humiliating treaties, resulted in a backlash against the Tokugawa Shogunate and marked the beginning of the Bakumatsu (end of Tokugawa) period. The external aggression at the time of internal discontent and resistance completely exposed the Tokugawa weakness. The opposition became more vocal as the two slogans of *Son-no Jo-i*(revere the emperor and expel the barbarians) began to echo throughout Japan. Expelling the barbarian almost acted as a license to openly engage in anti-shogun movements.

By the early 1860s, Japan saw the beginning of another civil war between Tokugawa and its supporters and the rest of Japan. Around 1862, the Tokugawa regime did try to bring reforms like the abolition of the Sankinkotai system, modernization of the army, and the adoption of a consensus-building policy but they proved to be too little and too late. In 1868, Tokugawas were finally overthrown and the last Tokugawa shogun Keiki was expelled from Japan. Power was now restored to the 14-year-old emperor Mutsuhito, surrounded by his new supporters. The young emperor adopted the title ‘Meiji’ meaning ‘the enlightened one’ and is credited with modernizing Japan. Meiji reforms succeeded in preventing Japan from becoming a colony to Western powersand also succeeded in transforming

Japan from a feudal economy to an industrial economy. While the Meiji Restoration was not a conscious effort to uproot feudalism, it can conveniently be seen as a political revolt against an entrenched system. Thus, both internal and external factors worked together in bringing about the decline of the Tokugawa Shogunate. Andrew Gordon seesWestern intervention as only a catalyst that complicated and maybe fastened the collapse of the inherently unstable Tokugawa regime whose decline had set in decades ago.



2.8 LET US SUM UP

After going through this unit, you have learnt -

- In 1185, a Japanese feudal lord named Yaritomo defeated all other feudal lords and adopted the title 'Shogun'. The Shogunate gradually became more powerful than the emperor and the emperor was reduced to a revered figurehead.
- The Tokugawa clan ruled Japan from 1603 to 1867 AD. Ieyasu was the first Shogun of the Tokugawa clan.
- The period in which the Shogunate carried on campaigns against other feudal lords was called the 'Warring States Period.'
- Following the 'Warring States Period,' Japan witnessed a long period of stability under the Tokugawas who followed a policy of economic seclusion. But this relative peace was marked by internal problems like an excessive lifestyle enjoyed by the feudal lords upon the backs an overburdened peasantry and a merchant class that was growing rich but was denied socio-political status in society. Externally, foreign powers like the USA, Russia and the British were exerting pressure on Japan to open up its doors to foreign trade by ending its century long isolationist policies.
- The arrival of Commodore Mathew Perry from the USA in 1852-53 forced Japan to open up and allow economic concessions to one Western power after another, through a series of Treaties.
- Economic hardships created as a result of foreign intercourse, internal

conflict within the Tokugawa clan, and resentment among other powerful clans towards the inability of the Tokugawa shoguns to defend Japan against foreign high-handedness, reduced the popular support for the Tokugawa shogunate.

- In 1868, the young emperor Mutsuhito initiated the Meiji Restoration with the support of important feudal lords, initiating the phase of modernization in Japan, which in due course transformed Japan into a world power by the Second World War. The strengthening of the emperor ended the long reign of the Shogunate in Japan.



2.9 FURTHER READING

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3) Gordon, A., 2021. *A modern history of Japan from Tokugawa times to the present*. Oxford University Press.

4) Singh, A.K., 1984. *A History of Far East in Modern Times*. Surjit Publication. New Delhi.

5) Jansen, M.B. and Hall, J.W. eds., 1989. *The Cambridge History of Japan* (No. 1). Cambridge University Press.



2.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Copper

Ans to Q No 2: Osaka and Kyoto

Ans to Q No 3: China and Netherlands

Ans to Q No 4: Treaty of Shimoda.

Ans to Q No 5: Extraterritorial rights meant that foreigners were not subject

to the Japanese law and they could only be tried by the law of their own country.

Ans to Q No 6: Nagasaki, Shimoda and Hakodate.



2.11 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) VERY SHORT QUESTIONS (Answer each question within 50 words)

Q 1: Name the Japanese emperor who initiated the Meiji restoration.

Q 2: Who was the last Tokugawa shogun?

Q 3: Which country did Commodore Mathew Perry belong to?

B) SHORT QUESTIONS (Answer each question within 150 words)

Q 1: What were the factors responsible for the discontent among the merchant class in Japan?

Q 2: 'Tokugawa Shogunate was marked by a period of internal stability.' Discuss.

C) LONG QUESTIONS (Answer each question within 300-500 words)

Q 1: What are the factors that compelled the Tokugawa rulers to adopt an isolationist policy in Japan?

Q 2: What are the reasons behind the American interest in Japan?

Q 3: What were the provisions of the Treaty of Kanagawa? State its significance.

Q 4: Discuss the causes of the decline and fall of the Tokugawa Shogunate.

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UNIT 3 : THE MEIJI RESTORATION AND MODERNISATION OF JAPAN

UNIT STRUCTURE

3.1 Learning Objectives

3.2 Introduction

3.3 Nature and Philosophy

3.4 Modernisation of Japan

- Economic
- Political
- Social

3.5 Let Us Sum Up

3.6 Further Reading

3.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

3.8 Model Questions

3.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this Unit, you will be able to-

- explain the restoration of the Meiji rule and its implications,
- discuss the transition of Japan to modernity, and
- analyse the impact of modernisation in the sphere of economy, polity and society.

3.2 INTRODUCTION

In the previous Unit, we discussed the Tokugawa Shogunate and the opening of Japan with the arrival of European powers. In this Unit, we shall discuss the political transition in Japan through the restoration of the Meiji rule and Japan's move towards modernization. Meiji Restoration occupied a very important place in the history of Japan. It inaugurated a new era in Japan. We have already studied that the growing unpopularity of the Shogunate in Japan ultimately paved the way 26 History for abolition of the Shogunate in 1867. After that the Japanese people placed the

Emperor, Mutsuhito, a boy of fourteen years on the throne at Yedo in 1868. After ascending the throne, the new Emperor assumed the title of "Meiji", which means the "Enlightened Government". This event is known as the Meiji Restoration in the history of Japan. The Meiji continued to rule over Japan till 1912 AD.

- **Causes of Restoration**

a) The Tokugawa Shogunate failed to change the basic character of the society.

b) There was no contact between the Shogun Kuge nobles and feudal lords.

c) The warrior class was no match to the western powers.

d) The Tokugawa Shogun had no legal authority and thus the anti-Shogun elements usurped the power of Mikado.

- **Success of Restoration**

a) The anti-Shogun elements, Choshu and Satsuma Daimyos etc. had made Emperor a rallying point.

b) An anti-Shogun sentiment had risen in Japan due to the humiliating treaty Japan was forced to sign with foreign powers.

c) Japan did not wish to repeat the humiliation.

d) The royal nobles opposed the Shogun.

- **Role of Samurai**

The Samurai were a powerful class of soliders iwho constituted 6 percent of total population of the country but was the backbone of national security and stability. As a military race they could not tolerate national humiliation, the weakness and inefficiency that had crept into the army under Tokugawa Shogunate. They were responsible for starting a movement in the country which aimed at the revival of national power. The role of Samurai was very laudable in the Restoration Movement in Japan.

- **Difficulties of Meiji Restoration**

a) Maintaining law and order as some Samurai and Daimyo were opposed to it.

b) The Mikado was opposed by feudal lords and conservatives.

c) Emperor was required to remove illiteracy poverty and superstitious

and old bureaucracy and feudalism etc.

Charter Oath of 1868

On April,1868 the Emperor Mutsohito took Charter Oath before Selected Assemblage. The main features of the Oath were:

a) The Emperor will rule Japan according to public opinion.

b) People belonging to all classes will be united in all enterprises of Japan.

c) Outdated rules and customs will be discouraged.

d) Knowledge will be sought from among leading nations of the world.

e) Welfare of the entire Empire will be promoted.

f) A Consultative Committee will be constituted for running the administration efficiently.

g) Entire sections of Japanese society will get an opportunity to meet their needs.

This Oath wanted to end the feudalism, old seclusion and stood for the promotion of modernization of Japan. In fact, it ended anti-foreign feeling that prevailed in the country for many centuries.

3.3 NATURE AND PHILOSOPHY

In order to understand the nature and philosophy of the Meiji Restoration we have to look into the examine it within a global framework. In this framework, the Meiji Restoration emerges as a nationalist revolution with bourgeois underpinnings. Central to numerous Meiji reforms was the establishment of a fresh national identity. The Meiji administration undertook measures such as the abolition of hereditary social distinctions, the consolidation of regional institutions into a robust central bureaucracy, and the fostering of cultural and political institutions into a robust central bureaucracy, and the fostering of cultural and political cohesion among the Japanese populace. Moreover, the government actively promoted the fundamental tenets and mechanisms of capitalism, including land alienation and partitioning, transitioning from in-kind to cash-based tax collection, the development of stock and bond markets, and the establishment of public banking systems.

Furthermore, it is imperative to contextualize the Meiji Restoration

within the framework of imperialism. Confronted with a global order characterized by a hierarchical structure comprising dominant nation-states with colonial possessions and subordinate colonial territories, the Meiji leadership viewed imperialism as an integral aspect of their state-building endeavor. As Japan aspired to emerge as a burgeoning global power, the acquisition of its own colonial empire was deemed essential.

The Meiji era bestowed upon modern Japan a formidable conservative legacy that exerted considerable influence over both government and society throughout the twentieth century. This brand of conservatism emerged towards the conclusion of the nineteenth century as a response to the extensive reforms and Western influences prevalent during the initial decades of the Meiji period. These reforms, which realized the demands for change that had been brewing during the late Tokugawa period, were inspired by Western ideologies and institutions originating from the Enlightenment and liberal philosophies accompanying the rise of commercial capitalism and discontent among bourgeois classes with traditional governance structures in Europe. Initially among bourgeois classes with traditional governance structures in Europe. Initially embracing many Enlightenment ideas and institutions, the Meiji ruling elite later championed a robust conservative agenda aimed at preserving their authority and the established social hierarchy.

The term “conservatism” as used here does not solely denote a predisposition towards maintaining the existing status quo. Rather, it represents a distinctly modern phenomenon that emerged in the West during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in response to the prevailing ideals of the Enlightenment and the ramifications of the French Revolution. While conservatism exhibited unique characteristics in various European nations due to their diverse histories and social frameworks, certain commonalities emerged wherever it took root in the Western context. Consequently, examining our subject within the framework of European conservatism holds value, both because Japanese conservatives drew inspiration from their European counterparts and because comparative analyses facilitate a deeper comprehension of the nature of Meiji

conservatism.

3.4 MODERNISATION OF JAPAN

Under the Meiji Government, several reforms were introduced in the social, economic and political life of Japan that paved the way for modernisation in Japan. As a result of which Japan could come out from the ancient darkness and became one of the most advanced nations of the world.

By adopting the principles of westernization and modernization, the Meiji Government wanted to make Japan as one of the most advanced powers of the world. After the Meiji Restoration several changes were introduced in the social, military and economic life of Japan. As a result of which very soon it emerged as an international power and enjoyed a very special position in the international politics

- **Economic**

The Meiji Government reconstructed the internal economy of Japan. The Government did not encourage foreign aid or borrowing money from abroad. Instead of that to make the country self-sufficient they put more emphasis in the establishment of industries in the western model. The existing private concerns were encouraged. To fulfill the requirements of the Japanese people Cotton mills, Paper mills and factories were also set up. With the help of the foreign technicians mines were also exploited in Japan. For the smooth running of the trade and commerce, the first rail-road between Tokyo and Yokohama was inaugurated in 1872. A postal and Telegraph system was established in 1871. In 1873 the Mines Department was established in Japan. For the development of the Japanese economy national credit banks were established in the American model in 1882. In 1882, the Central Bank of Japan was formed. To finance the foreign trade the Yokohama Special Bank was established in 1887. The Meiji Government introduced a national uniform currency system in Japan. Prior to that there was no uniformity in the national currency of Japan and all the feudal lords had the right to issue their own paper currency. But Meiji stopped this old system by introducing a uniform currency in the state. Provisions were made

for postal savings in Japan. In this way under the Meiji Government a sort of industrial revolution was brought to Japan. As a result of which Japan very soon emerged as an industrial power.

- **Political**

The Meiji Government introduced several reforms to reorganize the military administration of the state. The old feudal army was substituted by a national army. With the abolition of feudalism, the military class under the Tokugawa Shogunate, the Daimyos and the Samurais were deprived from their military powers. Therefore the new Emperor constituted a national army, where soldiers were requited from all sections of the society. Some old Samurai families were also requited in the national army, but as all of them could not be appointed in the new army, therefore most of them had adopted other means of livelihood like business.

- **Army Reforms**

In 1869, a military department was opened. In 1873 the Japanese army was reorganized in the French and Germany model. Japan sent officials to Prussia and France to study their military system. In 1871, a separate royal Japanese army was set up. In 1871, the army was divided into army and navy wings. The army was categorized into Regular Reserve and National army. In1973, public recruitment system was started. For proper organization of the army, it was further divided into six districts. In 1876, keeping of swords was forbidden. In 1878, the General Staff Office of army was set up.

In 1869, a naval educational centre was set up with the help of British naval officials. In 1875, factory was set up for manufacturing ships. By 1882, Japan had become self-sufficient in navy and bade farewell to British officers and other western advisers. The new Japanese army was equipped with latest war equipment and a powerful navy.

- **Revenue Reform**

The Meiji restoration led to the end of old revenues system. Now the Government decided to collect the taxes in cash. People had to pay taxes for every piece of land. In 1872 Japanese Government issued land ownership certificate which introduced private ownership of land.

The abolition of feudalism was greatly beneficial for the Japanese peasants, because they could now come out from the control of the feudal lords and lead a free life. In addition to that, the Meiji Government used to collect the taxes from the peasants in cash according to the value of the land. Again, the peasants were given the right either to remain on their land or to sell it out.

Income from agricultural land became the prime sources of royal income and by 1870, the state derived about 80%of the income from land revenue. No doubt by this new system farmers got the freedom but it also increased their burden. As the tax burden was higher than under the Daimyo, tax was to be paid in cash, the farmer was required to sell his crops to pay taxes.

- **Social Structure**

One of the major achievements of the Meiji Government was the introduction of various changes in the social life of Japan, leading to a modern Japanese society.

The abolition of the Shogunate in 1867 was the initial step of the remarkable internal transformation that opened a new era for Japan. It paved the way for centralization of authority which led to the abolition of feudalism. The four powerful western feudal lords, voluntarily surrendered their position as territorial magnates and register their property and people. Most of the remaining feudal lords voluntarily surrendered their fiefs. The old warrior class of Samurais also gave up their special privileges. Thus, by an Imperial Edict of 1871, feudalism was finally abolished in Japan. The path was laid for the reorganization of the state. The old feudal army was substituted by a national army of Japan. The abolition of feudalism indirectly paved the way for the creation of a new social structure in Japan. In this new social structure, all sections of the society were considered as equal.

- **Educational Reform**

The Meiji Government also introduced various reforms in the education system of the state. Hitherto education was restricted to only a few privileged sections of the society. But by the Charter Oath of 1868, the

Meiji Government removed all the restrictions in the field of acquiring knowledge, because the Emperor realized that the real progress of the society was not possible without the revision of the old educational system. In 1871 the Education Department was set up in Japan and a law was passed that all the people, irrespective of caste, creed and gender should receive education. In 1882, provisions were made for compulsory primary education in Japan on the French model, by which every child now were required to go in for three years schooling. Secondary education was also introduced, which prepared the students for higher education in the university level. Arrangements were also made for higher technical and professional education and also in the medicine, navigation, agriculture, commerce fisheries etc. In 1863 a private university was established in Keio, in 1875 at Doshisha and in 1882 at Waseda.

The entire Japan was reorganized into eight University Districts, each University Districts into31 School Districts and each Secondary school into 210 Elementary School Districts'.

The Japanese followed the American curriculum in the field of education. The modern educational curriculum consisted the subjects of music, medicine, engineering, journalism and social and biographical Sciences. In 1880 Tokyo Music School was founded which became a great cultural center.

In 1872, a Teachers' Training School was founded in Tokyo where an American educational expert was invited to teach and offr educational advise to the Minister of Education. Christian missionaries were also allowed to set up private schools in Japan. The beginning of modern female education was ascribed to Christian Missionaries. In 1870 the first Missionary School for girls' education was founded in Yokohama. The first public school for girls was founded in Toyko in1872. Tsudaymeko did a wonderful work in the field of women education.

With composition of Japanese- English dictionary, encouragement was given to the study of English. Arrangements were also made to learn the German and French language. Several books of Western countries were translated in Japanese language, out of them the works of Benthem

and Mill are most significant. They also adopted this process of translating important works in the field of art, literature and in medical science.

The Meiji Government encouraged the study of western science and technology. Many books on science and technology, history, political science etc were translated from western languages to the Japanese language. For providing higher education to the Japanese youths, universities were also established on the European model. Many Japanese youths were sent to the western countries for higher education.

- **Religion**

Religious reforms were also introduced in Japan under the Meiji rule. The old religious tradition was once again established in the state. The Japanese considered the state and the religion as the same. According to the Japanese people the sovereign came directly from the heaven to rule. Therefore, the Emperor himself was the head of the religious life. This system of worshiping the Emperor and his ancestors was known as Shinto Cult. Apart from Shinto, other religions, especially Christianity was allowed to flourish in Japan. The Emperor also reorganized the legal system of Japan. The Government established new courts based upon the French and Russian model. The old cruel forms of punishments were abolished. The German code of commercial law and the French code of criminal law were introduced in Japan. Judges were trained to serve for life or for good behavior. In this way under the Meiji Government, the Japanese society advanced towards modernization.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: The ..... code of commercial lawwas introduced in Japan.

Q 2: The ..... code of criminal law was introduced in Japan.

Q 3: What is the Shinto Cult?

.....



3.5 LET US SUM UP

After going through this unit, you have learnt that

- After the abolition of the Tokugawa Shogunate the Japanese people placed the Emperor Mutsuhits, a boy of fourteen years on the throne at Yedo in 1868. After ascending to the throne the new Emperor assumed the title of “Meiji”, which means the “Enlightened Government”. This event is known as the Meiji Restoration in the history of Japan. The Meiji continued to rule over Japan till 1912 AD.
- After the Meiji Restoration several changes were introduced in the social, military and economic life of Japan. As a result of which very soon it emerged as an international power and played a very special position in the International politics. Feudalism was also abolished in Japan by the Imperial Edict of 1671.
- After the Restoration of the Meiji he promised to establish a parliamentary institution for the smooth running of the administration of the country. To keep his promise, in 1868 the new Emperor formed a council of ministers on the basis of the existing Chinese model. In 1874 a Senate was formed which consisted of the representatives of nobility and bureaucracy. The main aim behind the formation of the Senate was to put a check on the growing power of the Emperor.
- The Provincial Assemblies came into existence in 1880. Already many political parties emerged in Japan. The formation of the parliamentary form of government and the emergence of the political parties in Japan arouse a need for drafting a constitution for Japan. Finally the Japanese constitution was drafted and on February 11, 1889 it was put into action with Constitutional Monarchy. And very soon it emerged as an international power and plays a very important role in the international politics.



3.6 FURTHER READING

1) Singh, A. K., (1984), History Of Far East In Modern Times, Delhi - 110007, Surjeet Publications.
2) Vinacke, H.M., (1982), A History Of The Far East In Modern Times, New Delhi, Kalyani Publications.
3) David, M. D. (1979).*History of Modern Japan*. Himalaya Publishing House, Bombay: India



3.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: German

Ans to Q No 2: French

Ans to Q No 3: This system of worshiping the Emperor and his ancestors was known as Shinto Cult.



3.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions (Answer each question within 50 words)

Q.1: Mention one feature of the Meiji Constitution.

Q.3: In which year the first bank was established in Japan?

Q.4: Which model did Japan follow to reorganize her legal system?

B) Short Questions (Answer each question within 150 words)

Q.1: Write a short note on “Charter Oath”?

Q.2: Write in brief about the constitution making process of Japan.

Q.3: Mention about the educational reforms of the Meiji Government.

Q.4: Write about the main features of the Meiji Constitution.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in between 300-500 words)

Q.1: Write about the Meiji Restoration in Japan. Discuss the transition

Q.2: Describe about the main features of the Constitution of Japan.

*** ***** ***

UNIT 4 : RISE OF JAPAN AS WORLD POWER

UNIT STRUCTURE

4.1 Learning Objects

4.2 Introduction

4.3 Sino-Japanese War

4.4 Anglo-Japanese Treaty

4.5 Russo-Japanese War

4.6 The Annexation of Korea

4.7 World War I and Twenty-One Demands

4.8 Paris Peace Conference

4.9 Washington Conference

4.10 Let Us Sum Up

4.11 Further Reading

4.12 Answers to Check Your Progress

4.13 Model Questions

4.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to –

- explain the causes, courses and results of the Sino-Japanese War 1894-95,
- explain about the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of 1902,
- explore the background and results of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05,
- discuss the involvement of Japan in the World War I and its impact.

4.2 INTRODUCTION

Dear Learners, in the previous Unit, we discussed the Meiji restoration and modernisation that set in under the Meiji rule. In this Unit we will discuss about the events that led to the emergence of Japan as a major world power. We also discuss the different Wars that Japan was involved in and the consequences.We also discuss about the Paris Peace

Conference of 1919,in where, after the ending of World War I, representatives of most of the nations of the world assembled in Paris to finalize the peace treaties by attendingdiplomats from 32 countries. At last, we will also discuss about the Washington Conferenceheldfrom November 12, 1921 to February 6, 1922, attending by nine nationsto limit the naval arms race and to work out security agreements in the Pacific area whichresulted in three major treaties and a number of smaller agreements.

4.3 THE SINO-JAPANESE WAR

The First Sino-Japanese War was one of the important events in the history of Far East. It was a conflict between Japan and China in 1894-1895 which marked the emergence of Japan as a major world power and demonstrated the weakness of the Chinese empire. The War grew out of conflict between the two countries for supremacy in Korea.

For a long period of time Korea was China's most important client state which strategic location was to opposite of the Japanese islands and its natural resources of coal and iron also attracted Japan's interest. When Japan had begun to adopt Western technology in 1875, it forced Korea to open itself to foreigners especially Japanese trade and to declare itself independent from China in its foreign relations. From that time Japan soon became identified with the more radical modernizing forces within the Korean government and on the other hand China continued to sponsor the conservative officials gathered around the royal family. When a group of pro-Japanese reformers attempted to overthrow the existing Korean government then Chinese troops under Gen. Yuan-Shi-k'ai abled to rescue the king and killing several Japanese legation guards in the process. In the meantime, by the signing of the Li-Ito Convention both the countries agreed to withdraw their troops from Korea. However, in 1894 Japan flushed with national pride in the wake of its successful modernization program and its growing influence upon young Koreans was not so ready to compromise. The pro-Japanese Korean leader of the coup of 1884, Kim-Ok-Kyun was lured to shanghai and assassinated by the agents of Yuan-Shi-k'ai in 1894 and his body was sent back to Korea by putting aboard a Chinese warship,

where it was quartered and displayed as a warning to other rebels. For that reason, the Japanese government took this incident as a direct affront, and the Japanese public was also outraged. On that incident the situation was made more tense later in the year and there broke out a rebellion in Korea, which is called as the “Tonghak Rebellion”. At the request of the Korean king, the Chinese government sent her troops to aid in dispersing the rebels. At this the Japanese government considered it as a violation of the Li-Ito Convention, and they sent a huge troop of 8,000 to Korea. On the other hand, when the Chinese tried to reinforce their own forces, it further inflaming the situation by the Japanese sank the British steamer Kowshing, which was carrying the reinforcements and finally war was declared on August 1, 1894. The modernized, better equipped and well-prepared Japanese troops scored quick and overwhelming victories on both land and sea. The Japanese had successfully invaded Shandong province and Manchuria and had fortified posts that commanded the sea approaches to Beijing by March, 1895. After the defeat of the Chinese, the Chinese government sued for peace and the treaty of Shimonoseki was signed between them which ended the conflict.

The Terms of the Treaty were as under:

- China agreed tho recoginse Korea as a free sovereign State
- China ceded Taiwan, the adjoining Pescadores, and the Liaodong Peninsula in Manchuria.
- China also agreed to pay a large war indemnity of 200 million tales to Japan. If this amount was not paid, Japan had a right to occupy Wei-Hai-Wei port.
- The ports of Shashi, Chungking, Soochow and Hangchow were declared treaty ports for Japan.
- Japan got the right to carry on trading privileges on Chinese territory.
- Japan could ship machines freely to China after paying custom duties.
- Japan got the right to manufactures some commodities in China which were exempted from all taxes.

But this treaty was later made modification by Russian fears of Japanese expansion and the combined intercession of Russia, France

and Germany forced Japan to return the Liaodong Peninsula to China.

Results of the war

The Sino-Japanese war 0f 1894-95 was a decisive event in the modern history of Far-East.

- Increased the honour and prestige of Japan and freed herself from "unequal treaties"
- Extra-territorial rights of foreign nations were abolished and tariff autonomy was restored to her. Japan was allowed to regulate her custom duties without any interference from other powers.
- Treaty demonstrated the weakness of China and exposed her to increased exploittation by imperialist European Powers.
- In China itself, the war triggered a reform movement that attempted to renovate the government. It also resulted in the beginning of revolutionary activity against the rulers of the Qing dynasty of China.

Impacts of western Powers

- Rise of Japan put a check on aggressive activities of European power.
- By this victory Japan became confident of her power and strength.
- The navy of Japan was so strong that she was in a position to defeat Russian fleet in the straits of Tsushima, which surprised the world.
- The seeds of Anglo-Japanese alliance were sowed.
- The treaty opened a new controversy i.e. diplomat vs militarism in Japan.
- The treaty gave a serious setback to the Manchu dynasty.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Why the conflict between China and Japan grew out?

.....

Q.2: In where the "Tonghak Rebellion" broke out?

.....



LET US KNOW

Tonghak: Itwas an academic movement in Korean Neo-Confucianism founded in1860 by Choe Je-u.

4.4 ANGLO-JAPANESE TREATY

The Anglo-Japanese treaty or Alliance was a bilateral alliance between Britain and Japan that bound to assist one another in safeguarding their respective interest in Cina and Korea. It was signed on at Lansdowne House in London on 30 January, 1902 by British foreign secretary, Lord Lansdowne, and Hayashi Ta-Dasu, a Japanese diplomat. The treaty was directed against Russian expansionism in the Far East and was a cornerstone of British and Japanese policy in Asia until after the World War I. The original British goal was to prevent Russia from expanding in Manchuria while also preserving the territorial integrity of China and Korea. For the British, it marked the end of a period of “splendid Isolation” while allowing for greater focus on protecting India and competing in the Anglo-German naval arms race.

Circumstances leading to Anglo-Japanese Alliance —

- Both England and Japan were unable to tolerate increasing influence of Russia in China.
- Japan wanted to have a dependable and powerful friend against Triple intervention of Russia, Germany and France.
- Russian expansion in China posed potential threat to Japan’s own security.
- Russian influence in China gradually increasing which was intolerable for England. She tried to curb increasing influence of Russia.
- England also aware of Russia and France increasing influence in South China.
- England also feared Russian expansion over Afghanistan, Iran and Tibbet and to check they desired alliance.

Main provision of Anglo- Japanese Treaty—1902

- Territorial integrity of China and Korea will be maintained Status *quo*

in Korea and Japan and in British Empire will be maintained. Both the countries accepted each other's special interest in China. The treaty was to remain valid for a period of five years at first instance.

- Both the countries agreed to remain neutral in the case of the other fighting a war with a single power. However, they would have to join if the other was fighting multiple countries.
- As part of the alliance, Britain accepted Japan's claim over Korea and on the other hand, Japan promised to use their navy to assist in the protection of British interests in the Far East.
- Both the signatories must not enter into separate agreements with other powers if those agreements would damage the existing Anglo-Japanese Alliance.
- Full communications were had to be made by the both countries.

The treaty was to remain valid for a period of five years at first instance. However, it was renewed and revised in 1905 then in 1911 for a period of 10 years. By renewed treaty of 1911, it was provided that both Japan and England would maintain such a fleet separately in Far East as would be stronger than any other third power. The treaty lasted until it was superseded by Four power agreement in 1923.

Effects of the Treaty

- The alliance helped Japan in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05 by discouraging Russia's European ally, France from entering the war on the Russian side. The immediate effect was to check expansion of Russia in Manchuria and its Chinese court.
- Russia was obliged to sign a convention with China by which she agreed to withdraw her forces within 18 months.
- Triple intervention consisted of Russia, France and Germany got set back from the very beginning. Germany and France were not keen to solidly help Russia against England.
- Consequently, the position of Russia became week and Japan became sound in China due to her alliance with England. Thus, this treaty ultimately resulted in diplomatic isolation of Russia.
- The treaty had of two-fold of aims i.e. one was that Russia should

abandon her protectorate over China and the other was that China should get rid of Russia so that Japan could make overtures in Manchuria.

- As Britain recognized Japan's interest in Korea, now Japan wasin apposition to annex Korea in 1910.ecogniziation
- Japan made 21 demands from China to establish her influence
- USA could not check expansionist policy of Japan
- Japanese could cover national disgrace imposed on her previously.
- Japan received recognition as big and important power.
- Japan felt encouraged to wage war against Russia to check its expansion.

The alliance helped Japan in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05 by discouraging Russia's European ally, France from entering the war on the Russian side. The alliance was to run for five years, and to continue for a period of one year beyond the time of denunciation. Thus, by these agreement Japanese and English diplomacy would work hand in hand at Peking to check Russia and England prevented Russia from securing active support from any other power. As a result of the treaty, the ports of Nagasaki and Hakodate were opened to British vessels, and Britain was granted most favored nation status with other Western powers. So, we can say that the alliance was part of a larger British strategy to reduce imperial overcommitment and recall the Royal Navy to defend Britain, and, on the other hand, the Japanese gained international prestige from the alliance and used it as a foundation for their diplomacy for two decades.

Abrogation of Anglo-Japanese Alliance-

- Germany and Russia's threat to England was over in 1918
- England wanted to check the expanding power of Japan in the East.
- England wanted to have an alliance with USA, even at the cost of abrogation of this treaty.
- England wanted to have a naval base at Singapore which was not liked by Japan.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.3: When the Anglo-Japanese Treaty was signed?

.....

Q.4: Who was Hayashi Ta-Dasu?

.....

4.5 RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR

The Russo-Japanese War was one of the most remarkable events that took place in the year of 1904-1905.The Russian interest in Manchuria and Japan's interest in Koria had led to the outbreak of Russo-Japanese War. After the treaty of Shimonoseki Russian influence was increasing in Koria. On the other hand, Japan also tried to established her influence in Korea. The rapid advanced of Russia in Korea had seriously alarmed Japan. Russia had been able to established her influence in Manchuria. This was a serious threat to Japan. Basically, Russian interest in Manchuria and Korea was political and strategic rather than economic, while Japan's interest in Manchuria and Korea was purely economic.

Causes of the War:

During the period of 1896 to 1899 Russian policy towards FarEast was designed to facilitate the completion of the Trans-Siberian Railroad. In order to complete the Trans-Siberian railroad, she had to secure a right of way across Northern Manchuria. The completion of the Trans-Siberian railroad by Russia was purely economically motivated. Because through the Trans-Siberian railroad, she could enter China. From this reason there was a political motive. The Russian government although acquired Chinese territory by lease, the Liaotung peninsula and Port Arthur came to the possession of Russia and Russia also established her naval base at Port Arthur. Gradually Russian policy in Manchuria changed into aggressive policy. While the Russian interest in Korea was entirely political, she had no trading interest in Korea. After 1900 Russia displayed her true intention in Manchuria. When the Boxer Movement in China cause unrest in Manchuria

also then anti-foreign feelings developed in Manchuria. Russia took step to protect her interest by sending troops into Manchuria to guard the rail-roads and tried to convince the other powers that her occupation in Manchuria was temporary. As soon as peace was established in Manchuria, the Russian troops would be withdrawn. In November, 1900 there was an agreement between Russia and China by which the southern province was to be restored to the Chinese administration. On that condition the Chinese soldiers should be disarmed. On the other hand, Russia agreed to withdraw her troops only when peace was established in the province. In this way Russia continued to occupy to Manchuria. Even after the Boxer Uprising had been put down in North China it became quite apparent that Russia had no intention of withdrawn her troops from Manchuria. The Russian policy in Manchuria had drawn the attention of United State, England, Japan. Consequently, an agreement was held between England Japan in 1902. By this agreement Japan recognized the British interest in China while Britain recognized the position of Japan both in China and in Korea.

While the primary interest of Russia was in Manchuria, that of Japan was in Korea. In Korea, Japan had built up substantial commercial and financial interest. Her intention was to prevent Korea from falling into the hands of any other power. Japan had economic interest in Manchuria from where Japan imported Manchurian product to her country. But at the beginning of the 20th century Japan had developed as industrial country. So, Japan's commercial policy towards Manchuria change into political policy. Japan wanted a foothold in Manchuria just as much as Russia deed. The establishment of Russian influence in Manchuria naturally threatened Japanese security, because every advanced made by Russia brought her into closer contacts with Korea due to the geographical proximity Japan came to closer contact with Russia.

Russian action in Korea and particularly on the Korean borders was becoming alarming. Taking advantage of an uprising which was occur in 1896, Russia had established her control in Korea. In 1896, Japan abandoned her claim in Korea and consequently the Yamagata-Lobanoff protocol was held between Japan and Russia. According to that agreement

both parties agreed to withdraw their troops from Korea. But later on, Russia began to violate its terms. Instead of allowing Korea to reorganize her army herself Russia tried to reorganize the Korean army along Russian likes. As a result of this policy a reaction against Russia set-in in Korea and this brought with it a strengthening of the Japanese position. Japan initiated new negotiation with Russia. As a result, another agreement was held between both parties in 1898. According to that treaty both parties recognized the sovereignty and independence of Korea. Each party agreed not to help Korea in the re-organization over army and her finance. Moreover, the Russian government agreed not to hamper in the development of Japanese commercial and industrial interest in Korea. This convention was known as Nishi-Rosen convention. But this convention also failed to settled the Korean question. Russia didn't give up the idea of secure a part in Korea while Japan tried to check the advanced made by Russia in Korea.

The Manchurian and the Korean question became more and more complicated. Russia continued to send her troops to Yalu River region as wood cutters to make use of the timber cutting concession, by its terms, had lefts already. So, Russia insisted on its revival. On the other hand, Japanese policy was to defend her interest in Korea and to co-operate with other powers in affairs. In 1903, another agreement was held between Russia and Japan. According to that agreement Russia would allow Japan to develop her commercial and industrial interest in Korea in returned. Japan would recognize Russia's special railway interest in Manchuria. Furthermore, both parties agreed to respect the independence and the integrity in Korea. It became clear that according to that treaty Japan was to allow Russia a freehand in China and Manchuria while Russia was to allow Japan to develop commercial and industrial interest in Korea. But, that treaty in fact didn't prove to be beneficial as far as Japanese interests are concerned. It had limited the Japanese interest in Korea. On the other hand, she had to recognize not only Russian railway interest in Manchuria but also all of that territory as outside Japan's sphere of interest. Finally, a war between Russia and Japan became inevitable.

The Russian army cross the Yalu River to enter into Korea in Feb,

1904. Japanese torpedo both effectively attacked the Russian warship and eventually Japan declared war against Russia. The Russian ship suffered a serious defeat at Port Arthur. A ferocious battle was fought at the region of the Yalu River. Japan under the leadership of General Logy, attacked Port Arthur which was defended by the Russian's. Finally, Port Arthur was captured by the Japanese on first Jan, 1905. The capital of Manchuria, Mukden failed into the hands of Japanese army. In the famous battle of Mukden Russia lost about 150,000 men. This brilliant success clearly demonstrated the military supremacy of Japan. So, after these series of defeat Russia had to move to the Far east in order to often the control of the sea. In the naval battle of Tsushima, the Russian ships were again defeated in the hands of Japanese Navy under the leadership of Togo. Having found Russia in an unmeasurable position France came out with her proposal to negotiate between Russia and Japan. But in Japanese favor, the intervention of American President Rosevelt was so important. Accordingly, the U. S. President Rosevelt brought about the treaty of Portsmouth in September, 1905 and the War came to an end.

Treaty of Portsmouth

The treaty of Portsmouth was signed between Russia and Japan on September, 1905. By the terms of the Treaty:

- Russia recognized Japan's paramount political, military and economic interest in Korea, the country was to remain independent.
- Russia agreed to restore to Japan the island of Sakhalin she had seized in 1875.
- Both the Powers agreed to evacuated Manchuria and to assist in the restoration of Chinese sovereignty and to maintain the Open Door policy towards all nation on the basis of equality.
- Russia agreed to transfer to Japan her lease of Port Arther, Dairen and adjacent portion of Liaotung Peninsula.
- Russia also relinquished in favour of Japan her mining and railway privileges in South Manchuria.
- Manchurians railroads except of Liaotung Peninsula shall be used only for industrial and commercial purposes and not for strategic and

military purposes.

- Rusia and China got the right topost guards to police railroads under their control.

Results of the War

- Germany and France did not help Russia due to American warnings but in arbitration America favored Russia which created bitterness between USA and Japan.
- The victory of Japan checked the advance Russia in the Far-East and broke the spell of invincibility of Russia and of Western powers. The prestige that Japan acquired gave her a standing as a world and a dominant position not only in Far-East but also in Asia.
- The war had powerful reverberation in China. The Japanese victory aroused a great enthusiasm for western learning and western methods. This awakening of China was before long crystalized in the revolution of 1911, when Manchu dynasty was overthrown and republic established. In peace negotiations America sided with Russia, so seeds of bitterness were sown between America and Russia.
- The War profoundly affected European international politics. By weakening Russia, it paved the way for Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907.The problems of Afghanistan, Iran and Tibbet were over.
- Austria took advantage of Russia's weakness to annex Bosnia and Herzegovina. Thus, Russian attention was again drawn to Balkans and Near Eastern affairs which led to first world war. Internally War weakened the position of Romanav dynasty which led its downfall.

This victory led Japan to follow the imperialistic policy which culminated during the second world war.

4.6 THE ANNEXATION OF KOREA

The first serious conflict in the modern period of the Korean history with Japan and China due to the historical relations of Japan and China were all centered in Korea. From this conflict consequences of grave significance, it further developed for the entire world. With the coming of

the Europeans to the Far East and because of the gradual Russian territorial expansion to the boarders of the Chinese Empire and the Korean kingdom changed the relative position of the Celestial empire. Geographically Korea marked off from Manchuria only by the Yalu River as a natural frontier and stretching almost due south from Manchuria toward Japan with only a narrow strait separating her from the Japanese islands. So, Korea had the threads of her history from her two immediate neighbours. As well as Korea had a relationship with China and paid tribute to China due to the Mongol invasion because Mongols should make its approach to subjecting Japan through Korea. On the other hand, under the great commander Hideyoshi, Japan also attempted to established herself on the Asiatic continent. As a preliminary step to complete her dreams Japan wanted to begin operations against China, the Japanese found it necessary first to subjugate the Koreans. Then, in spite of the Korean resistance aided by China lately, the Korean kingdom was overrun by the Japanese. Shortly after the evacuation of Korea by the Japanese armies the Manchus established their control in China. By this way after the long period of thirty years the first treaties had been negotiated with China and twenty years after the Perry expedition to Japan, there made the first treaty with the government of Korea. By sending Catholic missionaries to Korea, France for the first time tried to force open the door into Korea and gradually other foreign countries had open their eyes on Korea. In that situation both Japan and China had entered themselves into treaty relations and finally, a treaty was negotiated in 1871. The one provision of this treaty had the relevance with respect to the Korean question, in where Article 1 provided for mutual non-aggression against each other's territorial possessions. Consequently, another treaty of amity and commerce between Korea and Japan was signed on February 26, 1876, in where also the most significant clause was the declaration in the first article that Korea, being an independent state enjoys the same sovereign rights as Japan.

But Korea had never fully recovered from the devastation of the country by the Japanese and internal conditions of Korea were become more deplorable. Finally, after the sixteenth century the country was divided

into two groups, one is the exploited people and the exploiting court and officialdom. After a long period of exploitation by the Japanese over Korea, both the countries by signing of the Korean-Japanese Protocol in February 23, 1904, several agreements gave Japan the right to station its troops on the Korean peninsula. On August 22, 1910, the Japan-Korea Annexation treaty was signed and ultimately Japan had completed the annexation of Korea; in where the country would be considered as an integral part of Japan until 1945.

4.7 WORLD WAR I AND TWENTY-ONE DEMANDS

Since the opening of Japan, she always tried to modernize herself. So, Japan tried to follow the western methods and policies. The restoration of Meiji marked the turning point of Japanese policy. He introduced several reforms. He redeemed the country from the influence of Tokugawa Shogun and abolished the feudal system. He also reorganized Japanese army in western method. The people of Japan accepted the reforms quietly. From that time Japan wanted to be a great power and adopted a policy of expansion. Because the policy of expansion was considered as a symbol of glory in that time. In 1894 Japan defeated China and in 1904-05 she was able to defeat Russia. Through these two victorious campaigns Japan secured many concessions in China and Korea. In 1910 Japan annexed Korea. Thus, before World War I Japan acquired Formosa, Koria and Manchuria. During the war time, as the all powers engaged in the war, Japan took the advantage of the situation and occupied Shantung. In that time China decided to remain neutral in the war. So, China declared that her Shantung province also would remain neutral. Because Japan had promised on the ultimatum which was sent to Germany that if Germany withdraw her privileges from Shantung these will be return to China. But now when this area had come under Japan, she declared that as she had acquired the area, she had every right to keep the area under her control. Now as China wanted Japan to declare the neutrality of Shantung, she immediately protested and demanded that China might sign an agreement with her about mutual relation and sent to China some far-reaching demands.

These demands, in five groups and Twenty-One Articles were served on China on January 18, 1915.

1. The government of China should extend her all such rights to Japan also which were enjoyed by Germany.
2. The principal ports and cities should be open to Japan.
3. China should be recognized the Japan's privileges in Liaotung, Kirlin and in inner Mongolia.
4. China should agree with Japan's participation in the operation of Hen-yeh-ping Iron and Steel works in Hu-Peh and Ping-Hi-Sang Colliery in King-Si.
5. Japan demanded that China will not lease any harbour bay or island along China's coast to any power other than Japan.
6. In China there will 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 will be jointly operated by both the countries.
9. China should give the right to Japan of financing railways from Wuchang to Nanchwang, from Nanchwang to Hangchow and from Nanchwang to Chaochow.
10. China should be permitted trade and residence rights at important places in the province of Shantung.
11. China should agree that the terms of the lease of Port Arthur and Danly and also of South Manchurian Railway and the Antung-Mukden Railway will be extended for a period of ninety-nine years in favour of Japan.
12. China should recognize that Japanese subjects shall have to right to lease or to own land required either for erecting suitable building trade and manufacture or for farming.
13. Japanese subjects will have full freedom to travel and carry business in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia.
14. Chinese government should consult with Japanese government whenever a loan is to be made with a third power pledging the local

taxes of South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia as security.

15. China was to grant the right of owing land to Japanese Hospitals, Churches and Schools in interior China.
16. China was to agree that Japanese subjects shall have a right to promulgate Buddhist propaganda in the country.
17. China should agree to grant to Japanese subjects the mining rights of all mines in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia.
18. Government of China should agree that if military advisor, instructor, were to be employed in South Manchuria or Eastern Inner Mongolia, the Japanese government will be first consulted.
19. China shouldn't not have disposed of rights and property of Han-Yeh-Ping Company without the approval of Japan.
20. Mines owned by Han-Yeh-Ping Company will not be worked outside the Company without its approval.
21. China should agree with Japan's right of building railway and exploiting mines in Fukien.

These demands were presented directly to the President in disregardof Chinese Foreign Office and ordered to preserve complete secrecy until the conclusion of negotiation. But gradually the news of the negotiations filtered out to the foreign correspondents at Peking and through them to the outside world. The Chinese government was forced to accept these demands. After the negotiations had been completed eleven articles which had little effect were published. The secrecy was maintained of what was going on in Peking. Japan gave double pressure on President Yuan-Shih-K'ai to accept these demands. In first place, Japan continuously emphasized the possibility of military action if China refused to accept. Secondly, there were many opponents of Yuan's personal rule lived in Japan and Japan threatened that if China refused to accept the demands, she will urge on those to revolt and will support them in men and money which would be more dangerous for China. On the other hand, if China accept these demands Japan would have no objection to the establishment of monarchy in China and assured friendly attitude. According to H.M. VINACKE, "Thus the Japanese government threatened both the continued

existence of China as a state and of Yuan-Shih-K'ai as the ruler, while at the same time offering a bribe to the President in the form of support for his personal and family aggrandizement."1

Thus, China had face very bad situation but at last she agreed to accept the demands in separate discussions hopping that Japan may release from acceptance of the more objectional. China also hoped that the foreigners might would have come to rescue China because every foreign country had special right in China. So, China agreed to accept the demands through introducing some modification in them. In 1914, Yuan-Shih-K'ai rightly said that Japan is going to take the advantage of the war to get control of China.

These Twenty-one demands were divided into five groups. Group one was connected with Shantung, Group two discussed about Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia, Group three about the Hen-yeh-ping Company, fourth group concerned the non-alienation of Chinese coast territory and the very far-reaching group five was connected with other demands. There was a very high opposition arose in China against the acceptance of these demands. But on May 7,1915 Japan sent an ultimatum. Accordingly, treaties of negotiation held between China and Japan under the date of May 25, 1915.

By the Twenty-one demands Japan made a vigorous expansion and enhanced the glory and prestige of Japan. Through acquiring these concession Japan developed her commerce to these areas, which brought her economic prosperity. On the other hand, it reduced the prestige of China to a very low level. It created a chaos situation in China. Later also conflict arose between China and Japan regarding Manchuria and in every conflict, Japan gained a lot. Her industries were developed. At all, Japan was able to receive international recognition as a great power. Because though at first the European powers opposed the Twenty-one demands of Japan, yet by 1917 they made agreements with Japan recognized her present situation, except U.S.A. But as U.S.A. entered the World War I in 1917, she also felt the need of the solving of the conflict with Japan. Accordingly, Lansing-Ishii Agreement was held between them and U.S.A. also recognized Japan's

position. Yet these Twenty-one demands made China more dependable upon U.S.A. Thus, Japan secured the recognition as supreme power of the East.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.5: In which year the Russo-Japanese War was begin?

.....

Q.6: Between which country the Yamagata-Lobanoff Protocol was signed?

.....

Q.7: By which river separated Korea from Manchuria?

.....

Q.8: In which year the Japan-Korea Annexation treaty was signed?

.....

4.8 THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE

After the ending of World War I, representatives of most of the nations of the world assembled in Paris and finalized the peace treaty on January 19, 1919. The so called “Big Four” among the diplomats Woodrow Wilson President of America, the British Prime Minister Lloyed George, the French Foreign Minister George Clemenceau and the Italian Prime Minister Vittoria Orlando took all important decisions in the conference. Diplomats from 32 countries and nationalities were involved in the conference. Major decisions of the conference were the creation of the League of Nations and the five peace treaties with the defeated states. These five treaties rearranged the maps of Europe and part Asia, Africa and the Pacific islands, and also imposed financial penalties.

Five major treaties were prepared at the conference: -

1. The Treaty of Versailles, June 28, 1919 with Germany.
2. The Treaty of Saint-Germain, September 10, 1919 with Austria.
3. The Treaty of Neuilly, November 27, 1919 with Bulgaria.
4. The Treaty of Trianon, June 4, 1920 with Hungary, and

5. The Treaty of Sevres, August 10, 1920; subsequently revised by the Treaty of Lausanne, July 24, 1923 with Turkey.

As one of the "Big Five" Japan also sent a large delegation, headed by the former Prime Minister, Saionji Kin-mochi focused on two demands that the inclusion of its Racial Equality Proposal in the League's Covenant and Japanese territorial claims with respect to former German colonies Shantung (including Kiao-chow) and the Pacific islands north of the Equator (the Marshall Islands, Micronesia, the Mariana Islands, and the Carolines). But the Japanese delegation became unhappy after she had received only half of the rights of Germany, and then they walked out of the conference. On the other hand, the Chinese delegation was led by Lu Zheng-Xiang accompanied by Wellington Koo and Cao-Ru-Lin at the conference, in where Koo demanded Germany's concessions on Shandong be returned to China and also called for an end to imperialist institutions such as extraterritoriality, legation guards, and foreign leaseholds. Despite American support and the ostensible spirit of self-determination, the Western powers refused his claims but instead transferred the German concessions to Japan, which sparked widespread student protests in China on May 4, popularly known as the May Fourth Movement, and eventually pressured the Chinese government into refusing to sign the Treaty of Versailles, at the Paris Peace conference in where, the Chinese delegation was the only one country not to sign the treaty at the signing ceremony.

The main result of the conference was the Treaty of Versailles with Germany and in Article 231, the whole guilt for the war was placed on Germany and her allies for their aggression, and the remaking of the world map at the conference gave birth to a number of critical conflict-prone contradictions internationally that would become some of the causes of World War II.

1. Treaty of Versailles, June 28, 1919 with Germany.

This treaty was a voluminous document containing 440 articles. The main provisions were:

1) Territorial Provisions

- France got back Alsac and Lorriane. Belgium got Eupen,

Malmedy and Moresnet, Poland got Upper Silesia and Southern part of East Prussia. Danzig was set up as a Free city.

- Saar valley was placed under the control of an international commission and France was given the right of exploitation of coal mines of the valley.
- Mamel was given to Lithuania in 1924. Union of Austria and Germany was forbidden. Germany was made to renounce all her overseas possessions and colonies, which were later placed under the victorious powers as mandates.

2) Military Provision

- Treaty crippled the military strength of Germany and she was permitted to have an army of one lakhs soldiers and navy. Air Force was entirely forbidden.
- Restrictions were imposed on the manufacture of arms and ammunitions.
- Rhineland was demilitarized and so were Heligoland and Dune.

3) Economic Provision

- Germany was asked to pay compensations for entire damage done to the civilian population of Allied and Associate powers and to their property by land by sea and from the air.
- Germany was deprived of trading concession in Marrocco, Egypt and China. Rivers Elbe and Oder and Kiel canal were internationalized.

4) Legal Provision

- Kaiser William was charged with supreme offence against international morality and sanctity of treaties.
- Germany was to restore all the trophies, archives. Historical souvenirs of works of art carried away by her force.

5) Political Provision

- Independence of Poland and Czechoslovakia was

recognized.

- Germany was required to abrogate the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and other agreements with Russia. The League of Nations was created with the primary object of maintaining international peace.

2. Treaty of Saint-Germain, September 10, 1919 with Austria

The main provisions of the Treaty were

- The republic of Austria accepts partial guilt for the war. Hence liability for reparation.
- No union be permitted between Austria and Germany.
- The Austrian army to be reduced to 30,000.
- Navy of Austria restricted to three police boats on the Danube.
- Austria recognized the independence of Hungry, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Yugoslavia.

  Thus Austria became a small impoverished country without access to the sea, surrendered by custom barriers of the newly arisen hostile states.

3. The Treaty of Neuilly, November 27, 1919 with Bulgaria.

The main provisions of the Treaty were

- The Slovak provinces to be added to Czechoslovakia
- Transylvania be added to Rumania and Yugoslavia.
- Croatia be added to Yugoslavia.
- Banat to Rumania and Yugoslavia.

Thus, Hungary was reduced an unimportant state of central Europe and the principle of self-determination was violated in Hungary and one fourth of her nationals were assigned to neighboring hostile states.

4. Treaty of Neuilly, November 27, 1919 with Bulgaria.

- The western part of Bulgaria was ceded to Yugoslavia
- Western Thrace and the Aegean coasts were ceded to Grece though Bulgaria guaranteed access to the Aegean Sea.
- Army of Bulgaria was reduced and navy was practically abolished.

5 Treaty of Trianon, June 4, 1920 with Hungary

- Ancient Magyar was dissolved to its ethnic composition.
- Rumania received Transylvania and some other territories including a part of Banat of Temesvar.
- Crotia and Salvonia were ceded to Yugoslavia and Slovakia to Czechoslovakia. Thus, nearly 3 million of Magyars were placed under foreign rule.
- Army of Hungry was reduced to 35,000 and navy was curtailed to a few patrol boats.
- As held responsible for war, Hungry had to pay war reparation.

This treaty sowed seeds of the acuate racial disturbances and animosities which occurred latter.

6. Treaty of Sevres, August 10, 1920; subsequently revised by the Treaty of Lausanne, July 24, 1923 with Turkey.

7. This treaty was modelled on the treaty of Versailles and the terms of the treaty were:

- Severs, Asia Minor, Trace, Adrianople and Gallipoli were ceded to Grece
- Syria was ceded to France and Palestine and Mesopotamia were given to England.
- The king of Hejjjaj was declared independent and the state of Turkey was restricted within Asia Minor.
- Army of Turkey was reduced to 50,000and surrendered her Air Force to the Allies.
- The Turkish ports of Constantinople, Alexandria etc. Were placed under international control.
- Although Turkey was charged with war-guilt, the reparation claims were waived in her case.

But the terms of the Treaty could not be put into force due to the successful opposition of Mustafa Kamal Pasa.

8. Minorities Treaty

- A New States Committee to protect the interests of minorities in the newly created states.
- Paris Conference prepared a board pattern of minorities rights

and safeguards, on the basis of which peace treaties were concluded with Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey.

- Bi-lateral minority treaties for the protection of their respective minorities.
- League of Nations was entrusted with the responsibility of supervising the minority grantees.

Role of Japan in the Peace Settlement of Paris

The prime objectives of Japan's participation of Parish Peace Conference were-

- Attainment of island of Marina, Karolin and Marshal situated in the Pacific Sea.
- Recognition of right over Shantung province.
- Recognition of League of Nation's principle of equality to all castes.

Though Japan put fourth various significant reasons for the attainment of these aims, however she was criticized because if these Germans lands were given to Japan, it would have been a clear violation of the Fourteen Principles of Wilson, President of America and her claim of getting Shantung was also against the principles of Nations. Besides it, her principal of equality of caste did not seems to be beneficial to the people. There was great a reaction against it but Japan remained firm on her demands and even threatens to boycott the Conference and withdraw from the League of Nations. This threat proved to be fruitful and her patronage over the German's island was accepted and she began to rule like a subordinate state. After the treaty of Versailles Japan had become a significant and great country of the world. Now she could begin without any hitch in the second stage of imperialism.

4.9 THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

Washington Conference was an international conference, which is also called the Washington Naval Conference held in Washington D.C., from November 12, 1921 to February 6, 1922. The Conference was called by the United States of America to limit the naval arms race and to work out

security agreements in the Pacific area. It was attended by nine nations, the United States, France, the United Kingdom, Italy, Japan, China, Belgium, the Netherlands and Portugal. It was the first arms control conference in history and it resulted in three major treaties such as Four-Power Treaty, Five-Power Treaty (which is more commonly known as the Washington Naval Treaty), the Nine-Power Treaty, and a number of smaller agreements.

The Four-Power Treaty or Pact was signed by the United States, Great Britain, Japan and France on December 13, 1921, in where, it stipulated that all the signatories would be consulted in the event of a controversy between any two of them over “any Pacific question”. They would also respect one another’s rights regarding the various Pacific islands and mandates that they possessed. These accompanying agreements ensured that a consultative framework existed between the three great powers i.e., the United States, Great Britain and Japan whose interests in the Pacific were most likely to lead to a clash between them. But their chief importance was limited to abrogate the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902, (renewed 1911), which had previously been one of the principals means of maintaining a balance of power in East Asia. Therefore, the agreements were too vaguely worded to have any binding effect.

The Five-Power Naval Limitation Treaty was signed on February 6, 1922, by the five nations i.e., the United States, Great Britain, Japan, France and Italy mainly to scrap warships belonging to the great powers. After a long discussion they reached out a detailed agreement, in where, fixed the respective numbers and tonnages of capital ships to be possessed by the natives of each of the contracting nations. Each of the signatories agreed to fixed the respective ratios of capital ships to be held by them at 5 each for the United States and Great Britain, 3 for Japan, and 1.67 each for Franch and Italy. This treaty halted the post-World War I race in building warships and even reversed the trend by scrapping 26 American, 24 British, and 16 Japanese warships which were either already built or under construction. It also agreed to abandon their existing capital-ship building for a period of 10 years, subject to certain specified exceptions by the

contracting nations. On the other hand, The United States, Great Britain and Japan agreed to maintain the status quo with regard to their fortifications and naval bases in the eastern Pacific. This treaty remained in force until the mid-1930s but when Japan demanded the equality of size and number of its capital-ships with the United States and Great Britain, then the other contracting nations completely rejected that demands of Japan. By this, when Japan gave advance notice of its intention to terminate the treaty, it expired at the end of 1936.

The Nine-Power Treaty was signed by the United States, Great Britain, Japan, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Belgium and China to regulating the use of submarines and outlawing the use of chemical weapon in warfare. These nine powers had agreed to affirm the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of China and gave all nations the right to do business with her on equal terms. By the Treaty, it was agreed that China will not give any part of her country to any power on leasehold basis. It was also agreed upon that the neutrality of China will be respected whenever she decided to remain neutral in any war and all the disputes in Pacific Ocean and Far-East will be settled by peaceful means. In a related treaty, their also established an international commission to study Chinese tariff policies by these nine powers.

Results of the Conference

- Conference accepted open Door Policy in China, fixed the naval ratio abrogated Anglo Japanese alliance and Lenshing- Ishil agreement, gave rights to USA over Yap Island and Shangtung to China. It also tried to put check on Japanese expansion in Far-East.
- It forced Japan to withdraw from Siberia and provided opportunity to Russia for Communist infiltration.
- It increased the power of Kuomintang party in China and of Chiang Kai- Shek who was favorable to America.
- It isolated and humiliated Japan and tried to put cheek on her power and expansion.
- It failed to check conflict between USA and Japan or naval competition or Japanese expansions in Far-East.

- It failed to achieve tangible and lasting results but succeeded in providing temporary peace.

Japan joined the Conference because

- Because Japan could not survive only on military strength.
- She will be in isolation without England.
- China might boycott her.
- Her internal difficulties might be solved.

The Conference was favorable to USA who achieved re-affirmation of 'Open Door Policy' equal rights in Yap island, abrogation of Anglo-Japanese alliance which checked American ambition of world supremacy

However, the Conference had a very great importance in so far as China was concerned. It was after this Conference that China's sovereignty began to be respected. China began to be considered as a nation and was provided with an opportunity by which she could abrogate unequal treaties which she had signed with western powers.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q. 9: How many nations were attended in the Washington Conference of 1921?

.....

Q. 10: On which country Twenty-One Articles were served?

.....

Q. 11: In which year the U.S.A. entered into the World War I?

.....

Q. 12: Who delegated Italy in the Paris Peace Conference of 1919?

.....

Q. 13: When the Treaty of Versailles was signed on?

.....

Q.14: When the Five-Power Naval Limitation Treaty was signed on?

.....

nno-Japa
n



4.10 LET US SUM UP

After going through this unit, we have learnt that-

- China's defeat in the Sino-Japanese War, encouraged the Western powers to make further demands of the Chinese government. In China itself, the war triggered a reform movement that attempted to renovate the government and also resulted in the beginning of revolutionary activity against the rulers of the Qing dynasty of China.
- The Anglo-Japanese Treaty or alliance helped Japan in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05 by discouraging Russia's European ally, France, from entering the war on the Russian side. As a result of the treaty, the ports of Nagasaki and Hakodate were opened to British vessels, and Britain was granted most favoured nation status with other Western powers. On the other hand, Japan gained international prestige from the alliance and used it as a foundation for their diplomacy for two decades.
- The Russian interest in Manchuria and Japan's interest in Korea had led to the outbreak of Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05. Russia suffered a serious defeat at Port Arthur a. Bythis brilliant success clearly demonstrated the military supremacy of Japan. As a result, Russia had to move to the Far east in order to often the control of the sea. In the naval battle of Tsushima also, the Russian ships were again defeated in the hands of Japanese Navy under the leadership of Togo.At last, by the intervention of U.S.A the treaty of Portsmouth was signed in September, 1905 and the War came to an end.
- After a long period of exploitation by the Japanese over Korea, both the countries by signing of the Korean-Japanese Protocol in February 23, 1904, several agreements gave Japan the right to station its troops on the Korean peninsula. On August 22, 1910, the Japan-Korea Annexation treaty was signed and ultimately Japan had completed the annexation of Korea; in where the country would be considered as an integral part of Japan until 1945.
- By the Twenty-one demands Japan made a vigorous expansion and enhanced the glory and prestige of Japan. Through acquiring concession

Japan developed her commerce, which brought her economic prosperity. Japan was able to receive international recognition as a great power. On the other hand, it reduced the prestige of China to a very low level.

- The main result of the Paris Peace conference was the Treaty of Versailles with Germany and in Article 231, the whole guilt for the war was placed on Germany and her allies for their aggression, and the remaking of the world map at the conference gave birth to a number of critical conflict-prone contradictions internationally that would become some of the causes of World War II.

- The Washington Conference was the first arms control conference in history and it resulted in three major treaties such as Four-Power Treaty, Five-Power Treaty (which is more commonly known as the Washington Naval Treaty), the Nine-Power Treaty, and a number of smaller agreements with several nations.

4.11 FURTHER READING



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3) Mahajan, V. D., *History of Modern Europe since 1789,*(1991), S. Chand& Company, Agra.

4) C. Roy, *International Relations Since 1919*,Tenth Revised and Enlarged Edition, 1994,The World Press Private Ltd., 37A College Street, Calcutta- 700073

5) D. Hazen, With Additional 10 Chapters by V. D. Mahajan, *Modern Europe (1789 Onwards)*, sixth ed., Reprinted 1995, S. Chand & Company Ltd., Ram Nagar, New Delhi- 110055

4.12 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: For supremacy in Korea.

Ans to Q No 2: In Korea.

Ans to Q No 3: On 30 January, 1902.

Ans to Q No 4: A Japanese diplomate.

Ans to Q No 5: In 1904-05.

Ans to Q No 6: Between Japan and Russia.

Ans to Q No 7: By the Yalu River.

Ans to Q No 8: On August 22, 1910.

Ans to Q No 9: On China.

Ans to Q No 10: In 1917.

Ans to Q No 11: Italian Prime Minister Vittoria Orlando.

Ans to Q No 12: On June 28, 1919.

Ans to Q No 13: By Nine nations.

Ans to Q No 14: On February 6, 1922.

4.13 MODEL QUESTIONS

A. Very Short Questions (answer each question within 50 words)

Q.1: Between which country the Sino-Japanese War of !894-95 was held in?

Q.2: Who was Kim-Ok-Kyun?

Q.3: Name the Signatories of the Anglo-Japanese treaty of 1902.

Q.4: By which treaty Britain was granted most favoured nation status with other western powers.

Q.5: Which event led to the outbreak of Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05.

B. Short Questions(answer each question within 150 words)

Q 1: Write short note on-

a. Tonghak Rebellion.

b. Terms of the Anglo-Japanese treaty of 1902.

c. Course of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05.

d. Results of Twenty-One Demands.

C. Long Questions(answer each question within 300-450 words)

Q.1: Discuss the causes and results of the Sino-Japanese Treaty of 1894-95.

Q.2: Write a note on the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of 1902.

Q.3: Write briefly about the Paris Peace Conference of 1919. How far it will be success to establishpeace in the World permanently?

Q.4: Write a note on the Washington Conference of 1921-22.

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UNIT 5 : DEMOCRACY IN JAPAN

UNIT STRUCTURE

5.1 Learning Objectives

5.2 Introduction

5.3 Rise of Political Parties

5.4 Growth and Decline of Constitutionalism

5.5 Let Us Sum Up

5.6 Further Readings

5.7 Answers to Check your Progress

5.8 Model Questions

5.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this Unit, you will be able to-

- explain the wave of democracy that hit Japan,
- discuss the rise of political parties and organisations to further deepen the democracy, and
- analyse the growth and decline of Constitutionalism in Japan.

5.2 INTRODUCTION

Dear Learners, in the previous Unit, we had discussed the Rise of Japan as a World Power and the various events that paved the way for the ascendancy of Japan in the ranks of the higher powers.

In this Unit, we will be discussing the rise of political parties and the beginning of democracy in Japan. We shall also be discussing the factors leading to the growth and decline of Constitutionalism.

5.3 RISE OF POLITICAL PARTIES

Japanese Emperor Mutsuhito after assuming power as well as rightful position through the Charter or Imperial Oath of 1868 promised among many other things to provide parliamentary institutions in Japan for smooth

administration of the country as per the opinion of the public. By an Imperial decree on 12th October, 1881 the Emperor assured the Japanese people that a constitutional government would be established. This royal declaration led to the rise of political parties in Japan.

Organization of political parties in Japan –

Aikoku Koto—

In January 1874 Itagaki organized a party called Aikoku Koto, probably the first political party in the country. It made several a constitutional demand of Memorial for the establishment of Parliament. The Memorial to the Emperor stated that –

- Tax payers should have some share and say in the running of the Government
- Representative Institutions were needed to give culture and intelligence to the people and foster patriotism.
- Affection and connection between Governors and the Governed be made greater.

The Japanese Government agreed to the Constitution of elected Council Chamber.

Aikokusha Party

In 1874 Itagaki founded a political society called the Risshishawhich demanded political reforms in Japan formed a by Itagaki which agitated for economic self-sufficiency of Japan. In February 1875 Risshisha and other similar Groups met in Osaka and founded a national party called Aikokusha. The Osaka meeting demanded that in Japan there should be representative Assembly and a Senate should be constituted to run national administration by constitutional means. Legal system and judiciary should be reformed and a Supreme Court should be set up in the country. It was also suggested that a meeting of Governors should be convened. But the arrangement did not last long due to promise that soon the reforms will be announced.

Progressive Party

In1878 Itagaki founded a Liberal Party. Meantime Okuma founded a separate Party called Progressive Party which aims were-

- Respect Dignity and prestige of the Emperor should be preserved.

- Party will earnestly look after the welfare of the people of Japan.
- Also suggest the reforms for running internal administration pf the country.
- If brought to power it will also enlarge franchise.
- Establish amicable commercial and political relations with foreign countries.
- Strengthen Central Government of Japan

The emergence of these political parties enhanced the drafting of a new constitution. These political parties though represented wide divergent views, yet demanded a popular and liberal constitution.

Jiyuto Party

Itagaki organized another party called the Jiyuto in 1881 which was a liberal party.

- It advocated for unicameral (one house) legislature, universal suffrage, and strong foreign policy.
- It stood for popular sovereignty in the manner of Rousseau.
- The party though liberal represented the radicals which wanted the people to have an effective voice in the government of the country.

Kaishinto or Progressive Party—

Okuma, an ex-samurai organized the progressive party in1882 called the Kaishinto. The progressive party consisted of the conservative liberals believing in moderate representative government.

- It advocated bicameral (two house) legislature, gradual extension of franchise, development of local self-government, policy of internal administrative reorganization and opposition to the policy of imperialism.

RikkenTeiseito

Fukuchi Genichiro organized the constitutional imperialist party called the RikkenTeiseito. This party was constituted of the conservatives who though favoured a constitution were opposed to measure weakening the authority of the Emperor.

- The party advocated for a restricted electorate, an absolute imperial veto on legislation,

- bicameral legislature, independent judiciary, exclusion of military and naval officers from politics, and complete freedom of speech in the assembly.

Although, the different political parties in Japan represented widely divergent views, they pressed for a popular and liberal constitution. This enhanced the drafting of a new constitution. However, the political parties very intensely presented their views in the public. They bitterly criticized the policies of the Japanese Government in newspaper. In 1882, the Government stopped all criticism of its policies in the newspaper. The very next year in 1883, all political parties were banned by the order of the Government. By 1884, all the activities of major political parties were brought to an end.

In 1890 both Jiyuto and Kaishinto parties were recognized but neither of the Parties could solidly organize itself or were able successfully to catch the imagination of the people. In 1896 Okuma founded a new political party called Shimpoto. In 1898 Jiyuto and Shimpoto combined together to form a new political party called Kenseito and succeeded in forming a Government in Japan.

The restoration of Emperor Mutsuhito with full authority and power created a democratic atmosphere in Japan. The emperor promised establishment of a constitutional government and parliamentary institutions in Japan. Many political parties emerged in Japan to take part in the newly emerging democratic set up in Japan. For facilitating the setting up of democratic institutions in Japan, the feudal lords, samurais, etc surrendered their power and privileges before the emperor. But still these militarists occupied a prominent position in the politics of Japan. The militarists enhanced their power by centering the personal command of the armed forces in the emperor. The military leaders tried to check the growth of political parties as it would undermine their power. Zaibatsu was a capitalist organization of multimillionaire families. The ex-samurais entering into trade and commerce were related with it. Thisorganization also checked the growth of political parties in Japan as it did not like the growth of a middle-class society. The militarists who played a dominant role in transforming Japan

from a medieval state to a modern one continued to dominate the political set up of Japan till the end of the Second World War. The Taisho democracy refers to a period in Japanese history during the Taisho era (1912-1926), characterized by political and social liberalization. It emerged following the end of Japan's Meiji Restoration, marked by a shift towards constitutional government and increased political participation. The Taisho period saw the rise of political parties, the expansion of civil liberties and the emergence of a more vibrant public sphere with increased freedom of speech and assembly. This era was also marred by political instability, economic challenges and social unrest, including labour strikes and leftist movements. Despite these challenges, Taisho democracy laid the foundation for modern democratic institutions in Japan setting the stage for further political developments in the subsequent Showa era. Taisho democracy represents a critical phase in the transition of Japan towards a more democratic society, shaping its political landscape for decades to come.

In the pre-World II period, Japan underwent significant transformations and witnessed the emergence and evolution of political parties amidst a backdrop of rapid modernization and social change. By the early 20th century, calls for political reform and greater participation in government began to grow. This led to the establishment of Japan's first political parties, such as the Liberal Party and the Progressive Party which advocated for constitutional government, parliamentary democracy and civil rights. The rise of political parties reflected the diversification of political opinions and the desire for a more representative form of government. However, the influence of the military and bureaucracy remained significant**,** often limiting the effectiveness of the parliamentary system. Despite the presence of political parties, real power continued to be maintained by the oligarchs and later by the military, especially when Japan was embarking on a path of imperial expansion in East Asia. Ultimately the rise of militarism and nationalism overshadowed the influence of political parties leading to the erosion of democratic institutions and the eventual onset of World War II.

After Worl War II, Japan faced significant challenges in rebuilding

the economy and infrastructure. The reconstruction efforts were largely overseen by the United States, which occupied Japan from 1945 to 1952. The United States introduced democratic reforms, dismantled Japan's military and encouraged economic restructuring. The U.S. implemented political reforms such as the new constitution in 1947 which established a parliamentary democracy and guaranteed civil liberties. The U.S. provided aid and expertise to help Japan rebuild its economy. This includes investments in industries like manufacturing and infrastructure as well as financial assistance through the Dodge Plan. The Dodge Plan also known as the Dodge Line was an economic recovery programme for Japan implemented by the U.S. following the World War II. This played a crucial role in stabilizing Japan's economy and laying the foundation for its rapid post-war recovery.

Land distribution programmes aimed to break up the power of the landlord class and increase landownership among tenant farmers, fostering social stability and economic growth. The education system was restructured to emphasize democratic principles and modernization with a focus on science and technology. Japan underwent rapid industrialization with an emphasis on sectors like steel, electronics and automobiles. The government supported key industries through subsidies and protectionist policies. Labour unions gained greater rights and influence leading to improvements in working conditions and wages for workers. Moreover, the security alliance with the U.S. established through the Treaty of Mutual Co-operation and Security in 1960 provided Japan with military protection and facilitated its focus on economic development. All these reforms contributed to Japan's remarkable post-war recovery transforming it from a war-torn nation into one of the world's leading economic powers by the end of the 20th century.

The 1920s saw the emergence of mass-based political parties in Japan marking a departure from the elite-dominated politics of previous eras. The RikkenSeiyukai (Friends of Constitutional Government) and the RikkenMinseito (Constitutional Democratic Party) emerged as the two dominant political forces, representing conservative and liberal factions respectively. These parties appealed to broad swaths of the population

including farmers, labourers, intellectuals and business interests laying the foundation for a competitive party system.

Despite the progress towards democratization, Japan's fledgling democracy faced formidable challenges during the Taisho period. Political violence, assassinations and factional infighting undermined the stability of the political system while economic hardship and social unrest fuelled radical ideologies and movements. The Great Depression of the 1930s further exacerbated these tensions paving the way for the rise of militarism and authoritarianism in Japan. The onset of the Showa era marked a tumultuous period in the history of Japan characterized by the rise of ultranationalism, militarism and imperial expansionism. The Imperial Rule Assistance Association established in the year 1940 served as a vehicle for centralizing power under the emperor and suppressing political opposition. The outbreak of World War II further eroded democratic institutions as Japan's political parties were subordinated to the imperatives of total war.

The defeat of Japan in World War II precipitated a radical restructuring of its political system, as the Allied Occupation sought to dismantle militarism and promote democratic governance. The Constitution of Japan adopted in 1947 enshrined principles of popular sovereignty, human rights and pacifism laying the groundwork for a new era of democratic politics. Political parties freed from the constraints of authoritarian rule, proliferated as Japan embarked on the path of postwar reconstruction and economic recovery. The postwar period witnessed the emergence of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) as the dominant political Party (LDP) as the dominant political force in Japan. Formed in the year 1955, through a merger of conservative factions, the LDP established hegemony over Japanese politics, governing virtually uninterrupted for over half a century. The LDP's success can be attributed to its pragmatic approach to policymaking, broad coalition base and effective electoral machinery. While the LDP dominated Japanese politics for much of the postwar period, opposition parties played a crucial role in checking its power and providing alternative policy platforms. Parties such as the Japan Socialist Party (JSP) and the Japanese Communist Party (JCP) represented leftist and anti-establishment voices,

while smaller parties advocated for niche interests and policy agendas. However, the fragmentation of the party system often hindered effective governance and contributed to political gridlock.

The rise of political parties in Japan reflects the nation's tumultuous journey towards democracy and modernity. From the early factionalism of the Meiji period to the dominance of the LDP in the postwar era, political parties have been central to shaping Japan's governance, policies and national identity. While challenges persist, including party system fragmentation, apathy of voters and institutional inertia, Japan's political parties continue to evolve and adapt to meet the changing needs and aspirations of its citizens.

Reasons of the Failure of Political Parties in Japan

The Party System in Japan did not work successfully. There was no Political stability in the country and entire experiment of Political party system got set back in 1932 and came to an end in 1940. In their place an Association came into being. Some of the important reasons for the failure of Political Parties were

- No section of the society and Political Parties enjoyed national prestige.
- No unity of purpose among political Parties.
- Big Businessman played a significant role in the Politics who controlled the economic resources of the country and used them for their benefits through the Political Parties.
- Radical Movements proved harmful to the growth of political parties.
- Military Minister who had come from military set up did not care for party discipline and continued to violate political norms.
- Militarists and Bureaucrats brought downfall of political parties, as they disliked rule of political parties.
- Principle of Feudal and Oligarchical rule was not Shaken.
- Genero played an important role in bringing downfall of Political Parties.
- Lacked of Political Principles and depended on personal localities for which the Political Parties failed to win popular support.
- Privy Council proved conservative and obstacles for party Government.
- Bureaucrat, Militarists and Ultra-Nationalists combined themselves to

bring downfall of Political Parties.

Alliance of Japan with Fascist and Nazi powers gave set back to parliamentary rule.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: Who organised the Jiyutoparty in 1881?

.....

Q 2: Name the party organised by Fukuchi Genichiro.

.....

Q 3: Name any political party that represented leftist voices.

.....

5.4 GROWTH AND DECLINE OF CONSTITUTIONALISM

With the promulgation of the Constitution in 1889 and the inauguration of a new government in 1890 the wheels of democracy was sent rolling. However, the electorates had limited powers. The executive was beyond the control of the House of Representatives. The years from 1889-1894 was a period of constant struggle between the powerful clans and the political parties.

The Jiyuto (Liberal Party) and the Kaishinto (Progressive Party) were organised as a means to promote the Constitution and the representative system of government with the elimination of clan control. It was only in 1898 that these two parties were amalgamated. The Diet offered a platform to restrict the authoritative dominance of the clan leaders. While the representative branch aimed to secure majority in the House to oppose a government that was not within their control. While the succeeded in bringing down ministries yet they were unable to control their successors. The Government also made every attempt to dissolve the House and manipulate elections.

Meanwhile the oligarchy itself started showing signs of dissension with the rise of two faction on the matter of war and peace. With the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, the faction promoting war led by Prince Yamagata, the pupil of Yoshida, a staunch pre-Restoration imperialist. This

militarist control was an offshoot of the clan system and the two clans that monopolized the highest position in the army were the Satsuma (navy) and the Choshu (army). Prince Yamagata himself belonged to the Choshu clan. This resulted in a shift in the national policies.

There was a political chaos by 1898 in Japan and Ito, the Premier then, suggested for the formation of a government party which was rejected by Prince Yamagata. The other proposal was to call upon the party leaders to form the government. This resulted in the formation of Kaishinto (Constitutional Party) which was an amalgamation of the two parties led by Itagaki and Okuma. However, this government did not last beyond four months owing to the dissension over the distribution of offices. The experiment of Ito proved immature as the two wings were unable to reach a satisfactory agreement on any issue and this reinforced the powers of the clan leaders. The fall of Kaishinto was followed by the coming to power of Prince Yamagata which represented the triumph of the military faction within the oiligarchy.

Ito wanted to oppose the growing power of Yamagata and in 1900 he formed the RikkenSeiyukai (Constitutional Government Friend's Asociation) which became the strong force in the Diet. At the same time, Okuma reorganized his party as Kenseihonti. These developments did restrict the power of Yamagata but at the same time, Ito began losing the support of the House of Peers. As a party leader he proved unsuccessful and was criticized for his dictatorial method. In 1903, the Seiyukai was turned over to Prince Saionji, a Court nobility. The first decade of the Constitutional life of Japan resulted in the realization of the party leaders of the material losses in opposing the government and the expensive nature of political activism like campaigns and elections etc. Hence the parties were now in constant competition to ally with the government for favours which resulted in stagnation of political progress but brought peace for some time.

Between the time period from 1901 to 1912, the premiership shifted alternately between Katsura and Saionji who enjoyed the support of Seiyukai. The War with Russia threw immense challenges to the government and

both Katsura and Saionji struggled to find solutions. The major challenged they faced was the problem to balance revenue and expenditure, the demand from the army and the navy for increased appropriations. This led to the overthrow of their ministries.

In 1912 Prince Katsura announced his retirement from politics however with the resignation of his successor, he returned with a new party Doshikai (Unionist Party) where the recruits were from the Kokuminto (Constitutional Nationalists- a name the Progressives had taken in 1910). However, the Katsura Government did not last long as it failed to gain majority in the Legislature, was opposed by Seiyukai, no public support and no substantial back up among the Elder Statemen. He was succeeded by a Satsuma clansman, Admiral Yamamoto in 1913. The support for his Cabinet by Seiyukai led to the formation of the Seiyu (Constitutionalists Club). The Yamamoto government was brought down by a navy scandal and this paved the way for the introduction of the party government.

Count Okuma at the age of 80 accepted the Premiership and laid emphasis on reforms for economy and establishment of a responsible government. However, Seiyukai did not offer any support to Okuma who immediately dissolved the Diet. It was followed by the emergence of a new party in the scene, Kenseikai (a union of the Seiyu Club, the Doshikai and Kouminto) and it soon became a major party. The Kenseikai who had allied with the Kokuminto stood for policies that would protect the interest of the capitalist class, reduction of land tax rather than business tax, and in the matters of foreign affairs, the government aimed for economic imperialism as we know from the Twenty-One Demands served on China. However, Count Okuma couldn't go ahead with his reform plans due to the outbreak of the European War. Okuma's government fell form power due to the rising criticism for its weak foreign policy and the opposition from Prince Yamagata. The next non-party cabinet was formed by Count Terauchi who dissolved the House and taking measures to leave no power to Kenseikai. However, the raise in the price of rice brough the downfall of his government.

Mr. Hara was a commoner who succeeded Count Terauchi. During his time, emphasis was laid on the idea of democracy as part of the war

propaganda to counter the criticism against the military and clan government in Japan. The assassination of Mr. Hara was followed by the coming of Viscount Takahashi. His cabinet reconstruction plans found opposition and new party Seiyuhonto came to the forefront. Viscount Takahashi fell from power and till May 1924, non-party cabinets continued to form governments.

It was in the elections of 1924 that a party government was formed. Kenseikai came to power led by Viscount Kato. The new government aimed for the overthrow of non-party Kiyouri Cabinet. In 1927, the government resigned. The next Premier was Baron Tanaka, a military man, who continued in the office till 1929. A new party formed with the amalgamation of Kenseikai and Seiyuhonto came into power. It was named Minseito and the party won majority in the 1930 elections. But they could not garner much support for its financial program and its Machurian policy led to it being forced out of power. Mr Inukai next formed the government and his subsequent assassination led to chaos again.

Constitutionalism failed in Japan due to many reasons. The Diet lacked meaningful legislative authority, and the government was dominated by a small elite of oligarchs from the samurai class and the bureaucracy. This limited democratization prevented the development of a truly representative and accountable political system.The military increasingly intervened in politics, sidelining civilian leaders and eroding democratic norms. The government became more centralized and repressive, suppressing dissent and curtailing civil liberties in the name of national unity and imperial expansion. The political parties were scrambling for petty benefits and were guided by personal interests which did not result in any political progress.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 4: Prince Yamagata belonged to which clan?

.....

Q 5: Who founded the Doshikai?

.....

Q 6: Prince Katsura had to give up his position in 1913 for what reasons? Mention any one.

.....



5.5 LET US SUM UP

After going through this Unit, we have learnt that-

- The rise of political parties in Japan is a complex and nuanced phenomenon which has evolved over the course of history of modern Japan. This marks a pivotal intriguing mark in the nation's political landscape, transforming the government structure and shaping its modern democracy. From the early Meiji period to the contemporary times, different political parties have played a crucial role in shaping Japan's democratic system and influencing its domestic and foreign policies.
- While there were attempts for a Constitutionally led government however the challenges were difficult to overcome. Various factors have influenced the decline of Constitutionalism including the shifts in power dynamics, societal changes and international influences.



5.6 FURTHER READING

1) Vinacke, Harlod M. (2020). *History of Far East in Modern Times*, Revised Edition, Kalyani Publishers.

2) Clyde P. H. and Beers B. F., (1991), *The Far East: A History of Western Impacts and Eastern Responses*, 1830-1975, (6th Edition), Waveland Press

3) Ebrey, P.B. (2010). *The Cambridge Illustrated History of China*. Cambridge University Press

4) Hsu,I. (1999). *The Rise of Modern China*. OUP

5) Shuyun, S. (2008). *The Long March: The History of Communist China's Founding Myth*. Anchor: USA.

5.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Itagaki

Ans to Q No 2: RikkenTeisheito

Ans to Q No 3: Japan Socialist Party (JSP)

Ans to Q No 4: The Chosu clan

Ans to Q No 5: Prince Katsura

Ans to Q No 6: No support from the public.

5.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions (answer each question within 50 words)

Q 1: What led to the erosion of democratic institutions?

Q 2: Who was Prince Yamagata?

Q 3: When was the Constitution promulgated?

B) Short Questions (answer each question within 150 words)

Q 1: Write short note on-

a. The Diet

b. Count Okuma

C) Long Questions (answer each question within 300-450 words)

Q 1: Explain the challenges of democracy in Japan and its consequences.

Q 2: Discuss the rise of political parties in Japan and its impications.

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UNIT 6 : JAPAN BETWEEN THE WARS

UNIT STRUCTURE

6.1 Learning Objectives

6.2 Introduction

6.3 The Manchurian Invasion of 1931

6.4 Second Sino-Japanese War

6.5 Anti-Commintern Pact

6.6 Berlin-Tokyo-Rome Axis

6.7 Industrialisation in Japan

6.8 Let Us Sum Up

6.9 Further Reading

6.10 Answers to Check Your Progress

6.11 Model Questions

6.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to-

- explain about the Manchurian Invasion of 1931
- explain the background of the Second Chino-Japanese War and how it spread in the world and paved the beginning of the Second World War in the pacific
- discuss about the Anti Commintern Pact
- discuss the factors led to the signing of Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis and its various terms and conditions
- analysethe growth and development of industrialisation in Japan.

6.2 INTRODUCTION

Dear Learners, in the previous Unit, we discussed the establishment of a democracy in Japan through the establishment of political parties. In this unit we will discuss about the Manchurian Invasion by Japan in the year 1931. Manchuria is one of the provinces of China. It is rich in mineral

resources. The word 'Manchurian' meansnative or inhabitant of Manchuria (in North-East China). The Empire of Japan's Kwantung army invaded Manchuria on 18th 1931, immediately following the Mukden incident. An explosion destroyed a section of railway track near the City of Mukden. China denied their involvement but Japan was adamant that it was China which had harmed the railway. This was used as a pretext by the Japanese invasion of China. At the end of the war in February 1932, the Japanese established the puppet state of Manchukho.

We will also discuss The Second Sino-Japanese War. It was Chinese War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression. The war was fought between the Republic of China and the empire of Japan from 1937 to 1945 as part of the World war-ii. The total war between China and Japan is often regarded as the beginning of World War II, although some scholars considered the war "European War and the Pacific War". It was the largest Asian War in the 20th century. After the Japanese attack on Malaya and Pearl Harbour in 1941, the war merged with other conflicts which are generally categorized under the Chinese, Burma, India theatre of World War-ii by the allies.

In this unit we shall also discuss about the anti-Commintern pact. Anti commintern means, the communist international, also known as the third international, was an international organization founded in 1919 that advocated world communism, and which was led and controlled by the communist party of the Soviet Union. Anti Commintern Pact, was an agreement concluded first between Germany and Japan (November, 25, 1936) and then between Italy, Germany and Japan in November, 6, 1937. The Anti-Commintern Pact was an agreement between Germany, Italy and Japan that they would work together to stop the spread of communism around the globe. It was one of the truly momentous and horrifying conjunctures of the twentieth century

We will also discuss about the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis was the alliance between Italy, Germany and Japan which fought against Allied forces in the World war-ii. It was an agreement formulated by Italy's foreign minister

Galeazzo Ciamo informally linking the two Fascist countries, was reached on October, 25, 1936. The alliance originated in a series of agreements between Germany and Italy, followed by the proclamation of an "axis" binding Rome and Berlin with the two powers claiming that the world would henceforth rotate on Rome-Berlin Axis.

In this unit we will also discuss about the period of Meiji Restoration that finally abolished the strict class system and created a more free and democratic system that allowed the Japanese people to unleash their full potential. Under this new democratic system, Japan modernized and developed rapidly. In order to facilitate this process, the Meiji Government turned to the models set by the U. S. and European countries.

6.3 THE MANCHURIAN INVASION OF 1931

Manchuria is one of the provinces of China. It is rich in mineral resources. The word 'Manchurian' meansnative or inhabitant of Manchuria (in North-East China). The Empire of Japan's Kwantung army invaded Manchuria on 18th 1931, immediately following the Mukden incident. An explosion destroyed a section of railway track near the City of Mukden. China denied their involvement but Japan was adamant that it was China which had harmed the railway. This was used as a pretext by the Japanese invasion of China. At the end of the war in February 1932, the Japanese established the puppet state of Manchukho.

Japanese economic presence and political interest in Manchuria had been growing ever since the end of the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05). The Treaty of Portsmouth that ended the war had granted Japan the lease of South Manchuria Railway branch. The Japanese government, however, claimed that this control included all the rights and privileges that China granted to Russia in the 1896 Li-Lobanov Treaty, as enlarged by the Kwantung Lease agreement of 1898. Meanwhile the newly formed Chinese government was attempting to reassert its authority over the country after

over a decade of fragmented warlord dominance. She started to claim that treaties between China and Japan were invalid.

Japan's i nterest in Manchuria lay in the following reasons-

- Japan wanted Manchuria to settle her increasing population in Manchuria.
- To make Manchuria a market, to dump her finished goods.
- Japan wanted to occupy fertile Manchuria in a bid to tide over crisis created by economy depression of 1929-31.
- Aggressive nationalism of Japan was interpreted to mean strong international policy.
- China wanted to increase tariff autonomy which was against the interests of Japan.
- USA was exercising her influence through Chiang-Kai-Shek and Soviet Union through Communist Party. So, Japan also desired to increase her influence over Manchuria and China.
- Japan thought that it can end her isolation in international field by following an aggressive policy.
- Occupation of Manchuria and defiance of League of Nations isolated Japan.
- To establish a buffer zone between itself and the Soviet Union.

Manchurian Crisis and League of Nations-

The Manchurian Crisis proved that the League of nations had no stopping power nor the ability to stop a crime committed by one state towards another. Japan ultimately left the League of Nations in March 1933.

There were reasons why the League of Nations did not more forcibly intervene against Japanese aggression. Primarily, it was the age of the great depression. No state had money or the means, or the desire to present itself as a protector in Asia. The closest super power that could at least theoretically stop was the Soviet Union. However, the Soviet Union joined the League in1934, by which time Japan had already left the organization.

The Manchurian Crises was an artificially instigated operation by the Japanese Kwantung Army in Manchuria in 1931. At the time, the confidence of the Japanese army was at an all time high, so high in fact that the government in Tokyo rarely dared to challenge the army officials thinking that the army had the means to overthrow even the Japanese Government.

Nevertheless, when the Great Depression hit the global economy, even Japan was affected with over a third of its workforce to gather, Japan needed new territories from which it could recover from heavy burden of the Great Depression.

Results of the Manchurian Crisis-

The Manchurian incident also known as the Mukden incident occurred the reign of Manchuria in North Eastern China. The incident was a staged event that was used as a pretext for the Japanese invasion and occupation of Manchuria. The effects of the Manchuria incident were significant and far-reaching. The effects of the Manchuria incident were significant and far-reaching.

- It posed a common front to the Nationalists as well as the Communist of China. As a result, the Nationalist Government of Chiang -Kai -Sek which had so far been at draggers drawn with the Chinese Communist, now came to terms with them.
- A rapprochement which was quiet 1qunexpected between the Nationalist and Communist could be brought very easily in the face of common threat from the Japanese.
- Japan's aggressive policy in Manchuria stimulated national sprit of the Chinese people who forgot for the time being their ideological and political difference and presented a united front when Japan began her full-scale invasion on China.
- It led to the establishment of Japanese controlled puppet state of Manchuria, which further escalated tensions between Japan and China.

- Japan's relation with China was further embittered because her Manchukuo adventure. It threatened Russian position in North Manchuria which led to repeated clashes between Manchukuo and Russian's protected areas along the boundary between them and in the regions of the Amur River and Outer Mongolia.
- The incident also contributed to the deterioration of Japan's relations with the international community, particularly with the League of Nations, and ultimately set the stage for broader conflict in Asia-Pacific region, including the Second Chino-Japanese War.
- It inaugurated a new order in East Asia. The equilibrium established by Washington Conference was destroyed and Nine-Power Treaty, League Covenant and the Pact of Paris were thrown to the winds. Hence the Manchurian Incident was a disappointing test of the collective security

Key Notes-

Japan too was suffering from the Great depression.

Japan needed new resources and new land to mine these resources.

- Japan instigated a false flag operation in Mukden
- The Japanese Kwantung Army sabotaged South Manchuria Railway with dynamite by the Japanese and blamed it on China.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: When did Manchurian Crisis Began?

.....

Q.2: Which incident instigated Japan to start invasion of Manchuria?

.....

6.4 SECOND SINO-JAPANESE WAR

The Second Sino-Japanese War, also known as the Second China-Japan War and the Chinese War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression, was fought between the Republic of China and the empire of Japan from 1937 to 1945 as part of the World war-ii. The total war between China and Japan is often regarded as the beginning of World War II, although some scholars considered the war "European War and the Pacific War". It was the largest Asian War in the 20th century. After the Japanese attack on Malaya and Pearl Harbour in 1941, the war merged with other conflicts which are generally categorized under the Chinese, Burma, India theatre of World War-II by the allies.

Key events of the War-

- **Aggressive attitude of Japan led to the** war.
- Awakening and opposition of Japan in China.
- Unity of Kuomintang and Communist Parties.
- Feelings of Chinese that their calamities and economic miseries were due to Japan.

1. Marco-Polo Incident (July 7, 1937) – This incident near Beijing marked the beginning of the war.
2. Shanghai Battle (august 13, 1937 to Nov 26, 1937) – The Battle of Shanghai was one of the earliest and bloodiest engagements of the war. Japanese forces launched a full-scale assault on the city which resulted in heavy casualties on both sides.
3. Nanjing Massacre (Dec, 1937 to Jan, 1938) – following the fall of Nanjing (Nanking), Japanese forces carried out a brutal campaign of mass killings, rapes and atrocities against Chinese civilians and soldiers which was known as the Nanjing Massacre or the Rape of Nanking.
4. Battle of Tai'erzuang (March, 1938)- Chinese forces achieved a significant victory over Japanese forces at Tai'erzuang, temporarily slowing the Japanese advance.
5. Battle of Wuhan (11th June-27th Oct, 1938)- Wuhan was an important industrial and transportation hub in Central China. The battle of Wuhan

witnessed intense fighting, but, Japanese forces eventually captured the city.

6. Chinese Communists-Guerrilla Warfare- throughout the war, Chinese Communists forces under the leadership of Mao-Zedong, conducted guerrilla warfare behind Japanese lines. The strategy helped to tie down Japanese forces and contributed to the overall resistance effort.
7. U. S. support for China- The United States began providing support to China in the forms of loans and military aid under the Lend Lease Act (An Act to promote the defence of the United States, was made a law on 11th March, 1941)
8. Doolittle Raid: In a daring raid led by Lieutenant Colonel James Doolittle, American bombers launched an air raid on Tokyo and other Japanese cities, demonstrating that Japan was vulnerable to attack. This boosted Chinese morale and had psychological impact on Japan. China fought Japan with aid from the Soviet Union and the United States. After the Japanese attacks on Malaya and Pearl Harbour in 1941, the war merged with other conflicts-which are generally categorized under those conflicts of second World War as a major sector known as the China- Burma-India theatre. Some scholars consider the European war and the pacific war to be entirely separate, albeit concurrent, Wars. other scholars consider the start of the full scale Second Sino-Japanese War in the 20th century. It accounted for the majority of civilian and military casualties in the pacific war, in between 10 and 25 million Chinese and Japanese military personal missing or dying from war-related violence, famine and other causes the war has been called “The Asian Holocaust”

The Second Sino-Japanese War came to an end in August, 1945, after the United States detonated nuclear weapons over Hiroshima nad Nagasaki. Russian troops invaded forces in China were ordered to surrender to Liang-Jieshi and Nationalists.

Results-

The Second Sino-Japanese War had significant consequences for both China and Japan. China experienced immense human suffering, the millions of casualties and widespread destruction. The war contributed to the strengthening of the Chinese communist party and set the stage for the Chinese Civil War. For Japan, the conflict led to its isolation and eventual defeat in 1945, with the dropping of atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki by the United States. The War's aftermath had lasting implications for the geopolitics of East-Asia.

Effects of the war

Sino-Japanese war came to close technically only with the close of the second World War. The War had its effects on national and international fronts.

- It decreases the influence of Chaing -Kai-Sheik.
- The people of China who were under Chiang Kai- Sheikh Government now felt helpless.
- Increased the influence of Communists.
- In international field there was also significant effects. Japan had set up new puppet Government which were recognised by the Germany. Spain, Italy, Rumania etc.
- The creation of new state created a disadvantageous situation for China. At this juncture Russia sided with Kuomintang Communist Government and thus China titled towards Russia.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q. 3: When did the Second Sino-Japanese War start?

.....

Q. 4: What is the Lend-Lease Act?

.....

6.5 ANTI- COMMINTERN PACT

Commintern means, the communist international, also known as the third international, was an international organization founded in 1919 that advocated world communism, and which was led and controlled by the communist party of the Soviet Union. Anti Commintern Pact, was an agreement concluded first between Germany and Japan (November, 25, 1936) and then between Italy, Germany and Japan in November, 6, 1937.

In the meantime, Hitler received the adhesion of General Franco and gave fresh assurances to Poland. On November, 5, 1937 he concluded a minorities treaty with Poland and assured Lipski-the Polish ambassador to Berlin that Danzing was definitely bound up with Poland. It created a defence alliance between the countries and was largely intended to deter the United States from entering conflict. Hungary, Romania, Slovakia, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Croatia were later signatories to the pact. It was an Anti-Communist agreement that was primarily directed against the Soviet Union.

The Anti-Commintern Pact was an agreement between Germany, Italy and Japan that they would work together to stop the spread of communism around the globe. It was one of the truly momentous and horrifying conjunctures of the twentieth century.

Hitler concluded the Anti-Commintern Pact with Japan, apparently against Russia but really directed against Russia and the West. The signatories pledged to exchange information on the activities of the commintern to co-operative in preventive and punitive measure against the commintern agents, and to sign no political treaties with the U. S. S. R. once again, here was a bait for Britain to fall building up of the dam higher and higher against the Bolshevik flood.

The anti-Commintern Pact provided that “The signatories undertake to inform each other of the activities of the Communist International, to consult each other on the necessary protective measures, and to carry out such measures in close cooperation with other countries whose permanent peace is menaced by the decomposing work of the communist international are invited to take protective measures in the spirit of this agreement or to join

the agreement. The agreement terminates in November, 1941 but the signatories will in time agree upon their further cooperation before the agreement expires". After concluding this pact Japan began a new campaign against China and Russia, Japan had established her influence over Marco Polo Bridge, Peking etc. Chiang Kai-Sheik tried his best to secure the position of China. Declaration of an organization of the Communist and the Nationalist was also made but failed to check the advancing steps of Japan ON December 1937, Japanese also established their control over Nanking, the capital of China.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q. 5: Which countries signed the Anti-Commintern Pact?

.....

Q.6: Who was Lipski?

.....

6.6 ROME-BERLIN-TOKYO AXIS

Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis was the alliance between Italy, Germany and Japan which fought against Allied forces in the World war-ii. It was an agreement formulated by Italy's foreign minister Galeazzo Ciamo informally linking the two Fascist countries, was reached on October, 25, 1936. The alliance originated in a series of agreements between Germany and Italy, followed by the proclamation of an "axis" binding Rome and Berlin with the two powers claiming that the world would henceforth rotate on Rome-Berlin Axis.

Japan joined the axis powers because it had ambitions to build an empire in the pacific. This made the United States and Great Britain, the two most powerful countries in the pacific besides Japan, Japan's natural enemies.

Why did Japan join the Axis Power-

On September, 1940, Japan signed the Tripartite Pact with Germany and Italy, thus entering the military alliance known as the 'Axis'. The alliance between Germany and Japan both cause and effect of the worldwide political and economic crisis of 1930. Japan joined the Axis powers because it had ambitions to build an empire in the pacific. This made the United States and Great Britain, the two most powerful empires in the pacific besides Japan, Japan's natural enemies.

Japan emerged into the world stage in a powerful way in the early 20th century, handing the Russians an embarrassing defeat in 1904-05 and carving out chunks of the Pacific Ocean. As its pacific ambitions grew, so did the chances of conflict with Great Britain and the United States. Britain was still clinging to the last vestiges of its global empire in south and South East Asia. Meanwhile, the United States had been expanding westward in to the pacific since the 19th century. Just as had happened in Germany and Italy in the 1920s and 1930s, Japan embraced a dictatorship and began violently expanding.

Two events in the 1930s and early 1940s pushed Japan firmly into Axis camp. Firstly, The Japanese invasion of China, starting 1931, and the U. S. placing oil for embargo (forbidding foreign ships to enter, or any ships to leave, its ports). The invasion of China was an unprovoked war of aggression that difficult its reputation with most of the world. It particularly made the British and Americans wary of Japan's plans for the Pacific. In August, 1941, relations between the U. S. put an oil embargo on Japan. Oil was the life hood for the naval power like Japan. The stage was set for Japan's surprise attack on Pearl Harbour in December, 1941. Japan's attack on the allies in World War-ii, naturally pushed it into an alliance with Axis.

6.7 INDUSTRIALISATION

The Industrial Revolution in Japan occurred during the Meiji era. The industrial revolution began around 1870 as Meiji era leaders decided to catch up with the West.

In reaction to the west's great advancement, Japan's industrialization began in 1870, during the Meiji Restoration. Government leaders called for the improvement of roads, construction of railroads and further improvements to modernize Japan.

Factors led to the industrialization in Japan-

There were three factors that Japan industrialized-

1. Introduction of foreign technology
2. Stable import dependence.
3. Hard working.

During the period of Meiji Restoration that finally abolished the strict class system and created a more free and democratic system that allowed the Japanese people to unleash their full potential. Under this new democratic system, Japan modernized and developed rapidly. In order to facilitate this process, the Meiji Government turned to the models set by the U. S. and European countries.

In 1871, Tomomi Iwakura (Minister of Right) under the Meiji Government, set off from Japan as Ambassador Extraordinary and plenipotentiary (a person, especially a diplomate, invested with the full power of independent action on behalf of their government, typically in a foreign country) on a diplomatic expedition known as the "Iwakura Mission" with 107 top government officials, scholars and young students participating, the Iwakura Mission spent over a year travelling through the US and various countries of Europe. The Iwakura Mission observed and recorded in great detail about various aspects of American and European societies, from politics to industry, commerce and even agriculture. Through their observations, they came to realize that the military power of western nations lies in their industrial might.

Not long after the mission, Japan became fully socused on the introduction of policies intended to enrich the nation through modernization and industrialization. Thus, it is no overstatement to say that Japan's modernization began with the Iwakura Mission.

The rapid modernization of Japan of the early Meiji era(1868-1912) was thanks to the progress made in the Edo(1603-1868). It was

during the Edo period when a large number of common people learned to read and write at local temple schools. The publishing industry flourished as a result. Arguably, Japan's primary education was the best in the world at the time.

The education system of the Edo period was the important reason for the rapid industrialization and the arrival of the capitalist Japanese economy during the Mejji period. This would also play an influential role in the rise of Japan as a modern power.

Impact of the industrial revolution in Japan-

The rapid industrialization of Japan helped to modernize the Japanese Army and Navy to an extent that it would take on major European powers. The first of those was Russia. Invasion of Korea by Russia held in 1904, the Japanese army and navy inflicted a series of defeat on the Russian European.

After World War-I, Japan made new alliances with its former foes forming the Axis alliance.

With mounting confidence in its own industrial might, Japan would invade China in 1936 and Japan would ignite World War-II in the pacific by attacking the U. S. naval base time at Pearl Harbour in December,1941, but, this time it would meet its match in the adversary that had initially opened its doors to the industrial revolution, to begin with.

Benefits of Industrialization in Japan-

1. It abolished the Shogunate and feudalism
2. Agricultural productivity improved due to the diffusion of best practices in agriculture across Japan.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q. 7: When did Japan join the Axis Power?

.....

Q. 8: When did U. S. launch an attack on Pearl Harbour?

.....



6.8 LET US SUM UP

After going through this unit we have learnt that-

- The Second Sino-Japanese War, also known as the Second China-Japan War and the Chinese War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression, was fought between the Republic of China and the empire of Japan from 1937 to 1945 as part of the World war-II. The total war between China and Japan is often regarded as the beginning of World War II .
- The Second Sino-Japanese War had significant consequences for both China and Japan. China experienced immense human suffering, the millions of casualties and widespread destruction.
- The Anti Commintern Pact was an agreement between Germany, Italy and Japan that they would work together to stop the spread of communism around the globe.
- The Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis was the alliance between Italy, Germany and Japan which fought against Allied forces in the World war-II.

Japan joined the axis powers because it had ambitions to build an empire in the pacific. This made the United States and Great Britain, the two most powerful countries in the pacific besides Japan, Japan's natural enemies.



6.9 FURTHER READING

1) Vinacky Herald. M. (1982), A History of the Far East in Modern Times, Kalyani publishers, New Delhi.

2) Singh, A. K. (1984), History of the Far East in Modern Times, Surjeet Publications, New Delhi.

3) Gupta, M. G. (1998), International Relations Since 1919, Chaitanya Publishing House, Allahabad.

6.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: 1931.

Ans to Q No 2: Mukden Incident.

Ans to Q No 3: 1937.

Ans to Q No 4: An Act to promote the defence of the United States, was made a law on 11th March, 1941)

Ans to Q No 5: Italy, Germany and Japan.

Ans to Q No 6: A Polish Ambassador.

Ans to Q No 7: 1940.

Ans to Q No 8: 1941.

6.11 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions (answer each question within 50 words)

Q 1: What factors led to the industrialization in Japan?

Q 2: What were the main causes and consequences of the Sino-Japanese War?

B) Short Questions (answer each question within 150 words)

Q 1: Write short note on-

a. Anti-Commintern Pact

b. Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis

C) Long Questions (answer each question within 300-450 words)

Q 1: In what ways was the Manchurian Crisis responsible for World War-II ? Discuss.

Q 2: Explain the consequence of the Sino-Japanese War.

*** ***** ***

UNIT 7 : JAPAN AND WORLD WAR II

UNIT STRUCTURE

7.1 Learning Objectives

7.2 Introduction

7.3 Role of General Tojo

7.4 New Order

7.5 Greater Asia Co-prosperity Zone

7.6 The Dropping of Atom Bomb by USA and surrender of Japan

7.7 Let Us Sum Up

7.8 Further Reading

7.9 Answers to Check your Progress

7.10 Model Questions

7.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this Unit, you will be able-

- explain the political condition of Japan during the World War II,
- discuss the role of General Tojo in the World War,
- discuss the attempt at creating New Order and a Greater East Asia co-prosperity zone,
- discuss the condition under which Japan was compelled to surrender.

7.2 INTRODUCTION

Dear Learners, in the previous Unit, we discussed the events that unfolded from 1919 till the beginning of the World War II. In this Unit, we will be specifically discussing the involvement of Japan in the World War II and the consequences. We will also make an attempt at analysing the condition of Japan during this period of time.

Let us try to understand what led Japan to join in the second World War. Japan began her aggressive imperialist policy during the World War II when she attacked the Chinese army. In 1931, a bomb exploded at Mukden which caused a slight damage to South Manchuria railway line, owned by

Japan. Holding the Chinese Government responsible for it, Japan at once attacked Manchuria and drove its Governor, Chang Hsueh-hang. Manchuria was overrun by the Japanese forces and a puppet government was set up in its place.

- In 1932, Manchukuo was officially announced an independent state. Though it got no recognition from other states, yet its administration was carried off by the Japanese officials. As a protest against the forcible occupation of Manchukuo province from China by Japan, the former declared an economic blockade. Thus, all Japanese goods were boycotted in China. In response, Japan sent its troops in Shanghai and over powered the Chinese troops. China then appealed for invoking the Kellog-Briand pact, to which Japan was also a signatory.

- The League of Nations appointed the Lytton committee to analyze the SinoJapanese relations. However, the recommendation offered by the committee was not acceptable for the Japanese counterpart, as Manchukuo was suggested to be made an autonomous province under the Chinese command. Japan totally threw away the suggestions to the wind and withdrew itself from the League of Nations.

- Japan soon occupied Jehol and annexed it to Manchukuo. The Chinese Government then concluded the Tongku truce formally giving away Jehol to Manchuko and declaring it autonomous under Japanese protection in 1933. Thus, Japan could control China from the Northern belt. By the same truce, a demilitarized zone was created between the Great Wall and PekingTientsin Railway.

- Japanese aggression soon became a rage and in 1934, the Tokyo Foreign office warned the western powers of bitter consequence if they embezzled in their China affair. They were equally vocal that China should accept no help from outside. In the meantime it continued its policy of aggression in China by attempting to detach the northern portion from mainland China. Thus, the East Hopei Autonomous Council was set up in 1935. Similarly, the remaining portion of Hopei was joined with Chahar under the Hopei Chahar Political Council.

- The reason for such aggression and strategic interest in running

an autonomous regime in Northern china was two-fold: to create a buffer state against the attack of Russia and financial gain, of transforming China as a market or consumer rather than producer of goods. As a result, Japan earned a lot of enemies. China and the western powers were totally disillusioned with Japan over her activity in Manchuria.

Russo-Japan relation was strained due to Japan's policy in Manchuria, a territory of interest of Russia. Hence, Japan turned to Italy and Germany in order to save her possession in Manchuria and the anti-commintern Pact was signed between them in 1936. The League of Nations failed to bring peace. The treaty of Washington and the Kellog Briand pact failed desperately to facilitate collective security.

On December 7, 1941 Japan declared war and the next big thing was the bombing of the Pearl Harbor. The next day, Britain, US declared their offensive position against Japan. They were soon joined by China, the Dominions and the Netherland Government. In the meantime she had been exerting pressure on the French base in Indo-China and thus the European powers believed that Japan would be the first to strike in order to make her claims over the territories.

On the day prior to the attack on the Pearl Harbour, a Japanese fleet arrived in the Gulf of Siam and poured troops in the French Indo-China. The attack on Pearl Harbour signaled the immediate attacks on Manila, Singapore, Burma, and Hong Kong etc. Three days after the Pearl Harbour attack, Italy and Germany honoring their tripartite agreement declared a full-fledged war against the US and its allies. On December 10, Britain counter attacked the Japanese force by sending her battleship (Prince of Wales) and battle cruiser (Repulse) but it received a heavy blow from the enemy. On February 15, the Singapore garrison was forced to surrender to the Japanese might.By May, all Burma was under the Japanese control and even the Burma Road (supply route from Burma to China). Bali, Java, Sumatra, Phillipines too fell easily to the hands of Japan. However, soon the tide turned in the favor of the European powers. With the victories in the Coral Sea and off Midway in 1942 causing Japan to lose her aircraft carriers, it led to the rounding off the latter's territorial possessions. However, it was

not until 1944 that the European powers could accumulate enough wealth and resources to take on a serious battle in the Pacific, as the Pacific extends over a large area. The weapons mostly used were the aircraft carriers and warships. By the end of 1943, New Guinea had been recaptured. In November 1943, the American forces attacked Tarawa, and then it took on Marshalls, Marianas and Carolines. The greatest naval battle was fought on 19 October, 1944 in Leyte. By 1945 Philippines was won over. America and her allies now closed on towards Japan and took Iwo Jima and Okinawa under continuous air bombings. Burma too became a battle ground as the Burma Road was closed down by Japan and it proved a disaster for China as all supplies coming from the west was blocked. Thus in 1943, a South East Asia Command (SEAC) was formed. Accordingly, Burma was ravaged and in 1945, 22 January the Burma Road was declared Reopened. Rangoon fell at the hands of the western powers in May the same year.

7.3 ROLE OF GENERAL TOJO

Hideki Tojo, a prominent figure in Imperial Japan, served as an Army general and Prime Minister during most of World War II, gaining notoriety for his role in the attack on Pearl Harbor, which initiated the Pacific War lasting until 1945. Prior to the Pearl Harbor attack, signs of escalating tensions between Japan and the Allied powers, particularly America and Britain, indicated an imminent conflict. Tojo earned the moniker ‘Razor Tojo’ for his efficiency and rapid rise through the army ranks.

During the Sino-Japanese War of the 1930s, Tojo led Japanese forces in Manchuria and later assumed the position of Kwantung Army chief of staff in 1937. His influence expanded further when he became the army vice minister in 1938 and the army minister in 1940. Tojo advocated for an alliance between Japan, Germany, and Italy, striving to strengthen ties between these nations. As Prime Minister and army minister during WWII, Tojo wielded significant power and concurrently held key positions such as Foreign Minister, Education Minister, Home Minister, and Minister of Commerce and Industry. Despite his aspirations to establish a dictatorship

akin to those of Stalin and Hitler, Tojo faced challenges in consolidating absolute authority. Tojo's popularity waned in the latter years of World War II, precipitating his resignation on July 18, 1944, following Japan's loss of Saipan to the Allied Forces. While assassination attempts surfaced in 1944, they proved unsuccessful. Tojo's downfall culminated in his trial for war crimes, where he was found guilty and sentenced to death. He was executed by hanging on December 23, 1948.

The Treaty of Portsmouth marked the onset of anti-American sentiments among the Japanese, fueling discontent over perceived injustices and Japan's economic struggles resulting from the war. The Immigration Control Act of 1924, which barred Asian immigration to the United States, further strained relations between Japan and the U.S., reflecting racial discrimination and exacerbating tensions. Initially lauded for Japan's military victories, Tojo's popularity surged in 1942, bolstered by a wave of nationalist fervor. However, internal strife within the Japanese army hindered Tojo's leadership throughout the war, impeding effective decision-making and coordination. Following Japan's defeat, Tojo resigned in July 1944, unable to negotiate peace or ensure Japan's survival. Emperor Hirohito announced Japan's unconditional surrender on August 15, 1945, formalized on September 2. Tojo attempted suicide but survived, facing trial as a class-A war criminal for atrocities committed during the war. Despite his desire to shoulder blame for the conflict, Tojo was sentenced to death on November 12, 1948, and subsequently hanged, marking the end of his tumultuous legacy.

7.4 NEW ORDER

The concept of 'New Order' preceded the idea of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere by Japan. The Munich Agreement of 1938 signaled a shift in global power dynamics, with Western powers focusing on European stability while Japan pursued its expansionist policies in Asia. This shift contributed to the perception of Japan as a potentially destabilizing force in the Asia-Pacific region, prompting the United States to reassess its relations with Japan and its strategic interests in the region. Japan in a note

stated-

"Japan at present is devoting her energy to the establishments of a new order upon genuine international justice throughout east Asia…."

The New Order or Asian Munroe Doctrine was declared by Japanese Prime Minister Prince Konoe in 1940. He called it as fundamental National Policy of Japan. By declaring this, it called for an internal reorganization which would permit the Japanese nation to utilize Asia. in taking advantages of opportunity created by German Victory in Europe for the establishment of the new Order in Greater East Asia. By this Order, Japan wanted to introduce new land development plans. Japan wanted to established world peace by setting up an unshakable national structure for developing a strong and prosperous Japan to meet its requirements both at home and abroad.

Main Provisions of New Order

- Japan will direct its foreign policy towards the settlement of China affairs.
- National Educational policy will be thoroughly renovated with stress on service to Japanese State.
- Laying the strong foundation for state structure through complete renovation.
- Powerful national structure with unified control of Government affairs of Japan.
- Diet will be renovated to assist the Emperor. Bureaucracy will be thoroughly reformed for bringing unity and efficiency.
- Foundation of new economy will be with Japan. Manchukuo and China as its center and co-operative sphere will also be developed there.
- A unitary control system covering production, distribution and consumption of important essential commodities.
- Banking control towards development of nation's economic power.
- An epoch-making expansion of vital industries, especially heavy chemical, machine industries, science and technological rationalization of production.
- Inauguration of permanent measures concerning the promotion of stamina and physical strength of the Japanese nation and especially

fundamental measures concerning the security and the development of agriculture and agricultural commodities.

Following this prudence, slogan of "Asia for Asians" had been given by Asian Conference on 5th October, 1937. By New Order Japan wanted to make herself on strong and prosperous. She wanted to stress by this new order that she was not going to give up aggressive policy in China.

While the definition was not cleared, its scope indicated the need to replace the Chinese Government headed by Chiang Kai Shek with one that would act in 'cooperation' with Tokyo. It involved the liquidation of Western imperialism in China and ultimately through East and Southeastern Asia. It had plans to eliminate communism and thus the elimination of Russia from the area east of Baikal. The economic aim was to create a self-sufficient economic bloc with Japan, Manchukuo and China.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: When was the Immigration Control Act passed?

.....

Q 2: State the scope of the 'New Order' as envisioned by Japan.

.....

7.5 GREATER ASIA CO-PROSPERITY ZONE

The Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere was a concept created by Japan during World War II with the aim of establishing a bloc of Asian nations under Japanese hegemony. It was officially announced by Japanese Prime Minister Fumimaro Konoe in 1940. The concept was presented as a pan-Asian initiative to liberate Asian nations from Western colonialism and imperialism. However, in reality, it served as a pretext for Japanese expansionism and domination in the Asia-Pacific region.

- Under the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, Japan sought to create economic and political partnerships with Asian countries, portraying itself as a benevolent leader promoting mutual prosperity and independence.

- To eliminate Anglo-American imperialism and to substitute in its place a self-sufficient economic system in Asia, in which all people would enjoy prosperity in common.
- The Greater East Asia was to be welded together into an economic whole in which Japan, Manchukuo and parts of China would be the main industrial centers and other countries within the sphere were to co-operate with them by providing help and raw materials.
- In the areas which Japan liberated from foreign rule, Japanese set up independent Governments of native leaders but took care to select such collaborators as would government according to the lines laid down by them.

However, in practice, Japan imposed its military and economic control over the occupied territories, exploiting their resources and manpower for its war effort. The implementation of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere led to Japanese military aggression and occupation in various Asian countries, including China, Korea, Southeast Asia, and parts of the Pacific Islands.

The Greater East Asia Personnel Training committee was established in Japan with the purpose of training the personnel who will be "leaders in the first line of the reconstruction work". The Japanese have said that the winning of the war depends entirely on the ability of the officials to lead the natives in Greater East Asia.

In November 1942 the Ministry of Greater East Asia was set up. This necessitated a reorganization of the whole system of the Japanese government because the necessities of government in the southern areas demanded that many more officials be sent from Japan and her colonies. The organisation of the new ministry met certain resistance from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It was decided that the new ministry would administer all business affairs in Greater East Asia, and would take over protection of the Japanese interest within this region.

In considering the question of Japanese administration in the occupied regions, one should remember that there has been applied a variety of forms though the aim remained everywhere the same. Since the Japanese

conquest the Philippines and Burma have received military governments working through native government's, the Netherlands Indies and British Malaya are governed as colonies, no promise of independence being given to them. In each region a military administration was established under the supervision of the supreme military commander of that area. In all these offices there is a certain number of military men whose duty it is to maintain the unity and consistency of the policy and many civil officials, Japanese and natives. The head of the departments and the governors in Malaya, Hongkongand Netherlands Indies are Japanese.

The Japanese established quotas for every locality to supply so many members, but they claim that enthusiasm on the part of the natives was so great that these quotashave to be raised. For example, Rangoon the quota was raised from 5,000 to 10,000. In December 1942, the Japanese military administration announced the establishment in the near future of a new organisation, the Java Leaders Patriotic Society which was expected to greatly enhance the independence spirit.

Religious matters have not been forgotten in the construction of Greater East Asia. The officials and military men were reminded by Tokyo that followers of local religions should not be prosecuted by the armies of occupation. In May 1943 the ceremony of the Buddhist General Council of Greater East Asia was held at the Chingan Temple, Shanghai, attended by many Japanese and Chinese. The object of the council is to unite the Buddhists in the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere into a single body to assist prosecution of the war and foster development of the Buddhist spirit and relief work.

At the same time efforts are made to spread Japanese propaganda by all means: radio, schools, newspapers, cinema. A campaign has been launched against Coca cola, which is claim to contain a vicious drug and to be a habit-forming drink, according to the Japanese, Coca cola factories were established in Asia to bring the people under the soul and mind shattering influence of the insidious drug and so to make them more apt for Anglo American exploitation.

In planning the organization and exploration of the resources the

Bank of Japan was made the central monetary organisationnot only for Japan but for the whole of Greater East Asia and a central clearing house for all these countries. Under the Bank of Japan the specific work of organization of finance in these areas was entrusted to the newly established southern Development Bank. This Bank is to supply funds necessary for the development and utilisation of the natural resources of the area and for the regulation of financial operations in that area. Under this Bank some private banks are permitted to work, but only under strict supervision. On June 25, 1942, the Chinese residents of Singapore, cooperating with the Japanese authorities in the development of the Japan- controlled areas, and also give a donation of fifty million yen to the Japanese military administration.

The advantages received by the Japanese from the occupation of Southeast Asia are undoubtedly great. The occupation of Southeast Asia brought them not only much needed oil but also many important raw materials, and Japan did not lose time in trying to exploit them as fully as circumstances permitted. Southeast Asia also supplied soldiers for the Japanese war machine. In the Philippines and Burma there are military formations of natives under the command of Japanese officers, such units are planned for other countries.

On the other hand, it resulted in widespread atrocities, forced labor, and human rights abuses committed by the Japanese military against the local populations. Despite its propaganda rhetoric, the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere failed to achieve its objectives of fostering genuine cooperation and prosperity among Asian nations. Instead, it became synonymous with Japanese imperialism and aggression, contributing to the suffering and devastation inflicted upon the countries under Japanese occupation during World War II.

7.6 THE DROPPING OF ATOM BOMB BY USA AND SURRENDER OF JAPAN

Japan's involvement in World War II was marked by significant military aggression and expansion throughout the Asia-Pacific region. During

World War II, Japan was one of the major Axis power, alongside Germany and Italy. Japan's military campaign included the attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941, which brought the United States into the war. Meanwhile in April 1941, Russia and Japan concluded a treaty of Neutrality for five years, according to which if the signatory states be involved in war, the other would remain neutral. However,in 1945, Soviet Russia violated that treaty and declared that as Japan had been co-operative with Germany against Russia and had been involved in the war with Russia's allies Britain and America hence, Russia will not continue her friendship with Japan. In 1945, Japan was forced to surrender unconditionally when in the same month atom bombs were dropped upon Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

On August 15,1945 Japan unconditionally surrendered to the United States, although it still possessed a huge army which was prepared to face any American invasion. While the question has been raised as to why Japan surrendered without offering last- ditch resistance.

Let us understand what cercumstances did Japan surrender Japan's decision to surrender was the result of a gradual process. The surrender of Japan was much more often associated with increase in military vulnerability than in civilian vulnerability.

- Japan's military vulnerability became very high following the Soviet attack on Manchuria, the Army's commitment to Kestu-Go finally evaporated. The Army and pro-war Navy officials had recognised the weakness of Japan's resource base for some time. This however did not influence their views on surrender until the Soviet invasion had begun although before the Nagasaki bombing had occurred, the army agreed to a special meeting of the supreme war council. So, Army leaders to accept surrender, as evidenced by the fact that even after the Russian attack and clear indication that Japan could not defend itself. Thus, the timing of surrender was determined by the Soviet attack and not by the atomic bomb.
- The second most common argument, originally made by the strategic Bombing Survey, is that the conventional fire-bombing of Japanese cities was the main cause of surrender. However, the collapse of Japan's war economy did hasten the surrender, strategic bombing was not

responsible. The moral argument rests on Douthet's theory that inflicting extreme civilian costs causes publics to rise up against their own government to demand peace at nearly any price.

- Another argument of the Japanese surrender in war was the imperial intervention. Traditionally, the Emperor was not expected to participate in policy decision, and Hirohito's actions in August were the only direct political interventions of his reign. Nonetheless, Japanese society invested the emperor with such enormous prestige that it would be virtually impossible for anyone to refuse his directly expressed wish. When, once the government became deeply divided in April 1945, the Emperor could have demanded surrender at virtually any point, and those who favoured continuing the war would not have been able to resist him.

- The last alternative explanation for the change in Japan's position on surrender focuses on a supposed change in American demands, namely an assurance that the imperial institution would be preserved. According to this view Japanese would not have consented to surrender without this concession.

ATOMIC BOMBING

On 6 August 1945, the first atomic bomb in history was dropped on Hiroshima, Japan. Along with the Soviet entrance into the war on 8th August, the atomic bomb was one of the 'twin shocks' that finally compelled Emperor Hirohito to make the decision to surrender. Japan's top scientist deemed the production of atomic weapons impossible, the 'shock' of Hiroshima reverberated throughout the surrender decision process. In fact the Japanese army denied to believe that the Hiroshima bomb was atomic until the Russian invasion of Manchuria and dropping of the second bomb on Nagasaki on 9 August 1945.

The decision to drop the atomic bomb on Japan is a controversial topic and has been studied and discussed by numerous historians. One school (orthodox) stresses that the atomic bombing was necessary, that the bomb saved many American lives and that not using it would have been unconscionable.

Another school argues that the atomic bombing was unnecessary,

that American leaders knew that Japan was near defeat and hence near surrender and that the bomb was used for an ulterior purpose. By implication and often by assertion, the revisionists are quite surethat the war against Japan could have been ended without the bomb, that ulterior motives blocked other approaches and that the use of the bomb was clearly immoral. Between these two schools,a third has emerged and analysis to conclude a new synthesis that the A-bomb was conceived as a legitimate weapon to be used against the enemy, that this assumption under president Franklin D Roosevelt went largely unexamined and unchallenged, that Truman comfortably inherited this assumption and that it also fit his inclusions and desires and that the combat use of the bomb on Japan even came to seem both necessary and desirable. According to President Harry S. Truman, the bomb could help end the war on America's terms, possible avoid the dreaded invasions, punish the Japanese for Pearl Harbor and their mistreatment of POW's, fulfill bureaucratic needs, conform to the desires of the American people and intimidate the Soviet, perhaps making them tractable in Eastern Europe.

Historian Ronald Takaki wrote the book Hiroshima: why American dropped the bomb in 1996, he stated that the bomb was dropped not to end the war with Japan but control Russia.Japan now had no other choice but to give up her fight and the need became more urgent due to the atomic attack. Before the nuclear attack, in July Soviet declared war against Japan. On 6 August 1945 a bomb was dropped at Hiroshima and on 9 August another at Nagasaki. This double attack was more than enough and Japan accepted for an "unconditional surrender" on 14 August. On September 2, the agreement for an unconditional surrender was signed on board the "Missouri" in Tokyo Bay. The war in Pacific lasted for four months.

Causes and consequences of the defeat of Japan in the second World War—

Japan entered the second world war on December7,1941 due to American demand of evacuating all lands except Japan proper. Japan which had so much gained during the first world war was completely humbled down in the second world war. Even she could not protect

the prerogatives of her Emperor as sovereign ruler. Many causes were responsible for the downfall of Japan in the war—

- Protracted Chinese War
- Adherence to Neutrality Pact.
- Inferiority of Navy and Air Force
- Over ambitiousness of military Generals. Too much interference of military in policy making process of the country which lacked strategic planning.
- Lacked of tactical methods and joint strategy in war as compared with Allied nations.
- Japan could not adapt to new war situation as her enemies could do successfully.
- Japan had wrongly developed overconfidence among themselves without caring for resources of adversaries.
- Overconfidence in fighting sprit. In many critical situations during the war, Japan was unprepared.
- Disreputation of the Japanese Army caused the lost of cooperation of the people of conquered territories.
- Control of Japanese Government by extremists elements which proved harmful for the nation.
- Due to corruption, inefficiency and arrogant nature of the Japanese bureaucracy, Japan failed to administrative efficiency in conquered places.
- Japanese leaders lacked far-sightedness and tactful manoeuvring.
- Army and Navy lacked co-ordination in Japan even during war.
- Japan could not maintain lines of communication and supply with her communication and supply with her colonies to conduct war successfully.
- Japan became victim of Germany's war propaganda but made no joint efforts to win the war.
- No joint command or consultation among the axis powers as was between Churchil and Roosvelt and even with Stalin and Chiang Kai - Shek. Hitler Mussolini and Tojo did not favour joint strategy.

- Atomic power of USA brought Japan to her knees. Japanese resources were far lesser than the resources of China, USA and British Empire. When Russia joined war, Japan was bound to be defeated.

The defeat of Japan opened a new chapter in the History of the world. From a victorious nation, now Japan became a defeated nation under the hegemony of USA. Her political supremacy came to an end. USA forces occupied Japan and thus what she had gained during the First World War and after the war by following the policy of expansion she lost during the Second World War. But soon became a peaceful democratic and prosperous state.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 3: On what grounds did Japan surrender in the Second World War?

.....

Q 4: What was President Truman's justification for the bombing of Japan?

.....

Q 5. When was the Ministry of Greater East Asia was set up?

.....



7.7 LET US SUM UP

After going through this Unit, you have learnt that-

- The dropping of the nuclear bombs brought Japan to her knees. This event changed the course of history of Japan and Europe.
- The impact of the World War II was rich with consequences. Nations reeling under the colonial pressure now started asserting their independence. Nationalism ran high in places like India, Burma,

Malaya, etc. India and Pakistan became independent in 1947. The results of the atomic war can still be seen till today. Those who had to bear the brunt of the nuclear attack live today with serious health diseases. Their lives have been shattered. The physical and emotional strain caused by the war was immeasurable.

- The Allies under USA soon set up the recovery process for Japan. They (Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers under Douglas MacArthur) came to Japan and set up a dual system of Government.



7.8 FURTHER READING

1) Lowe, Norman.*Mastering Modern World History*. Macmillan Publishers Limited; United Kingdom

2) Maureillo, A. Joseph.*Japan and The Second World War: The Aftermath of Imperialism*

3) Groot, De. Michael (2010).*Building the New Order: 1938-1945*; Stanford University Spatial History Lab; 2010



7.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: 1924

Ans to Q No 2: One of the scope of the 'New Order' indicated theelimination of Russia from the area east of Baikal.

Ans to Q No 3: Bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki

Ans to Q No 4: The bomb could help end the war on America's terms.

Ans to Q No 5: 1942

7.10 MODEL QUESTIONS



A) Very Short Questions (answer each question within 50 words)

Q 1: Name the Emperor of Japan when Japan surrendered unconditionally.

Q 2: What was the purpose behind the establishment of the Bank of Japan

Q 3: State the orthodox view-point on the matter of the bombing of Japan.

B) Short Questions (answer each question within 150 words)

Q 1. Write short note on-

a. Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Zone

b. General Tojo

C) Long Questions (answer each question within 300-450 words)

Q 1: How did the bombing of Nagasaki and Hiroshima affect the direction of the World War II in Japan?

Q 2: What led to the emergence of the concept of a "New Order" and explain its implications?

*** ***** ***

UNIT 8 : UNDERSTANDING CHINA

UNIT STRUCTURE

8.1 Learning Objectives

8.2 Introduction

8.3 Society

8.4 Economy

8.5 Polity

8.6 Confucius

8.7 Let Us Sum Up

8.8 Further Reading

8.9 Answers to Check Your Progress

8.10 Model Questions

8.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to-

- discuss the origin and extent of the Chinese Civilization
- describe the society in ancient China
- explain the polity and economic life of the Chinese people in the ancient times
- discuss Confucius and his influence in the cultural life of China.

8.2 INTRODUCTION

Dear Learners, in the previous Unit, we discussed about the involvement of Japan in World War II and the conditions under which Japan had to surrender. This Unit is a part of Block 2 for the paper on the 'History of East Asia (1839-1949) and entirely dedicated to the understanding of the history of China. In this Unit we will make an attempt at understanding China from the pre-modern days or ancient times. This will help to analyse the historical events that transforms China from a landlocked country to being one of the dominant powers of Asia.

The Chinese Civilization was one of the advanced civilizations of

the world. They considered their country as 'Tien Hsia' which means the 'Country within the Heaven' or the 'Heavenly Empire'.

China is an Asian Country with a large territory. In the east of China there is the Pacific Ocean; in the north is the desert, and on the south-west, stands the high Himalayas. Due to these physical features China developed as an isolated country. Two important rivers of China are Hwang Ho and Yang-Chi-Kiang. River Hwang Ho is also known as the Yellow River.

8.3 SOCIETY

In the ancient time, the Chinese society consisted of the upper or the rich class and the lower or the poor class. Emperors, aristocrats, nobles belonged to the highest class of the Chinese society.To the next of the ruling class, the next highest in the social scale were the literati or the intellectuals and it was from among them that officials were selected. Next in order were the farmers, who were the largest group.The artisans followed next and the merchants and traders formed the second last of the social order. At the lowest rung were the servants and the soldiers.

Learning was held in high esteem and also most preferential for occupational positions as a result of which the intellectuals were the most respected in the early Chinese society. During the reign of the Han dynasty, in the Chungun University alone about 30,000 students got education. Even appointments to all the higher posts were made on the basis of competitive examinations. Under the Tangs, the State used to provide assistance to the poor brilliant students so that they could continue their studies.

However, the educational system in pre-modern China served the purpose of attracting men of ability to public service and of the merit of the educational system it must be emphasized that the examination system was applied honestly. However, the education at best only helped in preserving and perpetuating the ideas and traditions of the old order which led to a state of arrested development in all aspects of learning. Legal profession did not exist, medical practice was deceptive, etc.

Majority of the people in China were engaged in agriculture and

they lived in villages. Village life was centered around a temple. The temple grounds or adjacent area became the place for markets or theatrical entertainments. It also became the 'neutral territory' for peace talks among disputing parties in the village. Land holdings of the farmers were meagre owing to the distribution of land among the sons.

Despite the age-old tools used, the farmers were extremely skilled. However, the farmers gained little for mere subsistence. And they had to face dire consequences during the times of famine and other natural calamities. Their condition was precarious and they struggled for basic necessities of life rather than luxuries. They were also part of the Emperor military armies. They were called upon to serve the army according to the need of the times. While they did not receive any monetary remunerations but they were fed, provided weapons and uniform for the battle.

The family in ancient China was mostly a joint set up, where the husband and wife lived with the great-grandfather, grandfather, father and their sons. All of the members were under the control of the oldest male or the great-grandmother or grandmother who outlived her husband. A man in his 30s or 40s could not assume mastery over the household due to his age. Sons were preferred as compared to girls to carry forward the family name. This emphasis on family were at the roots of the development of ancestor worship.

A man would fail his father and his father's father if he bore no son. This obligation for a family also resulted in the growth of concubinage. An individual was not free to marry or remain single on his own. Celibacy in ancient China was severely frowned upon. Divorce though did exist, was rare in the Chinese society. A man could divorce his wife on the grounds of-fraud in the marriage contract, adultery or dissolute conduct, barrenness, jealousy, talkativeness etc. Widows could remarry but it was considered a disgrace. Moral law in ancient China bound the loyal wife to her husband even in death. It was a great honour to a family to have a widowed daughter -in-law who steadily refused to remarry.

Cultural practices and beliefs with regard to women in ancient China

was oppressive or unjust by modern standards. The most brutal symbol of the subjugation of Chinese women was the bound foot, a grotesque mutilation of the foot in which the four lesser toes were broken and bent under into the sole, and the sole heel were forced as close together as possible. The foot-binding become a predominantly female custom and spread to women of all segments of the society. From the court, the custom was picked up by the urban upper class which then gradually spread to the lower class.

The soldiers occupied a low place in ancient Chinese society. The Chinese armies were often composed of people of 'doubtful' character. The invading barbarians were also encouraged by the Chinese Emperor to join his army. Some of the prisoners of war were also engaged in the Chinese army.

The servants and the soldiers were at the lowest rung in the Chinese society. Most of the slaves were war captives. The condition of the slaves was pitiful and they could be sold and bought in the markets like a commodity.

Despite the harshness of their struggle with life, it was not altogether hopeless as they seized every opportunity to have amusements or a merry time. Eating was a source of enjoyment and feasting offered relief from their monotonous life. Gambling was a part of their leisurely entertainment. Theatrical entertainment was also an occasional event held for fun in the temple grounds. Wu shu, a traditional from of martial arts, was developed and later became a part of the Chinese culture. It isa self-defense mechanism practised by soldiers.

Honouring the ancestors after death was an important custom in ancient China. Rituals included gifting the dead ancestor at the grave sites and private shrines at home. Non-compliance to such rituals foreboded negative consequences for the people left behind by the deceased person. The burial places were considered the resting place of the dead and items like clothes, mirror, food etc., were placed for the dead which reveals the belief in afterlife among the Chinese people. Feng shui was practised in order to provide protection from evil spirits.



LET US KNOW

Feng Shui means 'wind and water' in Chinese. It stemmed from the Chinese belief that placement of things and objects in harmony with the natural world and the cosmos brings good energy.

As for food traditions, rice, millet (kind of grain), sorghum (a cereal grass) was harvested for consumption purpose. However, wheat became a part of the diet much later, second only to rice. Noodles made of millet was found in the Laija village along the Yangtze River valley. Meat was consumed on special occasions and only the rich were able to afford it. While initially tea was drunk as medicine or a stimulant it was during the Tang dynasty that tea drinking became a social tradition.

As for the religious practices in ancient China, the people were influence by a complex mixture of traditions, custom, beliefs and rituals. Taoism was mostly religious teachings while Confucianism stressed on behavioral aspects of an individual. Buddhism also exerted some influence on the religious lives of the Chinese people. We will discuss on Confucius and Confucianism in the later segment. The Chinese worshipped natural powers like rivers, wind, earth, heaven etc. According to them, all these natural powers had spirit. In ancient China, there was no priestly class to perform the religious rituals for the people. All the religious rituals were performed by either the person concerned or by the state. In ancient times the Chinese religious rituals were honestly observed. Sometimes animal sacrifices were also performed to please their gods and goddesses.

Buddhism was brought into China by the traders and the missionaries and in around 1st century CE through the Silk Route. But it was after the end of the Han Dynasty that Buddhism got popularity in China. It became a state religion by the 5th century CE. It was mainly the Mahayana sect of Buddhism that gained popularity in China.Among these many religious philosophers that influenced the early society in China, a few notable names were -Lao Tse, Confucius, Mencius, Chaung-tse, Mo Ti etc. The basic

principle of their philosophy was how to create an idealistic state and society. Culturally, pre-modern China was rich and great progress was made in China in the field of art and architecture. The art of pottery making was also encouraged in China during that period. In the field of architecture, very beautiful royal palaces, pagodas were constructed. In Chinese architecture, great importance was attached to the construction of walls around the palaces, temples and even to village houses. The Great Wall of China is a mighty example of the expert Chinese architecture. Chinese art reached its height in painting. Landscape painting and historical subjects were popular themes

In the field of Chinese literature, the Chinese script was standardized and an official list of 3300 characters was compiled. With the political unification of China, this script common in the whole country. With the passage of time, many new characters were added and the Chinese script became more artistic. The invention of paper in China in the 1st century A.D. brought about a revolutionary change in writing. Paper was made from the bark of trees, bamboo and rags. As paper was cheaper than silk, therefore it became very popular among the common masses of China. The growth of Chinese script and language and the writing materials encouraged the writing of a very rich literature in China. Besides classical literature, the Chinese philosophers also wrote beautiful prose. The Chinese rulers were great patrons of poetry. China was the paradise of historians. Some of the first historical works in the world were written in China. Each dynasty of China compiled its own history. They kept records of the day-to-day happenings of the state. The tradition of writing history has been well preserved through which can be found in the writings of the various Chinese dynasties.

The Chinese were known for their inventions which have impacted the society not just in China but globally. Bricks were discovered in China. This discovery resulted in the construction of many temples, canals and buildings. In addition to that, the Chinese discovered magnet and used it for inventing magnetic compasses that changed the course of history as it revolutionized the way sailors monitored their path in the sea. It was during

the Tang Dynasty, that the 'gun powder' was discovered during an experiment. This discovery led to the development of worlds first fireworks and firearms in China.

Paper was made from the bark of trees, bamboo and rags. Water and sun clocks were invented by the Chinese. Sun Chian prepared a calendar of 365 days during the time of the Han Dynasty. During the same time printing press was invented and it began to be used for printing books. Among the inventions were wheel barrow, matches, chopsticks, umbrella, kite (Initially used for military signaling and measuring distances. "Acupuncture", which is very popular even today, as a mode of treatment for pain was another notable Chinese invention.

8.4 ECONOMY

Agriculture formed the basis of the Chinese economic life. In the very beginning, the land under cultivation was very limited and due to frequent flood in the Hwang Ho River, the cultivators had to shift their area of cultivation very frequently. Later on, in order to save their land from being flooded, the Chinese used to construct canals and thereby they tried to control the heavy flow of water and indirectly increased the area for cultivation. The canals and dams were also used for irrigation purposes. The Chinese cultivators started using the plough instead of the digging fork. In the beginning, the cultivators had no right over their land, but from the time of the Chin Dynasty, the right of the cultivators over their land was recognized. However, a huge amount of land was still under the control of the aristocrats. During the reign of the Han Dynasty, an attempt was made to confiscate land from the aristocrats who used to have large areas of land under their control and to distribute the same among the landless peasants. But this attempt was not successful.

The Chinese cultivators used to grow various crops, such as rice, potato, wheat, papaya, watermelon, banana, apple, nuts etc. They also used to grow cotton. China was also world famous for tea and probably tea came to be used in China from the 3rd century C.E.

In addition to agriculture, the Chinese were also expert craftsmen and they used to manufacture very beautiful and useful wooden household goods including tables and chairs. Industries were not yet developed and it was at the handicraft stage. Hence, the presence of master, apprentice in the small establishments were a commonplace. They also used to make very beautiful items of gold, silver, iron and bronze.

Women were engaged in spinning and weaving. The Chinese used to rear silk worms for silk threads. The rich people of the Chinese society used to wear silk clothes. The Chinese were also expert in pottery-making and very soon it developed into a distinct Chinese art. Another specialty of the Chinese was the carving of jade stone. Jade was called the "Sound stone" because when it was properly cut and struck it gave a musical tone. Paper was also manufactured in China and it was quite a prosperous manufacturing industry. They also produced glass and made very beautiful bronze mirrors, which were also exported. Large businesses operated on joint basis. Guilds were organised and all craftsmen were expected to support the guild. The guild regularized the prices of goods, fixed the quality and also determined the wages.

The Chinese were active in trade and commerce. Development of the communication network facilitated the rapid growth of Chinese trade and commerce. While the internal trade flourished in China, it was only during the reign of the Han Dynasty thatexternal trade received great impetus. The traders became very prosperous and the volume of China's international trade increased. The Chinese carried on trade with Mesopotamia, Egypt, Rome, India etc. Trade was carried on through both road and sea routes. Leather, woolen and silken goods were famous handicrafts of China which they also used to export. The Silk Road or the "Great Silk Route" became the carrier of goods and traders use it to export silk, spices, salt, iron and other items from China to the other countries of the world. Silk, salt, iron of China was quite in demand in the outside world. The introduction of the copper coins at that time in China facilitated the smooth running of trade and commerce. Sometimes in lieu of coins, the

Chinese traders also used to take horses and other commodities.

Thus, this international trade not only improved the economic condition of the Chinese traders but also facilitated the exchange of ideas, beliefs, religious philosophies etc., with the outside world. As a result of this external trade, the various foreign cultures entered China and it very soon started influencing the life of the Chinese people. This left an incredible mark in the development of many civilisations in not just China, but India, Persia, Europe and Arabia.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: Who were considered highest in the social order after the nobles, in the Chinese society?

.....

Q 2: When was paper invented?

.....

Q 3: What was the condition of women in ancient China?

.....

Q 4: Name a few Chinese items that were in demand.

.....

Q 5: What was the task of the Guild?

.....

8.5 POLITY

The history of China becomes clearly fair from the 14thcentury B.C. The Hisa Dynasty is considered the first historical dynasty of China which ruled over China for about 439 years. But much information is not available about this dynasty because of the absence of any archaeological trace. After the Hisa Dynasty, the Shang Dynasty ruled over China from around 1766 B.C. to 1122 B.C. Though the Chinese Civilization originated many years ago, in reality the civilization developed during the reign of the Shang Dynasty. The Shangs had several capitals and Anyang was the most

important among them. It became the capital of the Shang Dynasty for almost two hundred years. During the reign of the Shang Dynasty the Chinese Empire expanded rapidly.

After the Shangs, the Chou Dynasty ruled over China after overthrowing the last Shang king, Chou Hsin. The Chou Empire was established on the banks of Wei, which was a tributary of River Hwang Ho. The Chou Dynasty ruled from about 1112 B.C. to 256 B.C. The rulers of this dynasty assumed the title of Wang, which means king. One of the famous kings of this dynasty was Wei Wang. Under the Chou Dynasty, the Chinese Civilization developed considerably and it witnessed fundamental changes in society and outlook of the Chinese people.

After the Chou Dynasty, the Chin Dynasty came to the power in China in around the 3rd century B.C. The areas ruled by the Chin rulers came to be known as China. From that time onwards this country came to be known as China. One of the famous rulers of the Chin Dynasty was Shih Huang Ti. He conquered the powerful neighboring states like Chu, Chi etc and expanded his empire. The Great Wall of China was constructed during his reign to save the newly unified China from external attack.

After the downfall of the Chin Dynasty, the Hans came to the power in China. It is very interesting that Liu Chi was an officer under the Chin Dynasty who by dint of his a strong will, determination and courage became the Emperor of China and thereafter he came to be known as Kao Tsu. China made rapid cultural progress under them which we will discuss in detail in the next sections.

Towards the beginning of the 3rd century C.E. the power of the Hans began to decline. After the Hans, there was a period of darkness in China for about 400 years. During that time there was no powerful central power in China and instead of that various small states were established. But these small states could not last long.

After that the Sui Dynasty came to power, which too could not last long. In around 618 C.E. the Tang Dynasty came to power in China and under their rule China made rapid progress both in political and intellectual

fields. The Tang period is called the golden period of China in the cultural field. The dynasty came to an end in 906 C.E. and after that many other dynasties ruled over China. The Manchu Dynasty was the last ruling dynasty of China, whose period was from 1644 C.E. to 1912 C.E.

In ancient China, the Emperor was the supreme head of the state administration. He enjoyed absolute power, as the supreme law maker and being the deliverer of justice. He was the father of the nation and enjoyed supreme power in political affairs of the state. The Emperor was considered the representative of the God on earth and therefore the Emperors claimed themselves to be the “Sons of the Heaven”. It was the duty of the people to give maximum respect to their King. In return, it was the responsibility of the Emperor for the maintenance of peace and order and provide a comfortable life to his subjects and to save them from internal conflicts as well as external attacks.

The Emperor was responsible to act according to the advice of the members of the Censorate and other high ranking official bodies. He was also guided by the Imperial House Laws and by the Edicts of his predecessor. His power was decidedly restricted by age old customs and tradition. The Emperor was the supreme authority of the nation and even the religious institutions were under his control and authority. Succession to the throne was hereditary and only male members could ascend to the throne.

For the smooth running of the administration, the Emperor appointed certain ministers or officers. These officers helped the King in administrative matters of the State and were directly responsible to the Emperor. Administrative work was divided into departments. Some of the important departments of the State were- the Civil Service Department, Finance Department, Religion Department, Defence Department, Public Works Department etc.

These departments were under the charge of various officers or ministers. Who belonged to the noble class. But from the time of the Han Dynasty, competitive examinations were conducted to appoint these officers on the basis of merit. The standard of the examinations was very high. All

the civil servants were given training in which, among other things, they were taught to respect Chinese traditions and rituals. But these civil servants were supposed to be obedient to the Emperor because they used to derive power and authority from him only.

Thus in the ancient time, China was the first country in the world to conduct competitive examinations to appoint civil servants.

The Empire was divided into provinces, which constituted a political as well as administrative unit of the state. While the provincial officials owed their allegiance to the Emperor yet they were semi-independent rulers obliged to preserve peace and order in the province and at the same time provide funds to the central authority. The provinces were divided into prefectures also termed *fu* which were further combined for administrative purpose into circuits or tao. The prefectures were divided into districts or *hsien* which consisted of several villages. Despite all the divisions, there was political unity in China. Localism was a prime feature of the Chinese polity wherein the locals were concerned with events that affected them within the locality. This reflects the territorial decentralization of China.

8.6 CONFUCIUS

One of the famous philosophers of ancient China was Confucius. He was born in 551 B.C. in Lu State in a respectable family. His original name was Kong, but his disciples used to call him as Kong-Fu-Tse (Kong, the Master or Teacher) which the Jesuit Christian missionaries later on latinized as Confucius. Through his teachings and sayings Confucius developed a system of social and political philosophy. These were later on compiled by his disciples into a book known in Chinese language as *Lun Yu* and in the West as 'Analects'.

Confucius was a contemporary of Mahavira and Gautam Buddha. He died at the age of 73 in 479 BCE. He wanted social and political harmony for China and stressed on three fundamental aspects such as self-cultivation, respect for rituals and traditions, and the importance of human relationship. By self-cultivation Confucius aimed at the moral transformation of an

individual through commitment towards study, observance of the rituals, living an ethical life and following the guidance of the teacher.

Confucius put great emphasis on honouring and respecting the established customs as well asrituals and traditions of China, but he did not believe in the life after death. He urged to show respect for elders and ancestors as well as to maintain solidarity in family. According to him five relationships were important in human life, and they should be valued. These five relationships were between ruler and subject, father and son, husband and wife, older brother and younger brother and between the friends.

Emphasizing on a moral and social order for the Chinese society, Confucius who believed in the doctrine of equality laid focus on the duty of the State to give equal care and protection to all the subjects for their welfare. Further, the State should provide equal opportunity to all his subjects so that the personality and talent of every individual could develop. Confucius believed that for the advancement of the State and society, it was very essential that both the government and the people should be well disciplined. According to him, the Emperor comes to the throne with the blessings of the God. Again, he believed that the rulers should be learned and men of character.

Confucius believed that a victor should not use his power in an unlimited manner as the use of power was against the will of God. He was a thinker and peace lover from his childhood. According to him, only those people can improve who sincerely go for the search of knowledge. The teachings of Confucius started deeply influencing the life of the Chinese people even during his life time. Rather after his death, his teachings gradually became famous at a global level.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 6: In what ways were the absolute power of the Emperor restricted?

.....

Q 7: What is *hsien*?

.....

Q 8: According to Confucius, what was the duty of the state?

.....



8.7 LET US SUM UP

After going through this unit, you have learnt about-

- The emergence of the Chinese Civilization as one of the advanced civilizations of the world is reflected through its inventions and discoveries.
- In the ancient time, the Chinese society was mainly divided into upper or the rich class and the lower or the poor class.
- Economically, agriculture was the basis of the Chinese economic life and China was also world famous for tea.
- The Emperor was the supreme head of the state administration as he was considered as the representative of the God on earth. All other ministers or officers were subordinate to him.
- Confucius played a great role in determining the Chinese way of life. Through his teachings, he emphasized on the moral and social order of the Chinese.



8.8 FURTHER READING

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2) Patricia Buckley, Ebrey (edited) (1993). Chinese Civilization: A Sourcebook, (2nd ed.), the Free Press, New York.

3) Swain, J.E. (1983). A History of World Civilization, The McGraw Hill Book Company Inc., New York.

8.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: The intellectual class

Ans to Q No 2: 1st century CE

Ans to Q No 3: The position of women in China was precarious and lower in the social hierarchy.

Ans to Q No 4: Silk, salt, Iron

Ans to Q No 5: The guild regularized the prices of goods, fixed the quality and also determined the wages.

Ans to Q No 6: The Emperor had to consult the Council of ministers and at the same time respect the age-old customs and traditions which put restrictions on the autocracy of the ruler.

Ans to Q No 7: Districts were termed as *hsien.*

Ans to Q No 8: Inhis opinion it was the duty of the State to give equal protection and care for the welfare of all subjects.

8.10 MODEL QUESTIONS

A. Very Short Questions (answer each question in about 50 words)

Q 1: Which was considered the first historical dynasty of China?

Q 2: During which dynasty did the external trade got impetus?

Q 3: Who formed the literati class?

B. Short Questions (answer each question in about 150 words)

Q 1: Write a short note-

a. The Intellectual Class

b. Kingship

c. Innovations in Ancient China

C. Long Questions (answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q 1: Write a note on the structure of polity in ancient China.

Q 2: Discuss the social condition of the Chinese people in the earlier times.

Q 3: Explain the influence of Confucius on the Chinese lives.

*** ***** ***

UNIT 9 : OPENING UP OF CHINA

UNIT STRUCTURE

9.1 Learning Objectives

9.2 Introduction

9.3 Canton Trade

9.4 Opium Wars

- First Opium War
- Second Opium War

9.5 Open Door Policy

9.6 Let Us Sum Up

9.7 Further Reading

9.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

9.9 Model Questions

9.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to-

- explain trading system in Canton,
- discussthecauses leading to the Opium Wars and the consequences, and
- discuss the Open-Door policy of China.

9.2 INTRODUCTION

Dear learners, in the previous Unit, we discussed the historical background of pre-modern China. In this unit we will discuss about the opening of China to the West I the 18th century. This Unit will throw light on the conflicts that paved the way for the opening up of China. The Unit will examine the causes, events and results of the two Opium Wars that led to the Opening of China. We will also look at the 'Open Door Policy' followed by the Chinese rulers.

9.3 CANTON TRADE

Canton was a port of China. It was located in South China. It was located in South China. Initially, the rulers of China allowed the foreign merchants to carry on with their trading activities freely in their kingdom. But later on, the trading activities of the foreign merchants were restricted on the grounds of suspicion. Thereafter, the foreign merchants were allowed to trade with China only at the port of Canton.

As such there developed a trade relation between China and Western countries centering the port of Canton which was called the 'Canton Trade'.

From the mid of the eighteen century until 1842 the Chinese Government had imposed restriction on the entrance of the Europeans in their country. The Chinese strongly believed that their civilization is superior than any other civilization in the world. Only the foreign traders were granted limited access over Canton and Macao. Hence, the Chinese rulers developed the Canton system or Canton Trade to control the foreign trade.The foreign traders were permitted to reside at Canton during trading seasons. During summer months they had to leave for Macao, a Portuguese leasehold, which was under Chinese jurisdiction. While the foreign traders returned to Canton they were forced to leave their families at Macao.

In 1702, Chinese Imperial Government appointed an agent who was known as "Emperor's merchant" to deal with the foreign traders. Fifty years later it was replaced by a guild of Chinese Hong merchants who had a license to trade. Initially consisted of twelve Chinese and later thirteen and collectively known as the Co-hong. Being under the direct control of the Chinese Emperor's administration, the Co-hong was granted permission to fix prices, levy numerous taxes and collect duties from foreign merchants. The Co-hong merchants acted as the security merchants and upon their activities, vigil was kept by a Chinese official known locally as Hoppo, the Chinese Commissioner of Customs at Canton.

The Chinese Imperial Government abolished the Co-hong in 1771 CE, but again revived it in 1782 CE and was in operation till 1842 CE. The Co-hong merchants had to 'secure' every foreign merchant. Every foreign

merchant upon their arrival in the coast of China was assigned to one of the Co-hong merchants who made all the arrangements for the selling of the foreign goods brought by the foreign merchant in China as well as make provisions for the purchase of Chinese items by the foreign merchant for sale in the mother country. Further, the Co-hong merchant took care of all payments to be paid to the Chinese officials and thereby reduced the burden of innumerable petty exaction by the Chinese officials from the foreign merchants.

The Co-hong acted as buffer between the foreigners and the Chinese administration. It was the only medium of communication between the factories and the viceroy, governors and magistrate. Any kind of letters, even complaint letters against the conduct of the thirteen merchants (Co-hong), could be transmitted through them, but, only in the form of petitions. Moreover, other Chinese traders could involve themselves in trading activities only through the members of Co-hong. It clearly defines that they had controlled both of exports and imports.



LET US KNOW

Industrial Revolution: A kind of technological advancement which happened in England from around 1760 CE to 1840 CE that mechanised all modes of production resulting in large scale production of goods.

However, England, inspite of the restrictions imposed upon the foreign merchants, peacefully tried to develop further her commercial relationship with China. The ***Industrial Revolution*** which took place in England during the second half of the 18th century forced her to extend her trade concessions in China. As such the English Government started sending special envoys to the Manchu Court in China for securing more trade concessions.

Charles Cathcart was the first Englishman to be sent to Peking in 1787 with the objective of securing more trade concessions from the Chinese Government. He was followed by Lord George Macartney with a special

mission in 1792 in order to persuade the Chinese Government for opening some other ports to the English traders. But these English missions did not receive success. Rather, the mission of Lord Macartney was badly treated by the Chinese who considered the mission as a body of a subordinate State carrying tribute to another superior State. At this humiliating treatment, Lord Macartney suggested to obtain further trade concessions in China by force. But his suggestion was outright rejected by the English Government.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: When did the Chinese government appointed "Emperor's merchant" to deal with the foreign traders?

.....

Q 2: What was Co-hong?

.....

9.4 FIRST OPIUM WARS

- **First Opium War**

With the entry of the imperialist powers in China, the doors of China had opened and China was no longer an isolated country. Despite the challenges faced in an unknown land, England continued to survive in China. However, the misbehaviour of the Chinese people as well as the strict measures adopted by the Chinese authority towards the foreigners strained the relation between the two. There broke out two wars between China and England known more popularly as the Opium Wars.

The First Opium War was a series of military engagements fought between the Imperial China and Great Britain from 1839 to 1842. Opium trade, was the occasion, not the sole cause of the war between the two countries..There are some other factors that contributed to the outbreak of the war. The chief causes of the First Opium war can be categorized as follows-

- In the 18th century, there was great demand for Chinese silk, porcelain and tea in Britain and European silver began to flow into China as a

result of the Canton system of trade that created trade imbalance between China and Britain. To minimize the flow of silver and counter this, British merchants engaged themselves in illegal opium trade and made good profit from it. For Chinese Imperial Government, importation of opium from India by British merchants posed a great threat. The influx of this fatal drug reversed the Chinese trade surplus and numbers of opium addicts rose high in the country.

- To stop the opium trade completely, in 1838, the emperor had appointed Lin Tse-hsu as a special commissioner and instructed him to enforce the prohibitory edicts. After arrival of Lin at Canton and brief study of situation, he ordered the foreigners to surrender all of the opium in their possession and demanded assurance from them not to engage themselves in opium trade in future.Finding no other alternative, the foreign merchants through Captain Elliot surrendered 20,291 chests of opium which was all destroyed in the river. This greatly disappointed the foreign merchants more particularly the English. As the foreign merchants easily accepted their demand of delivering the opium chests, the Chinese Government attempted to further regulate them by enforcing a regulation that foreigners guilty of crime must submit to the Chinese Penal Legislation, including capital punishment.
- England and other countries had to face restrictive measures, for e.g., the Manchu Government imposed restriction on the learning of Chinese language by the foreigners. Local Chinese people were forbidden from teaching their language to the foreigners. It was apprehended by the Manchus that after knowing the local language, the foreigners would be encouraged to directly communicate with the Chinese people and could also infuse in their minds the idea of rebellion against them. With this restriction being imposed, the foreign merchants had to rely solely on the interpreters for transacting their business with the Chinese officials. Also, the practice of *'Kow-tow'* and '*Tribute*' was humiliating for the foreigners. This strained the relation between the two countries.



LET US KNOW

Know-tow: This was a practice in the Court of China by which a foreigner had to prostrate nine times before the Emperor of China or his portrait before meeting with him.

- The Chinese tariff system was very much irregular. Actually, it was fixed with reasonable rates by the Central Government. But, it was applied and interpreted by the local authorities nominally functioning under the Central Government. The Chief Chinese Customs officials including their staff only remained in office for a short period during which they tried to earn the maximum tariff. As such, they increased the tariff rates unreasonably and exerted constant pressure on the foreign trade to exact it. This badly affected the foreign traders who strongly opposed it. The English East India Company regarded this tariff policy as an attempt on the part of China to encourage the import and to discourage the export trade.
- Another reason for the growing tension between two sides was payment of the *Hong* merchant's debts. As a result of the credit nature of many transactions, the *Hong* merchants were unable to pay the due for which the British Government claimed the repayment of the *Hong* merchant's debts from Chinese Government.
- The antagonism between the two sides increased over the jurisdiction. In 1839, a Chinese villager had been killed by a British sailor. The English Government did not want the handling of criminal cases by the Chinese legal system and Chinese authority, refused to hand over the accused man to the Chinese court. This led to the outbreak of the First Opium War when Commissioner Lin was issued an order to ostracise the culprit and his supporters and to fulfil this mission he marched into the English territory upon which the English force retaliated which marked the beginning of the First Opium War.

Course of the War

The English Government appointed Admiral George Elliot as first commissioner and Captain Elliot as the second in command. The English Prime Minister, Lord Palmerstone ordered George Elliot to block all principal ports of China so as to impress the Chinese with The English might. The English forces emerged victorious at the Battle of Chuenpi and marching forward took control over Canton. They even blockaded the mouth of the Yangtze River which alarmed the Chinese Government and Commissioner Lin was soon removed from his office.

A Manchu named Chi-Shan was appointed in place of Commissioner Lin to start negotiation with the English in order to check their advancement. Accordingly, Chi-Shan started negotiation and successfully persuaded the English to return to Chuenpi in the South and signed a convention there with them in January, 1841 CE by which Hongkong was to be ceded and indemnity was to be provided to England by the Chinese authority. Further, the Chinese and the English agreed to maintain diplomatic equality and the Englishmen were allowed to resume their trade.

But soon this Convention of Chuenpi proved to be a fruitless negotiation. Chi-Shan and Captain Elliot were recalled by their respective governments after the signing of this Convention. Then the Convention was disregarded resulting in the resumption of the War in August, 1841 CE. It continued up to March, 1842 CE when the Chinese Government came forward to sign another convention. But this convention was again fruitless and acted only as a truce.

Again, War began in August, 1842 CE after Sir Henry Pattinger had arrived as the Chief English representative in the Chinese Coast. The English fleet moved to the North without facing any kind of effective resistance from the Chinese. Soon, Nanking fell into the grip of the English forces, and they marched towards it. Knowing it as impossible on their part to protect the city from English attack, the Chinese soldiers stationed there hoisted the flags of surrender on the walls of the city. This surrender of the Chinese army marked the end of the First Opium War

A formal settlement of this first Anglo-Chinese conflict was made by

the signing of a peace treaty at Nanking on 29th August, 1842 and a supplementary treaty at Bogue on 8th October, 1843. The basic principles of these two treaties guided the international relations of China for another century with some alterations and additions to them.

The provisions of the Treaty of Nanking were:

- The five ports of China, namely, Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo, and Shanghai were to be opened as 'treaty ports' for the residence as well as trade of the English merchants without any kind of restriction.
- The island of Hongkong was to be ceded to England forever. This made Hongkong an important port for backing English commercial cause.
- China was to pay a huge war indemnity amounting to 21 million dollars in total to compensate the loss of the English merchants just before and during the First Opium War. Of this total amount of indemnity, 6 million dollars was for the surrender and destruction of opium, 3 million dollars was to cover debts owned by the Co-hong merchants to the English subjects, and 12 million dollars for the expenses incurred on the War.
- The Co-hong was to be disbanded by the Chinese authority.
- A favourable settlement was to be made in the tariff system. The Chinese Government was to publish a fair and regular tariff in imports and exports to avoid the arbitrary treatment of the Chinese customs officials.
- The monopoly rights granted by the Chinese authority to some Chinese merchants were to be withdrawn to safeguard the interest of the English merchants.
- China was to change her attitude regarding her relation with other foreign powers. She was to recognize the principle of equality of all nations instead of establishing her own superiority over other nations of the world.
- The English and Chinese officials of equal rank were to be treated as equals. The humiliating system of 'Kow-tow' was to be abolished. Official correspondence was to be conducted on equal terms under

the term 'a communication' but not 'a petition'.

- The Chinese Emperor was to grant full amnesty to all his subjects who had rendered help directly or indirectly to the English during the war.
- All the English people who were captured and imprisoned by the Chinese authority during the war were to be set free unconditionally.
- The English occupation of certain Chinese areas will be withdrawn only after the full payment of the war indemnity.

However, England was not satisfied with the privileges obtained from the Treaty of Nanking. As such they imposed upon China the supplementary **Treaty of Bogue** to secure from her some extra-territorial rights. By this treaty the English Government would be allowed to establish their law courts in the 'treaty ports' for the trial of the English subjects there. The Chinese considered it very humiliating because, China, thereby, lost her legal control over the English subjects in her own soil.

- **Consequences or Effects of the First Opium War**

The defeat of China in the hands of England in the First Opium War exposed the weakness of China not only before the foreign countries trading in China with humiliation and restriction, but also before its inhabitants who considered their country as a heavenly empire being the most developed and civilized. Without any fear and hesitation, other foreign countries started sharing the fruits of victory of England over China. These countries started utilizing the five 'treaty ports' opened for the residence as well as trade of the English merchants without any kind of restriction.

The United States of America even sent a diplomatic mission to the Court of China under the leadership of Caleb Cushing to make some agreement regarding the opening of the same five ports, i.e., the 'treaty ports' to Americans and obtaining the extra-territorial rights from China like England. The mission was successful in its objectives and America entered into a favourable agreement with the Chinese authorities by signing the **Treaty of Wanghia** in July, 1844. A few months later, France by signing the **Treaty of Whampoa** on 24th October, 1844 too received

the similar rights and privileges from China. In between 1845 to 1847 Belgium, Sweden, and Norway were also given the right to trade in China.

Apart from the trade concessions given to the foreign countries, the Emperor of China in 1844 issued an imperial edict granting permission to erect Roman Catholic Churches in the ports. This edict also granted permission to the people of China to accept Roman Catholicism. Further, the Chinese Government confirmed the toleration of Roman Catholicism and promised the restoration of some of the Churches to the Catholics built under K'ang Hsi by a second imperial edict in 1846. However, impact was seen on the issue of opium trade. China regarded opium as the primary cause of the war, but no mention of it was in the Treaty of Nanking except for making a compensation of 6 million dollars to England for the destruction of her opium chests. English opinion was that China could legalise and control the opium trade or could put a ban upon it. Imposition of ban or prohibition was to be the sole. Imposition of ban or prohibition was to be the sole responsibility of the Chinese authority. As China did not agree to legalize the opium trade, the 'Treaty of Nanking' was silent on this important issue. Hence, opium was nothing but a superficial cause of the War.

● SECOND OPIUM WAR

The post- First Opium War developments in China led to the Second Opium War. Defeat in the hands of England and subsequent conclusion of treaties with her and other foreign powers enhanced the anti-foreign attitude of China. The concessions provided by China to the foreign countries through the treaties concluded with them were all the results of the force of the English arms. Once the pressure of the English arm-twisting was gradually reduced, the Chinese Government tacitly and openly tried to restore the former conditions. A deliberate delay was shown in implementing the provisions of the treaties by the Chinese authorities.

The issue of opium trade remained untouched in the peace treaty concluded to end the First Opium War. But, the Chinese Government instead of legalising the opium trade, declared it to be illegal. Still, from 1842 onwards,

the opium trade continued to grow. Apart from trading in opium, the foreign merchants were also involved in coolie trade. The foreign merchants used to kidnap the poor and innocent Chinese labourers in order to sell them as slaves in Cuba, Peru, Chile, and the west coast of the United States. The Chinese authority was greatly irritated by this immoral activity of the foreigners.

The English merchants wanted entry to the interior parts of China, legalization of the opium trade, and abolition of internal transit duties on goods imported or purchased for export. All the foreign powers demanded the idea of having diplomatic representatives at Peking on the basis of legal equality of nations. The foreign missionaries demanded the right to travel and preach Christianity freely in the interior of China with an effective legal guarantee of toleration from the Chinese authority towards all the converts.Various demands of the foreigners forced them to exert pressure upon the Chinese authority to revise all the treaties signed in between the year 1842 and 1844. The foreign powers were already irritated and convinced that China had no respect for the treaties concluded with them as she had frequently evaded them. England took the lead in forcing China to recognize their right of immediate revision of the treaties. She in this regard tried to secure the co-operation of United States of America and France who gave a positive response to it by demanding the revision of their treaties as well. By the autumn of 1856, England decided to put both diplomatic and military pressure upon China to effect the revision of the treaties for further expansion of commercial intercourse of the foreign powers. The demand for revision of the treaties by the foreign powers further detoriated their relationship with China.

On the ground of being allegedly engaged in the trade of prohibited goods under the protection of English flag, the Chinese police on 8th October, 1856 at Canton captured a Chinese ship named 'Lorcha Arrow'.The Chinese ship 'Lorcha Arrow' was registered at Hongkong (which was under England) and was commanded by an Irish captain with a Chinese crew of 14 persons. After the capture of the ship, the Chinese police put down the English flag and arrested 12 of the crew persons on the charge of piracy. This act of the

Chinese police was considered by the English Government as a great insult to the English sovereignty. The English authority even demanded full compensation for the damage of the national prestige of England. But Yieh Min-Ching, the Chinese Viceroy at Canton rejected straight the English demand for compensation. This insensitive attitude of the Chinese Viceroy was not to the liking of English authority and they violently reacted to it which led to the outbreak of the Second Opium or Anglo-Chinese War.

France too was disappointed with China. In February, a French Catholic missionary was murdered by the Chinese authorities at Sinlin in Kwangsi on the charge of being a rebel and sentenced to death by the Chinese Magistrate on the argument that as per the previous treaties, the foreigners were not allowed to move beyond the 'Treaty Ports' and they were convicted for the violation of the above treaty rights. As such France by October, 1856, decided to join hands with England to apply a combined force against China to bring her to knees.

● Course of the Second Opium War

The war formally started on 29 October, 1856 with the English army damaging the city walls of China. The combined English and French army captured Canton in December, 1857. Yieh Min-Ching, the Chinese Viceroy at Canton was captured and sent as a prisoner to Calcutta. Thereafter, England, France, the United States of America and Russia sent a joint note to the Chinese Government demanding the revision of the previous treaties as well as religious tolerance and to make necessary negotiations at Shanghai regarding their demands.

But China delayed to give reply to the joint note. At this the foreign powers, to exert more pressure upon China, sailed into the mouth of river Pei-ho, at the very gateway of Peking. In May, 1858 they even took over the control of the Taku forts. At this, in the same month the Chinese Government at Peking came forward for negotiations. The negotiations were conducted by the envoys of England, France, Russia and United States of America at Tientsin separately with the Chinese authorities. Hence, these negotiations

are known as the 'Treaties of Tientsin'.

- **Treaties of Tientsin**

Altogether four treaties were signed at Tientsin by the end of June, 1858. These treaties were signed separately with China by each of the four powers, namely, England, France, Russia and United States of America. It was further decided during the negotiations that the 'Treaties of Tientsin' were to be ratified at Peking where the envoys of England, France, Russia and United States of America would reside.

Although the treaties were signed separately, the clauses or provisions of these four treaties were almost identical, differing only in their detailed description. The provisions of the 'Treaties of Tientsin' were as follows:

1. England and other foreign powers were to have the right to appoint 'Resident Minister' at the Court of Peking.
2. In addition to the already opened five 'Treaty Ports', China was to open ten more new ports for foreign trade. Further, the foreign ships were given the rights to trade on the Yangtze River.
3. The foreign powers were granted permission to travel in interior parts of China with passports issued by their Consuls and countersigned by the local Chinese authorities.
4. Both Chinese and foreign Christians were to be given the privilege of preaching Christianity in China. The Christian missionaries were to be granted right to protection by the Chinese authorities.
5. The tariff fixed by the Treaty of Nanking was to be revised mostly in favour of the foreign interests, providing a general five percent duty on exports and imports.
6. As compensation the Chinese Government was to pay a hefty sum for the losses of the foreign powers at Canton and for the war expenses.
7. China ceded to Russia its territory north of the river Amur and by 1860 also gave full right to the territory east of the Ussuri.
9. The opium trade was legalised in China.

- **Significance of the Treaty**

The 'Treaties of Tientsin' provided the basis for political and commercial relationship between China and the foreign powers till 1943. But, hostilities soon started after the signing of these treaties. Actually, the Chinese authorities had made no arrangement to receive the foreign envoys at Peking and had rather placed barriers in the river Pei-ho to check the progress of the foreign envoys towards Peking.

The English Government considered this attitude of the Chinese Government a gross violation of the 'Treaties of Tientsin' and hostilities soon began leading to the renewal of the Second Opium War. The Anglo-French success brought down the Chinese Government into knees. On 24th October, 1860, at the 'Hall of Ceremonies', some new treaties were imposed upon China and these treaties together constituted the '**Convention of Peking'**.

The 'Treaties of Tientsin' were ratified by the 'Convention of Peking'. Regarding the ratification of the treaty with England, the Chinese Emperor agreed to allow the stay of an English Minister permanently at Peking. Further, the Emperor agreed to pay additional indemnities to England for the Chinese attack on English fleet at Taku as well as to open Tientsin as a treaty port. Kowloon was ceded to the English Government and it became a part of Hongkong.

The treaty with France was also ratified. As per the ratification, the French missionaries were allowed to purchase land in the interior part of China for erection of buildings or other constructions. While ratifying the treaty with Russia, China gave her the territory east of the river Ussuri.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 3: In which year the Treaty of Nanking was signed?

.....

Q 4: When was the Treaty of Whampoa signed?

.....

Q 5: By which Treaty was the Opium trade legalised in China?

.....

9.5 THE OPEN DOOR POLICY

The "Open Door" Policyis the creation of the United States of Americain the late 19th century to secure equal trade and investment in China and to preserve China from territorial disintegration as well. The policy was formulated by U. S. Secretary of States John Hay. On September 6, 1899, John Hay sent notes to the major powers (France, Germany, Britain, Italy, Japan and Russia) asking for formal declaration by them that they would uphold territorial and administrative integrity of China. The chief conditions of Hay's famous Open Door policy can be discussed as follows-

1. The Open Door policy demanded assurance from major powers to lend its cooperation and not to interfere in any treaty or vested interest in the leased territory that it possessed in China.
2. Apart from the free ports, the taxes levied on or shipped to all ports within China shall be collected by Chinese government.
3. Harbour dues on vessels frequently any port within the sphere of interest shall be equal irrespective of different nations.

While formulating the Open Door policy, it was expected that if all major powers works within the framework of the policy, then the independence and territorial and administrative integrity of China could be preserved. On the other hand, all major powers would enjoyequal commercial opportunity in China.By this policy, United States sought to safeguard whole China as a market for her goods and as territory for capital investment in future. At that time the goods of United States did not have much demand commercially. On the other hand, England's commercial interests were actual and immediate as it had developed not only in the northern and southern region but also in the central part of China. The restrictions mentioned in the Open-Door policy stood as a great threat in their trade in China. And hence, England tried to protect their commercial interest by demanding compensation.Germany had already showed her interest of allowing the Chinese tariff to govern the importation of goods into its leasehold. For that, she negotiated with the Inspector General of the Imperial Maritime Customs service. Germany also gave full assent to the other matters mentioned in

the Hays policy. Likewise, France, Italy and Japan gave their consent to acceptance of the Hay's proposal. Russia gave her reply diplomatically so that Hay could consider it as an acceptance, not in convincing manner, as did by the other powers. Russia rather took steps to include Taliewan into the Russian customs union and close Port Arthur to the vessels of other countries except China and Russia. Moreover, in her reply Russia did not give a clear answer to Hay's proposal regarding railroad rates and other matters.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 6: Who formulated the Open-Door policy?

.....

Q 7: State one of the conditions of the Open-Door policy.

.....



9.6 LET US SUM UP

After going through this unit, we have learnt that-

- The Chinese rulers developed the Canton system or Canton Trade to control the foreign trade.
- The First Opium war started due to the hostilities developed between England and China. The War came came to an end with the signing of the Treaty of Nanking on August 29, 1842. The treaty was the first of the unequal treaties signed between China and foreign powers.
- The Second Opium War was caused as a result of the ongoing illegal opium trade and the growing aspiration of the imperialist powers to penetrate deeper in the Chinese soil.
- The "Open Door" Policywas formulated by U. S. Secretary of States John Hay to secure equal trade and investment in China and to preserve China from territorial disintegration as well.



9.7 FURTHER READING

1) H. M. Vinacke. (2014). *A History of the Far East in Modern Times. (*6th ed.) Surjeet Publications, Delhi

2) Sarao, K.T.S. (2018). *Modern History of China (1840-1949*), Surjeet Publications, Delhi

3) Cameron, M. E. (1931). *The Reform Movement in China, 1898-1912*



9.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: 1702

Ans to Q No 2: Co-hong was the guild of Chinese Hong merchants

Ans to Q No 3: 1918.

Ans to Q No 4: 1844

Ans to Q No 5: 'Treaties of Tientsin'

Ans to Q No 6: John Hay

Ans to Q No 7: The Open-Door policy demanded assurance from major powers to lend its cooperation and not to interfere in any treaty or vested interest in the leased territory that it possessed in China.



9.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

A. Very Short Questions (answer each question within 50 words)

Q 1: What was the 'Lorcha Arrow'?

Q 2: Who was Commissioner Lin?

Q 3: State one provision of the Treaty of Nanking.

B. Short Questions (answer each question within 150 words)

Q 1. Write a short note on-

a. Canton Trade

b. Co-Hong

c. Open Door policy

C. Long Questions (answer each question within 300-350 words)

Q 1. Explain the causes and consequences of the First Opium War.

Q 2. Discuss the factors leading to the Second Opium War.

Q 3. Discuss the significance of the Treaties of Tientsin.

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UNIT 10 : POPULAR REFORM MOVEMENTS

UNIT STRUCTURE

10.1 Learning Objectives

10.2 Introduction

10.3 Taiping Rebellion

10.4 Boxer Rebellion

10.5 Let Us Sum Up

10.6 Further Reading

10.7 Answer to Check Your Progress

10.8 Model Questions

10.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- explain the factors leading to the outbreak of the Taiping Rebellion.
- discuss the causes of the failure of the Taiping Rebellion
- gather knowledge on the causes and course of the Boxer Rebellion
- explain the Boxer Protocol
- discuss the results and nature of the Boxer Rebellion.

10.2 INTRODUCTION

In this unit we will discuss about two major events of the Chinese Empire i.e. the Taiping Rebellion and the Boxer Rebellion that shook the foundation of the Manchu dynasty.

The first one was the Taiping Rebellion. A bloody civil war or the Taiping Rebellion occurred in China in between 1850-1864 C.E. against the established Confucian ideology. Main objectives of the rebellion were to overthrow the Manchu dynasty, redistribute the lands among the landless and set up a heavenly kingdom under the leadership of Hung Hsiu-Chuan. Though the rebels had some early successes and ruled the country for over a decade yet it had to suffer set back at the hands of the imperial armies due to foreign intervention and internal conflicts among its leaders.

But, this rebellion had some far reaching consequences which greatly influenced the course of the Chinese history in later years.

In the last decade of the 19th century Northern China experienced another great movement which was popularly known as 'Boxer Rebellion'. The main objective of the rebellion was to oust the foreigners from China whom they considered as the source of their humiliation and miserable condition. On 21st June 1899 war broke out between the foreigners and the rebels which got half hearted from the Imperial Court. But, the joint military operation led by the British, Japanese, Russian, American and German soldiers ruthlessly crushed the rebels. As a result China had to sign another humiliating peace agreementby which she concede many concessions to the Western powers.

10.3 TAIPING REBELLION

The opium wars opened the door to the foreigners to carry out trade and commerce in China. Growing influence of the Western powers in China exposed/revealed the weakness of the Manchu dynasty. As a result there emerged several anti-Manchu rebellions within the country. From 1851 to 1864 C.E. a bloody civil war took place in China which was popularly known as the Taiping Rebellion. Several factors were responsible for the outbreak of the Taiping Rebellion which can be classified as follows-

Weakness of the Manchu Ruler-Hatred towards the Manchu dynasty was partially responsible for the Taiping Rebellion. From the outset the people of China hated the Manchu rulers whom they considered as foreigners. The early Manchu rulers were powerful and efficient. But, gradually they lost their power and pride. The later Manchu rulers were weak resulting in chaos and anarchy which led to the outbreak of the rebellion.

Social Condition- Prevailing social order in China before the outbreak of the rebellion led to the discontentment of the peasants, artisans and poorer section of the society. They had to suffer in various ways due to the hostile attitude of the Royal officials, merchants and wealthy people. This hurt the sentiments of the weaker section of the society. So, they came

out in large number and joined in the movement to establish a new social order.

Economic cause- The miserable economic condition of the people was partially responsible for the occurrence of the rebellion. At the time of the rebellion most of the lands were under the possession of the landlords. The poor peasants were deprived of a piece of land. Moreover, the wicket merchants illegally hoarded huge quantity of food grains to raise its price and to make more profits. Apart from this, large inflow of the foreign goods ruined the cottage industries and the economic condition of the villages became miserable. Further the problems of over-population worsen the situation. Thus, the deplorable economic condition of the people incited them to join the rebellion.

Flood and famine-The deplorable economic condition of the people was further aggravated by flood and famine in south China. The people of Kwangshi, Kwantung and Hunan provinces of China became the worst victim of the flood which resulted in constant failure of crops. Prevailing starvation and malnutrition in the society made the people violent. The Imperial government was unable to control the situation and minimize the grievances of the starving people.Hence, the people came out in large number and joined the rebels.

Military Cause- Defeat of China at the hands of England in the First Anglo-Chinese war was an important factor for the outbreak of the rebellion. The Chinese government organised militia and patriotic groups to resist the foreign invasion. But, they became unemployed when the war was over.Being jobless they readily joined in the rebellion. With the defeat in the war, both the Manchu Government and Manchu forces lost its prestige. Hence, the militia was one of the the cause of the rebellion.

Political Cause- Another important cause that contributed to the out break of the rebellion was political resentment of the common people of China towards the Manchu dynasty. From the beginning they considered the Manchu rulers as foreigners. This anti-Manchu feeling was stronger among the people of south China and in 'Hakka' ethnic group than other parts of the country. Between 1774 and 1840 C.E. several secret societies

came into existence against Manchu almost in every province of China.But, the Manchu rulers ruthlessly suppressed all of them. These movements greatly inspired the Tai-Ping rebels.

Outbreak of the rebellion-

It was under these circumstances, that a leader Hung Hsiu-Chun by name, came to the fore front. He was born in 1830 C.E. in a village near Canton in the Kwantung Province. He began his career as a teacher. He had a dream/ambition to become a civil servant in the administration. But, his three attempts ended in failure. He fell sick in disappointment for his failure. After recovery from sickness he read some Christian pamphlets at Canton and attracted towards Christianity. Soon, Hung found an association with the help of some of his followers. The name of his association was 'Shang Ti Hui' or 'Association of the worship of the almighty'.

The Taiping Rebellion started when a battalion of Imperial army launched an attack on the followers of Hung Hsiu-Chun over the question of some contribution. In 1850, the rebels captured Liuchow, Taitsun, Yungan and Naning town. After massacring about ten thousands Imperial army, the rebels brought Nanking under their possession. Hung set up/established the Capital of his new dynasty at Nanking and assumed the title of 'Tien Wang' or 'Heavenly Emperor'. Moreover, he proclaimed himself as the ‘Brother of Christ’. The number of his followers increased day by day who were known as the 'Chang Mao' or the 'Long haired ones'. He appointed four subordinate for his assistance 'wangs' or kings in north, south, east and west of the country.

The Taiping Government remained in power for about a decade. They undertook few welfare plans and programmes to u[lift the socio-economic condition/status of the Chinese people. Lands of the country were classified into nine broad categories on the basis of their productivity and distributed among every adult of the country. The women were given equal rights with man. All subjects of the country got equal rights in the field of education and civil service. Within a short span of time the new government abolished some mal practices of the society like slavery, foot bonding and cruel punishment. It strongly opposed the uses of opium by countryman.

So, the number of its followers increased in rapid stride.

In March 1853 C.E. an army of rebel marched towards the north to attack Imperial troops at Peking. The rebels were unsuccessful in their attempt to seize Kaifenfu. They also failed in their subsequent attempt to win battle against the Imperial troops at Tientsin. But, Chung Wang, an efficient general of Hung got success in his campaign on Hui-Chow, Hang-Chow and Soo-Chow.

Under such critical situation, two loyal and conservative Chinese came forward to assist the Emperor and advised him to ask for foreign help to suppress the rebellion. At the same time, an American soldier Frederick Townshend Ward organised the Chinese troops. This troop is known as 'Ever Victorious Army'. His troops won several battles against the rebels. In the meantime, the British and the French joined with Mr. Ward in his campaign against the Taiping rebels. By the close of 1862 C.E. they were succeeded in capturing Sanghai from the hold/grip of the rebels. Unfortunately, Ward lost his life in an attack on Tsi-ki town.

Then Charles George Gordon, a British soldier took the charge of the 'Ever Victorious Army'. His army successfully re-captured Tai-Tsang, Kun-Chan, Soo-Chow and Chang Chow from the rebels. Then the Imperial army surrounded the Nanking city, which was the last stronghold of the rebels. The Imperial army easily brought Nanking under their control.

After the fall of Nanking, Hung Hsiu Chuan committed suicide and one of his associates, Chung Wang was put to death. Thus, the bloody civil war of China or the Taiping Rebellion came to an end.

Effects of the Rebellion-

Eventually, the Taiping Rebellion was crushed and the Manchus regained their lost terrotories. But, it had some far reaching effects on the Chinese empire. Some of its important effects were-

1. Though crushed, the Taiping Rebellion influenced the subsequent movements of China in great extent. It succeeded in creating hatred against the Manchu dynasty. It prepared the ground for the revolt of 1911 C.E. which put an end to the Manchu dynasty.
2. As a result of this rebellion, about twelve rich provinces of China were

devasted and people there had to suffer due to poverty. Tax collection in those provinces came to a halt. The Chinese Government had to face financial crisis at the time when it was in need of more money to pay huge indemnities to the foreign powers.

3. The rebellion played a decisive role in the relation between China and the Western countries. It encouraged the European nations to intervene more in China.
4. The rebellion was one of the most destructive events in the World history. 20-30 million people lost their lives.
5. To recover from the bankruptcy, the Imperial Government levied a kind of new internal transit tax called 'likin'. It was levied at various points within a province and at provincial borders which created great obstacle in transporting goods from one place to another within the country.
6. Decentralisation of army was another important effect of the rebellion. When the Imperial army had failed to suppress the rebels, the local gentry organised regional armies for their protection. In the later years, the Emperor permitted the landlords and local gentry to keep private armies.
7. As a result of the decentralisation of the army, there emerged a class of warlords in China which proved fatal for the Manchu dynasty. In the long run, the warlords and the revolutionaries used these local troops against the Manchu rule.

Causes for the failure of the Taiping Rebellion-

The Taiping rebels ruled the country for about a decade. But, they could not continue their rule for long as their rebellion failed. The main causes responsible for the failure of

the rebellion were as follows-

1. To bring a revolutionary change in the Chinese society the Taiping rebels attempted to replace the age-old Confucian philosophy by a new and progressive one.
2. The people of China were largely followers of the traditional Confucian theory/ideas. But, Hung, the leader of the rebellion tried to bring a

radical change in the Chinese society by preaching Christianity. The age-old Confucian ideology so deeply rooted in the Chinese society and Christianity was a religion of the Europeans for them. Therefore, misunderstanding grew among the people and the rebels. Taking advantage of this situation the rulers created discontentment among the people against the rebels.

3. The rebellion started with a view to eradicate all social vices from the Chinese society. But, attainment of the power the rebel leaders began to lead a life of luxury and corruption. It is reported that 2000 women were in the personal service of Hung Hsiu Chuan and out of these women about 60 were his wives. Nepotism became the order of the day and favouritism prevailed everywhere. Thus, vices of the Taiping leaders made the common people dissatisfied.
4. Initially, the Protestants supported the rebels. But, the Roman Catholics hesitated to support them. Similarly, the traders also backed the causes of the rebels because they thought that they would get many concessions from the rebels. But with the passage of time the foreigners withdrew their support from rebel as they thought that a strong and powerful government in China would harm their commercial interests. Therefore foreign forces specially the Americans and the British helped the imperial armies until the total suppression of the rebels. In this way, Western military aid to the Imperial army greatly contributed to the downfall of the Taiping Rebellion.
5. Lack of leadership was also responsible for the failure if the Taiping Rebellion. After the death of Hung Hsiu-Chuan there was no able leader who could command the rebels. Instead, they were involved in internal conflict for supremacy. This internal conflict weakened the cause of the rebels. According to Teng Su-Yu -'Taiping leaders failed to convince either the peasants or the scholars to convert them into the new faith'.
6. Defective military strategy was another important factor for the failure of the Taiping Rebellion. When the rebels marched towards the north it failed to concentrate on Peking. Moreover, Taiping attacks on

Shanghai encouraged the foreign powers to assist the Chinese army.

Nature of the rebellion-

The Taiping Rebellion was anti-Manchu in nature. The Taiping rebels sought to/aimed at overthrow the Manchu dynasty because of its maladministration. The Rebellion was against the old Confucian philosophy and philosophy that prevailed in the Chinese society. Moreover, it was a peasant movement because its aims and objective was the seizure of land from the landlords and redistribution of land among the landless Chinese peasants. Some historians are of the opinion that the rebellion was a democratic and progressive movement to liberate China from age-old bondage of conservatives.



LET US KNOW

The term 'likin' came to be employed to designate collectively a broad category of taxes levied in various amounts and under a variety of names upon internal trade'- Stanley Hornbeck.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Who was the founder of 'Shang Ti Hui' or 'Association of the worship of the Almighty'?

.....

Q.2: What is the English meaning of the Chinese words 'Chang Mao'?

.....

Q.3: Who was Charles George Gordon?

.....

10.4 BOXER REBELLION

The Boxer Rebellion was an anti-imperialist uprising in northern China that took place from the autumn of 1899 to 1901. To protest against foreign encroachment and exploitation, a violent anti-foreign movement came to the fore-front in China which was popularly known as the 'Boxer

land

Uprising'. The movement was led by a Chinese secret organisation called the 'Society of the Righteous and Harmonious Fists'or the 'Boxers' in northern China. The members of this society were known as Boxers because they regularly practised physical exercises. The main causes of the uprising were-

Cause of Uprising:-

1. Hatred for the foreigners was an important cause of the uprising. The Boxers hated the foreigners for their exploitative nature. They did not accept the reforms of Emperor Kuang-Hsu which were introduced on Western lines.
2. The Boxers stood against the Chinese Christian converts as much as they did against the foreigners. They regarded the Chinese Christian converts as the 'secondary devils'. These converts considered themselves as a privileged class. They even refused to respect the local customs and festivals. Therefore, the Boxers believed that their old tradition can be restored only by ousting the Christian missionaries from their country.
3. Another important cause of the uprising was resentment of the Chinese people against the foreigners. The First Opium War resulted in signing of unequal and humiliating treaties by the Manchu rulers by which the Western Powers had acquired many commercial concessions. They had got mining rights in China and also constructed railway lines throughout China's territories. The industries and commerce of the country were ruined by the inflow of cheap foreign goods. Hence, people decided to oust the foreign interlopers as early as they could to end their humiliation.
4. Support from the Imperial Court was also responsible for the outbreak of the Boxer Rebellion. The Chinese Empress Dowager Tzu Hsi provoked the Boxers against the foreigners. She secretly instigated them because she did not want to displease the Western Powers. She firmly supported the Boxers by issuing several secret edicts. She rendered her assistance to the militia because she could ably realize the discontentment of the masses against the throne. To convert this

discontentment of the masses towards the foreign powers she ordered her military officers to support the causes of the militants. She ordered to form several armed groups to defend their respective villages. With support from the Royal Court, the Boxers were ready to face every challenge. The militants openly raised the slogan "Protect the Ching and destroy the foreigners".n

5. Natural disaster was also responsible for the Boxer uprising. Burdened with heavy taxation for paying war indemnity to Japan, natural disaster added fuel to the sufferings of the Chinese people. A devastating flood of Yellow River in1898 C.E. created havoc in China. Moreover, there was a terrible famine in China which resulted in crop failure. All of these worsened the condition of the people. The Boxers believed that these natural calamities occurred due to the foreign intervention.

Outbreak and spread of the Boxer Rebellion-

The Boxer Rebellion started in the autumn of 1899 C.E. by looting and burning of the houses of the local converts in Shantung province. Then they proceeded towards the province of Hopen and demolished everything that fell before him. Soon the agitation spread to Paoting, Tientsin and Peking. When Peking was attacked, the foreign legations there immediately fled to Tientsin for their safety. A multinational force was sent to Peking on 10th June 1899 to defend the foreigners there. On the way these troops had to face a stiff resistance from the Boxers and had to retreat. An allied squadron of foreign vessels demolished the Taku forts to protect the foreigners in Tientsin.

This act of the foreign powers enraged the Manchu Government and the latter embarked upon open hostility with an ultimatum to the foreign countries. On 20th June, 1899 C.E. Empress Dowager Tzu Tsi issued a secret edict by which she called for the extermination of all foreigners. The very next day Manchu Government declared an open war against the foreign powers.

On the day of the Chinese royal declaration of war against the foreign powers, the Boxers killed Baron Von Kettler, the German Minister to China on his way to the*Tsungli Yamen*. The same day the rebels even seized

many foreign and Chinese Christians either in the Roman Catholic Cathedrals or in the legation quarters. Few days later on 30th June, 1899 CE a terrible massacre took place at Paoting. Then on 9th July, 1899 CE forty-five foreigners (including women and children) from missionary families were brutally killed at Taiyuan of Shanshi province. Likewise, the Boxer rebels at Manchuria demolished the Churches and compelled the missionaries there to take shelter in other places to save their lives.

By the close of the year 1899 CE, the Boxer rebels completely besieged Peking where torching and murder became a common thing creating political turmoil in the city. By the summer of 1900 CE a large number of Chinese Christian converts were slaughtered in Chihli near Peking. Alarmed by the atrocities of the Boxers, the foreign powers organised an allied army consisting of British, Japanese, American, Russian, and German troopsunder German Commander Count Von Waldersee. A declaration was sent that the joint military campaign would be only against the Boxers who threatened the lives of the Christians in China and not against the country. Rather the foreign powers would be assisting the Chinese Government in suppressing a bloody rebellion which is claiming the life of their people.

The allied army on 4th August, 1900 CE advanced towards Peking from Tientsin. They easily captured Peking and plundered the city. The Russian, French and German troops committed large scale atrocities upon the Boxers. The residences of Boxer rebels were vandalised.Taking advantage of the situation, the foreign countries even tried to extend their existing concessions or got some new ones in China. For instance, Russia also sought to increase her influence in Manchuria. The Chinese troops however did not come forward for open confrontation with the allied army in support of the Boxer rebels.

Actually, the Manchu Court at that time was a divided house on the issue of starting anopen conflict with the foreign powers although a formal declaration of war against them was made earlier. Infact, Empress Dowager Tzu Hsi though disliked the foreigners at heart well realised the fact that direct confrontation with them would lead to the ruination of the Manchu

dynasty. Hence, she fled from her Capital along with Emperor Kiang Hsu and some faithful followers in the guise of a common folk in a cart. In the meantime, the foreign powers inflicted a final victory over the Boxer rebels and decided to bring back the Manchus to the power.

At this the Manchu Court appointed Li Hung-Chang, Viceroy at Canton and Prince Ching as envoys of peace for negotiating the terms of peace agreement. Finally, after prolonged negotiations an agreement was signed on 7th September, 1901 CE between the Chinese peace envoys and peace commissioners of the foreign nations. This peace settlement is known as the 'Boxer Protocol' which contained the followings terms and conditions:

1. China was to make a formal apology for the assassination of the German Minister, Baron Von Kettler. The Chinese Government would have to erect a monument on the spot of the assassination of inscribed in Latin, German and Chinese languages expressing regrets.
2. Determined by the foreign negotiator, eleven princes and Government officials were to be punished for their involvement in the attack on foreigners.
3. The Government of China also agreed to suspend the provincial competitive examinations for five years in the places where the foreigners were killed or mistreated.
4. The Emperor of China was to convey his apology to the Emperor of Japan expressing the regrets of the Chinese Government for the assassination of Mr. Sugiyama, Chancellor of the Japanese legation in Peking.
5. Memorials were to be constructed by the Chinese government in each of the foreign or international cemeteries.
6. China was to be prohibited from importation of arms and ammunitions from other countries for a period of 2 years, extensible further by 2 years if the allied powers found necessary.
7. In future all officials were to be dismissed and punished for the failure of preventing anti-foreign activities within their jurisdiction.
8. The Government of China was to pay a war indemnity of 450,000,000 teals or 333,900,000 dollars. China agreed to pay this amount at4%

interest in 39 annual instalments. The Chinese Government was permitted to levy additional 5% tariff on imports.

9. The Western powers will hold the right to keep a permanent guard in Peking with a view to protect their legations. Chinese residents and police were to be kept out of the legation quarter area.
10. The *Tsungli Yamen* was to be transformed into a modern Ministry of Foreign Affairs with a higher rank in comparison to other six ministries of the state so that it provides greater dignity for communication with the foreign governments.
11. Communication with the Chinese Emperor was to be permitted in similar lines with the rulers of other civilised nations.
12. The Taku and other ports at the mouth of the river leading to Tientsin were to be demolished to facilitate free communication between Peking and the sea.
13. China was to concede the right to the foreign powers to station their troops at certain strategic points, including Tientsin to maintain open communication between the capital and the sea.
14. The Chinese Government was to post edicts in all district towns for preventing anti-foreign activities. Further, imperial proclamations were to be posted for two years throughout the country ordering the suppression of the Boxers.

Consequences Boxer Rebellion

The Boxer Rebellion eventually ended in 1901 C.E. The rebellion went against China and she had to cede many concessions to the imperialists. Some of the major results of the rebellion were as follows:-

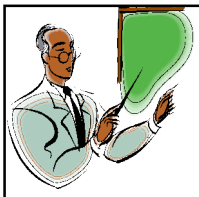
1. China had to sign a humiliating Boxer protocol with the foreign powers by which she had to grant many concessions to them, reducing its status to that of a tributary nation.
2. Chinese resentment against the Manchu dynasty became widespread and thepeople of China, who once upon a time thought/regarded themselves as the inhabitants of the Celestial Empire, now sought to overthrow this dynasty at the earliest.
3. Though the rebellion failed, it led to the Revolution of 1911C.E. and

the establishment of the Chinese Republic.

4. The Boxer uprising aroused anti-foreign sentiments in China.
5. As per the terms of the Boxer Protocol, China had to pay a huge war indemnity to the Imperialists power. As a result, economic condition of China on deteriorated.

Nature of the Uprising

The Boxer Rebellion was not a mere rising directed against the constituted authority of China. One of its slogans was "Protect the Qing or Manchu Dynasty and destroy the foreigners". But the Boxers received half-hearted support from the ruling Manchu dynasty during the course of its movement directed against the foreigners for their imperial occupation and exploitation in China. The Boxer Rebellion was essentially anti-foreign as well as anti-imperial in nature. The Boxer rebels were also against the foreign Christians and the Chinese converts as Christianity was introduced there by the foreign powers resulting in growing disrespect towards traditional Chinese religious faith and philosophy. If we derive the exact meaning of the word 'rebellion', we can't call these movement of Boxers as a 'rebellion' because the foreign powers were not the legitimate authority of China.



LET US KNOW

William Mckinly was the President of U.S.A. during the time of Boxer Rebellion in China.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS



Q 4: Who was the Chinese Empress during the outbreak of the Boxrer Rebellion?

.....

Q 5: When the Boxer Rebellion started?

.....

Q 6: Who was Baron Von Kettler?

.....



10.5 LET US SUM UP

After going through this unit, we have learnt that-

- Various factors such as political, economic and military that contributed towards the outbreak of the Taiping Rebellion.
- Lack of able leadership, intervention of the foreign powers and defective military strategy resulted in failure of the rebellion.
- The nature of the Taiping Rebellion was anti-Manchu rather than anti-foreign. The rebellion was against age-old social order. It was further a democratic peasant movement against feudalism.
- The Boxer Rebellion took place due to the resentment and dissatisfaction of the Chinese people against the foreigners.
- By the terms of the so called 'Boxer Protocol' China had to cede many concessions to the foreign powers.
- The nature of the Boxer Rebellion was anti-foreign which received/ got half hearted support of the Manchu Government.



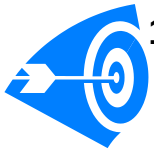
10.6 FURTHER READING

1) Vinacke, H. M. (1959) 'A Short History of the Far East in Modern Time', New York, Allen & Unwin.

2) Clyde, P.H. (1953) 'The Far East ', New Jersey, Prentice Hall.

3) Latourette, K. S.(1964), 'a Short History of the Far East',New York, Macmillan.

4) Singh, A. K. (1993) 'History of Far East in Modern Times', New Delhi,Surjeet Publication.



10.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Hung Hsiu-Chun and his followers.

Ans to Q No 2: Long haired ones.

Ans to Q No 3: A British soldier who took the charge of the 'Ever Victorious Army' after the death of Frederick Townshend Ward.

Ans to Q No 4: Empress Dowager Tzu Hsi.

Ans to Q No 5: In the autumn of 1899.

Ans to Q No 6: A German Minister in China.



10.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions (answer each question within 50 words)

Q 1: Who was General Gaselee?

Q 2: Name the Chinese peace plenipotentiaries in Boxer Protocol.

Q 3: When the Boxer Protocol was signed?

B) Short Questions (answer each question within 150 words)

Q 1: Write a short note on-

a. Effects/results of the Taiping Rebellion.

b. Boxer Protocol (1901).

c. Nature of the Boxer Rebellion.

C) Long Questions (answer each question within 300-350 words)

Q 1: Narrate the causes of the Taiping Rebellion.

Q 2: Explain the causes of the failure of the Taiping Rebellion.

Q 3: Discuss the causes and consequences of the Boxer Rebellion.

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UNIT 11 : EMERGENCE OF NATIONALISM IN CHINA

UNIT STRUCTURE

11.1 Learning Objectives

11.2 Introduction

11.3 Second Reform Movement of China 1901-1908

11.4 Revolution of 1911

11.5 Dr. Sun Yat-Sen

11.6 Let Us Sum Up

11.7 Further Reading

11.8 Answer to Check Your Progress

11.9 Model Questions

11.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to –

- explain the Second Reform Movement of China 1901-1908,
- discuss theRevolution of 1911 by which ending the Imperial rule in China,
- examine the contribution of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen towards the formation of New China.

11.2 INTRODUCTION

Dear Learners, in the previous Unit, we discussed in detail about the Taiping Rebellion and Boxer Rebellion. In this unit we will discuss about the background, course and results of the Second Reform Movement in China 1901-1908,the causes and results of the Revolution of 1911 CEin Chinaand also about the life and achievements of Dr. Sun Yat-Senwho became a national leader of the newly established Republic of China.

11.3 SECOND REFORM MOVEMENT OF CHINA 1901-1908

The Second Reform Movement which is generally known asthe 'Late Qing or ManchuReforms'was started in 1901CE byEmpress Dowager Tzu Hsiwith the aim of bringing in changes in system of governance to preserve the rule of the Qing or Manchu dynasty in China. This reform movement included political, military, diplomatic, economic, education and cultural reforms.Let us first discuss in short about the 'Hundred Days of Reform' in China, the first reform movement in China as a background to understand better the second reform movement in China.

HUNDRED DAYS OF REFORM IN CHINA

Towards the closing years of the 19th century the Chinese society had shown eagerness towards reformation and some Chinese reformers have taken lead in this direction. One such reformer wasK'ang Yu-Weiwho inspired the thenyoung Chinese Emperor Kuang Hsuthrough his reformative ideas. Hence, theEmperor decided toimplementa reformprogram to change theideology throughoutthe Empire. It was on 11th June, 1898 CE that Emperor Kuang Hsuissued an 'Imperial Decree' announcing the need for reform. A number of reform edicts were subsequently passed covering every aspect of the Chinese life to create a new order uniting all the Chinese people for a march towards progress. This reform programme was the first reform movement in China and was called the 'Hundred Days of Reform' as it lastedfor that much period of time.

Actually, a section of Chinese royal officials was unhappy with the reforms as it had curtailed their power, position and profit. Hence, they requested Dowager Tzu Hsi, who was earlier the regent of Emperor Kuang Hsu, to save them from the reformation programme. Being in political isolation for ten long years, Dowager Tzu Hsi too was looking for an opportunity to seize power. By a coup she once again on 22nd September, 1898 CE took over the control of the Manchu administration with the help of her trusted military official Yuan Shi-Kai .

Thereafter Emperor Kuang Hsu was stripped off from all his power,

position and responsibilities. He remained just as a cipher until his death in 1908 CE. All the reform edicts issued by him were annulled by EmpressDowager Tzu Hsi marking an end of the first reform movement in China. But situation in China became such that within three years in 1901CE the Chinese Empress herself had to initiate a reform movement, the 'Second Reform Movement in China'.

COURSE OF THESECOND REFORM MOVEMENT IN CHINA

The end of the first reform movement in China witnessed the outbreak of the Boxer Rebellion the very next year (**regarding which you have studied in the last unit**) which was directed against the foreign powers in China with inward Manchu support. But failure of the Boxer Rebellion more enraged the Chinese people against the Manchus as their forces did not came out for open confrontation with the allied foreign forces in support of the Boxer rebels.RatherEmpress Dowager Tzu Hsi herself fled away from Peking and sent peace envoys who signed the humiliating Boxer Protocol (7thSeptember, 1901 CE) with the foreign peace commissioners. The anti-Manchu resentment level reached to such a height that the Chinese peoplesought to overthrow this dynasty at the earliest.

Under such circumstances, Empress Dowager Tzu Hsi with no other alternative left to safeguard the Manchu dynasty from public disafavour sought to initiate reforms. Shethrough an edict in 1901 CEdecided to strengthen their Empire by every means at any cost and to improve the condition of their subjects. Recognising the past errors, the Empress decided to correct all the shortcomings of the Chinese administration through adopting best methods as well as systems from the foreign countries. But in practice, this reform movement was fundamentally different from that of 1898 CE as its aim of reform was not radical transformation in China, but mainly the removal of the evil stricken age-old systems in the Manchu administration so that it continues with the changing times in China.

To begin with the reformation program, Empress Dowager Tzu Hsiconvinced her conservative officials thatthe changes could be made only with the cooperation of the officials of the metropolitan area and the provinces as honest supporters of progress.Under the direction ofYuan Shi-

Kai , many changes were carried out in the administrative system. All the departments of administration were reorganized. The names of thevarious offices and consolidating agencies were changed, and their functions were redistributed. Recruitment system to the government offices was made on modern lines with removal of traditional civil service examination systemby an edict of 1905 CE as the knowledge of Chinese classics was the only eligibility criteria there.

Further, the sinecure offices andthe ill practice of selling official posts were abolished to bring about more administrative efficiency. The various departments of the Court were also reorganized.No longer torture could be made on the prisoners during their examination process to ascertain their crime.Attempts were made to impose a ban on the importation of opium.Whilethe ban on intermarriage of the Manchus and Chinese was removed by a reform edict on the marriage law in 1902 CE so that racial affinity could be established amongst them.Earlier, the Manchus used to consider them as superior than the Chinese people in general.

The Chinese army was also reorganized in western lines under Yuan Shi-Kai . He created a model force of six divisions between the years 1903-1906 CE. Out of these six divisions, four were transferred to the then established 'Ministry of War' in 1906 CE and a plan was anticipated for the formation of a 'National Army'with thirty-six divisions.Economic reforms were initiated under the leadership of Chang-Ching-Tung, the Viceroy of the Hukuang province. He wasprincipally concerned with the strengthening of the economic foundations of the state.In 1903 CE a new 'Board of Commerce' was formed to regulate trading activities. Railways and arsenals were constructed for the smooth conduction of trading activities. With Chinese capital investments in mining operations were undertaken.

For initiating educational reforms, a 'Ministry of Education' was established in 1903 CE with the responsibility of organising a complete system of education in China. To impart education to the Chinese students both in Chinese and western subjects, government schools of different standards were established all over the empire. An elementary school system like that of Japan was started. Colleges were established in many places

along with the 'Imperial University' at Peking to facilitate higher education within China. Graduates from these higher education institutes were considered as eligible employment in government service. Both the central and provincial governments of China also made provisions to send the Chinese students outside, mostly to Japan so that could acquire modern knowledge.

Even preparations were started to establish a proper form of government in China to avert a possible revolution against the Manchus.For that, two foreign missions called "Inspection of Political Affairs" was appointed by Empress Dowager Tzu Hsi to look after the political institutions of foreign countries and to suggest a suitable form of government in China. Upon their visit, the members of the mission suggested to follow the Japanese and Russian model of constitutional government in China. Then a "Constitutional Reference Bureau" was established to introduce western laws in China. Finally, in 1906 CE the Empress through an edict promised to provide a constitution and initiated reformation in the government creating a cabinet system. In 1907 CE the provincial governments were also recognized in similar fashion.

Finally, in 1908 CE a provisional constitution was adopted which other than providing a bicameral parliament with restricted powers tried to provide protection to the power of the Chinese Emperor by granting him unlimited powers both in normal and emergency situations. Probably Empress Dowager Tzu Hsi does not want the immediate establishment of a constitutional government as it would affect the supreme authority of the Manchus. Hence, the same year she initiated a programme to introduce constitutional government in a gradual manner with annual reforms in administration likethe introduction of local self-government, conduction of census, police reorganization, etc covering a period of nine years (by 1917 CE).

But the same year, i.e. 1908 CE both the Emperor Kuang Hsu and Empress Dowager Tzu Hsi died and with the death of the Empress, the second reform movement initiated by her came to a standstill. Already by that year there were 17 Provincial Assemblies established in China, and

their representatives met in early 1909 CE making a demand for the introduction of a constitutional government at the earliest. Heeding to this the Manchu administration promised to open the Chinese Parliament in 1913 CE. However, the anti-Manchu forces and other radical reformists in China were in no mood for a delay in this direction and decided to overthrow the Manchu dynasty once for all and establish a constitutional government in its place. This led to the Chinese Revolution of 1911 CE (**to be studied in the next sub-section**) and the end of the Manchu rule in 1912 CE.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: What was another name of the first reform movement in China?

.....

Q 2: When was the second reform movement started in China?

.....

Q 3: In which year a 'Ministry of Education' was established in China?

.....

11.4 REVOLUTION OF 1911

The death of Manchu Empress Dowager Tzu Hsi and an abrupt end of her reform program made the end of the rule of the Qing or Manchu dynasty inevitable which finally happened with the successful Revolution of 1911 CE against them. The Manchus were thrown out of power for forever and a republican form of government was established in China. This Revolutionled by a group of revolutionaries in Southern China was not a sudden outburst, but the culminationof long years of agitation, revolts, and uprisings against the Manchus.

A disappointment was gradually developing against the Manchu rule amongst the Chinese people who always considered the Manchus as outsiders. It was the 'Opening of China' that brought the issues of discord one after another between the Manchu administration and the Chinese people in general. With the gates of China being open, the foreign powers

started their commercial activities initially in a restricted manner and gradually through their imperialist plans extended their influences.But the Manchu authority failed to save the Chinese soil from the increasing incursions of the foreign powers.

The safeguard attempts made by the Manchu authority led to the outbreak of the two Opium Wars between them and the foreign powers, mainly England in the first one. Being defeated, the Manchus had to accept humiliation in their own kingdom by losing the territory of Hong Kong, opening several ports for international trade, large concessions including religious freedom in major Chinese cities along with the privileged of extra-territorial rights to the foreign powers. This defeat exposed the weakness of the Manchu army in front of all.

Again, in the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-95 CE, China had to face defeat in the hands of Japan andwas forced to relinquish their control over the territory of Taiwan and parts of Manchuria as well as her suzerainty over Korea. Japan also by defeating Russia in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05 CE had firmly established her control over the Far East which further weakened the rule of the Manchu dynasty in China. Besides, the Chinese people felt humiliated at the success of Japan smaller in size than China having large territory and automatic comparison started in their minds between the political structure in the two countries.

Along with the ever increasing problems created by the foreign nations, the Manchugovernment also had to face lots of internal problems like over population, flood, drought, famine, etc. However, theManchus failed to solve these internal problems. Rather owing to the mounting financial pressure upon their government, the Manchus imposed heavy taxation upon their subjects which further increased the problems for the Chinese people and created resentment in their minds against the Manchus who failed to solve both the external incursion and internal problems in China.

The Manchu unpopularity reached great heights, and Chinese people began to organise themselves against their rule. The Taiping Rebellion was the prominent anti-Manchu movement amongst many other such movements before the successful revolution of 1911 CE. The Chinese

organisations were in the form of secret revolutionary societies mostly constituted in the region of South China. The prominent one amongst such organisation was 'Tung Meng Hui' or the Alliance Society organised in 1905 CE by Dr. Sun Yat-Sen (**regarding whom you will study in the next section**) by amalgamating all secret revolutionary societies. Thereafter, this Alliance Society did take revolutionary action against the Manchus resulting in sporadic outbreaks in 1906 CE, 1907 CE and 1910 CE leading to the Revolution of 1911 CE.

The Second Reform Movement initiated by Empress DowagerTzu Hsiopened up the gates for the Chinese people to go outside to foreign lands for seeking education and employment.In the foreign countries these Chinese people inculcated liberal ideas and upon their return infuse it in the minds of theircountrymen thereby encouraging them for a revolution to bring about a radical change in the country.The missionary schools of China provided education to the students in western liberal lines. The passed out students from these schools failed to find any decent job under the Manchu administration and many of them became teachers in those schools. These Chinese teachers in the missionary schools infused the idea of revolution in the minds of the students for an overall change in China.

Measures for the strengthening of the Manchu central administrationby Empress Dowager Tzu Hsi led to the curtailment of the powers of the local bodies which was considered by the Chinese people as encroachment upon the traditional autonomy of the provinces which the time and customs have provided and were ready to join for a revolution to protect their privileges. The developed system of communication in the form of postal, telegraph, railways and highways helped the dissatisfied Chinese people from different parts of the country to maintain contact with each other. While the growth of vernacular press helped them to publish revolutionary literature and distribute them all over China through railways and highway communication which aroused a revolutionary spirit amongst common people. The revolutionaries too created defection in the new model army of the Manchus by bringing the army divisions stationed at Hankow and Nanking in South China to their side.

Finally, it was the issue of railroad nationalization which set the anti-Manchu stage in China ablaze. The Chinese people wanted to construct railroads in China on a provincial basis with only Chinese capital investment. But the Manchu government could not accept this demand and went for foreign investments as large amount of money was required for this purpose and the said amount could not be raised in the provinces. Already railway construction was going on with capital investment by private companies having Chinese shareholders in Central, South and South-Western China. But in 1911 CE a programme of railroad nationalization was pursued by the Manchu government under which all the ongoing railway construction projects in China were nationalized and even mortgaged before a joint group of American, British, French and German bankers against a loan of six million pounds.

This act of the Manchu government was considered by the provincial authorities as an act to curb their autonomy, while the nationalist considered it as an attempt by the Manchus to tighten their control over the Empire. Attempt was made by the Manchu government to settle the matter peacefully, but an uprising came out in the autumn of 1911 CE in Wuchang province, which turned into a nationalist revolt. At that situation, the Manchugovernment positively responded to set a demand of intention to transform the authoritarian imperial rule into a constitutional monarchyand declared Yuan Shi-Kai as the new Premier of China. But immediatelythe provinces started to declare their allegiance to the Revolutionary Alliance, beforeYuan was able to retake the captured areas from the revolutionaries.

At the initial period of the revolt Dr. Sun Yat-Sen was in America on a fundraising tour, immediately he was hastened to London first and then to Paris to ensure that neither any foreign country would give financial or military support to the Manchu government of China in its struggle.After his return to China the revolutionaries had met at Nanjing, a former capital under the Ming Dynasty and the representatives from various provinces begun to arrive for the first National Assemblyand they unanimously elected Dr. Sun Yat-Senas the provisional President of the newly declared Republic of China with Nanking as its capital.Then Dr. Sunsent a telegram to Yuan Shi-Kaiwith

promise that if Yuan should agree to the formation of a Republic,he would be the President. With defection in Manchu army and financial crisis, Yuan decided to accept the offer of Dr. Sun and persuaded the Manchus to abdicate with assurance of getting provisions for the maintenance of the royal family.The six year old ManchuEmperor on 12th February 1912 CE abdicated the throne bringing a successful end of the Revolution of 1911 CE.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 4: Which dynasty ruled in China during the Revolution of 1911?

.....

Q 5: In which year the 'Tung Meng Hui' was organised?

.....

Q 6: In which year the Manchu Emperor abdicated his throne?

.....

11.5 DR. SUN YAT SEN

Dr. Sun Yat-Senwas the leader of the Chinese Nationalist Party(Kuomintang), born in a poor familyon12thNovember1866 CEin Xiangshan, Guangdong Province of South China. His original name was Sun Wen andwas considered as the 'Father of Modern China'.He served as the first provisional President of newly formed Republic of China in 1911-12 CE by overthrowing the Qing or Manchu dynasty and henceforth was also considered as the 'Founder of the Chinese Republic'.

In his early life, Dr. Sun was brought to Honolulu by his brother Sun Mei for his study and wasadmitted at a British missionary school for three years and after that he went to an American school for another one year and thereby came into contact with the Western influences.In1883 CE, he returnedto his native village and went to study at the Diocesan Home in Hong Kong, where he was baptized by an American missionary.After that he went to the Government Central School (later known as Queen's College) in 1884 CE and married to Lu Muzhen. In 1886 CE, he went to Hawaii and

enrolled in the Guangzhou (Canton) Hospital Medical Schoollater transferred to the College of Medicine for Chinese in Hong Kong and ultimately graduated in 1892 CE.

Though Dr. Sun was a medical Practitioner, yet hewas also involved in the process of reviving China. In 1894 CE, hewentto Hawaii in where he founded an organization called the Revive China Society or 'Xing Zhong-hui', which became as the forerunner of the secret revolutionary groups in China. After the defeat of China in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95 CE in the hands of Japanthere arose internal crisiswithin the Chinese territory. Taking advantage of that situation,Dr. Sun went to Hong Kong in 1895 CEand started an uprising in Guangzhoubut failed and went for exile abroad.

Butin 1896 CE,Dr. Sun was caught and detained for 13 months by the Chinese legation in London.However, he wasreleased from his captivity with the intervention of the British Foreign Officeat the initiative of James Contlie, a former teacher of Dr. Sun. This detention at London provided great publicity to Dr. Sun and powerfully boosted his career. After that incident, by the way of Canada he arrived at Japan in August, 1897 CE where hecame in contact withsome influential Japanese people from whomhewas able to receive assistance both politically and financially.During the period Boxer Rebellion,Dr. Sun participated in secret maneuvers to persuade Li Hong Zhang,a Chinese statesman, general and diplomat of theQing or Manchu dynasty to declare independence from the Manchu rule.Atan invitation by an associate of LiHong Zhang, he started his journey to Hong Kong, yet on fearing of a trap he didnot go ashoreand sent his associateMiyazaki and two Japanese followers asrepresentative to attend in the meeting, but it proved fruitless.

The year 1903 CEmarked as a significant turning point in the career of Dr. Sun when his following rapidly increased amongst the educated classes, the most prestigious and influential group in China. His popularityalso became more and more among the Chinese students abroad and was able to establish several revolutionary cells in Europe in 1904 CE. Thenin 1905 CE hebecame the head of the TungMengHuior theAlliance Society, arevolutionary coalition formed with headquarter at Tokyo in

Japan.Through its mouthpiece*Min Bao* or People's Journal,the Alliance Societyspreadtheir ideologyeffectively for the next three years.But during that period Dr. Sun had to face many difficulties to continue the revolutionary activities as the Japanese government ordered him to leave the country in 1907 CE. Lateron,French Indo-Chinatoo declared complete ban on him andthen Hong Kong and several other territories also did the same.

Under such circumstances,Dr. Sun spent twoyearsin Europe and America. Then in June 1910 CE, he returned to Asia for attending a meeting with other revolutionaries where they decided to make a massive effort to capture Guangzhou.But the attempt was failure and Dr. Sun went back to America for the fund raising tour. During his stay in America, an anti-Manchu revolution broke out in China which was successful as the Revolution of 1911 CE and Dr. Sun played a crucial role in it (**regarding which you have studied in the previous sub-section**) with a great sacrifice of his position. With the Chinese Emperor and the royal family abdicating the throne on12thFebruary, 1912CE, the very next day Dr. Sun also resigned from his post of the Chinese Republic and elected YuanShi-Kaias his successor on 14th February keeping his promise to Yuan intact.

But Yuan Shi-Kai proved to be a wrong horse for the Chinese Republic as he tried to administer China as an emperor which embittered his relationship with Dr. Sun who through a rebellion tried to oust him. But the rebellion failed, and Dr. Sun fled to Japan as an exile. However, prior to his rebellion against Yuan, Dr. Sun organised the Kuomintang or the 'Nationalist Party' of China bringing together all the members ofT'ung Meng Hui and other revolutionary groups. His party won majority in both the houses of the Chinese Parliament. Only after the death of YuanShi-K'ai in 1916 CE that Dr. Sun returned to China.

Upon his return, Dr. Sun tried to establish an independent military government in South China with Canton as the capital. He himself assumed the title of 'Generalissimo' but failed to secure support of his own party members as it was against the Kuomintang ideology. The western nations too did not comply to his appeal of providing recognition to his Canton government. Even he lost his government at Canton to his subordinate and

supporter Chen Chiun Ming and could regain it later with the help of Russia. The Russian Bolshevik government helped Dr. Sun and for that signed an agreement between him and Abrab Adolf Joffe, the Russian representative to China known as the 'Sun-Joffe Declaration' on 25th January, 1923 CE. Through this declaration Russia agreed to provide full support to the Kuomintang Party in achieving the national unification and full independence of China. For that Russia send an advisory body from Russia under the leadership of Michael Borodin, whom Dr. Sun appointed as the Political Advisor of the Kuomintang Party.

Dr. Sun had to look forward towards the newly formed Soviet governmentof Russia as he was unsuccessful in obtaining aid from the western countries and Japan.With the support as well assupervision of the Soviet Communist leaders Dr. Sun reorganized the Kuomintang Party on the model of the Soviet Communist Party.In 1924 CEunder his directivestheParty Congress elected three communists to its central executive committee and also gave approval to the establishment of a Military Academy in China at Whampoawith Chiang Kai-Shek as its Superintendent. Chou En Lai was made the Chief of the political department of the Kuomintang Party. As part of his party-building efforts Dr.Sun delivered a series of lectures on his own doctrine, the "Three Principles of the People"– i.e., Nationalism, Democracy and People'sLivelihood.However, Dr. Sundied of cancer in Peking in March, 1925 CE with his ultimate aim of independent unified Chinabeing not fulfilled. Even then his notable contribution and sacrifice for establishing a Republic in China remains historic and makes him unique as well as most noteworthy amongst other Chinese leaders.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 7: In which year Dr. Sun Yat Sen was born?

.....

Q 8: Name the mouthpiece of T'ung Meng Hui.

.....

Q 9: Who was Abrab Adolf Joffe?

.....

Q 10: Whom Dr. Sun Yat Sen appointed as the Political Advisor of the Kuomintang Party?

.....



11.6 LET US SUM UP

After going through this unit, you have learnt that:

- The reform movement actually started in China under the Manchus with the young Chinese EmperorKuang Hsu initiating it in June, 1898 CE. This was the First Reform Movement which lasted only for hundred days owing to opposition from a section of the Chinese royal officials.
- The Second Reform Movement started in 1901 CE under Manchu Empress DowagerTzu Hsi to preserve the dynasty through reformingthe administrative systemof Manchu governance. The whole reform program was to culminate in the establishment of a parliament and the organization of a privy council and a cabinet in the ninth year of the reformation program.
- The Revolution of 1911 CE was a successful revolt against the Qing or Manchu dynasty of China to establish the Republic of China by ending of the existing imperial system led by a group of revolutionaries in southern China. The revolution was the culmination of a decade of agitation, revolts, and uprisings. Ultimately, with the weakening of the military position of the royal army and made provisions at court for the maintenance of the royal family, the thenManchu Emperor and the royal family abdicated the throne in February, 1912 CE.
- Dr. Sun Yat-Sen was the leader of the Chinese Nationalist Party (Kuomintang). He served as the first provisional President of newly formed Republic of China in 1911-12 by overthrowing the Qing or Manchu dynasty.His doctrine was the “Three Principles of the People” – i.e., Nationalism, Democracy and People’s Livelihood.



11.7 FURTHER READING

1) Vinacke,H. M. (2014), *A History of the Far East in Modern Times (*6th ed.)Surjeet Publications,Delhi

2) Sarao, K.T.S. (2018), *Modern Historyof China (1840-1949*), Surjeet Publications, Delhi

3) Cameron, M. E., (1931), *The Reform Movement in China, 1898-1912*, Stanford University Press, China

4) Latourette, K. S., (1964), *A Short History of the Far East*, Macmillan, New York

5) Singh, A. K., (1984), *History of Far East in Modern Times*, Surjeet Publications, Delhi



11.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Hundred Days of Reform.

Ans to Q No 2: In 1901 CE.

Ans to Q No 3: In 1903 CE.

Ans to Q No 4: The Qing or Manchu Dynasty.

Ans to Q No 5: In 1905 CE.

Ans to Q No 6: In 1912 CE.

Ans to Q No 7: In1866 CE.

Ans to Q No 8: Min Bao.

Ans to Q No 9: The Russian representative to China.

Ans to Q No 10: Michael Borodin.



11.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions(answer each question within50 words)

Q 1: Who was K'ang Yu-Wei?

Q 2: When did the second reform movement come to a standstill?

Q 3: To whom the Manchus lost Hongkong and why?

Q 4: Who formed the Revolutionary Alliance or T'ung Meng Hui?

Q 5: What were the 'Three Principles' ofDr. Sun Yat-Sen?

Q 6: What was the 'Sun-Joffe Declaration'?

B) Short Questions (answer each question in about 150 words)

Q 1: Write a Short Note:

a. Emperor Kuang Hsu

b. Empress Dowager Tzu Hsi

c. Issue of railroad nationalization

d. Yuan Shi-Kai

C) Long Questions (answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q 1: Write a note on theHundred Days of Reform in China.

Q 2: Discuss the background and development of the Second Reform Movement in China.

Q 3: Describe the causes and results of the Revolution of 1911**.**

Q 4: Examine the life and achievements of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen**.**

Q 5: Enumerate the role of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen to the establishment of Constitutional form of government in China.

*** ***** ***

UNIT 12 : POLITICAL MOVEMENT IN CHINA

UNIT STRUCTURE

12.1 Learning Objectives

12.2 Introduction

12.3 Developments of New Intellectual Ideas

12.4 May Fourth Movement - Its Nature and Significance

12.5 Political Crisis of 1920

12.6 Nationalist Party or KMT

12.7 Let Us Sum Up

12.8 Further Reading

12.9 Answers to Check your Progress

12.10 Model Questions

12.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this Unit, you will be able to-

- to focus on the developments of new intellectual ideas and analyse the connection between political upheaval and intellectual revival in the early 20th-century China.
- to understand nature of the May Fourth Movement in China, including its causes, key figures, and impact on society, politics, and culture during the early 20th century
- to examine the political crisis of 1920 in China and highlighting its significance in China's modern history
- examine the KMT's impact on nationalism and internal politics.

12.2 INTRODUCTION

Dear Learners, in the previous Unit, we discussed the emergence of nationalisms in China and the social reforms undertaken. The Unit also highlighted the Revolution of 1911 and an analysis of Dr Sun Yat Sen.

In this Unit, we shall discuss the political changes and the emergence of new ideas. In the early 20th century, China experienced profound

upheaval. The collapse of the Qing Dynasty in 1911 set the stage for the May Fourth Movement in 1919, a response to the Treaty of Versailles, which sparked intellectual renewal and a quest for new ideas like Marxism and nationalism. The 1920s saw China embroiled in a political crisis marked by warlordism and foreign interference. Amidst this chaos, the Nationalist Party (KMT), led by figures like Sun Yat-sen and later Chiang Kai-shek, emerged with the goal of unifying China under a nationalist, republican government. This period of transition and turmoil laid the foundation for modern Chinese politics, shaping the country's trajectory for decades to come.

12.3 DEVELOPMENTS OF NEW INTELLECTUAL IDEAS

The intertwined nature of political revolution and intellectual renaissance in China during the early 20th century. It suggests that while political upheaval often accompanies a change in intellectual ideas. Before the significant political events like the 1911 revolution, there was already an influx of new ideas in China, setting the stage for subsequent reforms. The abolishment of the examination system in 1905 marked a substantial departure from the traditional Confucian education system, paving the way for a shift towards modern education emphasizing scientific and technological subjects. However, it wasn't until after the establishment of the Republic of China in 1911 that a more profound intellectual and cultural atmosphere began to emerge. This new intellectual climate, which gained momentum by 1917, laid the groundwork for a renaissance in Chinese thought and culture over the following decade. This intellectual renaissance extended beyond politics and influenced various aspects of Chinese society, including economics, social structures, and even global affairs. It signified a departure from traditional ways of thinking and paved the way for significant changes in China's future trajectory. While the impact of this intellectual movement was initially felt among the educated class, its effects were expected to spread through society, eventually influencing the masses. This suggests that the intellectual and cultural transformations were fundamental to China's modernization and had far-reaching implications for the country's development in the decades to come.

- Educational development:

Let's discuss the role of education in driving intellectual change in China before and after significant political events like the 1911 revolution. Before 1898, education in China was primarily focused on traditional subjects and relied on the examination system. However, the arrival of Western missionaries brought a shift towards modern education methods, including the establishment of schools and hospitals to facilitate contact with Chinese communities. Missionaries believed that education could help spread Christianity and facilitate social change. Despite missionary efforts, early schools often prioritized religious teachings over formal education, and many teachers lacked proper training. It wasn't until after the 1911 revolution that the importance of broader education became more widely recognized. As a result, even the more enlightened officials, particularly those with close contact with foreigners, gradually began to recognize the significance of "Western learning."

Consequently, it fell upon foreigners to initiate the process of "opening" China, with missionaries showing a particular interest in education. Therefore, the establishment of schools and hospitals was primarily driven by their desire to establish closer connections with the Chinese population beyond their evangelistic activities. The expansion of educational institutions, including primary, middle, and higher schools, was notable during the period from 1900 to 1910. Tungwen College, founded in 1865, and the establishment of Peiyang University by Li Hung chang in Tientsin in 1895 marked significant milestones in this process. Other universities such as Chiao-tung-pu Nanyang and Peking Universities were also established before 1900. The reform program of 1898 proposed the modification of the examination system and the establishment of a national school system, but the real transformation began with the abolition of the examination system.The examination system in Chinaabolished in 1905, allowed for the introduction of modern subjects and paved the way for broader educational reforms. It also contributed to the decline of traditional values and the rise of new intellectual movements in China. Subsequently, an extensive educational program was implemented in 1908, aligning with the

preparations for the introduction of constitutional government. This era saw the construction of schools, with many temples repurposed into institutions for teaching Western knowledge.

The failure of political revolution to bring about significant change led intellectuals to advocate for a more profound transformation through education. They emphasized the need for a new literature and the integration of Chinese thought with global ideas. The intellectual shift also led to the introduction of vocational education and a critical approach to literary and social studies. However, the full impact of these changes was gradual, and it took time for educational reforms to take hold. Ultimately, education became increasingly viewed as a means of promoting societal advancement and preparing individuals for private pursuits rather than just securing public office.

- Impact of press ion intellectual growth:

Another factor, alongside schools, contributing to intellectual awakening was undoubtedly, the Press. It served as a platform for the expression of new ideas and as a source of information on both foreign and Chinese events. While foreign-language newspapers, primarily in English, had long provided discussions on happenings in China and beyond, they primarily catered to foreigners and expressed Western perspectives rather than stimulating thought among the Chinese themselves. It was through native publications that China began to evaluate and articulate its own views. The first Chinese newspaper emerged in 1870, driven by events such as the suppression of the Boxer movement, the initiation of Manchu reform programs, and the rise of anti-Manchu sentiment. Improved communication networks expanded the reach of major newspapers beyond local news. While many newspapers were essentially propaganda tools, some foreign-sponsored or representing personal interests, they all fostered discussion and encouraged thought on foreign relations and domestic issues.

In addition to newspapers, periodicals emerged, ranging from women's magazines to literary and scientific journals. Magazines like 'New Youth', founded in 1915, played a significant role in expressing new ideas. Other publications like the 'Weekly Review' and 'New Tide' (later known as

The Renaissance) were also influential, with the latter being sponsored by students of Peking University. Various schools also established their publications, featuring stories, plays, essays, and articles on social issues. Lastly, the increased movement of people also served as an intellectual force during this period.

- Literary Revival:

Initiating a movement known as “new tide”, another expression of thiswas the “literary revolution” which was systematically promoted in and after 1917. This was formally inaugurated by Dr. Hu Suh (Shih), an American-trained scholar and a member of the Faculty of Peking National University. At the beginning of 1917 he publicly announced his intention thereafter to write only in the spoken language, discarding altogether the old literary language as his medium of expression. So, there was a big change in how Chinese people wrote and spoke. This was a big deal because the classical language was seen as very important, like Latin in Europe long ago. But things changed when the old government fell, and they stopped using the old way to test scholars. Dr. Hu’s idea caught on, and soon, schools started teaching the regular language instead of the old one. At the same time, they also worked on making the language simpler and teaching more people how to read and write. They made new alphabets and simplified the characters used in writing. Closely joined, in nationalistic objective, to this movement to unify the system was the mass- education movement which was associated with the name of its principal leader Y.C James Yen, He and his associates worked out a course of study based on 1300 characters. These represented the characters in most common use in the vernacular. Their mastery enabled the individual to write simple business letters, keep accounts and read simple newspapers intelligently and this was organised through the national popular education Association which led the effort to teach practical skills to a lot of people in a short time. Many volunteers helped teach others how to read and write, especially in cities. Later, these ideas were also used by communist groups.

- Intellectual upheaval:

After military rule was established in China, there was a significant

shift in the focus of Chinese intellectuals away from politics. This change sparked an intellectual awakening, where critical scrutiny was applied to all aspects of society, both Chinese and foreign. The aim was to assess them in the context of contemporary Chinese life, considering modern scientific and philosophical ideas. A key influence during this time was John Dewey, whose pragmatic approach to social utility resonated with many Chinese intellectuals, particularly those who had encountered his ideas while studying in the United States. Dewey's impact was further solidified when he visited China to lecture at Peking University and other institutions across the country.

Another influential figure was Bertrand Russell, whose philosophy found favour among a segment of China's intellectual elite. The experience of World War I and its aftermath also played a role in shaping Chinese intellectuals' critical outlook. The massive scale of organized violence during the war, contrasted with the ideal of Christian peace, diminished Chinese respect for Western systems. Additionally, the dissemination of anti-German propaganda in China led to deeper contemplation regarding western institutions.However, the most significant catalyst for Chinese nationalism emerged from the aftermath of the Paris Conference, particularly the contentious issue of the Shantung award, it refers to the contentious decision at the Treaty of Versailles in 1919, where control of the Shantung territory was given to Japan instead of returning it to China. This event triggered a surge of nationalistic sentiment among Chinese intellectuals, intensifying their commitment to nationalism in the years following 1919.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: Who established Peiyang University and where was it located?

.....

Q 2: When was the examination system in China abolished?

.....

Q 3: Name two publications that were influential in fostering intellectual discourse in Chinaduring the early 20th century?

.....

12.4 MAY FOURTH MOVEMENT - ITS NATURE AND SIGNIFICANCE

The Treaty of Versailles proved deeply disappointing for the Chinese, failing to elevate their international standing. This led to widespread outrage in China, with student protests in Peking accusing officials of collusion with Japan. In response, Chinese merchants initiated a nationwide boycott against foreigners, particularly targeting Japanese interests. Japan's economy suffered as a result, prompting it to initiate new talks with China. However, the Peking Government insisted on unconditional surrender of Shantung before engaging in negotiations. This situation persisted until the Washington Conference of 1921.

The students' uprising of the National Peking University which began with a spirited demonstration of students before the gate of heavenly peace in peking on May 4,1919, is otherwise known as the May Fourth Movement. It marked the first organized protest by students and intellectuals against the perceived injustice inflicted upon China by the Allied Powers at the Versailles Peace Conference. Under the leadership of Chancellor T'sai Yuan P'ei, students drew inspiration and gathered support from prominent scholars such as Dr. Hu Shih, Li Ta-chao, and Ch'en Tu-hsiu. T'sai encouraged a departure from traditional Confucian teachings and instead advocated for embracing modern advancements in science, technology, and political thought.

These intellectuals believed that establishing a republic alone wouldn't address China's numerous challenges. They sought to foster the development of a new cultural ethos alongside political reforms to safeguard China from territorial exploitation and political subjugation. Initiating a movement known as the 'New Tide,' they instigated a profound transformation in China's cultural and intellectual landscape. In 1915, Ch'en Tu-hsiu, a devoted follower of Chancellor T'sai, launched a new magazine titled 'Hsiu Ch'ing Nien' or 'New Youth' in Shanghai. Through this publication, he rallied Chinese youth to unite in breaking free from the constraints of the longstanding societal norms. Ch'en believed that only the youth of China

could propel the nation forward to keep pace with global progress, emphasizing the need for China to adapt and survive in changing circumstances. As Dean of the University School of Letters (The university school of letters in China was traditionally referred to "College/School of Literature" or "Faculty of Literature.") Ch'en became revered by his students, who echoed his call to dismantle the traditional Confucian order, symbolized by the phrase, "Destroy the old curiosity shop of Confucius."

Ch'en opposed Confucianism primarily for two reasons: -

- He believed that Confucianism and republicanism were entirely incompatible. While republicanism, originating from the West, advocated for a legal system that applied to everyone equally, Confucianism relied on hierarchical relationships and prescribed duties without regard for equality.
- Ch'en argued that Confucianism was outdated and unfit for modern life in various aspects, including politics, economics, gender roles, marriage, divorce, morality, and finally the family system.

Dr. Hu Shih, who was influenced by Dr. John Dewey. Having studied at Cornell University in the United States, Dr. Hu initiated a literary movement aimed at bridging the linguistic divide between China's elite and common people. He advocated for replacing the outdated language with a dynamic, democratic, and scientific mode of expression. Eventually, he chose the vernacular Peking dialect, known as 'Pai-Hua' or 'National Speech,' for literary purposes. Alongside promoting 'Pai-Hua,' there was a push to standardize one spoken dialect, a form of Mandarin, known as 'Kuo Yu' or 'National Language,' throughout the country.

The new language system, 'Pai Hua,' gained significant support from modern Chinese scholars as it helped to challenge the dominance of classical literature. Consequently, editors of literary sections in Chinese newspapers began adopting the 'Pai Hua' style to provide to the preferences of their extensive readership. Ch'en Tu-hsiu staunchly advocated for this 'Pai Hua' style in his article "A Literary Revolution," published in his magazine 'New Youth.' This reform held immense revolutionary potential as it sparked a literary renaissance and provided a conducive environment for reevaluating China's entire literary tradition.

Li Ta-Chao, a history professor at Peking University, played a significant role in China's New Culture Movement. Deeply influenced by the political philosophies of renowned German thinkers like Kant and Hegel, Li articulated his new political ideas in essays titled "Ching" or "Youth" and "Chin" or "Now." He emphasized the eternal nature of youth and the perpetual existence of the present, suggesting that the past finds its place in the present while the present shapes the future. The New Culture Movement in China shared three prominent characteristics similar to the European Renaissance. Firstly, it was a deliberate effort to promote new literature written in the vernacular language of the people, supplanting the classical literature of ancient China. Secondly, it served as a critique of traditional cultural ideas and institutions, aiming to liberate individuals from their constraints and elevate human values. Lastly, it embraced humanism, as its leaders sought to study China's cultural heritage using modern methodologies of historical criticism and research.

The May Fourth Movement emerged not only as a nationalist endeavour but also as a cultural transformation. While it originated from the dissatisfaction of young intellectuals over the Sino-Japanese treaties of 1915 and 1918 and the unfair outcomes of the Paris Peace Conference, it encompassed broader societal issues in China.

The visionaries of this significant movement, including university students and professors, aimed to modernize China and bring it in line with other contemporary nations. For the first time in Chinese history, they mobilized the support of peasants and merchants to ensure the success of their cause.

The May Fourth Movement marked as avital moment in Modern China's history, heralding various transformative developments that reshaped the nation. It played a significant role in the restructuring of the Kuomintang Party and the emergence of the Chinese Communist Party. Li Ta-chao, a key figure in the movement, enthusiastically embraced Marxist ideology, leading to the establishment of a society for the study of Marxism at Peking University in 1918. Consequently, the Chinese Communist Party was founded in 1921, largely influenced by Marxist politics. The movement

served as a wake-up call for Western Imperialist Powers, prompting them to recognize China's growing resistance against their domination. Consequently, they began to cautiously accommodate many of the Chinese people's demands in order to pacify their aspirations for independence and autonomy.

12.5 POLITICAL CRISIS OF 1920

The emergence of the Republic of China in the early 20th century marked an important turning point in Chinese history, heralding the end of millennia of imperial rule. Central to this transformative period was Dr. Sun Yat-sen, a visionary leader who founded the Kuomintang (KMT) party and played a crucial role in China's transition to modernity. Born in 1866 in Guangdong province, Sun Yat-sen was deeply influenced by Western ideas of democracy, nationalism, and republicanism. After witnessing the decline of the Qing dynasty and the devastating impact of foreign imperialism on China, Sun Yat-sen became determined to bring about radical political change.

Sun Yat-sen's political journey began in the late 19th century, when he became involved in anti-Qing revolutionary activities. In 1894, he co-founded the Revive China Society, a secret organization dedicated to overthrowing the Qing dynasty and establishing a republican government. However, early attempts at revolution were sabotaged by government repression, forcing Sun Yat-sen into exile in Japan and other countries. It was during his exile that Sun Yat-sen formulated his Three Principles of the People: nationalism, democracy, and livelihood. Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles of the People, which formed the ideological foundation of the Kuomintang (KMT), are as follows:

- Nationalism:
    a. Promoting the idea of a united, independent, and sovereign China free from foreign domination.
    b. Advocating for the restoration of China's national dignity and pride through the expulsion of imperialist powers and the establishment of a strong, centralized government.

- Democracy:
  a. Calling for the establishment of a republican form of government based on the will of the people.
  b. Emphasizing the principles of popular sovereignty, political equality, and the protection of civil liberties, including freedom of speech and assembly.
- Livelihood:
  a. Focusing on the improvement of the economic and social conditions of the Chinese people.
  b. Proposing policies to address poverty, inequality, and exploitation, and advocating for land reform, equitable distribution of wealth, and social welfare measures to uplift the living standards of the population.

These principles formed the ideological foundation of the Kuomintang, which Sun Yat-sen established in 1912 following the success of the Xinhai Revolution. The revolution, which overthrew the Qing dynasty and established the Republic of China, propelled Sun Yat-sen to national prominence as the father of modern China.Despite the initial success of the revolution, China remained politically fragmented and economically backward. Sun Yat-sen's tenure as provisional president was short-lived, and he faced numerous challenges in consolidating power and implementing reforms. Factionalism within the KMT, regional warlordism, and foreign interference posed significant obstacles to Sun Yat-sen's vision of a unified and prosperous China.

The year 1920 marked a period of intense political turmoil and instability in China, characterized by internal power struggles, regional conflicts, and external pressures. One of the most significant events of this period was the outbreak of the Zhili-Anhui War, a conflict between two powerful warlord factions striving for control over the central government. The Zhili-Anhui War erupted in the context of ongoing factionalism within the KMT and the struggle for dominance among regional warlords. The Zhili clique, led by Feng Guozhang, and the Anhui clique, led by Duan Qirui, were two of the most powerful military factions in China at the time.

The conflict between these two factions was fueled by personal rivalries, ideological differences, and competition for political power and resources.

The Zhili-Anhui War had far-reaching consequences for China's political landscape. It further weakened the central government's authority and exacerbated regional instability. The warlords' disregard for civilian casualties and their ruthless pursuit of power led to widespread suffering and disillusionment among the Chinese populace. Amidst the chaos of the Zhili-Anhui War, China also faced external pressures from imperialist powers, particularly Japan. Japanese expansionism posed a significant threat to China's sovereignty and territorial integrity, leading to widespread anti-Japanese sentiment and nationalist awakening.

Despite these challenges, Sun Yat-sen remained committed to his vision of a unified and democratic China. In 1921, he reached out to the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in an attempt to forge a united front against warlordism and imperialism. The alliance between the KMT and the CCP marked a significant moment in China's revolutionary history, paving the way for future cooperation between the two parties.

The political crisis of 1920 was a turning point in China's modern history, highlighting the complexities and challenges of nation-building in a fragmented and unstable political landscape. Despite the turmoil and uncertainty of the time, Sun Yat-sen's leadership and vision provided a beacon of hope for a brighter future for China. Through perseverance, determination, and strategic alliances, Sun Yat-sen laid the groundwork for the eventual reunification and modernization of China.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 4: Who is known as the 'Father of Modern China'?

.....

Q 5: What is the 'Revive China Society'?

.....

Q 6: State on consequences of the Zhili-Anhui War.

.....

12.6 NATIONALIST PARTY OR KMT

The death of Sun Yat-sen in 1925 marked a crucial phase in the direction of Chinese nationalism. Sun, revered as the father of modern China, had laid the ideological groundwork for the Kuomintang (KMT) or the Nationalist Party, advocating for the principles of nationalism, democracy, and people's livelihood.

Amidst this tumultuous landscape, the Kuomintang sought to reassert its authority and uphold the principles espoused by Sun Yat-sen.Another key figure in the Nationalist Party (Kuomintang) Chiang Kai - Shek played a significant role in influencing the party. After the death of Sun Yat-sen, Chiang succeeded him as the leader of the Kuomintang and sought to establish a unified government in China. Under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek, the KMT embarked on the Northern Expedition in 1926, aiming to reunify the country and end the warlord era. The campaign garnered widespread support, appealing to the growing sense of Chinese nationalism that had been ignited by decades of foreign imperialism and internal strife. Victories against warlord forces and the establishment of a centralized government in Nanjing bolstered the KMT's legitimacy and further led to nationalist fervour.

Northern expedition was a military campaign aimed at consolidating China and ending the era of warlordism that followed the collapse of the Qing Dynasty in 1911. The expedition began with the KMT forces, allied with the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) under the First United Front, marching from the south toward the warlord-controlled territories in central and northern China. As the expedition progressed, the KMT forces encountered fierce resistance from various warlords, resulting in a series of intense battles. One of the pivotal moments of the Northern Expedition was the capture of Wuhan in 1927, a major industrial centre and strategic stronghold of the warlords. This victory provided the KMT with crucial resources and momentum to advance further northward. In 1928, the KMT forces achieved their ultimate objective with the capture of Beijing, the capital of China, effectively signalling the end of the warlord era. Chiang Kai-shek

established a new Nationalist government in Nanjing and was hailed as the paramount leader of China. Despite the apparent success of the Northern Expedition, internal conflicts within the KMT-CCP alliance soon emerged.

However, the Kuomintang's efforts to consolidate power faced numerous challenges. Internal divisions within the party, as well as the emergence of rival factions such as the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), posed significant obstacles to national unity. The uneasy alliance between the KMT and the CCP, forged during the Northern Expedition, soon gave way to open conflict as ideological differences and power struggles came to the fore. The Shanghai Massacre of 1927 stands as a critical and harrowing chapter in Chinese history, representing a turning point in the complex relationship between the Kuomintang (KMT) and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). Orchestrated by Chiang Kai-shek's forces, the massacre targeted communists and their sympathizers, resulting in the brutal suppression of leftist elements within Shanghai and beyond. Thousands were ruthlessly executed, marking the violent rupture of the fragile KMT-CCP alliance forged during the Northern Expedition. This bloody event shattered any semblance of unity between the two parties, ushering in a period of bitter enmity and ideological confrontation that would define Chinese politics for decades to come. The Shanghai Massacre highlighted the ruthlessness of the KMT leadership and furled the flames of resentment among leftist forces, ultimately deepening the divide within Chinese society and hastening the onset of the Chinese Civil War. The Shanghai Massacre of 1927, marked a turning point in the relationship between the two parties and set the stage for decades of confrontation. The Chinese Civil War that erupted in 1927 was a protracted and tumultuous struggle for supremacy between the Nationalist government of the Kuomintang (KMT), led by Chiang Kai-shek, and the Communist Party of China (CCP), under the leadership of figures like Mao Zedong. This conflict, born out of the fracturing of the KMT-CCP alliance following the Shanghai Massacre, was characterized by shifting alliances, territorial disputes, and foreign intervention. Lasting for over two decades, the civil war witnessed intense fighting across the vast expanse of China, with both sides vying for control over key strategic regions

and resources. Amidst the chaos of warlordism and foreign encroachment, the Chinese people endured immense suffering, as the conflict inflicted widespread devastation and displacement. The outcome of this protracted struggle would ultimately reshape the course of Chinese history, culminating in the victory of the Communist forces and the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 7: When did the Shanghai massacre took place?

.....

Q 8: Which two parties were responsible for the Chinese civil war?

.....



12.7 LET US SUM UP

After going through this Unit, you have learnt that despite the Kuomintang's initial strides towards national unification and the promotion of Chinese nationalism, its grip on power proved to be fragile in the face of external pressures. The emergence of the Communist Party as a formidable political force, stimulated by its commitment to revolutionary change and social justice, signalled a new chapter in China's struggle for sovereignty and self-determination. Ultimately, it would be the Communist Party, under the leadership of figures like Mao Zedong, that would harness the aspirations of the Chinese people and lead the nation towards a new era of strength and resilience. Thus, from the ashes of the Kuomintang's unsteady rule, the power and influence of the Communist Party emerged, reshaping the course of Chinese history in the decades to come.



12.8 FURTHER READING

1) Vinacke, Harold. (2014). History of the Far East in Modern Times. Surjeet publications.

2) Singh, A. K. (2004). A Historyof China in Modern times. Surjeet publications

3) Keay, John. (2009). China: A History. Harper Press; UK ed. Edition

4) Jaivin, Linda (2023). A shortest history of China. Picador India



12.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Li Hung chang and Tientsin.

Ans to Q No 2: 1905

Ans to Q No 3: New Youth and Weekly Review

Ans to Q No 4: Dr Sun Yat Sen

Ans to Q No 5: A secret society formed by Dr Sen

Ans to Q No 6: Internal political chaos in China

Ans to Q No 7: 1927

Ans to Q No 8: The Kuomintang (KMT) and The Communist Party of China (CCP).



12.10 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions (answer each question within 50 words)

Q 1: What were the three principles of Sun Yet Sen?

Q 2: What was one significant event during the political turmoil of 1920 in China?

Q 3: Name the parties involved in the Zhili-Anhui War.

B) Short Questions (answer each question within 150 words)

Q 1: What were the primary reasons for Ch'en, as the Dean of the University School of Letters, to oppose Confucianism?

Q 2: How did the Treaty of Versailles, signed in 1919, specifically impact China, and what role did it play in triggering the May Fourth Movement?

Q 3: What impact did Chiang Kai-shek's leadership have on the course and outcomes of the Northern Expedition?

Q 4: What role did the Shanghai Massacre of 1927 play in the deterioration of the relationship between the Kuomintang (KMT) and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), and how did it impact Chinese politics?

C) Long Questions (answer each question within 300-450 words)

Q 1: Elaborate 'May fourth movement of 1919'.

Q 2: Discuss the developments of new intellectual ideas in the 20th century China.

Q 3: How did the Chinese Civil War, which erupted in 1927, shape the course of Chinese history, and what were the key factors influencing its outcome?

*** ***** ***

UNIT 13 : CHINA DURING THE WORLD WARS

UNIT STRUCTURE

13.1 Learning Objectives

13.2 Introduction

13.3 China in World War I

13.4 China in World War II

13.5 Let Us Sum Up

13.6 Further Reading

13.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

13.8 Model Questions

13.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this Unit, you will be able to-

- explain the condition of China before the outbreak of the World Wars,
- explain the strategy of China during the World War I and the consequences, and
- discuss the role of China in World War II and the impact.

13.2 INTRODUCTION

Dear Learners, in the previous Unit, we discussed the political Movements in China and the growth of new ideas. In this Unit, we will be discussing the role of China in the World Wars and the consequences brought in by their decision on the country and its people.

13.3 CHINA IN WORLD WAR I

The Revolution of 1911 was a turning point in the history of China. Although a republic was proclaimed by the revolutionaries, however, under Yuan Shih-kai, China seemed to adopt the monarchical structure of administration. Yuan started administering China like an emperor rather than a president of the republic. This move was met with disapproval from many supporters of the revolution, including Yuan's own minister Liang Chi

Chao, who renounced his portfolio. Chaotic condition started in different parts of the vast country, with reports of rebellion emerging from provinces. Eventually, Yuan was compelled to resign from his post, leading to the declaration of Vice President Li Yuan Hung as President of the Republic. It is to be remembered that Western countries supported Yuan's rule due to its ability to suppress the centrifugal tendencies within China.However, Yuan's death in 1916 plunged China back into turmoil. Tussle for power started amongst the powerful warlords in different places. Despite the political instability, the country experienced significant economic activity during this period. Amidst the domestic political uncertainty in China, the interference of external powers exacerbated the country's problems on the eve of the First World War.

China had long been under the strong rule of the Qing Dynasty, but its defeat in the Sino-Japanese War of 1895 significantly weakened its international position. Subsequently, neighbouring countries, particularly Japan and Russia, along with European powers like Germany, began to assert their influence and acquire territories within China.In 1897, under the pretext of the murder of German missionaries in China, the city of Qingdao was invaded, leading to the occupation of the Shandong province. Shandong, located on the eastern shore of China along the Yellow Sea, is renowned as the birthplace of Confucius and is often referred to as the 'cradle of Chinese civilization.' This occupation further undermined China's sovereignty and heightened tensions with external powers vying for control over Chinese territories.

Japan had territorial claims over Chinese land. Despite gaining a sphere of influence in northern China and Manchuria after the Sino-Japanese War, Japan had not achieved full control over China like other European powers.The entry of Germany into East Asia posed a major concern for Japan, as it sought to establish itself as the dominant power in the region. As most the European powers were busy with the World War I, Japan got an opportunity to expand its influence in the region.

She demanded Germany to withdraw her armed vessels from Japanese and Chinese water and hand over Kiaochow to her. Expressing

her wish that she had no territorial ambition in China, Japan declared war on Germany on 23rd August, 1914. Following the occupation of the German-held port of Tsingtao, Japan attempted to establish a firmer foothold in Shandong. While Japan did not openly disclose its territorial ambitions to its European allies, it secretly made formal territorial claims over China through the Twenty-One Demands, which included various political and economic concessions aimed at expanding Japanese influence in China.

Twenty One Demands:

The Four Power Consortium (Great Britain, France, Germany and Russia) Agreement of 15th April, 1911, had given them monopoly to furnish China with funds and capital. Japan was also quite interested in getting economic benefits in China. This agreement restricted Japan's ability to secure economic benefits in China. However, the outbreak of the Great War provided her with an opportunity to expand its interests in the region.In May 1915, Japanese Ambassador Hoiki Eki presented a list of 'Twenty-One Demands' to Chinese President Yuan Shih Kai. These demands, drafted by the Japanese Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, aimed to diminish China's independence and establish Japanese dominance over the country.

The demands were organised into five groups. The first group which included four demands was aimed at getting full Japanese control over Shandong. China was asked not to alienate any part of the province to any foreign powers. Group two (seven demands) was related to South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia. Japan wanted extension of leasehold over the Port Arthur and the Antung Mukden railway for ninety-nine years. China was asked to give priority to Japanese investments there. Moreover, China was bound to take permission of Japan before using foreign money or powers in railway construction in that area. The third group (two demands) was intended to put under joint Japanese and Chinese control the Hanyehping iron works, one of the largest such plants in Central China. Group forth (one demand) prevented China in allowing the interest of foreign powers in the coastal regions. The fifth group (seven demands) was most interesting. Japan referred to them as 'requests' rather than 'demands'. By it, China was required to hire the Japanese advisers; to allow the Japanese

to built railway lines, construct hospital, schools and temples and also to consult Japan in any developmental works in Formosa Island and Fujian province.

The Japanese demands, aimed at exerting control and dominance over China, were met with resistance and opposition from the Chinese government and public. President Yuan Shih Kai of China understood that Japan's intention was to transform China into a dependency. But, he could not directly oppose Japan, because he wasindebted to the Japanese government for supporting his intentions in declaring himself the new emperor of China. Yuan Shih Kai sought to prolong the negotiations and discussions on the Japanese demands to buy time and attract international intervention. However, when the demands became public, there were widespread anti-Japanese demonstrations and a national boycott of Japanese goods.It acted affected Japanese trade badly. But Japan employed various tactics to fulfil its ambitions in China, including manipulating political groups to garner support for its demands. In May 1915, Japan issued an ultimatum to China to accept its demands within twenty-four hours. Negotiations ensued, and on 25th May, 1915, President Yuan indirectly consented to some of the Japanese demands through a series of agreements.China was compelled to accept demands of first three groups. As to the group four she successfully checkmated the future Japanese expansion in China by including a formal declaration that she would not cede or lease any port, bay or island to any foreign power including Japan. The demands of fifth group were left for future negotiations.

On 11th May, 1915, the United States objected to the signing of any agreement between Japan and China that could undermine American treaty rights, the political and territorial rights of China, and the Open Door Policy. The United States wanted to ensure fair and equal access to Chinese markets for all foreign powers.This objection from the United States compelled Japan to seek remedial measures. Japan after securing recognition of its gains in China from European powers, sought to reconcile with the United States. This led to the signing of the Lansing-Ishii Agreement between Viscount Ishii of Japan and Robert Lansing of the United States

on 2nd November, 1917. In this agreement, the United States recognized Japan's special interests in China, acknowledging Japan's sphere of influence in the region.

Should China join the War or not:

One major concern for China was the removal of foreign interference from her soil. Already Hong Kong and Shanghai were under the control of foreign powers. China wanted a gradual return of all its territories. But her immediate concern was Shandong. However, she lacked the military strength to challenge Japanese influence in Shandong directly. With the outbreak of World War I, some sections of Chinese society saw an opportunity to reshape the geopolitical balance of power and gain equality with European nations. China hoped that by providing assistance to defeat the German forces, the Allied Powers would pressurise Japan to return Qingdao, Shandong. There was a belief that participation in the war would increase China's prestige and garner respect from European powers during the post-war conference. So, Chinese Premier Duan Qirui and some leaders advocated aligning with the French and British, who according to them would defeat the German and Austro-Hungarian Alliance. On the other hand, President Li Yuanhong, Vice-President Feng Guozhang, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, and others opposed China's entry into the war. They did not consider Germany as an enemy and believed that France and Britain had done more damage on China in the past. Sun Yat-sen also argued that it was morally unacceptable for China to participate in the war by siding with the imperialist powers. He saw Germany as a potential ally to balance Japanese influence in East Asia in future.

China joins the War:

Meanwhile a domestic crisis broke out in China. An attempt was made to restore the rule of Qing or Manchu dynast in China by the warlords leading to the resignation of President Li Yuanhong. But Premier Duan Qirui was successful in maintaining his hold over the administration in Peking. Therefore, a month after the recapturing of Peking, China decided to declare war against Germany. But, in the very beginning, the Allies especially Japan did not want China to join World War I. Actually it was because the direct

entry of China in the war along with Japan might threaten the existence of the latter as the powerhouse in the East. However, the entry of America brought a change in the mindset of the Allies. On 24th February, 1917, around 543 Chinese labourers aboard the French ship *Athos* drowned due to an attack by German submarine. Despite Chinese protest, Germany refused to issue a formal apology. Hence, China was compelled to officially declared war on Germany on 14th August, 1917 marking her entry in World War I.

Gains of China in World War I :

After entering the war, China deported German and Austrian citizens and also seized the assets of several German companies operating in major Chinese cities such as Peking, Shanghai etc. China was able to cancel the portion of the Boxer Indemnity due to Germany and Austria, apart from securing the suspension of payments of indemnity to the Allied Powers for five years. The incnrease in revenue from customs also boosted her economy. One of China's major gains was the confirmation of a seat at the Peace Conference to be held after the end of the war.

China supplied a large number of labourers to the Allies. On 14th May, 1916, the Chinese government agreed to supply 50,000 labourers. They were sent from Shandong, Anhui, Hubei, Hunan and other places and were engaged in tasks such as digging trenches, filling sandbags, repairing roads and railways, unloading goods from trains and warships, and building bunkers. Some of them were also employed in hazardous activities. It is estimated that more than 10,000 Chinese labourers died in the war. Apart from the labour, China also promised to provide necessary foodstuffs and other raw materials if she were given monetary support to produce them by the Allies. Moreover, by driving out the German from her soil and the Far Eastern Waters, she indirectly assisted the Allies in capturing the German vessels.

China in the peace conference:

The World War I came to an end with the armistice signed between Germany and the Allied Forces on 11th November, 1918. Foreign Minister Lou Tseng-Tsiang led delegation was accompanied by Wellington Khoo and Cao Rulin. China wanted the international community to abolish

Japanese occupation of Qingdao and Shandong province, apart from granting her the right to control the railways in eastern China. China also aspired to restore the leased territory of Kiaochow and cancellation of all German railway, mining, and other rights in Shandong and the annulment of extraterritorial rights hitherto enjoyed by Germans and Austrians. But, Japan did not accept the demands. Because, western powers like Britain and France and the warlord governments in China had already promised to give Japan access to the German rights. Although the US was supportive towards the demands of China, however the western powers were unsympathetic towards China and awarded Shandong to Japan. China abstained from signing the Treaty of Versailles in opposition. But, she obtained the membership of League of Nations against the wishes of Japan by signing the Treaty of St. German with Austria.

The settlement at Versailles was intensely unpopular in China. People held the officials in Peking responsible for the misfortune brought into their country. The May Fourth Movement started in China after the peace talks (You may refer to this Movement in the previous Unit). Boycott of foreign goods adversely affected Japanese trade and commerce. It compelled Japan to seek for fresh negotiations with China.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: Name theJapanese Ambassador who presented the 'Twenty-One Demands' to Chinese President Yuan Shih Kai.

.....

Q 2: What was the opinion of Dr Sun Yat Sen on China joining World War I?

.....

Q 3: Why did China abstain from signing the Treaty of Versailles after the end of the World War I.

.....

13.4 CHINA IN WORLD WAR II

The Second World War was a pivotal event in modern history, which involved the major powers and spanned into different continents. In Asia, China became the major seat of the war. China's involvement in World War II can be traced back to the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937. The conflict between China and Japan escalated into a full-scale war and it brought the horrors of the war to Asian continent even before the global conflict erupted.

Second Sino- Japanese War:

The seeds of China's involvement in the Second World War were sown in the aggressive expansionism of Japan and its actions in Manchuria. Japan had claims over the Chinese territories since the first Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95. With the establishment of monopolistic rights of the European powers over different parts of China, Japan more aggressively tried to exert her influence on China. Even the Paris Peace Conference confirmed her possession of Shandong. She had also her coveted eye on Manchuria. Although the Chinese constituted the vast majority of its population apart from holding the administration, however, Japan had the control over south Manchuria through its railways and leasehold on the Liaotung Peninsula. By creating the Kwantung Army, she tried to push her imperialistic designs in Manchuria. The murder of Japanese Captain Nakamura in June 1931 by a Chinese soldier strained the relationships between the two countries. On 18th September, 1931 when an explosion took place along the Japanese-controlled South Manchurian railway, Japan used it to tighten its grip on Manchuria which eventually led to the establishment of a puppet state of Manchukuo. This event marked the beginning of Japan's imperialist ambitions in East Asia and set the stage for further aggression against China. Japan's occupation of Manchuria not only had significant political and economic implications but also posed a direct threat to China's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Failure of the League of Nations to effectively address the issue further emboldened Japan to continue its expansionist policies.

The Marco Polo Bridge Incident in July 1937 marked the beginning of full-scale hostilities between China and Japan, escalating into the Second

Sino-Japanese War. The incident occurred near Peking when Japanese troops clashed with Chinese forces stationed at the Marco Polo Bridge on the refusal of the latter to allow the Japanese to conduct search at the adjacent areas. Following the outbreak of war, Japanese forces launched a series of offensives aimed at capturing key Chinese cities and territories. Japan did not see the changes of immediate foreign intervention as most of the European powers were preoccupied owing to the rise of Fascism and Nazism. Hence, Japan tried to swiftly occupy the Chinese territories. Cities like Shanghai, Nanjing, and Wuhan were among the first to come under attack, and Japanese forces swiftly occupied them after fierce battles with Chinese defenders. By the end of October 1938 all the important Chinese ports, principal rail-roads, waterways came under the absolute control of Japan. There were widespread atrocities committed by Japanese troops against Chinese civilians and prisoners of war. In Nanjing, hundreds of thousands of Chinese civilians were killed, raped, or subjected to other forms of violence and abuse. The Chinese put up fierce resistance and fought bravely to defend their homeland.

Second United Front

When the Japanese were launching military expeditions in China, two important political parties of China i.e. the Kuomintang, which formed the National government and the Communists were still busy in fighting each other. Recognizing the grave threat posed by the Japanese invasion, Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalist government decided to temporarily set aside their differences with the Communists. The result was the formation of Second United Front against the common enemy. Through this alliance both the Nationalist and Communist forces pooled their resources, manpower, and military capabilities to fight the Japanese invaders. For quite some time, the Communists guerrilla warfare was successful in disrupting the supply lines of Japanese soldiers. This made the life hell for the Japanese troops and their satellite Governments of Manchuria, Mongolia and Peking. Japan had not expected such a tough resistance from the Chinese. Japan found it difficult to subdue whole of China in the face of stiff resistance offered by the Chinese. Meanwhile, the western countries also

started providing help to China against the Japanese atrocities.

China as theatre of Worl War II:

The turning point in the history of World War II was the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on 7th December, 1941. After this incident the United States declared war on Japan. China also formally declared war on Japan, aligning itself with the Allied powers. Thus, the long drawn Sino-Japanese conflict, with the entry of major powers turned into a global war. China now became the theatre of World War II. The United States and other European powers tried to use Chinese soil against Japanese imperialism in Asia.

Realising the motives of the Allied powers, Japan proceeded to cut China off the contact with the rest of world by occupying the neighbouring territories. Due to the occupation of the coastal areas by Japan, the Burma Road was used by Allied powers to provide military aid and essential supplies to China. Japan recognized the strategic importance of Burma and launched offensives to capture the region. Chiang Kai-shek proceeded to protect Burma Road against the Japanese invasion by sending a Chinese Expeditionary force under American general Stilwell. In Burma the Chinese 200th Division and 38th Division put up stiff resistance against the Japanese. One of the most significant engagements was the Battle of Yunnan-Burma Road, fought in early 1942, where Chinese troops successfully defended the vital transportation route against Japanese attacks. But, the Japanese were successful in achieving victory in Burma leading to total isolation of China for the rest of the world. The only link with China was through the air over 500 miles of the 'Himalayan hump between Assam, India, and the Yunnan Plateau. Thus, for quite sometime, China had to depend on her own resources in order to continue the war against Japan. During this period China had to face many problems due to lack of war equipments. With great difficulty the Fourteen Air Force undertook offensive against the Japanese in 1943-44. Gradually, Japanese began tfacing defeat by the Anglo-American forces, which forced them to lessen their pressure on China.

Soon the Japan's dream of establishing 'New Order' and 'Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere' thereby dominating Asia, crumbled to dust. With the surrender of Japan in 1945, China emerged as a significant power

in the post-War world.

Impacts:

China contributed a lot in achieving the victory by Allied power against Japan. The Allied Powers ecognised China as a major power fighting to end Japanese imperialism in the East. In the Cairo Conference of 1943, the Republic of China was given seat by the powerful countries in taking decision on world matter. During the course of the war, it was hoped by the European powers that China could be an influential power in the Far East. During the course of the war due to blockade of Japan, she did not get enough supplies; the result was the food scarcity throughout the vast territory. Moreover, Japanese raids at harvest time as well as conscription of farmers into military, affected the agricultural productivity in the country. The war led to the destruction of farmland and livestock, which impacted the outcome. At the same time, the government had to spend a huge amount of money on wartime essentials. All of these led to inflation in the country. Although the government tried to control prices, smuggling and black-marketing became rampant. No doubt, wartime activities gave impetus to industrial growth in China, however, nternal conflicts between the Nationalists and the Communists as well as the Japanese control over the means of transport, affected the growth of the industrial sector. Due to blockades, embargoes, and disruptions in transportation routes, foreign trade also did not prosper during that time which further disrupted the economy.

The war also exacted a heavy toll on the country, with millions of Chinese civilians and soldiers losing their lives. Thousands of Chinese had to flee from their homes to escape the violence and devastation of war. With the end of World War II, unity of early years between the Nationalists and the Communists also came to an end. Both of them engaged in fierce fighting for establishing control over the Japanese occupied territories. In the Civil War, the Communist Party under Mao Tse-tung emerged victorious, ultimately leading to the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 4: State the significance of the Second United Front.

.....

Q 5: What was the consequences of the Second Sino-Japanese War?

.....

Q 6: When was the Cairo Conference held?

.....



13.5 LET US SUM UP

After going through this Unit, you have learnt that, the aggressive policies of Japan in China and the lack of support from the Western powers compelled China to take part in the two World Wars.

While the consequences were disastrous on both sides, yet after the Wars, China was recognised as an emerging power in the East.



13.6 FURTHER READING

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3) Ebrey, P.B. (2010). *The Cambridge Illustrated History of China*. Cambridge University Press

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5) Shuyun, S. (2008). *The Long March: The History of Communist China's Founding Myth*. Anchor: USA

13.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Hoiki Eki

Ans to Q No 2: He was of the opinion thatGermany could be a potential ally to balance Japanese influence in East Asia in future.

Ans to Q No 3: As a mark of protest as China lost Shandong to Japan.

Ans to Q No 4: It brought the Nationalists and the Communists of China, together to fight one common enemy

Ans to Q No 5: China occupied large areas in China, some important sea ports etc.

Ans to Q No 6: 1943.

13.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions (answer each question within 50 words)

Q 1: When did the Marco Polo bridge occur?

Q 2: Which party came to power after the end of the World War II in China?

B) Short Questions (answer each question within 150 words)

Q 1: Write short note on-

a. Dr Sun Yat Sen

b. The Kuomintang National Party

Q 2: What was the cause for China's entry in the World War II.

C) Long Questions (answer each question within 30-450 words)

Q 1: Explain the role of China in the World Wars and the consequences.

Q 2: Discuss the Sino-Japanese relation in the context of the World War II

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UNIT 14 : COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IN CHINA

UNIT STRUCTURE

14.1 Learning Objectives

14.2 Introduction

14.4 Establishment of Chinese Communist Party

14.4 Rise of Mao Tse Tung- Making of the Red Army

14.5 The Second United Front

14.6 Chinese Civil War- Causes and Significance

14.7 Let Us Sum Up

15.8 Further Reading

14.9 Answers to Check Your Progress

14.10 Model Questions

14.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this Unit, you will be able to-

- describe the growth of the Communist Movement in China and the formation of the Chinese Communist Party,
- explain the rise of Mao Tse Tung, and his Red Army, and
- discuss about the Second United Front,
- examine the Civil War in China and its consequences.

14.2 INTRODUCTION

Dear Learners, in the previous Unit, we have discussed about the condition of China during the World War I and II and the reason why China joined the War and its results. In this Unit, we shall discuss the growth of the Communist Movement in China and the rise of Mao Tse Tung. We shall also discuss about the Second United Front and the condition of China during the Civil Wars and its consequences.

14.3 ESTABLISHMENT OF CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY

The foundation of the Chinese Communist Party is a significant event in Chinese history. Some scholars believed that the Russian Bolsheviks initiated and nurtured the Communist Movement in China. If Soviet Russia and the Comintern had not provided the initial dynamic for the rise of the Communist Movement in China, it would have been impossible to form a Communist Party in China. The Bolshevik agents played a part in stimulating the anti-Japanese and anti-Government campaigns. During the May Fourth Movement, they supported some important students' and workers' organizations. This Movement brought about the preliminary integration of the intellectuals and labourers andnurtured a batch of radicals who later became the key members of the Chinese Communist Party. At the same time, there was also an urge for social revolution in China which indirectly paved the way for the rise of Communism.

Since the Russian Revolution of 1917 CE Soviet and Comintern agents had engaged in organising actions in China. As a result, a large number of revolutionary organisations, such as the Truth Society, the Socialist League, the Datong Party (later evolved into Oriental Communist Party), the Social Communist Party, etcemerged in China. By 1920 CE, the Socialist League had become a nation-wide organisation with branches in Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai, Guangzhou and Hangzhou. Emergence of Communism as an organized movement in China began when intellectuals at Peking University formed the nation's first Marxist study group in 1918 CE. On 1st July, 1921 CE, the Chinese Communist Party was officially founded in Shanghai. At that time Shanghai was a city, where the Chinese working class and radical intellectuals were concentrated, and the control of the Chinese authorities over the place was also relatively loose. There were many Korean Socialists who also helped in spreading the message of Communism. The city was also well connected. Hence, it was decided to begin the activities of the Communist Party from that place.

Theinaugural session (Congress)of the Chinese Communist Party

in 1921 CEwas attended by 13 delegates who represented 53 members of various socialist factions and labour organizations in China and abroad. They included Chen Tu-Hsin, Chang Kuo-Tao, Tung Pi-Wu, Mao Tse-Tung, Chou En-Lai, and Chu Teh. During the Congress, the Party articulated its goals and principles through the adoption of a manifesto. It also established its organizational structure, including a Central Committee, tasked with overseeing its activities and decision-making processes. The resolutions passed by the Party were quite left-leaning ones, which included items such as: the Party would take an entirely independent stand and only safeguard the interests of the proletariat, it would adopt the policy of attacking all other current parties, and never establish any relations with other parties; Party members would not become government officials or members of Parliament. Although the party did not join the Comintern for a while, all its activities and work were conducted on the general instructions of the Comintern's Far Eastern Secretariat and direct guidance of the Comintern agents. The party also mentioned that its immediate aims were to overthrow the feudal rule of the warlords and to end the oppression of international imperialist powers.

The Chinese Communist Party understood that collaborating closely with the Kuomintang Party could bolster its influence in China. Amidst the political upheaval following World War I, Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen hoped for Western recognition of his Canton Government as the legitimate Chinese authority, but he was disappointed by Western indifference. He had to turn to Russia for support and guidance. It helped in cooperation between the two political parties. On the other hand, although the First Congressof the Communist Party did not favour the establishment of cordial relations with other party, however, in June 1922 CE, before its SecondCongress, the Party's Central Committee issued its 'First Manifesto on the Current Situation', which declared that to liberate the Chinese people from the yoke of foreigners and the powerful militarists, a united front needs to be formed. This view of unity was already expressed by the first formal Comintern delegate Sneevliet (alias Maring) who met Sun-Yat-Sen even before the formal establishment of the party. The Sun-Joffe Declaration of 25th January, 1923 CE also helped in working for cooperation between the Communists and Kuomintang.

Moreover, arrival of Russian Communist agent Michael Borodin in Canton on 6th October, 1923 CE further improved the relations between the two political groups in China.

As a result, the Chinese Communist Party decided to join the Kuomintang Party at the Third National Congress in 1923 CE. The First National Congress of the Kuomintang Party in Canton in 1924 CE permitted individual Communist Party members to join the Kuomintang.But Dr. Sun did not give up his own political programme and doctrines. One important impact of this unity was seen in the establishment of the Whampoa Military Academy near Canton with Russian assistance. It bolstered the Nationalist army's victories against warlords in later years.However, this friendliness did not last long. The growing influence of the Russian supported Communists within the Kuomintang alarmed the anti-Communists. During that period popular demonstrations and strikes supported by the Communists erupted in many places; peasant movements began to spread even into warlord territories and the Communist Party's membership also increased gradually.

Some of theKuomintangs did not like the activities of the Communists. They accused them for working on peasant organisations for their own benefits. But Dr. Sun's magnetic personality could bind them together until his death in 1925 CE. Following his death,General ChiangKai-Shek of the Whampoa Military Academy assumed the leadership of the Kuomintang Party. The Communists helped him in establishing the National Government in Canton and in bringing unity between the North and South China by defeating the warlords. At the same time, the Kuomintang leftists and the Communists established a separate regime in Wuhan in 1927 CE, but it did not last long. Chiang did not like the rebellion started by the Canton Commune. Now he began to dislike the Communist activities and sought to restrict their influence. Hence, strict action was taken against the Communists. During the Hankow Purge of 1927 CE thousands of Communists and sympathizers were arrested, tortured, and executed. It resulted in rupturing the alliance and setting the stage for prolonged conflict between them. The Communists decided to separate themselves from the

Kuomintang. But Russian envoy Michael Borodin's warnings dissuaded them from pursuing independent action.

14.4 RISE OF MAO TSE-TUNG: MAKING OF THE RED ARMY

Mao Tse-Tung, a founding member of the Chinese Communist Party, was born in 1893 CE into a prosperous farming family in Hunan. Educated both in traditional classical styles and modern methods, he supported the Revolution of 1911 CE. After a stint in Peking, he returned to Hunan in 1919 CE, actively engaged in political agitation and organizing labourers. Mao met Li Ta-Chao and Ch'en Tu-Hsiu in Peking whose social criticism drew him into their orbit. By 1920 CE, he embraced Marxism. He showcased exceptional organizational skills, revolutionary zeal, and a commitment to Marxism-Leninism. He became a prominent leader within the Party. He played a pivotal role in shaping the party's ideology, blending Marxist principles with Chinese revolutionary traditions. He advocated that the future of the Communist Party rested on the rural populace. He emphasized guerrilla warfare tactics to counter the Kuomintang party's army and the imperialist powers.

Mao understood the limitations of relying solely on the working class for a democratic revolution. So, he was in favour ofa worker-peasant alliance for social transformation.He also understood the need for agrarian reform and the abolition of landlordism in China.He believedthat winning over the peasants to the Communist cause was essential. Because of his peasant background, he always favoured the idea of organizing peasant unions. Even in 1927 CE Mao wrote a paper titled "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan" in which he declared that peasants would be the main force in the revolution. But the Communist party believed that Moa's idea of peasant revolution might enrage and alienate the Kuomintang. So, it rejected his idea.

But the Hankou Purge, along with other similar events like the Nanjing Incident compelled Mao to take the stand against the Kuomintang. He was convinced of the necessity of a people's waragainst the Kuomintang. After

the Hankow Purge in 1927 CE, he tried to provoke an uprising called 'Autumn Harvest Uprising' against the Kuomintang by creating a Workers' and Peasants' Revolutionary Army.But it failed to garner popular support. Mao was even got captured and had to bribe his way out of captivity. Because of his unfortunate handling of the uprising, Mao was expelled from the 'Polit Bureau' of the Communist Party of China. Hence, Mao along with his troops, went to the mountains of Chingkangshan on the border of Hunan and Kiangsi.

Actually, witnessing the decline in party strength during clashes with the Kuomintang Party, Mao started working on reorganising the military force. He understood the necessity of a robust and well-organized people's military not only to combat warlords, but also to confront the Kuomintang army in the near future. Later on,he reorganized the 'Red Army', streamlined the command and control of the unit. He also instituted political representatives within each unit to instill the revolutionary spirit within the soldiers. A political cell was established in each squad, a branch at company level, and a party committee at the battalion and regimental level. The recruits were mainly from peasant backgrounds, deserters from government forces and former bandits. There were also the survivors and refugees of many big and small rebellions in different parts of the country.

When Mao was working in Hunan,he was joined by Chu Teh,a Communist leader, who tried to start a mutiny in 1927 CE in the Nationalist Eleventh Army, stationed at Nanchang, capital of southern province of Kiangsi.But his failed attempt compelled to leave along with his 10,000 men. Together, Mao and Chustrengthened the 'Red Army' by expanding its bases. Training was provided to the new recruits; message of disciple was imparted. Thus, the 'Red Army' gradually transformed into a powerful and organised one. It followed the strategy of guerrilla warfare to check the advances of the Kuomintang forces of Chiang Kai-Shek. The proper application of mobile warfare, guerrilla tactics, and political mobilization was the key to the success to the Red Army in its early phases.With the assistance of the Red Army, the Communists established strongholds in eleven provinces, stretching from Kwangtung in the South to Szechwan and Honan

in the West and North respectively, with the largest stronghold being in Kiangsi. By November 1931 CE the Chinese Soviet Republic was established with headquarters in Kiangsi. Mao Tse-Tung became its chairman and Chu Teh was declared as the Commander-in-Chief of its army.

From November 1930 CE onwards, Chiang Kai-Shek decided to launch an offensive against the Communists in the central 'red area' in Kiangsi. However, the Communists effectively implemented Mao's theory of guerrilla warfare on a large scale. The offensive was temporarily halted in 1931 CE due to the Japanese invasion of Manchuria. By the time of the fourth offensive in March 1933 CE, Chiang Kai-Shek's army had been decimated, and the Communists seized weapons and captured army commanders. In October 1933 CE, Chiang launched the final offensive against the Kiangsi Soviet. This offensive marked the largest operation of its kind, where a large number of troops were deployed against the Communists. With the help of German advisers, the Kuomintang army surrounded the Communist area. Measures were taken even to deprive the Soviets of essentials like salt.

THE LONG MARCH

By the summer of 1934 CE, it became evident that Kiangsi and other Soviet areas in Central China would not be able to resist the Kuomintang army.On 15th July, 1934 CE at Juichin,the capital of Kiangsi, it was declared that the Chinese Red Army would march towards the North to resist the Japanese. The march which started from the month of October 1934 CE is known as the 'Long March' in history. One hundred thousand troops started marching from Juichin towards the North. Twenty thousand troops were injured and had to be left behind in Kiangsi. Many of the people who stayed behind were captured and eventually killed. One of those killed was Mao's brother, Mao Tse-Tan. The decision to start Long March remains shrouded in mystery. It is speculated that the directive might have originated from Moscow, which maintained radio communications with the Communist capital of Juichin. With a Soviet area in the northwest, it was expected that withdrawal from Kiangsi would provide a temporary refuge to the Communists. Later on, the Communists would get an advantage to escape

into Russian territory through Outer Mongolia.

It is to be remembered that at the beginning of the Long March, the Red Army was split into several columns to evade the suppression by the Kuomintang forces. The main force known as First Front Army was led by Mao Tse-Tung and other central leaders. Other smaller forces, such as the Second, Third, Fourth, and Fifth Front Armies, also set out on separate routes. There were also some infightings between the First Front Army led by Mao Tse-Tung and the Fourth Front Army led by Zhang Guotao. However, as Long March progressed there were attempts to merge different units. At that time, the Long March was recognized as an unmitigated disaster. Conditions on the march were very primitive resulting in death of many troops. Disease occurred in the groups. There were no medicines, hospitals or ammunition; a good number of guns became useless. The troops were forced to fast for days at a time. Despite these horrible circumstances, the troops became very tough and courageous soldiers. They covered about 6000 miles of 18 mountain ranges and 12 provinces in 368 days. The Red Army was greatly assisted by the peasants and workers in the long journey. Of the one hundred thousand Communist troops who departed, less than thirty thousand arrived safely in October 1935 CE in the Soviet zone of North Shensi.During the march, Mao Tse-Tung emerged as the indisputable leader of the Chinese Communist Party.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: Namethe places of China where the Socialist League had established its branches.

.....

Q 2: In which place the First National Congress of the Kuomintang Party was held?

.....

Q 3: Who assumed the leadershipof the Kuomintang Party after the death of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen?

.....

Q 4: Who wrote the paper titled "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan" ?

.....

Q 5: Who was Chu Teh?

.....

Q 6: Who was Mao Tse-Tan?

.....

14.5 THE SECOND UNITED FRONT

Although the Communists forces had retired to the North, Chiang Kai-Shek was still preparing for his final campaign against the Communists in Shensi. He arrived in Sian, the capital of Shensi province, on 11th December, 1936 CE. However, he was soon captured and held prisoner by his own Deputy Commander-in-Chief. Chiang remained in captivity for thirteen days, during whichhis deputy General Chang persuaded him to collaborate with the Communists to address the threat of Japanese aggression. This event is known as the 'Sian Incident' of 1936 CE. Chiang Kai-Shek also realized that without the support of Soviet Union it would be difficult to defeat the Japanese. For it, he needed to amend the tense, combative situation with the Chinese Communist Party. Mao, who was also in search of an opportunity to unify China, decided to come to terms with the Chiang Kai-Shek government.

On 10th February, 1937 CE, the Chinese Communist Party put forth five conditions before the Kuomintang Party for forging an alliance. These conditions were: Stoppage of civil war and unity of all forces to fight the Japanese; granting freedom to the people and releasing all political prisoners; holding a national conference of all parties; preparing for an anti-Japanese war and improving the people's welfare. If these conditions were fulfilled, then the Communist Party promised to abandon armed insurrection against the Kuomintang and work towards the principles of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen's ideology, known as the 'Three Principles of the People'. Additionally, the Communist Party agreed to halt red propaganda, land confiscation, and abolish its Soviet-style governance. It also agreed to integrate its

Communist forces into the Nationalist Army of Kuomintang under the 'National Military Council'.

After minor modification in the demands, the two parties came to an agreement for unification on 15th September, 1937 CE. Under the agreement Chiang Kai-Shek became the Commander-in-Chief of the united Communist-Kuomintang forces. However, whereas the Red Army favoured the guerrilla tactics against the Japanese invaders, the Nationalist Army wanted direct fights with the Japanese. The Communists achieved victories in various places against the Japanese. With their guerrilla warfare tactics, the Communists were successful in terrorizing the Japanese forces. They established rural bases in Japanese occupied territories.However, tensions between the Communists and the Kuomintang persisted. Both parties sought to strengthen their own bases and accused each other of various offenses.

The Communist Polit BureauResolution of 1938 CE even laid emphasis on expanding the Party's armed forces in the mid of the war. The Party had also the plans to devote only ten percent of their energy against the Japanese, whereas seventy percent for its expansion and twenty percent for fighting against the Kuomintang army. In 1941 CE, the Kuomintang army defeated the Communist forces in Kiangsi and Fukian, highlighting the underlying rivalry between them. In the face of mounting Japanese attacks, some minor parties and even the American government sought to mediate and reconcile the differences between them. The United States even considered providing military assistance to the Communists to combat the Japanese imperialism in China. When the Nationalist Army was struggling to resist the Japanese forces, the Communists were busy in expanding its influence by new recruits and providing training to the army. Their members grew from around 100,000 in 1937 CE to approximately 1.2 million by 1945 CE.

14.6 CHINESE CIVIL WAR- CAUSES AND SIGNIFICANCE

Before the surrender of Japan, there were increased tensions between the Nationalist and the Communist forces. General Chu-Teh of

the Communist Red Army ordered his forces to quickly occupy Japanese-owned territories in China for securing strategic positions and consolidating the Communist power. At the same time, Chiang Kai-Shek, the leader of the Kuomintang, became alarmed by the Communist actions and requested General Chu-Teh to withdraw his forces. However, Chu-Teh refused to comply with Chiang Kai-Shek's demands. This refusal widened the gulf between the two factions. As tensions escalated, Civil war broke out on 10th August, 1945 CE.

The Communist forces, under the leadership of figures like Lin Piao, began to assert themselves more aggressively. They marched into Manchuria to accept the surrender of Japanese and puppet forces. Still both sides wanted peace in the country and on 28th October, 1945 CE Chiang Kai-Shek and Mao Tse-Tung along with American Ambassador Patrick Hurley discussed the future course of action to be taken in China after the surrender of Japan. They agreed to form committees to address the military and political issues. But, before coming into conclusion, conflict erupted between the two groups. The United States was greatly dissatisfied with this internal conflict in China. She had provided substantial financial support to the Nationalist Government of Kuomintang during the war against Japan in the hopes of ensuring a stable and united China. So, efforts were made by her to mediate between the two.

The US President sent George C. Marshall to China to bring reconciliation between the two parties. Due to his initiative an armistice was signed on 10th January, 1946 CE and an agreement was also arrived at regarding organisation of government, convocation of National Assembly to adopt a Constitution for China. On 25th February, 1946 CE, the Communist forces had agreed to integrate into a unified national army.However, soon after these agreements were made, both parties broke the terms of the agreement. Both parties attempted to gain control of Manchuria and by the end of June 1946 CE, full-scale war had begun between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China. On 8th January, 1947 CE, George C. Marshall aborted his mission to unify China and returned to the United States.

Fierce fighting broke out between the two groups in many places.In

the initial stage, the Kuomintang forces were successful in defeating the Communist army at many places due to the superior lines of communication. But that did not demoralize the Communists Red Army. They had established their guerilla bases in the Japanese occupied areas and implemented various agrarian reforms. The support and sympathy of the common people of China and of the Soviet Union strengthened their position. Chiang Kai-Shek's government, despite receiving support from the United States, began to lose the support of the populace due to its failure to address the problems caused by the devastation of World War II. The Communists achieved victory in many places. By 1950 CE, it was found that except few parts of Tibet and Formosa almost whole of China had come under the control of the Communists. Faced with mounting pressure and losses, the Nationalists were compelled to retreat from mainland China and take refuge in Formosa. The Communists established the People's Republic of China on 1st October, 1949 CE with Mao Tse-Tung as the Chairman and Zhou Enlai as the Premier.

The Kuomintang Party failed to succeed in the civil war due to the long-drawn struggle against the Japanese, which weakened their military power. Corruption was rampant amongst the officials of the Nationalist Government, which disassociated them from the common people resulting in decline in the social base of the KuomintangParty. Its association with few landlords and property class also disheartened the masses. On the other hand, the Chinese Communist Party could attract the masses by the agrarian reforms. The Party also endeavored to approach students and the less privileged classes, including petty industrialists. The guerrilla military tactics of the Communists also significantly aided them in achieving victory over the Nationalist army.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 7: Who became the Commander-in-Chief of the united Communist-Kuomintang forces?

.....

Q 8: Which army of China adopted guerrilla warfare tactics against the Japanese invaders?

.....

Q 9: Who was Patrick Hurley?

.....

Q 10: Who was Zhou Enlai?

.....



14.7 LET US SUM UP

After going through this Unit, you have learnt that:

- The rise of the Communist Movement in China can be perceived as an influence of Russia and the apprehension of a social revolution in China.
- The Communist Movement got a formal structure with the formation of the Chinese Communist Party with initial support from Kuomintanggreat Dr. Sun Yat-Sen and later on Mao Tse-Tung emerged as a strong leader of the Communist Movement.
- But the death of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen made Chiang Kai-Shek the leader of the Kuomintang Party and under him the Nationalist Party tried to check the rise of Communism in China.
- Although to check the Japanese aggression the Kuomintang-Communist joined hands, but the underlying differences remained strong in the background.
- The differences brought theKuomintang-Communist forces in an open conflict which began the Civil War in China.The Kuomintang Party had to face defeat in this internal war and the Chinese Communist Party established its political dominance in China.



14.8 FURTHER READING

1) Vinacke, H. M. (2020), *A History of Far East in Modern Times*, Revised Edition, Kalyani Publishers
2) Clyde P. H. and Beers B. F., (1991), *The Far East: A History of Western Impacts and Eastern Responses, 1830-1975*, (6th Edition), Waveland Press
3) Ebrey, P.B. (2010), *The Cambridge Illustrated History of China*, Cambridge University Press
4) Hsu, I. (1999),*The Rise of Modern China*, Oxford University Press
5) Shuyun, S. (2008),*The Long March: The History of Communist China's Founding Myth*, Anchor: USA



14.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai, Guangzhou and Hangzhou.

Ans to Q No 2: Canton.

Ans to Q No 3: General Chiang Kai-Shek.

Ans to Q No 4: Mao Tse-Tung.

Ans to Q No 5: A Communist leader.

Ans to Q No 6: Brother of Mao Tse-Tung.

Ans to Q No 7: Chiang Kai-Shek.

Ans to Q No 8: The Red Army of the Chinese Communist Party.

Ans to Q No 9: American Ambassador to China.

Ans to Q No 10: Premier of the People's Republic of China.



14.10 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions (Answer each question in about 50 words)

Q 1: When and where was the Chinese Communist Party formed?

Q 2: How many delegates attendedinaugural session of the Chinese Communist Party?

Q 3: When the Chinese Communist Party decided to join the Kuomintang Party?

Q 4: What is meant by 'Long March'?

Q 5: What is meant by the Sian Incident of 1936?

Q 6: Which nation tried to mediate the Kuomintang-Communist differences?

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q 1: Write a Short Note:

a. Russian influence on the growth of Communism in China

b. Chiang Kai-Shek

c. Mao Tse-Tung

d. Red Army

Q 2: What were the reasons for the failure of the Kuomintang Party in the Chinese Civil War?

Q 3: What factors contributed towards the success of the Communist Partyin the Chinese Civil War?

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q 1: Examine the rise of the Communist Movement in China.

Q 2: Trace the rise and decline of the Kuomintang Party in China.

Q 3: Narrate the reasons for the outbreak of the Civil War in China.

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2) Vinacke, H. M. (2020), *A History of Far East in Modern Times,* Revised Edition, Kalyani Publishers
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