

STUDY MATERIAL FOR B.A HISTORY
HISTORY OF CHINA 1839 – 1960 AD
SEMESTER - V, ACADEMIC YEAR 2020-21

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UNIT – I
ADVENT OF EUROPEANS

Advent of Europeans

The Portuguese monopoly of trade with China was broken when the Spaniards reached China in 1575, followed by the Dutch in 1604, English in 1637 and the Americans in 1784. However, Russia was the first foreign country to conclude an agreement with China in 1689. By this agreement trade between the two countries came to be regulated. Roman Catholic missionaries were not far behind the European traders. By their appeal to scientific and scholarly interests of the Chinese officials, the missionaries could find favour with them. In the seventeenth century Franciscan, Dominican and Augustinian missionaries entered China. In 1692, Emperor Kang Hsi issued a proclamation granting freedom of worship to the Roman Catholics throughout the empire. However, occasionally the missionaries were persecuted and were forced to return to Canton or Macao.

Chinese Reaction towards the Europeans

The Manchu rulers in particular and the Chinese in general were prejudicial in their reaction to the presence of the Europeans in China. The Chinese were of the strong conviction that their country had the highest and in a sense the only true civilization in the world. They were willing to have contact with Europeans only on the assumption that they were 'barbarians'. The Europeans were required to acknowledge the superiority of the Chinese culture and the emperor of China. They were also required to present tribute to the emperor as a sign of submission. The foreign envoys did not enjoy the status of equality as the representatives of sovereign states. They had to observe the 'Kowtow', a practice of paying respect to the emperor by kneeling before him and bumping the head on the ground. The Chinese authorities imposed a number of restrictions on the Europeans. They were subjected to the Chinese laws and there were no fixed and uniform tariff laws.

The Canton Trade

The Manchu Emperors desired to limit and control foreign trade rather than eliminate it. This led to the development of the so-called the Canton system of trade. Accordingly, in 1757, Canton was declared as the only legal port for foreign trade with China. This trade was strictly regulated by the 'cohong' or a guild of Chinese merchants who paid the emperor handsomely for their monopoly power. The cohong fixed prices, collected duties, and levied numerous fees on foreign merchants, who were forbidden to interact with the Chinese people or even to learn the Chinese language.

East India Company's Penetration into China

In the eighteenth century the English East India Company enjoyed the monopoly of the Eastern trade. The Chinese silk, cotton and tea were in great demand in the European markets. For these, payment was made by spice and silver. Thus, the trade was favorable to China. The unequal balance of trade between the two countries created a lot of uneasiness among the British. The principal item of exchange was the Chinese tea, which had become the national drink of the British people during the eighteenth century. By the early nineteenth century, British ships were transporting millions of kilograms of tea back to England every year. Unfortunately, English merchants were unable to come up with products which they could sell to the Chinese in similar quantity. As a result in some years, 90 per cent of the cargo brought by the British ships to China consisted of silver bullion. The British considered such an imbalance of trade with China as unhealthy. In 1793 the British government sent a diplomatic mission to

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China demanding the abandonment of the Canton system and suggesting the opening of the entire China for the British trade. The Chinese officials refused to accept the British demands. In his famous reply to King George III of England, the Emperor of China declared, "We possess all things. I set no value on objects strange or ingenious, and have no use for your country's manufactures.

Opium Wars

The opium trade and the subsequent opium wars were the manifestation of the British imperialism in China. Opium became the tool by which the British traders eventually broke open the Chinese market. The Chinese had long been introduced to this addictive drug. In 1773, the English East India Company established its monopoly over opium cultivation in India. Realizing the evil impact of opium on the people, the Chinese government had imposed a ban on the cultivation and import of opium in China. However, the ban was ineffective as the English merchant's smuggled opium in large quantities into China with the connivance of corrupt Chinese officials. The opium, while addicting the Chinese population was also draining a huge amount of silver from China. The outflow of a large amount of Chinese silver disrupted Chinese finances and ruined Chinese economy. Following the Charter Act of 1833, the monopoly of the East India Company came to an end. This enabled new groups of merchants to enter the Chinese market. With the increased flow of opium into China many Chinese became addicted to opium smoking.

First Opium War (1839-42)

In late 1830s, the Chinese government made a serious attempt to eradicate the opium traffic. An efficient and competent administrator named Lin Tse Hsu was sent to Canton to manage the campaign. He decided to take action against the foreign merchants who had been supplying opium to the Chinese smugglers.

In March 1839, Lin ordered the British merchants to hand over all of their opium stocks within three days. He also asked them to sign a bond pledging never again to traffic in the drug under penalty of death. When British superintendent of trade Charles Elliot attempted to negotiate, Lin suspended trade and held all foreign merchants hostage. Elliot then ordered the merchants to hand over their opium to him, after which he surrendered it to Lin who dumped nearly 20,000 boxes of opium into the sea. However, the British merchants refused to give an undertaking that they would abstain in future from trading in opium. These developments ultimately led to the First Opium War.

The Chinese had prepared for a possible war against the British at Canton. However, the British force blockaded the port. For China it was a disaster from the beginning to the end. The British navy had a free movement all along the coast without any challenge from the Chinese. Even on land the Chinese army was not effective against the British due to outdated weapons, poor training and lack of discipline.

Treaty of Nanking

The First Opium War dragged on till 1842 till China was forced to submit through the Treaty of Nanking (1842).

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By this treaty:

China agreed to:

1. abolish the Cohong;
2. open four more ports (Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo, and Shanghai) to trade and residence of British merchants;
3. cede the island of Hong Kong to the British;
4. pay a huge war indemnity to the British; and
5. a uniform and moderate tariff on exports and imports, which came to be known as the five per cent ad volorem.

Being not satisfied with the commercial advantages secured by the Treaty of Nanking, the British also imposed an additional treaty on the Chinese government known as the Treaty of Bogue. By this treaty the British obtained from the Chinese the extraterritorial jurisdiction in criminal cases. As per this provision any British national who commits a criminal offence in China would be tried according to the laws of England and not according to the laws of China. England was also granted by China the most favored nation treatment. According to this provision any concession given by China to a third power was to be extended to England as well.

The Taiping Rebellion (1851-1864)

The first major anti-Manchu movement was the Taiping Rebellion in the mid nineteenth century. It began in the hills of South China under the leadership of Hung Hsiu Chuan, a religious visionary claiming to be the younger brother of Jesus Christ. The Taiping Rebellion succeeded in establishing a separate rival government, the Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace (Taiping Tien-Kuo), which ruled much of southern China for more than a decade.

The Taipings won the support of the local people with a mixture of messianic Christianity and attacks on the non-Chinese Manchu dynasty. Hung Hsiu Chuan directed his message particularly to his fellow Hakka, who spoke a separate dialect and maintained distinct customs from other Chinese. Hung offered the Hakka salvation through morality and religious organization. To enforce moral purity, he imposed prohibition against alcohol, opium, gambling, promiscuity, banditry, and violence. His Christianity corresponded with the image of the wrathful Old Testament God, who rewarded the virtuous and obedient with heaven while the wicked were punished with hell. Hung's supporters founded a religious movement around his vision called the BaiShangdiHui (God Worshipers' Society) for worship and mutual protection.

By 1853 Hung and his followers had moved north to establish their headquarters at Nanking. For more than a decade they expanded their influence along the Yangtze River and sought to overthrow the Manchu dynasty in Peking. With the help of the local militias led by scholar generals such as Tseng Kuo Fan and Li Hung Chang and with foreign assistance, the Manchus eventually suppressed the Taiping Rebellion in 1864.

In spite of the early end of the Taiping Rebellion, its stunning success for a decade illustrated the unpopularity of the Manchu regime, the weakness of imperial institutions, and the urgent need for a new social vision to overcome the problems of the age. The rebellion seriously weakened the authority of the central government. The ethnic antagonism rekindled by the Taiping Uprising merged with the forces of modern nationalism to bring an end to China's imperial regime less than fifty years after the rebellion ended.

The Second Opium War (1856-60)

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The Second Opium War was in many ways an inevitable sequel to the first. The Chinese were not eager to implement the terms of a treaty that they saw as unfair. The British merchants were unhappy as they could not get better profits from the trade with China. Smuggling continued, and this only increased Chinese resentment of the foreigners.

The Arrow incident of 1856 was the spark that ignited the Second Opium War. The Arrow was a ship owned by a Chinese resident of Hong Kong that was registered with the British. In October, 1856, Chinese officers searching for a notorious pirate boarded the ship at Canton without the permission of the British authorities. During this operation one of the Chinese officials hauled down the British flag, which was considered as an offence by the British. This minor incident was used by the British as an excuse to renew hostilities against China that led to the Second Opium War. The British expeditionary force was joined by a French task force against the Chinese. The French used the murder of one of their missionaries in February 1856 as a pretext to make common cause with the British against the Chinese. After some delay, the joint force took Canton in December 1857, and then moved north to threaten the capital city of Peking.

By June 1858, the European powers forced the Chinese government to sign the Treaty of Tientsin. The most important provisions of the treaty included the right granted by China to the foreigners to establish permanent diplomatic residence at Peking and opening of additional ports to foreign trade. When the British and French returned to ratify the treaty the following summer, angry Chinese forces opened fire, killing more than 400 British men and sinking four of their ships. A much larger Anglo-French force returned a year later, in August 1860, attacked the Chinese capital and burnt down the Summer Palace. The imperial court fled the capital for safety.

On 24 October, 1860, the British representatives forced the Convention of Peking on the defeated Chinese government. This convention included the right of foreign diplomatic representation in China's capital, removal of restrictions on the foreigners to travel within China and permission to the Christian missionaries to carry on their activities and even to own property. Finally, the opium trade which was the chief reason of the whole dispute was legalized.

The Opium Wars had far reaching consequences on the history of China. The wars led to the imposition of unequal treaties on China by the West. By these treaties the European Powers acquired the extraterritorial rights and most favored nation treatment. These factors led to the loss of China's sovereignty and weakened her political institutions. The events that followed the Opium Wars greatly contributed to the collapse of the Manchu dynasty, the country's last imperial dynasty in the early years of the twentieth century. Although some historians have argued that the Opium Wars constituted a painful but much needed shock to shake China out of her time-bound traditions, the Chinese look back on these wars as a cruel and greedy exercise of the West in exploitative imperialism.

Taiping Reforms

Taipings put into practice their reform programme in Nanking, they published official documents under the caption "land system of the celestial dynasty. It dealt with military, civil, economic, judicial and educational policies of the Taipings". Taipings attempted several reforms in all spheres. The main principles of the Taiping programme were community property, the brotherhood of man and equality of the sexes. The economic and financial system of the

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Taiping aimed at three things, : public ownership of land, equal allotment of surplus money and food, and a self supported economy.

Women were regarded as equal of man

They were encouraged to join public services and to sit for civil service examinations. All traditional superstitions were to be entirely discarded. The Taipings drew their strength by harping on divinity and nationalism.

Attitude of the Foreigners

During the winter of 1853-54 Hung and his hordes had reached the outskirts of Tintstein. Shangai situated on the very borders of the foreign settlements, was captured by rebel band. By and large, the attitude of the foreigners was one of the benevolent neutrality in the beginning because they thought that the Taiping rebellion was a divine scheme to open the doors of China for them.

By 1859 because of the successful treaty revisions with the Manchu administration and because of the growing fear of the Taipings, the foreigners made common cause with the Manchus in suppressing the movement.

UNIT - II
WESTERN IMPACT ON CHINA

Western impact on China

England had taken a leading part in opening the doors of China for European trade and commerce. Two Opium Wars within a period of two decades led to the defeat and humiliation of China. She was forced to accept the unequal treaties by the victorious Powers. Besides opening additional ports to foreign trade, China conceded extra-territorial rights to the Western powers. With the opening of China, these Powers cooperated with each other in dividing China among themselves as spheres of influence. The Open Door Policy adopted by USA did not prevent the economic exploitation of China by the Western Powers.

Initial Chinese Resistance to Western Influence

In spite of military defeat, humiliating treaties and economic exploitation by the Western Powers, China refused to learn anything from these events. Neither had she showed any inclination to learn from the West as Japan did. She was too proud to give up her false sense of superiority and manifested lack of interest in understanding the factors that had revolutionized and modernized the West. In spite of reluctance and resistance, Western influence was silently at work in China through different channels. The appointment of foreign customs officials, especially the British in treaty ports, establishment of foreign Legations (diplomatic missions) at Peking, penetration of traders and Christian missionaries deeper into China and other factors led to the gradual spread of Western ideas. These ideas gradually influenced different aspects of the Chinese life.

Diplomatic Relations with the West

Initially it was through diplomatic relations that the Westerns influence began to make inroads into China. The Treaty of Peking had opened China to Western diplomatic and political representation.

In 1867, China invited Burlingame, an American envoy at Peking, after his retirement, to be an adviser on diplomatic relations with the Western Powers. Burlingame led a Chinese mission to the United States and impressed upon the Americans that China, the oldest nation was seeking Westernization and progress through America, the youngest of the nations. The US administration gave a warm welcome to Burlingame and his Chinese colleagues. The Burlingame Mission concluded a number of agreements with the American government. These agreements provided that China might appoint consuls at the United States ports and that Americans in China and Chinese in the United States should enjoy complete freedom of religion. Besides, the United States promised not to intervene in the domestic administration of China. The Burlingame Mission also visited London, Paris, Belgium, Prussia, Denmark, Sweden, Holland, and Russia.

The Manchu government established its first diplomatic mission in England in 1877 and in the United States in 1878. By 1880 China established diplomatic missions in most of the Western countries and Japan. A number of Chinese missions were sent to Western countries to study Western civilization and political systems and institutions. These diplomats with a better understanding of Western ideas and institutions became catalysts in the modernization of China.

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Influence of Christian Missionaries

Christian missionaries had entered China since the beginning of the nineteenth century. However, they had to face a lot of opposition from the Chinese. In many cases the missionaries were subjected to harassment and even persecution. The murder of a French Catholic missionary had prompted France to join England in the Second Opium War.

The Treaty of Tientsin (1858) that was imposed on China following her defeat in the Second Opium War contained the toleration clauses that provided legal status to Christianity and missionaries in China.

The Peking Convention (1860) acknowledged the right of the missionaries to reside in the interior of China, to acquire land, build churches and schools, and to propagate Christianity without any obstacles.

The Christian missionaries, especially the English and the American Protestants had broad social and religious purpose in China. They tried to improve the conditions of the Chinese converts by introducing Western education and providing medical service. They circulated Western literature, both religious and secular through which Western ideas began to spread among the educated Chinese. However, the cultural influence of the missionaries was limited in many ways.

Most of the missionaries were confined to treaty ports and a few inland posts. The deep rooted dislike and suspicion of the Christian missionaries among the Chinese conservatives and officials led to the so-called 'Tientsin Massacre' in 1870. A Chinese mob destroyed a Roman Catholic orphanage and a church and killed the French Consul, two priests, ten nuns, three Russians and thirty Chinese servants. Anti-Christian riots became a regular feature in China culminating in the Boxer Rebellion in 1900.

Sino - Japanese War, 1894-95

The First Sino-Japanese War (25 July 1894 – 17 April 1895) also known as the Chino-Japanese War. It was fought between China and Japan primarily over influence in Korea. After more than six months of unbroken successes by Japanese land and naval forces and the loss of the port of Weihaiwei, the Qing government sued for peace in February 1895.

The war demonstrated the failure of the Qing dynasty's attempts to modernize its military and fend off threats to its sovereignty, especially when compared with Japan's successful Meiji Restoration. For the first time, regional dominance in East Asia shifted from China to Japan; the prestige of the Qing Dynasty, along with the classical tradition in China, suffered a major blow. The humiliating loss of Korea as a tributary sparked an unprecedented public outcry. Within China, the defeat was a catalyst for a series of political upheavals led by Sun Yat-sen and Kang Youwei, culminating in the 1911 Xinhai Revolution. The war is commonly known in China as the War of Jiawu.

On March 28, 1894, a pro-Japanese Korean revolutionary, Kim Ok-ryun, was assassinated in Shanghai. Kim had fled to Japan after his involvement in the 1884 coup and the Japanese had turned down Korean demands that he be extradited. Many Japanese activists saw in him potential for a future role in Korean modernization,

However, Meiji government leaders were more cautious; after some reservations they exiled him to the Ogasawara islands. Ultimately, he was lured to Shanghai, where he was killed by a

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Korean, Hong Jong hu in his room at a Japanese inn in the international sentiment. After some hesitation, the British authorities in Shanghai concluded that rules against extradition did not apply to a corpse and turned his body over to Chinese authorities. His body was then taken aboard a Chinese warship and sent back to Korea, where it was cut up, quartered and displayed in all Korean provinces as a warning to other purported rebels and traitors.

In Tokyo, the Japanese government took this as an outrageous affront. Kim Ok-gyun's brutal murder was portrayed as a betrayal by Li Hongzhang and a setback for Japan's stature and dignity. Not only did the Chinese authorities refuse to press charges against the assassin, but he was even allowed to accompany Kim's mutilated body back to Korea, where he was showered with rewards and honors. Kim's assassination had also called Japan's commitment to its Korean supporters into question. The police in Tokyo had foiled an earlier attempt during the same year to assassinate Pak Yung-hio, one of the other Korean leaders of the 1884 uprising. When two suspected Korean assassins received asylum at the Korean legation, it had also instigated a diplomatic outrage.

Although the Japanese government could have immediately used Kim's assassination to its advantage, it concluded that since Kim died on Chinese territory the treatment of the corpse was outside its authority. But the shocking murder of the Korean inflamed Japanese opinion, many in the country considered the Chinese supported actions as also being directed against Japan. To the Japanese, the Chinese had also showed their contempt for international law when they set free the suspected assassin, who had been arrested by British authorities in Shanghai and then in accordance with treaty obligations turned over to the Chinese for trial. Nationalistic groups immediately began to call for war with China.

Immediate Cause

Donghak Rebellion

Tension ran high between China and Japan by June 1894 but war was not yet inevitable. On June 4, the Korean king, Gojong requested aid from the Qing government in suppressing the Donghak Rebellion.

Although the rebellion was not as serious as it initially seemed and hence Qing reinforcements were not necessary, the Qing government still sent the general Yuan shikai as its plenipotentiary to lead 2,800 troops to Korea.^[1] According to the Japanese, the Qing government had violated the convention of Teinstein by not informing the Japanese government of its decision to send troops, but the Qing claimed that Japan had approved this. The Japanese countered by sending an 8,000-troop expeditionary force (the Oshima Composite Brigade) to Korea. The first 400 troops arrived on June 9 en route to Seoul and 3,000 landed at Incheon on June 12. However, Japanese officials denied any intention to intervene. As a result, the Qing viceroy Li Hongshang "was lured into believing that Japan would not wage war, but the Japanese were fully prepared to act. The Qing government turned down Japan's suggestion for Japan and China to cooperate to reform the Korean government. When Korea demanded that Japan withdraw its troops from Korea, the Japanese refused.

In early June 1894, the 8,000 Japanese troops captured the Korean king Gojong, occupied the Gyeongbokgung in Seoul and, by June 25, replaced the existing Korean government with members of the pro-Japanese faction. Even though Qing forces were already leaving Korea after finding themselves unneeded there, the new pro-Japanese Korean government granted Japan the right to expel Qing forces while Japan dispatched more troops to Korea. The Qing Empire rejected the new Korean government as illegitimate.

Course of the war

Japan had well organized armies which were well – equipped with western techniques and war methods as compared with Chinese armies, Japanese armies were less in number but were fighting for a national cause. Chinese armies soon found themselves in disadvantageous position. The advancing Japanese armies first of all occupied seashore and thereafter defeated the Chinese ship fleet at Yulu. Then the armies advanced towards Korea and thereafter took Manchuria, defeating the forces which opposed them. The Japanese forces were now in a position to invade China proper without any difficulty. Forced by the circumstances Li – Hungchang was sent to Japan to conclude a peace treaty with that country. The war came to an end with the treaty of Shimonoseki.

End of the war

The Treaty of Shimonoseki was signed on 17 April 1895. The Qing Empire recognized the total independence of Korea and ceded the Liaodong Peninsula, Taiwan and Penghu Islands to Japan "in perpetuity". The islands known as "Senkaku/Diaoyu" islands were not named by this treaty, but Japan annexed these uninhabited islands to Okinawa Prefecture in 1895. Japan asserts this move was taken independently of the treaty ending the war, and China asserts that they were implied as part of the cession of Taiwan.

Additionally, the Qing Empire was to pay Japan 200 million taels (8,000,000 kg/17,600,000 lb) of silver as war reparations. The Qing government also signed a commercial treaty permitting Japanese ships to operate on the Yangtze River, to operate manufacturing factories in treaty ports and to open four more ports to foreign trade. Russia, Germany and France in a few days made the Triple Intervention, however, and forced Japan to give up the Liaodong Peninsula in exchange for another 30 million taels of silver (equivalent to about 450 million yen).

After the war, according to the Chinese scholar Jin Xide, the Qing government paid a total of 340,000,000 taels (13,600 tons) of silver to Japan in both war reparations and trophies, equivalent to about 510,000,000 Japanese yen at the time and about 6.4 times the Japanese government's revenue.

Western exploitation of China

There had been hostilities with China over eastern Siberia, which were brought to an end in 1858 by the Treaty of Aigun, under which China ceded certain territories in northern Manchuria. This made possible the founding of Vladivostok in 1860. Russia received Sakhalin from Japan in 1875 in exchange for the Kurile Islands. She received from China the important Port Arthur as a leased territory, and then tried to secure the whole of South Manchuria. This brought Japan's policy of expansion into conflict with Russia's plans in the Far East.

Russia wanted Manchuria in order to be able to pursue a policy in the Pacific; but Japan herself planned to march into Manchuria from Korea, of which she already had possession. This imperialist rivalry made war inevitable: Russia lost the war; under the Treaty of Portsmouth in 1905 Russia gave Japan the main railway through Manchuria, with adjoining territory. Thus Manchuria became Japan's sphere of influence and was lost to the Manchus without their being consulted in any way. The Japanese penetration of Manchuria then proceeded stage by stage, not without occasional setbacks, until she had occupied the whole of Manchuria from 1932 to 1945. After the end of the Second World War, Manchuria was returned to China.

It is already mentioned that owing to the increased penetration of European goods and ideas, South China had become more progressive than the north; this had added to the tension already existing for other reasons between north and south. In foreign policy the north was more favourable to Russia and radically opposed to Japan and Great Britain; the south was in favour of co-operation with Britain and Japan, in order to learn from those two states how reform could be carried through the European states, Russia, America, and Japan regarded China as a field for their own plans, and in their calculations paid scarcely any attention to the Chinese government. Foreign capital was penetrating everywhere in the form of loans or railway and other enterprises. If it had not been for the mutual rivalries of the powers, China would long ago have been annexed by one of them. The government needed a great deal of money for the payment of the war indemnities, and for carrying out the few reforms at last decided on. In order to get money from the provinces, it had to permit the viceroys even more freedom than they already possessed.

Open Door Policy

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

Factors that saved China from Partition

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

The U.S. And China

At the time the scramble for concession was taking place (1897-1898) the U.S. was otherwise busy. Domestic issuers were engaging attention. Besides, she was engaged in a war with Spain. During the years 1865-1898, the American nation went through a transformation and emerged as an industrial power. Americans felt that foreign markets were needed to absorb the country"s expanding industrial production.

Added to this economic interest,. She came to have an interest in international relations particularly with her new acquisition Philippines in the Far East. This interest necessitated a positive reaction on the part of U.S. The U.S. was not interested acquiring territories in China. But at the same time she was keen on safe-guarding her interests in the growing commerce with China.

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The Doctrine of Open Door

It was against this background the U.S. enunciated the doctrine by which it was sought that every nation should have an equal opportunity in the Chinese market. The doctrine sought in effect to accept the existing status including the claims of the several states of spheres of influence and secure complete equality of commercial opportunity for the U.S. The doctrine was propounded by the then Secretary of State. John Hay and the doctrine is therefore also known as the Hay's doctrine.

The main features of the doctrine are

1. The power having spheres in China should assure that it would not interfere with any treaty port or any vested interest or leased territory they might have in China.
2. The Powers having spheres would make no discrimination in harbour dues or the railroad charges against any other country. In other words, the Chinese treaty tariff should prevail in the case of all goods, irrespective of the spheres of interest.
3. The duties levied on the goods would be collected by the Chinese government.
4. All concessions which the European countries have already obtained from China would be respected. In essence, the Open Door Policy was a guarantee of Open Chinese market and a uniform tariff for all nations. What the U.S. wanted was a neutralization of the special interests acquired by the Western Powers.

The motives behind the Open Door Doctrine are obvious. The U.S. had not secured so far any concessions which the other Powers had already got. She had been a late comer. But the Chinese market was too attractive for it to be given up. As Owen Lattimore aptly points out the American Open Door Policy was nothing better than "me too" imperialism. Briefly stated, America wanted a share of the spoils in China. But in theory the Americans claimed that the Open Door Policy championed the cause of equal opportunity and the territorial integrity of China. Though this claim is plausible the U.S. had never lived up to this idealism. Her conquest and colonization of Philippines was a flagrant violation of the high principle she was propounding for others. The truth is that the U.S. was not so much inspired by high idealism as by self-interest.

The implications of the Open Door Policy

The two conceptions—that of spheres of interest and that of the Open Door are fundamentally inconsistent. The purpose of establishing a sphere of interest is to secure an exclusive right to obtain concessions for the building of railroads, the opening of mines and the industrial exploitation of the region concerned. The sphere of interest merged gradually into a sphere of influence or into protectorate, the state gaining political control used it to monopolise the economic development of the area. The Open Door Policy, on the other hand, limited the sphere conception in demanding equality of commercial opportunity. The implication of the Open Door Policy involved the preservation of the integrity of China. Unless China was independent, there could not be any equal opportunity for the Western Powers. In other words, the Open Door affirmed a co-operative policy for a more effective exploitation of China in the place of the exclusive and the limited sphere of influence. The Open Door was a declaration of principles rather than a formal of United States, which had neither the will nor the Power policy to enforce it militarily.

Reaction of the Powers to the Open Door

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

Result of the Open Door Policy

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

Hundred Days Reforms

Emperor Kuang Hsu, who was greatly influenced by the radical reforms Kung Yu-wei initiated the famous Hundred Days of Reforms. A number of edicts were issued to transform the Confucian state into a modern one. In order to create a new administrative set up a number of unnecessary posts were abolished. As a result the Manchu nobles lost their power and position. The old Eight legged Essay in the civil service examination was also abolished. This measure removed altogether the Confusion influence from the administrative lines. Now the affected party the high Manchu officials appealed to Dowager Empress to intervene. The Empress herself was a diehard conservative opposed to all reforms, but she waited for the opposition to gain momentum. The reformers who were fearful of her intervention made an attempt to arrest her. But this attempt failed. For 37 years since 1861, the empress Dowager had been the ultimate power of the state. She was too experienced and too well entrenched to be uprooted by a handful of inexperienced reformers. Though in retirement since 1889 she was in firm control of political and military affairs. Her confidants in the Grand Council reported to her all policy decisions. There was not a thing that escaped her notice. Now when she saw that the Confucian philosophy, upon which her power and position rested was uprooted. She staged a come-back with the help of the military officials. She raided the Emperor palace and intercepted all reform documents. She announced publically that a serious illness had incapacitated the Emperor and hence she had to take control of the state affairs. For the third time in her life the Dowager return to administer state affairs. The Emperor was put under detention on a small island in the Imperial Garden. The reform came to an abrupt end.

Boxer Rebellion

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

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Causes of The Boxer Rebellion

Activities of Missionaries

- I. Though the Christian Missionaries did some useful social and educational work, the Chinese distrusted them and looked upon them as the advance guard of Western Imperialist Powers. They were considered as „ the running dogs of imperialism“ and „the Trojan horse of Imperialism“. Because Christianity entered into China with the protection of gunboats and imposed treaties.
- II. The local converts to Christianity considered themselves as superior persons and a privileged class. They claimed preferential treatment in service and courts. They did not respect the traditional Chinese practices. They refused to Kowtow to idols and to worship confusions and ancestors. The behaviours of Chinese Christians irritated the country gentry.
- III. There were a number of popular believes in the interior part of China. The Christians were believed to indulge in strange inhuman practices such as plucking out the eyes, and extracting the hearts of children to make medicine out of them. These believe though baseless, aroused hostility towards C hristians.
- IV. The missionaries often intervened in litigation on behalf of the converts and interceded with the magistrates on their behalf. The conv erts took advantage of their association with missionaries and tried to bully their fellow countrymen and to evade the law. The priests also demanded magisterial honours in their dealings with officials.

This added to the hostility of many officials and to induce them to indulge in violence against the missionaries.

2. Anger over imperialism

- I. The defeat of China at the hands of Japan and the scramble for concession made the partition of China imminent. Almost every Western Power had got some territory from China over which it had created a sphere of influence. The situation was grave enough to threaten the integrity of China. Naturally Patriotic Chinese were roused to action.
- II. When the Chinese realized the fact that their „Powerful Middle Kingdom“ and the „proud Celestial Empire“ had degenerated into a semi-colony, their anger towards Western imperialist knew to bounds that resulted in the outburst of popular Uprising.

3. Feeling of national humiliation

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

4. Antipathy towards West

The Westernising policy of Emperor Kuang Hsu was one of the important Causes of the Uprising. The establishment of foreign institutions and the far-reaching change proposed by the reform measures supplied fuel to the already existing anti foreign sentiment and precipitated the crisis.

5. Foreign Economic domination

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

6. Increase of Tax burden

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

7. Natural Calamities

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

8. The activities of the Secret Societies

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

The Origin of the Boxers

Boxers was the name given by foreigners to Chinese Secret Society called "Iho-Chuan" means „Righteous Harmonious Fists". It was an offshoot of the „Eight Diagram Society". Their programme was the practice of magic arts by which they claimed immunity to bullets. They used charms, incantations and rituals to invoke the supernatural power to neutralise the effect of guns. Originally anti-Manchu, the Boxer in the 1890"s became pro-dynastic and anti-foreign. They were determined to exterminate the foreigners and their Chinese collaborators.

The Course of the rebellion

In the initial phases of the uprising the Boxers consisted of strong-anti-Manchu elements as well as others with the anti-foreign sentiments. The anti-Manchu elements wanted the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty and the driving out of the foreigners. In the later phase of the movement, the anti-Manchu rebels were suppressed and the others were absorbed in to the local militia. The Empress Dowager saw in the tense situation an opportunity, to perpetuate Manchu rule. On the one hand, she was faced with the break-up of the empire into foreign controlled spheres and on the other, there was the movement for reforms to westernise the country. Having crushed the reform movement, the Empress now threw her weight behind the parties of reaction and tried to direct the mounting discontent away from the throne and tried to direct the mounting discontent away from the throne and towards the foreigners. She supported the Boxer first secretly and then openly. Assured of the support of the Empress, the Boxer movement grew more militant and fanatical. In 1900, prompted by conservative officialdom, the boxers indulged in slaughter and destruction in Shantung, Chihli, Shansi and Manchuria. They burnt up churches and murdered Christian missionaries. They destroyed

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railways and telegraphs. The whole of Northern China was plunged in violence. In June 1900, the government openly declared war on the foreign powers and permitted the Boxers to lay siege to the foreign legations in Peking. The declaration of war was ignored by the southern provinces on the ground that it had not received the emperors sanction. Thus the military operation was confined to the north. The siege of the legations itself was half-hearted and lasted for eight weeks. Jung Lu, the old general refrained from using artillery against the legations.

Foreign Military intervention

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

Boxer Protocol

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

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

Nature of the Movement

The Boxer movement may be divided into three phases. In the first phase, the boxers showed their hatred against the foreigners and tried to expel them. They were both anti-Manchu and anti-foreign. In the second phase, they adopted a favourable stand towards the Manchus and directed their activities against the foreigners. In the third and the final phase, they wanted to get rid of the inefficient bureaucracy and corrupt officials. In essence it was a movement against all westernising influence, coming as a reaction of the people against the intolerable conditions of poverty and misery. Strictly speaking, the Boxer Uprising cannot be called a rebellion, because rebellion signifies a revolt against a properly constituted authority. In this case the Boxers fought against the foreigners and in this fight the Manchu government had a hand. The Boxers cannot therefore be called rebels. It was in fact a product of blind and ignorant patriotism directed against the „foreign devils“, their strange and intolerant religion and their insufferable airs of superiority. Since the southern provinces did not participate in the movement it cannot also be called a wholly national uprising. But the Marxist historians today consider the Boxer movement a primitive form of a patriotic peasant uprising with the right motive but with the wrong method.

Causes of its failure

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

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1. The agitation was confined to the north in provinces. The south ignored the uprising even during the later stages on the ground that it did not have the sanction of the emperor. What was worse, the Governors of these provinces concluded agreements with foreign powers for suppression of any possible uprising in their areas. Thus, the movement though virulent in the north was not nationwide.
2. The Chinese army did not act in co-ordination. The Empress herself was only half-hearted in giving her support to the movement. She was very interested on maintaining herself in power. The Chinese army had no strong central command. General Jung Lu did not use artillery against the foreigners for fear of escalating the war. The military commanders had neither confidence in themselves nor in the army.
3. The Boxers acted in blind reaction. They acted negatively. If they had capture the imagination of the masses by putting forward constructive programmes, the course of the uprising would have been different. The Manchus, in all probability, could not have added eleven unearned years to the life of the dynasty. The foreign powers would have also learnt to respect the sentiments of the Chinese.
4. The Boxers did not have inspiring leadership. There were no glamorous personalities to rally the masses.
5. The Superior military strength of the joint Western expeditionary force was a decisive factor in the suppression of the uprising. The advanced technology, the greater fire power and better strategy of the West Proved invincible.

Effects of the movement

1. As a consequence of the Boxer protocol, China was subjected the further humiliation. She had to give many concessions to the foreign powers compromising her sovereignty and dignity. The huge indemnity payment crippled her economic strength.
2. The Boxer Uprising hastened the fall for the Manchus. The mass discontent now full to the brim swept the dynasty out of power in 1911.
3. The Western Powers sensed the mass discontent and moderated their ambition. Boxerism checked the disintegration of China.
4. The Boxers made the Manchu court to think in terms of reform. There forms that came immediately were very conservative. All the same they marked the beginning of a change.

UNIT - III
THE REVOLUTION OF 1911

Causes

Economic Causes

The basic causes of the Revolution of 1911 were economic. During the twenty-five years preceding 1911, there was a phenomenal growth of population. From 377 million in 1885, the population rose to 430 million in 1911. This increase in population was not matched by any increase in food supply. In 1910-11 normal conditions of food production were disturbed by floods in the central provinces. There were droughts in some seven provinces. Millions of people were actually starving and dying. Naturally, there was widespread discontent among the masses of people. The situation was only relieved to every small extent by migration to Manchuria and other thinly populated areas of the empire. But the famine conditions were not enough to provide material for a widespread revolt. Another economic factor was finance. The expenditure of the government steadily increased because of the reorganization of the army, the construction of the railways, and the establishment of new educational institutions. In addition, the government had to meet payments on the indemnities arising out of the Sino-Japanese War and the Boxer Uprising. As a consequence, the taxes became increasingly heavy and new charges had to be levied, making the tax burden altogether unbearable, and adding to the discontent and dissatisfaction with the dynasty.

Rise of Revolutionary ideas

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

Growth of Revolutionary Parties

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

- a. The revolt of the Three Feudatories
- b. The rising of Heaven and Earth Society
- c. The White Lotus Rebellion and]
- d. The Taiping Rebellion

Role of Missionaries:

In this connection, mention should be made of the influential role played by the missionary schools in providing converts to the cause of revolution. These schools provided Western democratic ideas and created a new generation of students imbued with a progressive outlook. Some of the brilliant students went abroad and came in contact with liberal Western

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institutions. These contacts and the resulting influences had a tremendous significance in the context of the prevailing conditions in China.

The works of Chinese immigrants

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

Modern communication system and press

The improved means of communication, the extended posts, telegraph and railways helped the rapid spread of revolutionary ideas throughout the empire. Added to this was the Chinese vernacular press which now included a number of reformist and revolutionary papers, carrying the new ferment far and wide.

Indifference of provincial authorities

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

The Superiority Complex

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

Weakness of the Centre

China was territorially decentralized. This territorial decentralization weakened the center greatly. The regional and provincial chiefs asserted themselves in authority and did not cooperate with the center even in times of emergency. For instance, at the time of the Opium Wars, there was no unified military effort. The provinces that were not directly affected by the hostilities remained aloof, and did not contribute their shares of Li Hung Chang. Thus each region and province tried to look after its own interests without concern for the integrity of the country as a whole. The larger Manchus were weakling and could not check the growth of regionalism. They were more interested in the pleasures of the palace life than properly administering the country.

Poor System of Administration

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

Indifference to reforms

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

Manchus as foreigners

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

The Western Impact.

The most significant factor which was responsible for the collapse of the Manchus was the Western impact on China. The Chinese hated the Western "barbarians"; at the same time, they were profoundly impressed by their military efficiency and by their liberal ideas and institutions. The western ideas of democracy, independence, human rights and freedom exerted a profound influence upon the Chinese. At the treaty ports, the Western settlements served to disseminate Western ideas and practices. These liberal influences weakened the tradition of the emperor "mandate from heaven. The Confucian code of filial piety, the division of classes etc., were seriously undermined. The Manchu rulers who were conservative and reactionary in their outlook could not bring about the necessary adjustments to meet the needs of the changing times. Their repeated defeats at the hands of the foreigners exposed their utter weakness providing the necessary temptation for rebellion.

Economic Domination of the west

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

displaced artisans. Not only did they fail to industrialise the country, but they freely allowed the foreigners to exploit the economic resources of the land.

The Death of Dowager and the Loss of Leadership

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

The Defeat of China at the hands of Japan

The Sino-Japanese War delivered a death-blow to the absolutist monarchy of China. The victory of a tiny county like Japan over China proved the efficiency and effectiveness of constitutional government. Japanese example clearly showed that parliamentary form of government necessarily meant strong and capable government. So it was not without reason that china modelled her constitution after Japan. Since the Manchus had set their face against all reforms, it became clear that constitutional reforms could be carried out only when the Manchus were overthrown.

Humiliating defeats and imposed treaties

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

Russo – Japanese War

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

Immediate Causes of the Revolution

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

Significance and Character of the Revolution

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

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1911 brought the Manchu rule in China to an end. Obviously the dynasty had lost its moral basis to rule China. It was but inevitable that an incompetent, corrupt and decadent dynasty like that of the Manchus should sooner or later collapse. Its end was however hastened by the mounting western impact and the national spirit that came in its wake. The political transition from the anarchical Manchu misrule to Republic was deceptively peaceful. The Republic had a constitution, parliamentary procedures, codes of law – but only on paper. The constitution was not understood, the parliamentary procedures were not followed and the law codes were never enforced. The result was the Republic opened on an era of disorder and turmoil. In the early Republican years, China was faced with internal chaos, increasing foreign economic pressure and the tyranny of the provincial war-lords. Although the Revolution of 1911 did not bring in the promised bright era for China, it had immense significance for the future. The confederation order was discarded once and for all. The old moorings to which China had clung for about two thousand years were cut loose. The old barriers were broken and China launched herself in to the modern world.

Dr.SunYatSen's Tung Ming Hui was converted in to Kuominang which consolidate. The greater part of China into integrated unit under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek. The Bloodless revolution of 1911 was the hand-work of one of the China's greatest leaders, Dr. Dun Yat Sen. His three Principles Democracy, Nationalism and Socialism provided the ideological foundation for China's future.

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

Dr. Sun yatsen

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

Early Life

Dr. Sun YatSen was born in 1866 in a poor peasant family. Even, when the he was a child the stories of Taiping Rebellion exercised a profound impact on him. He had his early education in Honolulu and later obtained his medical degree at HongKong. While he worked at the Alice Memorial Hospital, his revolutionary ideas began to take shape. While practicing as a doctor he became a revolutionary. He became convinced that national unity could be achieved only by reforming the educational system. He memorialized to the throne suggesting several educational and economic reforms to strengthen China. But the Manchu rulers did not respond. He became in course of time anti-monarchist and a nationalist republican.

Hsing – Chung-Hui

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

Tung MengHui

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

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

The founding of the Tung-Meng-hui constituted a mile stone in the Chinese Revolution. It provided a unified central organization that resembled a modern political party. It served a rallying point for all revolutionary and progressive forces in the country. As such it fittingly received the tribute "The mother of the Chinese Revolution". The organization was however weak as the members of the party had neither clear conception nor any genuine belief in the principles of democracy. The first Congress of Sun's revolutionary party met in Brussels and the members pledged themselves to drive out the Manchu barbarians, restore China to the Chinese and to create a republic. Sun stayed in England and Germany and France. In the course of his long exile, he persuaded the Chinese students studying there to join his party. Many branches of the party were formed in European countries, but Japan was the center of the revolutionary organization. In September, 1905, a constitution for the party was adopted and Dr. Sun was elected its general director.

His Ideas

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

Principles of Nationalism

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

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imperialism and colonialism. It called for not only the overthrow of the alien Manchu rule but also the removal of the foreign, imperialistic yoke.

Principle of Democracy

Dr. Sun's second principle was the principle of democracy, Sun's ideas on democracy were derived from both western practice and ancient Chinese ideas. He wanted a strong central government based on the sovereignty of the people. Political powers were to be exercised through the executive, legislative and judicial branches of the government superimposed by a system of examinations and censorship.

He divided men into three categories:

1. The leaders,
2. The immediate followers
3. The rank and file.

The Second principle aimed at achieving the Four Rights of the people – Initiative, referendum, election and recall – and the Five powers of the government; Executive, legislative, judicial, control and examination.

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

The Principle of People's livelihood

Dr. Sun's third principle is called the principle of people's livelihood. Here we trace the ancient Chinese Utopian idea of „land to the tiller“. This principle could be divided into two parts: (i) Equal distribution of land and (2) |The control of capital. Dr. Sun was opposed to Marxian materialism and the class struggle. So he advocated preventive measures to avoid concentration of capital in the hands of a few individuals.

The first Congress of the Kuomintang Party spelt out the principle of the people's livelihood. „We hold this principle in regard to the equalization of land as essential. All enterprises such as banking and shipping industries will be undertaken by the state so that the economic life of the nation shall not pass into the control of the capitalistic few“.

Dr. Sun and Yuan

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

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Dr. Sun and the Revolution of 1911

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

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

Relation with Soviet Russia

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

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

Founding of South Chinese Republic at Canton

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

His death

After the stabilization of the Canton government Sun turned his attention towards north to unify the whole country. In 1924 Feng a warlord of the North occupied Peking and invited Sun to a conference on national unification. Though his health was failing, Sun made a trip and

arrived in Peking. But before he could accomplish anything his condition turned worse and died in 1925.

Dawn of Chinese Republic

On January 1, 1912 the new government of the Chinese Republic was recognized in Nanking with Sun Yat-Sen as the provisional president. On the other hand Yuan Shi Kai the former Commander of Manchu Forces (who created the New Army but had fallen out of favour from the Manchu Court in 1909) aspired to become China's ruler. As the Manchu Court had not yet resigned formally, Yuan, who had enough military support, bargained and manoeuvred with the Nanking government. On February 12, the Manchu Court abdicated and Sun Yat-Sen resigned in favour of Yuan. The Republican government moved to Peking and Yuan Shi Kai was elected its provisional president Sun Yat-Sen, before he gave up his president ship, was able to have a new Provisional Constitution passed. This constitution had in it a bill of rights and a cabinet form of government. This implied that President Yuan was to have a cabinet responsible to the Legislative Assembly. The Revolutionaries (i.e. Sun's comrades) were in a majority in this Assembly. The thought was to have the cabinet as a check on Yuan's personal ambitions. The Republican regime at Peking therefore became operative on April 1, 1912. In theory, this regime lasted till 1928 but in reality it was a mockery of the republican system. Soon after assuming office Yuan proposed the name of Tang Shao-yias head of the Cabinet or Premier, in accordance with the newly-promulgated Provisional Constitution. Tang was both an old associate of Yuan and also secure to the Kuomintang Revolutionaries. The names of cabinet ministries proposed through Tang were approved through the Assembly. This seemed a good beginning and there were hopes that a workable unity flanked by the two groups i.e. Sun's revolutionaries and older (including military) elements of the North would be achieved. But we remember that Yuan Shi Kai's ambitions were in direct disagreement with the constitutional system where power is shared flanked by many individuals.

UNIT - IV
YUAN SHI-KAI

Yuan shi-kai

He was specially selected by Li Hung-Chang to be appointed as Chinese diplomatic agent in Korea in 1882. He was also assigned with the duty of training the Korean army. As a Chinese agent he tried his best to check Japanese influence in Korean court and counteracted Japanese designs successfully. After the First Sino- Japanese War, he was appointed as a military officer to train 7000 men near Tientsin. When the leaders of Reform movement approached him for help he proved as a treacherous man by unfolding the whole plot to Jung-lu, the leader of the reactionary party. During the Boxer Rebellion he kept aloof from the court patronage of Boxers and even tried to suppress that rebellion, and earn the goodwill of the Westerners. He then remained as the trusted confidant of Dowager Empress. But he was relieved off the military responsibilities and was transferred to Peking as Grand Councillor. There he was serving as minister of foreign affairs. According to wide spread rumour he participated in the plot hatched by Dowager to poison Emperor Kuang Hsu because he had betrayed him in 1898 and dreaded his return to power after the death of Dowager.

Supreme control of Manchu Government

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

The aims of Yuan

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

Negotiations

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

Settlement

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

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

Clash with KMT

Yuan believed that strong monarchy alone could solve the problems of China. So he wanted to make use of his presidency as a stepping stone to a new dynasty. As a result of the motives of Yuan Shi Kai, hostilities developed between Yuan and SunYat Sen. Yuan wanted to have his capital at Peking where the army was strong. But he had accepted at the time of assuming the presidency that he would run the government from Nanking. So when he persuaded the National Council to transfer its headquarters to Peking, the revolutionaries suspected that Yuan was trying to become a military dictator. Yuan proceeded to strengthen his position without concern for the opposition from Sun YatSen and his party, the Kuomintang (KMT). First of all, he contracted huge loans from a consortium of British, French, Russian, German and Japanese Bankers against the wishes for Sun's party. The loan gave Yuan great financial power. He replaced his opponents and put his own men in key military and civil positions in South China. These actions confirmed the suspicions of the revolutionaries. An open revolt broke out in 1913. Dr. Sun called upon his party men to throw Yuan out of power. But the revolt was suppressed and the important Kuomintang party men were forced to seek refuge in Japan.

Constitutional Compact

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

Revolt in Mongolia

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

Revolt in Tibet

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

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Yuan's Monarchical dream

Yuan was not satisfied with the president ship. He decided to become a monarch. Unmindful of these internal troubles, Yuan went ahead with his plan of setting up a new dynasty. Yuan had the support of his loyal troops and the passive acquiescence of the peasantry. The Confucian officials who were also dissatisfied with the Republican system lent support to the restoration of monarchy. The western powers saw in Yuan a strong man with whom they could negotiate and safeguard their imperialistic interest. So they too supported his claim for monarchy. With so much of support, Yuan decided to ascend the throne in 1916. By the time when Europe was engaged in the First World War, Yuan convened a Convention of district delegates at Peking. The delegates were Yuan's men chosen for the purpose of reconsidering the question of restoration of the monarchy. The delegates appealed to Yuan to become the monarch. Yuan accepted the offer.

Failure of the schemes of Yuan

Yuan tried to secure the co-operation of Japan in perpetuating himself in power. But Japan did not accept the restoration of monarchy in China. It had its own aggressive intentions. Meanwhile the law and order situation in the country was worsening. The provinces were declaring themselves independent. The revolutionaries were gaining in popularity. On May 12, 1915, the representatives of the independent provinces assembled at Canton and declared their formation of a republic. The new Republic was weak and it had no support from abroad. Yuan was in a difficult situation. The central authority had weakened. There was external danger and internal confusion. Already a number of provinces had broken away and declared themselves independent. Even the military leaders like Tuan-Chi-Jui and Feng Kuo Chang who was close to Yuan deserted him in the hour of crisis. Finding the situation beyond hope, Yuan renounced the throne. Deserted by his supporters and overcome with shame, anxiety and grief Yuan died suddenly in June 1919.

China and First World War

World War I broke out on 28 July, 1914. On 15 August, 1914, Japan issued an ultimatum to Germany to cede Jiaoshou-wan Bay to Japan and Chinese sovereignty by 15 September, 1914. Jiaoshou-wan Bay was first leased to Germany for 99 years on 6 March 1898 in the aftermath of the death of two German missionaries. One month before the ultimatum was to expire, Japan, on 23 Aug 1914, attacked the German interests in China. Twenty thousand Japanese soldiers landed at Longkou, and then attacked Qiugdao.

Yuan Shi-kai, to maintain neutrality, had to carve out an area for the two parties to fight. Though China designated the area to the east of Weixian county train station, Japanese, having declined German request for handover of leased territory to China, would go west to occupy the Jiao-Ji (Qingdao-Jinan) Railway on the pretext that the railway was a Sino-German venture.

On 6 October, Japanese took over Jinan train station, arrested German staff, and expelled Chinese staff. Reisch, i.e., American legation envoy who arrived in China in the wake of President Yuan Shi-kai's expulsion of KMT from the Parliament in 1913, 'warned Washington of Japan's menacing ambitions when the Japanese army seized the German areas of influence in China, in Shandong Province,' states Mike Billington Reisch, supportive of Yuan's government in Peking and intent on implementing Dr Sun Yat-sen's plan laid out in 'The International Development of China', had tried to circumvent pro-British and pro-Japan Morgan consortium by soliciting help from Frank Vanderlip head of National City Bank of the American International

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Corporation (AIC) in 1915 and John Abbott of the Continental and Commercial Trust and Savings Bank in Chicago.

On 8 January, 1915, Japan first raised Twenty-One Demands which were to force China into an equivalent semi-vassal status by taking advantage of European countries' entanglement in World War I. Japan intended to force China into signing a 'national defence treaty', with stipulations that Japan could migrate millions of its citizens into their spheres of influence in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia; that Japan hold exclusive control over coastal China (especially Fujian province); that Japan could lease Port Arthur for 99 years; that Japan inherit German interest in Shandong; that Japanese be appointed important posts in various levels of Chinese government; that Japan and China co-host the police bureaus in all Chinese provinces, and that Japan and China co-build the weapons manufacturing plants in cities along the Yangtze River line. GuWeijun was ordered to appeal to US and Britain (British ambassador John Newell Jordan) for assistance; however, Japanese spies followed GuWeijun's move, and demanded that GuWeijun be dismissed from the negotiation team. Tang Degang claimed that GuWeijun still managed to disclose Japan's 21 demands to Britain and US in a delicate way though he was excluded from diplomatic meetings; Gu disguised himself and slipped into the embassies in February of 1915. Tang further stated that Japan's demands were in same spirits as the memorandum of Japan's 'black dragon society' dated 29 Oct., 1914 or the later 'Secret Tanaka Memorial'.

Taking advantage of Sun Yat-sen's rebellion, Japan threatened Yuan Shi-kai with possible support for the KMT rebels. (Tang Degang pointed out that there were two 'treacherous' letters by Sun Yatsen, i.e., 11 May, 1914 letter to Japanese prime minister and 14 March, 1915 letter to foreign ministry.) Seizing the opportunity which emerged by the onset of war in 1914, and by its status as an Allied power, Japan presented China with a secret ultimatum in January 1915 designed to give Japan regional ascendancy over China. The ultimatum was backed up by the threat of war.

Japan's Twenty one Demands

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

These demands fall into five categories:

1. Those relating to Shantung

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2. Those relating to South Manchuria;
3. Those relating to Han-Yeh-Ping Company;
4. Those relating to the Chinese ports and
5. Those relating to miscellaneous demands.

These demands were handed over to Yuan Shih Kai by the Japanese Minister Kioke. Yuan had no other alternative but to accept at least some of the demands. This policy of appeasement towards aggressive Japan roused resentment among the Chinese people. There were demonstration and the boycott of Japanese goods.

May Fourth Movement

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

Causes of the Movement

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

The rich people became richer and the poor people suffered a great deal. There was corruption and misuse of authority among the officials. The peasants were crushed under heavy taxation. With the concentration of wealth and lands in the hands of a few people, the peasants moved to urban areas in search of employment.

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

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

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

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

The Course of the Movement

On the 4th May 1919, some three thousand students organised a demonstration in Peking. They went in a procession shouting for the punishment of the traitors and the boycott of Japanese goods. They demanded the withdrawal of the twenty one demands by Japan. The procession ended in violence as the students entered and looted the houses of the ministers. The students were rounded up. This sparked off rioting on a large scale. The enraged people co-operated with the students.

The labourers struck work Japanese goods were boycotted. There was a wave of violence all through the country. At this juncture the railways workers threatened to strike. This unnerved the government. The arrested students were released. The Pro-Japanese ministry resigned. The students' rebellion became the May Fourth Movement.

Nature Character and Importance of the Movement

The May Fourth Movement was the result of national indignation. The Scholars and the literary figures supplied the inspiration to the movement. They attacked Confucianism. The Old literary styles were given up and the language of the people was adopted. Chen-Tu-Hisu established the New Youth. It was in fact a cultural upsurge. The people wanted to protect their self respect and the movement focused attention on the discontent of the people against the policy of exploitation followed by the western powers and the weakness of the national government. The movement made it clear that the people were not satisfied with the traditional approach of the government. Thus the movement by nature and character was socio-political, economic and cultural movement. In the words of Li Chien Nung, "The background of May Fourth Movement was a protest against the warlords policy of selling the interests of the nation as well against the making of unequal treaties. In other words it was a prelude to anti-militarism and anti-imperialism". The movement created an awakening among the labourers and the students. It helped the reorganization of the Kuomintang Party and also gave birth to the Communist Party of China. The movement brought forth a new language and also a new vernacular literature which was within reach of the common people. The old Confucian ideas began to fade. The traditional ways and time honoured institutions began to disappear. Education began to spread among all classes of people. In short, the movement brought China out of the traditional period of the modern era. It was during this movement the working class emerged as a political force. It also marked the growth of student political power. Externally, the intensity of the movement made the Western Powers to moderate their attitude towards China. They realized the need to pacify China and the realization led to the convening of the Washington Conference.

Washington Conference

First, and most important, was the fact that all participating nations had embarked on massive programs of naval build-up during the war; none could sustain these in peace, but each needed the assurance that limitations on building would not disadvantage it in future competition. Second, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance came up for renewal or replacement in 1922. It was obvious that Britain would never join Japan in a war against the United States, and therefore, some new structure of security was required to replace it. And finally the turbulent state of Chinese politics made it incumbent on the powers to agree on cooperative steps in

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dealing with the floundering Chinese republic. Military equipment, so recently plentiful in Europe was now flooding into Asia.

There was thus every reason to convene a conference to address these problems. Ozaki Yukio, a confirmed political maverick, had returned from a post-war trip to Europe convinced that security could not be maintained without a cooperative agreement for arms retrenchment. A motion he filed in the House of Representatives was defeated by a crushing vote, but he then took the issue to the people by traversing the country to address large audiences about disarmament. In a crude public opinion poll he distributed postcards at all his meetings, and of the 31,519 that were returned to him, 92 per cent favoured his proposals. Clearly many Japanese were in favour of international cooperation.

At the Washington Conference, Japan was represented by Ambassador to the United States Shidehara Kijuro, Tokugawa Iesato, and Admiral Kato Tomosaburo. The conference produced a network of interrelated agreements that can be described as the 'Washington Conference system'; it set the parameters of Pacific policy and security for the rest of the decade. The famous Tanaka Memorial was a document submitted to the Japanese emperor in 1927 by Baron Tanaka, the premier of Japan. This document outlined in detailed steps a program of Japanese imperialist expansion, beginning with establishment of Japanese control in Manchuria and leading eventually to domination of all China, Indonesia, the South Sea Islands, the Maritime Provinces of USSR and, eventually, India and the whole Pacific basin.

UNIT - V
RISE OF KUOMINTANG PARTY

Rise of Kuomintang Party

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

CAUSES FOR THE RISE OF NATIONLIST PARTY

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

Alliance with Soviet Russia

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

Reorganisation of Kuomintang

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

The First Congress of 1924

The first Congress of the Kuomintang was held in 1924. Sun YatSen's three principles of the people were accepted as the political doctrines of the party. In the manifesto which gave the programme of the party, the Kuomintang committed itself to three policies:

1. Alliance with the Soviet Union.

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2. Alliance with the Chinese Communist Party.
3. Support of workers and peasants. It appealed to the peasant –farmers and urban workers, students and overseas Chinese to strengthen the revolutionary cause.

As for foreign policy, the Congress demanded the abolition of the territorial concessions and extra territoriality enjoyed by the Treaty Powers. The Party also established the Whampoa Military Academy under the Moscow-trained General Chiang Kai Shek.

Draft Constitution

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

Split in the Party

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

Chiang Kai Sheik

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

Unification of China

On his return from the Soviet Union, Chiang Kai shek was made the head of the Whampoa Military Academy which trained the officers of the Kuomintang army. After the death of Sun, he became the Commander-in-Chief of the Kuomintang army. He was a moderate, not committed to extremes, and managed by skilful political manipulations to gain ascendancy in the party. By 1925, he brought Kwangtung and Kwangsi provinces under the control of the Kuomintang. In 1926, Chiang gained striking victories against the warlords of the Yangtze valley. These victories were made possible by the high training and fighting qualities of the nationalist army. The unification of the country by Ching was accomplished in two stages. In the first stage, the nationalist army captured Hankow to which the nationalists" capital was transferred from Canton. In the second stage, the nationalist army entered Peking in June 1928.

Growth of the Communist Influence

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

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Chiang's Victory in the struggle for Supremacy

The final split came in 1927. The left wing of the Kuomintang and the communists pushed their Chinese Nationalist Revolution to the verge of an explosive social revolution. The intensive propaganda mounted by the communists resulted in widespread strikes and riots. They even sought to remove Chiang from power. But Chiang had the backing of the financial magnates of Shanghai. In the meantime, the left wing leader Wang and the communists had a quarrel. Wang, who came to know that the communists were striving to take over the Kuomintang Started eliminating them from Wahan. Wang Joined hands with Chiang and Chiang emerged as the leader of the Kuomintang in January 1928. In June 1928, Chiang devoted himself to the completion of the northward expedition. The nationalist army under Chiang captured Peking. The leader of the Peking regime, Chang Tso Lin fled and was subsequently killed by a mysterious bomb explosion. After his death, his son who still controlled the three eastern provinces made a compromise and accepted the Kuomintang flag. Thus, China was united under the military rule of Chiang Kai Shek. Nanking was made the capital of China

Formation of Communist Party

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

Early History

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

Period of Comintern domination (1921-27)

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

Second Sino – Japanese war

Following Japan's conquest of Manchuria in 1931, politics carried both China and Japan ever closer to a broader conflict. The Chinese nationalism, often unorganized and incoherent, even leaderless had become vehement against foreign encroachment. In Japan also the militarist, flushed with success influenced the politicians to find solutions of their problem by armed force. The result was the renewal of Sino-Japanese hostilities on a grand scale and the final merger of

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this conflict with the world conflagration when Japan attacked Pearl Harbour in 1941. Actually it was an undeclared war“ called lightly by Japanese as Affair or Incident.

The causes of the war

1. The weakness and the internal strife of China induced Japan to make further encroachment in Chinese soil.
2. The attitude of Chiang Kai-shek was also favourable to the Japanese. He considered Japanese aggression was a mound on the skin while the communist menace was a disease in the heart. So he signed the Truce of Tongku with the Japanese. This was an indirect recognition of Japanese occupation of Manchuria.
3. Japan was also emboldened by her successful aggression upon Manchuria. The Japanese militarist party, flushed with this success, induced the politicians to commit further aggression upon China. The Lack of powerful international sanction also encouraged them.
4. Japanese link with the Axis Powers of Europe infused an aggressive mentality. Moreover as the signatory of the Anti comintern party, he was bound to fight against the spread of communism.
5. The growing anti-Japanese sentiment also worried the Japanese government. Red Army’s propaganda and its guerilla activities irritated them. Finally the formation of National United Front against Japan alarmed her and decided to destroy it before it became too powerful.
6. Some of the provocative activities on the part of China were also responsible for the outbreak of hostilities. A Japanese druggist was killed in Kuangtung Province. A consular police man was killed at Hankow. Bombs were discovered in a Japanese consulate. Japanese sailors were shot dead at Shanghai by a Chinese in the international settlement.
7. The immediate cause – Lu Kou-Chiao incident: The young Japanese officer of Kuangtung Army manufactured an incident at Lu-Kow-Chiao (Marcopolo Bridge) about ten miles west of Peking on July 1937 precipitating a clash with the Chinese garrison. Invoking the Boxer Protocol of 1901, which permitted foreign signatories to station troops between Peking and the Sea, the Japanese garrison in North China in early July 1937 held a field exercise outside Peking, near the Marcopolo Bridge. On the pretext that a soldier was missing., the Japanese demanded to enter the nearby city to conduct a search when refused by local Chinese garrison, the Japanese army bombarded the city, thus precipitating an undeclared war between the two countries

THE COURSE OF THE WAR (1937-1941)

1. The initial stage

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

2. Second Front in Shanghai

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

3. Capture of Nanking (December 1937)

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

4. Occupation of North China

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

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

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

6. From the fall of Wuhan to Pearl Harbour attack

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

7. Forming of Puppet Government

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

8. New order in East Asia

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

China and Second World War

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

Although, Britain and America assured China of immediate help they were not in a position to do that. According to their war strategy, the European theatre of war was given first and foremost preference. Their fullest attention and efforts were turned towards that front. Of course, they realized the critical position of China, which was in the grip of Japanese onslaught. But their position was in such condition that they were able to do only service.

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

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

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

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

Joseph Stilwell, a former American language officer in Peking, was sent to Chungking as Chiang's Chief of Staff.

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

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

In the Cairo Conference of 1943, Chiang Kai-shek, with President Roosevelt and the British Premier Churchill, discussed the strategy of war in the Far East. The Cairo

Declaration demanded for the first time the unconditional surrender of Japan, and complete restoration of territories lost to Japan since 1894.

The Potsdam Declaration of July 1945, demanded Japan's unconditional surrender of prompt and utter destruction when the Japanese Government ignored the warning, the first atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima on August 6. Two days later the Soviet Union entered the war. On August 9, the second atomic bomb fell on Nagasaki on August 14, the Japanese Emperor declared the unconditional surrender of Japan. The instrument of surrender was signed on board the U.S.S. Missouri in Tokyo Bay. After eight years of fighting, China had emerged victorious. Chiang's prestige rose high, for he had led the country through the darkest days of war to ultimate victory. China's international position was also improved very much. It was China who had fought the longest fight from 1937 to 1945 against aggression and totalitarianism. China was given big power status in the UNO.

The effects of the War

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

The nationalist government, which bore the major burden of fighting, was so depleted physically and spiritually that it was manifestly incapable of coping with the new challenges of the post-war era.

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

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

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

Mao Tsetung

In August 1927, the Communists staged an army uprising followed by a peasant uprising in Hunan under the leadership of Mao Tse Tung. These uprisings, however, failed. Mao Tse Tung retreated to Kiangshi and established a Chinese Soviet there. With the aid of Chu The, the nucleus of the Chinese Red Army was also formed at Kiangshi. From this difficult terrain Mao defied the assault made by the much superior Kuomintang forces until he was compelled to move from Kiangshi to Shensi in 1934. Mao Tse Tung and some 20,000 of his followers fought and marched along around – about route covering six thousand miles. This event has become the famous “Long March” Mao Tse Tung shifted the headquarters of the CCP to Shensi in 1935. By 1934, Mao had become the undisputed leader of the Chinese Communist Party.

The New Democracy

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

The Japanese Aggression

The Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 created a strong anti-Japanese feeling in China. Taking advantage of the national mood, the CCP declared war on the Japanese in February 1932. The communist organized anti-Japanese mass meetings and roused popular hatred to a fever pitch. Mao raised the slogan, “Chinese unity against the Japanese”. To resist Japan, the communists offered to co-operate with the Kuomintang.

The Long March

In 1934, the Kuomintang attacked the Kiangsi strong hold of the communists in an all out effort to annihilate Chinese communism. The Communists were defeated and forced to retreat. This was the beginning of the “Long March”. After breaking through encircling Kuomintang

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

Establishment of Peoples Republic of China

After the Victory over the Kuomintang, the communists proclaimed the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949. The new government was essentially a communist dictatorship.

The new government was based on three documents:

- i. the organic Law of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC)
- ii. the organic Law of the Central People's Government
- iii. The Common Programme of the CPPCC

These documents were replaced by a constitution adopted in September 1954. The internal policies of the new communist regime were marked by caution. Efforts were directed to consolidate the communist victory and authority of the People's Republic. There were no immediate expropriations. Only surplus lands, houses and agricultural implements were confiscated. Small farmers and proprietors were not affected. In industry, properties of the former government alone were socialized. There were rent reductions, redistribution of land and other ameliorative measures. Thus, the masses were won over. At the same time, the traders and the more prosperous peasants were not driven to panic.

Land Reforms

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

Agrarian Reforms and collectivization

The new government addressed itself to the most important task of making China self-sufficient in food. It proceeded cautiously with collectivisation of land, gaining from the experience of the Soviet Union in the 30's. The land programme was divided into three stages: the mutual aid period, producers co-operative and the collectivisation itself. In the first stage, the peasants retained control over their production, consumption and sale, with only a temporary pooling of labour. In the next stage, the tools and labour were pooled with joint cultivation and planning of the production. The peasants had the right at least in theory to withdraw. In the last stage, the peasants lost their right of ownership and the theoretical right of withdrawing at will. By active propaganda, the communists tried to develop a high degree of cooperation preparing the way for the radical measures that were to come.

Economic development

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

The Commune

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

Industrialisation and the State

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

Cultural Revolution

In 1957, Mao raised the slogan, "Let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contended". Mao declared, "Thought, culture, customs must be born of struggle, and the struggle must continue as long as there is a danger of return to the past." Following this pronouncement, there was much criticism of the communist system in 1958, a great revolutionary rebellion was launched against old ideas, old culture, customs and habits. The Cultural Revolution thus got under way. Mao utilized the upsurge to remove from power revisionists, opportunists and other detractors. The Central Committee of the CCP laid the dictum Trust, the masses rely on them and respect their initiative; cast out fear; do not be afraid of disorder. Mao was the found of inspiration behind Cultural Revolution. The student Red Guards went on a rampage, shouting slogans and demanding to turn the old world upside down. A number of Mao's long-time comrades lost their positions. Vice Chairman Liu Shao Chi was demoted and Peng Chen disappeared from the political scene. The Cultural Revolution escalated into full-blown Red Guard rebellion and re-established the authority of Mao on a firmer basis. It was claimed that the great revolutionary waves wash away all the filth of bourgeoisie trends in art and literature and open up a new epoch of socialist proletarian art and literature. The old-world scholar tyrants who had ridiculed Maos conception of China leap forward were stripped and expose.