

TEACHING MATERIAL ON



Dr. Ramjee Singh

School of Arts & Humanities

YBN University, Ranchi, Jharkhand-834010

Subject: HISTORY OF CHINA AND JAPAN 1840-1949

Credits: 4

SYLLABUS

Society, Economy and Polity

Land and People (East Asia), Society and Polity: China, Society and Polity: Japan, Religion and Culture: China and Japan, Traditional Economy: China and Japan

Western Imperialism

The Opium Wars in China, The Unequal Treaty System in China, Japan and the West (Up to the Meiji Restoration)

Japan: Transition to Modernization

Decline of Feudalism and the Meiji Restoration, Modernization in Japan-1, Modernization in Japan-2, Modernization in Japan-3

Rebellions, Reforms and Revolution

Taiping Uprising, Boxer Rebellion, Self Strengthening Movement and Hundred Days Reforms, Political Reforms in Japan, The Chinese Revolution of 1911

Foreign Relations

Meiji Japan -1, Meiji Japan – II, Japan and World War -1, China and World War -1

Post World War-I-Japan

Rise of Political Parties, Rise of Militarism, Japanese Imperialism upto Second World War, Post World War-I Economy, Japan After World War-II

Post-Revolutionary China, 1911-21

Post-Revolutionary Developments, 1911-19, Cultural Movement, Foreign Investment and Rise of the New Class, Rise of Nationalism

Communist Movement in china 1921-49

Formation of the Communist Party of China (CPC), United Front, Kiangsi Soviet Experience, CPC and the War with Japan, The Chinese Revolution

Suggested Readings

1. Patricia Buckley Ebrey, Kwang-ching Liu, The Cambridge Illustrated History of China, Cambridge University Press
2. Jonathan Fenby, The Penguin History Of Modern China: The Fall And Rise Of A Great Power, 1850, Allen Lane
3. Andrew Gordon, The Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa Times to the Present, Oxford University Press

4. Kenneth G. Henshall, *A History of Japan: From Stone Age to Superpower*, Palgrave Macmillan

CHAPTER 1

Society, Economy and Polity

STRUCTURE

- Learning objectives
- Land and people (east Asia)
- Society and polity: China
- Society and polity: Japan
- Religion and culture: China and Japan
- Traditional economy: China and Japan
- Review questions

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this chapter, you should be able to:

- Know about the geographical location of South-east Asia.
- Know about the basic character of traditional Chinese society and its main social divisions.
- Know about the basic structure of pre-modern Japan and its main social divisions.
- Understand the major religions and religious ideas during the classical period in China and Japan,
- Know about the components of traditional Chinese economy.
- Know about the process of economic development in traditional Japan,

LAND AND PEOPLE (EAST ASIA)

East Asia: In the Context of Legroom and Time

East Asia as an area may be defined in conditions of sub-continental proportions. It belongs to a culture of general origin. This cultural aspect becomes a binding force in the area which displays a unique combination in its social history, character, and thinking. When East Asia is visualized from the

point of view of being a sub-continent, countries like China and Japan become the focus of revise because of the dominant role played through them. Though, this does not mean that Korea or other countries had no role to play.

To understand East Asia in totality we necessity take into explanation its temporal and spatial development. This exercise will help us in answering the question whether this area has a culture of its own or is influenced from outside.

One can distinguish a number of phases in the development of civilizations. Many ancient river valley civilizations appeared independently in several regions and recognized a well-defined culture. Slowly humans witnessed the growth of an ethos, a culture, and a social order which confirmed to a unique cultural mould. This culture gave expression to their civilized identity. Throughout the first thousand years of the present era these centers of an advanced civilization extended their culture to what we call today South China, Korea, and Japan. We also discover that the culture of the Indo-Gangetic area spread through two routes in East Asia:

- Through Central Asia to China and then to Korea and Japan, and
- Through sea routes to other countries of South-East Asia and countries like China and Japan.

Through these growths the people were able to socially conceive their identity and describe their connection in the world as a whole. Geographical and cultural' boundaries also served to divide and accentuate differences.

Situating East Asia in the Broader Local Context

The eastern area of Asia extends from the Bering Straits on the Arctic Circle to as distant southwards as the Malayan Archipelago. It is quite hard to demonstrate any scrupulous geographical unity for this area which is of continental proportions. The area can be defined into three broad categories:

- Eastern Peninsular region,
- The area of the south-east, and
- A central mainland area.

In the first of these, mountain ranges flanking the coast extend southwards from the Bering Strait as distant as the South-west corner of the sea of Okhotsk. These ranges serve to restrict access to the land behind them and confine maritime power to a narrow coastal strip. There are no extensive stretches of low land country and approximately every natural feature of the area imposes severe hardships on the people. The winter is extensive and the weather harsh. The rising season is short and in winter the ground freezes to a considerable depth. All these natural characteristics of this area provide it a distinctive identity of its own.

East Asia in a broader local context comprises South-east Asia as well. Keeping in view the geographical linkages, linguistic connections, and cultural values the area emerges as a greater part of the Asian continent. In racial conditions East Asia becomes the habitat of Mongoloid humans and in the cultural sphere it belongs to a civilization which is rooted in that of ancient China. The race, color, religion, and civilization allow this East Asian area to expand its power to the outside world especially in the context of South-east Asia and Central Asia. Therefore, in this area dealings of kinship and affinity were recognized in a broader local context.

Specificity of the Area

The central area of East Asia has an entirely dissimilar structural character from the lands that lie to north and south. It consists of a vast expanse bounded through the coast stretching inland for some 1750 km and adjoining Central Asia beside its full length. To the north and highlands from the Great Khingan as distant as the Taihang Shan and presently north of the Hwang-Ho spot off the coastal region from northern Central Asia. The mountain ranges of the Tibetan border form its boundary with the high country of Central Asia to the South. Geographically recent upheavals beside the continental margin separate the northern region from the Sea of Japan to the east. The central mainland area is the only one in which big river systems have urbanized such as the Amur, the Hwang-Ho, and the Yangtze. These river valleys extend distant back through this outer area into Central Asia.

In more specific conditions, East Asia as an area comprises the eastern edges of Asia and several adjacent regions like Eastern Siberia, China, the Mongolian People's Republic, North and South Korea and Japan. It may also contain South-east Asia, the Philippines, Indonesia, the Malay Peninsula, and the Indian Sub-continent. Though, here we are taking into explanation mainly countries like China and Japan.

Land and Environment

Though this outer area of East Asia extends in excess of thirty-five degrees of latitude from north, north-east to south-south-west, on the whole it symbolizes a morphological Unit. The valleys of the Amur and Hwang-Ho provide access through the northern part of the Central Asian marginal scrap and there are passes from west to east in excess of the high country of Jehol. But the lofty continental plateau of Tibet is a very hard country to traverse as one has to skirt it either through following the Hwang-Ho or through crossing the plateau to the south of the numerous river gorges.

As the east-west structural rows are less demarcated than the succession of rising stages aligned north-south, it is often more easy to pass from north to south of this area than from east to west. For instance, the river Duzgari flows out northwards from Central Manchuria to the low-lying reaches of the Amur while at Shahhaikwan there is an opening southwards to the north China plain which merges to the South-east with the plain of the Yangtze while further West, there are methods on either face of the Hwaiyang and Taipieh Shan that lead to the Tung Ting and Poyang basins. In a few regions of great East-West river systems and natural north-south routes, communication has become relatively easier. In the middle of these regions, the area where Hwang-Ho flows out into the north China plain and the lowland Yangtze plain are the mainly urbanized in conditions of communication. Morphologically, this outer land mass of Central-east Asia possesses vital characteristics of both the margin and the interior of the continent. The interaction flanked by centre and margin is typically featured of the East Asia.

Geographically, Japan remained relatively in accessible in the area. Japan has a temperate climate conditioned through continent wind and climatic patterns. The Japanese islands stretch in an arc which causes the cool and temperate areas in the North of Hokkaido to the semi-tropical climate of the southern Ryukyu Islands. A warm current, flowing up the east and west coast reduces the effect of the Asian continental system but snowfalls are severe on Hokkaido and the western face of Honshu. Almost seventy-five per cent of the four main islands of Hokkaido, Honshu, Shikoku, and Kyushu are mountainous. Finally, Japan lies on the path of typhoons and a deep submarine trench off the eastern coast which is the cause of numerous earthquakes. There exist hundreds of volcanoes and historically Mount Fuji being the mainly active.

In this mountainous country there are few big plains. The major is recognized as the Kanto plain approximately today's Tokyo. The plain approximately the municipality of Osaka is recognized as the Kansai plain. The rivers are short and fast and flooding has been a traditional problem. Mainly of the cultivable lands in Japan are made up of narrow river valleys and alluvial coastal plains. These are separated from one another through hills and hence communication on land becomes hard. The country to a big extent is full of vegetation and forests.

Environment in any given legroom plays an important role in the construction of a social system. Environment, as one single compact unit, cannot be studied in separation. It necessity be borne in mind that to revise the environment one necessity take into explanation circumstances like climate, hydrography, soil condition and culture. For instance, climate is very significant because the topographical characteristics help to make the climate and to determine its importance for the country.

Every winter, and with predictable regularity, masses of cold air from the high pressure centre in Siberia sweep violently, south and south-eastwards, spreading in excess of the whole outer area and, with less intensity, in excess of passes on to the south. Mainly of the cold waves enter from the north-west.

Cold air does extend south of the range, but it is much milder and gentler. The soil is predominantly red.

Climate contributes mainly to East Asia's cultural distinctiveness. The climate of East Asia, like that of India, is determined mainly through the great land mass of Asia. In winter the air in excess of Central Asia, distant removed from the power of warm water currents, becomes very cold, and flows outward bringing cool, arid weather to the southern and eastern fringes of the continent. In summer the reverse takes lay. The air in excess of Central Asia warms up and rises, moist oceanic air rushes into take its lay and drops a heavy load of water on the continental fringes. This abundant supply combined with the hot sunshine customary at these latitudes, distant to the south of Europe, permits rigorous farming and in several spaces two crops per year.

This distinctive climate gave East Asia an agricultural pattern quite dissimilar from that of the European area. Rice and Soyabean are the primary crops of East Asia. Chicken and water buffalo are the principal animals of this area. In major agricultural projects in East Asia domesticated animals play a minor role compared with the work done through manpower. The chief cereal in China and Japan is rice. Though, in Japan fish is a significant food thing.

People and Ecology

The origin of the races of mankind is still a strange story. One of the precursors of Homo sapiens or modern man in East Asia is Sinanthropus; Perinensizarf Peking Man. Skeletal remnants of seven of these persons were exposed in 1927 in a cave in relation to the thirty miles south-west of Peking. Sinanthropus, who may have existed approximately 4000 B.C. had sure characteristics, notably shovel-shaped incisor teeth, those are more feature of Mongoloid-man than of the other contemporary races. He made apparatus, hunted game, used fire, and was almost certainly a cannibal.

When the curtain rises on the first act of recorded history in East Asia, we discover the Mongoloids already in a solid block covering approximately the whole region (including Japan). The range of skin color in the middle of Mongoloids from the very light in the North to dark brown in southern

regions, such as Indonesia, is clearly a product of environment, as it is in the case of the so described white race. The other distinctive characteristics of Mongoloids are straight black hair, relatively flat faces, and dark eyes. Archaeology suggests the spread of the Mongoloids from the north and Central parts of East Asia southward and outward to the offshore islands.

As you are already aware, ecology as a science deals with the people and people's dealings with the environment. In the whole area of East Asia this environment has luxuriant vegetation. As the environment depends on the temperature and atmosphere, so, it becomes necessary to consider these issues. Separate zones of natural vegetation reflect the marked local variation in the pattern of temperature and rainfall throughout the year. As one goes south, gradations in maximum temperature and in rainfall and soil condition provide rise to a further succession of great expanses where the natural vegetation was of a very uniform character. These adjoin a natural area of the greatest significance in the cultural history of the country — the grass and wood steppe land of the Loess hills and the North China plain, where, even these days only the occasional attendance of trees and shrubs spot the attendance of underground water.

In the Pleistocene era of Peking man, throughout a succession of colder and warmer epochs, the intensified high pressure region of cold air in Siberia and Central Asia both lowered temperatures and lengthened the drought era in winter. At several latitudes and altitudes, these climatic changes have had a marked effect on plant life and some new shapes have originated. These contain sure diversities of millet including general millet (*Panicum miliacum*) and Indian millet (*Setaria italica*) and also Himalayan barley (*Hordeum Vulgare nudum*) and Potato Oat (*Avena Nuda*). Other plants extensive recognized in East Asia are the Soyabean, Chinese sugarcane, mulberry, the oil bearing seeds, and lacquer trees.

The important human divisions within East Asia are primarily linguistic rather than racial. The main linguistic division in East Asia is the Sinic (Sino-Tibetan) family. It is a family of languages which can be compared to the great Indo-European family that spreads in excess of mainly of Europe. The Sinic family of language occupied a vital lay in the centre of

East Asia, covering all of China proper, Tibet, Thai, Laos, Burma, and Vietnam. Within the Sinic group, Chinese explanation for the main linguistic subdivision. They have migrated to other parts and have assimilated culturally and linguistically with allied groups. Another great linguistic family of East Asia is the Austronesian, which comprises the languages of Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, and the tongues of the aborigines of Taiwan.

Habits, Society and Culture

The people of East Asia, as a society, have their own habits. They have a unique approach of tasteful furnishings which are easily recognizable. They adopted cultivated customs and their eating habits led them to use chopstick and porcelain or lacquer-work dishes. They also urbanized painting and literature. But there is another factor which has perhaps united the Chinese more than any other society and this is the system of writing for it creates mutual understanding possible, despite differences of language and dialects. On the other hand we, discover that the Japanese language is poly-syllabic and similar to that of Korea.

The centre of life has been the family. It was rigidly patriarchal, but still it gives security to each and every person of the society. Taken as a unit, the family is still individualistic. Within it there still exists hierarchy to which each member necessity conforms. They practice ancestor-worship and veneration of elderly people. The family system was also authoritarian in nature. This scrupulous authoritarian pattern provided a foundation for the social order in political as well as in domestic life. For instance in China, the role of the emperor and his officials was seen as similar to that of a father in a family. A district magistrate was described the —Father and Mother^l of the people.

Both China and Japan have had their distinctive economic, social, political, and cultural growths.

East Asia and its Neighborhood

The East Asian area has had historical get in touch with other areas through the silk route crossways the Asian land mass and crossways the maritime silk route which went through the Indian Ocean. Both were, historically, extensive and hard journeys. Within the area Chinese civilization and culture has pared crossways to neighboring regions; through Korea into Japan; and South into the Indo-Chinese peninsula and Indonesia. In this method cultural similarities in the neighboring areas of East Asia were created.

The Loess lands of Shansi, Shensi, and Hunan form the part of the oldest area of Chinese resolution and culture. It was on the eastern outskirts of this area that the first municipalities and states of East Asia were founded in very early times and for an extensive time it represented the feature of a Chinese united state. Its ancient capitals, Changah and Loyang, were also situated here. It was the meeting lay of cultural powers from western, southern, and south-eastern Asia and the centre from which the Chinese, their customs and their culture spread into neighboring regions.

China comes into get in touch with the South-east Asian area close to Thailand. The Thai area extends from south-west, south and south-west Yunnan to Kweichow, and a well-defined border cuts crossways it dividing the area of Chinese culture from that of South-east Asia. It is the meeting point of the two kinds of Buddhism—Mahayana, which came through method of continental Asia and Central China, and Hinayana, which penetrated eastwards from India and south of the Himalayas through both land and sea. Even the Indo-Chinese area of Indo-Pacific peninsula runs out from the continental mass of the Asian continent flanked by the Gulf of Bengal and Gulf of Tongking. It symbolizes a morphological unit extending from the mountains of Burma on the western border to the Pacific coast beyond Annam, and from the southern end of the deep valleys of the great northern rivers as distant south as Singapore. The whole South-east Asian Peninsula with its mountains and river stretches has a southerly trend; and rivers also run in that direction, and the fertile deltaic plains, with their big towns, all lie on its southern fringes. Geographically, the deltaic plain of Tongking quite

clearly leads on towards continental East Asia. All these areas bounded East Asia.

With the march of time East Asia started breaking up and some of its regions became part of the neighboring states and area. The regions bordering on Central Asia had extensive cultural contacts with lands to the west and south. These boundary regions are only now being thoroughly sanitized. Until the present they have belonged in wearying degrees to East Asia, but only in a political sense, not culturally.

The economic connection flanked by East Asia and its neighboring states has seen a procedure of growth and development. Attempts have been made to strengthen the local economies and these acts as a symbiotic connection flanked by the two, each feeding the other for its own sustenance.

China is the central focus of East Asian Civilization in its totality. Because of its geographical location, in former days the middle kingdom had always stood at the centre of smaller and weaker states, whose dependence was accentuated through the regular payment of tribute money. This connection, of course, did not involve any imperialistic tendencies and persisted until it was destroyed in the later half of the 19th century through the Europeans and the USA. Japan, on the other hand, had remained inaccessible. It was only much later that the Chinese power reached Japan. It was only in the later half of the 19th century that Japan asserted its power and played a dominant political role in the area.

The East Asian socio-cultural milieu played a crucial role in the growth of intimate connection with the neighboring regions. It was mainly a Chinese feature that helped set up a firm connection with the other countries.

SOCIETY AND POLITY: CHINA

An Urbanized Agrarian Society

China has always been predominantly an agrarian society. The bulk of her population existed in the villages, and agriculture was their principal source of livelihood. The vital division in the society was flanked by the big

majority of laboring peasants on the one hand, and the landlords on the other. The landlords did not till the land themselves but existed off the income from their lands which were tilled through the peasants. Though, this does not mean that China was an easy agrarian society. From the very early stages China had an intricate and urbanized social order. For instance as early as the first millennium BC, we see the construction of formidable border fortifications, trunk roads, vast dams and irrigation networks, etc. There were sure vital factors that had contributed in the development of a strong state organization from very early times. The Chinese civilization had urbanized through the ages under circumstances that had compelled the people to undertake communal political and economic action on a big-level. For instance there was always the need to defend themselves from the incursions of their itinerant neighbors as well as the need to contain the ravages of floods, or to ensure adequate irrigation, etc.

The enormous growth of commercial farming and inter-local trade, particularly from the 10th c. AD, also profoundly affected the character of the Chinese society and state. The ruling class thereafter was no longer a class that derived its wealth solely from the land, but also from commerce. The development of the money economy, the growth of lively urban centers, the spread of literacy (although mainly in the middle of the upper class), the increased inter-local as well as overseas migration, etc., all combined to create the China of the later imperial era a distant cry from that of the beginning of our epoch. Until the Industrial Revolution in Europe, China was in the middle of the mainly advanced civilizations in the world.

The Gentry

Of the three main social classes in traditional China, the dominant class was what has been described —the gentry|. The gentry were the class of landlords who did not themselves till their lands. They derived their wealth mainly, though not entirely, from the rents (often as substantial as 1/2 of the value of the crop) paid to them through the peasants who worked on their

lands. But to describe this class basically as a landowning class would be inaccurate. This is because in excess of the years members of the gentry had taken up several pursuits in diverse meadows. They were also distinguished through their educational attainments, social prestige, and a lifestyle that set them clearly separately from the general people. The sons of these gentry families through and big underwent a procedure of rigorous education in Confucian scholarship. Their success was measured through the scholarly degrees that they earned in several stages of state-sponsored examinations. The top stratum of the successful candidates in the exams were appointed' as officials under the imperial government. This was measured as the highest attainment possible in traditional Chinese society. Having one or more of their members holding high public office was in turn one of the main methods in which the gentry's families protected and expanded their landed estates and other sources of wealth, and enhanced their social status.

Whether they were actually serving in the imperial government or livelihood on their rural estates the members of the gentry had significant social and political functions. The non-serving gentry's members were a type of local elite at the district stage, whose cooperation was absolutely essential for the stability and effectiveness of the imperial government.

For instance they:

- Participated in the construction and maintenance of charitable and public works,
- Informally adjudicated disputes in the middle of the local population and served as intermediaries flanked by the local people and the management,
- Organized militia and other shapes of self-defense associations to police their regions, and
- Maintained order in times of trouble.

In common, their sphere of operations and their responsibilities increased whenever there was a decline in the strength and effectiveness of the

imperial government. This was seen mainly clearly in the last years of the imperial system in the late 19th and early 20th century.

The extra ordinary thing is that while emperors and ruling dynasties rose and fell the subsistence of the gentry's class, as well as its willingness to adjust to dissimilar rulers, showed amazing stability. For instance the real resilience of this class was seen in the early 20th century. This was an era when imperialism and the growth of modern industry and commerce had made deep inroads into the traditional agrarian economy. Moreover:

- The abolition of the examination system in 1905 knocked off one of the gentry's main avenues to advancement, and
- The 1911 Revolution brought down the whole edifice of imperial rule with which they were intimately associated.

Yet the gentry as a class did not disappear at once, but sustained to adapt and survive although in a distorted form. The overall stability and resilience of the traditional, social, and political system was integrally connected with the character and functions of this class.

The Peasantry

Through distant the mainly numerous class of Chinese society was the peasantry. The condition of the peasants undoubtedly varied from area to area and from one era of time to another. But through and big, they were ostensibly exploited and poor. After the great waves of migration that filled up the central and southern areas of China from the 3rd to the 6th centuries AD, the amount of accessible land did not augment significantly. This led to rising pressure of the population on the land. In theory, the peasantry in China was not serfs, but in reality, their condition was not much better than that of serfs. Poverty and insecurity compelled the bulk of them to become tenants paying half of their crop to the big landlords as rent. The peasantry was caught flanked by the extortionate demands of the landlords on the one hand, and the obligation to pay up heavy taxes (including forced labour service) to the state. So oppressive was the burden of taxation that several peasants used to flee their

villages, forsake their status as self-governing cultivators, and become virtual retainers of powerful landlords who could protect them from the exactions of the state officials.

Recurring floods, droughts and other natural calamities added to the miseries of the peasants. These calamities were more frequent and their consequences were harsher in times when the imperial government was weak and it could not uphold the dams, dykes and other public works necessary for normal agricultural action. When the central power was weak there was no check on the exactions imposed on the peasants through rapacious local officials or gentry members. It was precisely in such periods in Chinese history that we see the proliferation of secret civilizations and the rising incidence of banditry. Through and big, the phenomena of secret civilizations, banditry, and other symptoms of lawlessness were an outgrowth of acute discontent and destitution in the middle of the peasantry and other poor sections of rural society. To cope with their rising hardship, peasants often banded jointly in associations which had to be secret because they were ruthlessly hounded through the state. This was particularly true of those peasants who, because of economic and political compulsions, had been forced to leave the security of their original houses and families and become migrants in search of a livelihood. It was quite natural that when times were hard; these civilizations would turn to some form of banditry, usually preying on the local rich.

In times of real mass dissatisfaction and frustration in the middle of the peasantry, though, these secret civilizations often became the nuclei of peasant revolts, and even big-level rebellions, directed against the officialdom or against the ruling dynasty it. Time and again, vast peasant armies were shaped which ransacked the local or provincial seats of government or tried to march on the capital itself. When they succeeded in storming the imperial headquarters, as happened many times in the history of China, it invariably meant the collapse of the ruling dynasty. In this method the peasantry, otherwise the mainly oppressed and downtrodden class sometimes played a crucial role in political affairs through catapulting a new ruling home onto the throne of China.

The Merchants

In the Confucian scheme of things, merchants were at the bottom rung of the social ladder, lower even than the peasants. This was because commerce, unlike agriculture, was not measured a primary form of economic action. But this formally low status was in practice, no bar to merchant families thriving and improving their social status. Several merchants supervised to amass vast wealth. The better off merchants invariably sought to raise their social standing either through marrying into prestigious gentry's families or else through securing official positions for their sons. Separately from the normal examination route to officialdom, the possibility of directly buying official titles and positions ensured that a good number of merchant families had at least one member with official standing. It was also a general practice for wealthy merchants to invest some of their profits in buying land. This they did more for the sake of Prestige rather than of economic value. All this ensured that there were fairly secure links flanked by the top stratum of the merchant class and the gentry and officialdom. Particularly, with the rapid development of commerce in the later imperial era the rising involvement of gentry's members with some form of commercial action, the gap flanked by these classes was much narrower than it was formally made out to be.

State supervision and manage of commerce, though, prevented the development of the self-governing economic and political action of the merchant class. In China, the state understood the potential of commercial action as a source of revenue and sought to stay it under its tight manage. Separately from taxing commercial action, the state also started establishing lucrative monopolies of sure essential commodities like salt and iron as early as the 2nd century B.C. Through and big a, characteristic of the Chinese merchant class is that it did not challenge this state regulation and state manage of commerce.

On the contrary, the mainly prominent merchants were content to collaborate and to act as some type of state mediators in business. The merchant guilds and associations served primarily as mutual-aid civilizations, and never became centers of thrash about and of self-governing economic and political power, as they did in Europe.

The Confucian State

Now we shall turn to the subject of China's traditional political system. It would be appropriate to begin through noting that the state in traditional China was in crucial compliments unlike any other state in the pre-contemporary world. In what method can the traditional Chinese state be measured unique?

In theory, the boundaries of what constituted China, or —Zhongguo (literally translated as the —Middle kingdom), were never clearly delineated.

In the Confucian scheme of things, the Emperor was measured to be the ruler of —all under Heaven (Tian-xia). His realm was seen to contain not presently those provinces which came under the direct rule of the imperial management, it was also whispered to contain those regions which merely acknowledged the suzerainty of the Chinese Emperor but which ruled themselves in virtually every other respect. In some of these outlying regions, such as Tibet or Mongolia under the Ch'ing dynasty, the imperial attendance was physically represented through a garrison or through an official recognized as a Resident. But in other regions, even this did not exist, and the over lordship of the Emperor was little more than a fiction cautiously maintained through the Chinese and not openly challenged through the ruling circles in those regions.

A consequence of this was the blurring of the distinction flanked by what constituted the foreign affairs and what constituted the domestic concerns of the Chinese Empire. Normal diplomatic and commercial dealings with non-Chinese people and states were, with very few exceptions, governed through the so-described —tribute system. The arrival of foreign envoys or commercial missions was perceived as the arrival of missions to pay tribute to the Chinese Emperor and they were treated as such. They were used to bolster the domestic location and prestige of the Emperor of China as one who presided in excess of a vast conglomeration of people, Chinese as well as non-Chinese, —civilized (as the Chinese understood it) as well as —barbarian.

Of course, when hostilities broke out flanked by the imperial government and any of these other states or people, this could not be easily accommodated within the framework of the tributary system.

But the imperial government preferred to view this as only a temporary aberration. Hostilities had to end at some point. If they ended in a stalemate or in the victory of the imperial forces, then the status quo before the outbreak of hostilities was usually restored. Though, if they ended in the victory of the foreign forces and in their conquest of China, this too did not always lead to a breakdown of the system. As happened with the Mongol conquest in the 13th century and the Manchu conquest in the 17th century, the conquerors basically assumed the exalted location of the Emperors of China themselves. The information that rulers with dissimilar ethnic origins and cultural traditions were occupying the top positions in the Chinese Empire did not in itself lead to the collapse of the imperial system. As extensive as these rulers accepted on with the traditional statecraft based on Confucian principles, life accepted on as usual.

In this sense, the traditional Chinese state cannot be measured as a national state of the Chinese people, but as a, much broader political entity presided in excess of through an Emperor ruling according to Confucian precepts.

The Emperor

It has been pointed out that the Emperor of China was a Confucian monarch. Confucianism held that the social and political order, on the one hand, and the natural order on the other hand, were integrally connected, and that the primary function of the Emperor was to uphold this overall cosmological order. Therefore, the Emperor was held responsible not only for any major disturbances in the social and political life of his empire, but also for natural disturbances and calamities such as floods, droughts, earthquakes, etc. In such periods of —great disorder, Confucian custom actually legitimized rebellion against the ruling Emperor. A successful rebellion was measured as a —proof that Heaven had withdrawn its mandate to rule.

This perhaps, explains why the Emperor of China, unlike the Emperor of Japan, was not presently a figurehead, but the actual ruler of the land. He was

- The chief executive of the land and the linchpin of the whole management,
- Expected to appoint, transfer, punish and dismiss his officials,
- Expected to supervise and guide their behaviors through pondering in excess of their reports and
- Memoranda and through issuing directives, and
- Supposed to personally intervene in any matter in any part of the Empire when this was necessary. -

Whether an Emperor actually did this or not depended mainly on his own abilities and inclinations, but he was expected to do so nonetheless. The Emperor was also the only lawmaker. The laws of the Empire were little more than a compendium of the judgments and directives issued through the Emperor and his precursors. He was also the supreme commander of the armed forces.

Because the Emperors were meant to be actual rulers, and not presently figureheads, when China was faced with major crises and humiliation in the 19th century, the blame fell directly on the Emperors themselves, and not presently on their officials. The major peasant rebellions of the middle and later 19th century, as well as the emerging radical nationalist movements had one thing in general — they all described for the overthrow of the imperial ruling home. At the similar time, because the Emperors measured themselves to be the upholders of the traditional Confucian political order, they were hesitant to initiate the radical changes necessary to pull China out of its crisis and decline. In common, the reforms they instituted were too little, and too late. The result of all this was that the imperial institution in the late 19th and early 20th century China became more and more discredited (unlike in Japan). It was rapidly overtaken through events, and was eventually overthrown in the Revolution of 1911.

The Bureaucracy

Separately from the institution of the Emperor the other great pillar of the traditional Chinese political system was the bureaucracy. From the time

that China was first unified through the Emperor C'hin Shih Huang-ti in 221 B.C., the day-to-day management of the empire was accepted out through a bureaucracy that was more elaborate, more urbanized, more rationalized in its structure and functioning, than any other in the pre-contemporary world. It is inconceivable that a country as vast as China could have remained united and have had such a stable system of government for so several centuries without such a bureaucracy.

From the highest official at the Imperial Court to the lowest official in the district, the whole bureaucracy shaped part of the separate corps. It was governed through an elaborate set of rules, regulations, and rituals pertaining to the recruitment of the officials, their promotion, transfer, dismissal, and punishment, and to the method they had to carry out their official duties. These rules and regulations were in one sense harsh and restrictive, and ensured the obedience and subordination of the officials to the Emperor. But, in another sense, they gave the bureaucracy a degree of autonomy and acted as some check on the arbitrary whims of dissimilar Emperors. An official could reasonably expect that if he abided through the rules and accepted out the functions of this office, he would not be unduly harassed through the Emperor or his other superiors.

One of the mainly extra ordinary characteristics of the Chinese bureaucracy was its system of recruitment. For the first 1000 years of the Chinese empire there were many routes of becoming a bureaucrat, including the purchase of official positions or inheriting a location from another family member. Though, from the 11th century AD onwards, the primary means of recruitment was through a centralized system of examinations. Once in every three years examinations were held throughout the empire which was theoretically open to all males, whatever their social standing. These examinations tested the candidate's mastery of Confucian scholarship. The identity of the candidates was kept a closely guarded secret 'so that the examiners would be impersonal and unbiased in their marking. The successful passing of the examinations automatically placed an individual in the category of the gentry. If the candidate succeeded in passing the examinations at the

provincial stage after having cleared the first stage at the district stage, he was also entitled to be appointed as an official of the imperial government.

This system of recruitment through examinations conditioned the bureaucracy in significant methods. It ensured that the officials of the empire were through and big men of exceptional intellect and scholarship. Extensive years of education and training in the Confucian classics also ensured their loyalty to and indoctrination in Confucian ethical and political values. The information that they were recruited on the foundation of merit rather than favouritism, etc., gave them a higher degree of self-respect and prestige than they would have enjoyed otherwise. This is not to say that all officials were incorruptible, or that they were not subject to the pressures and pulls of their office. But it was in common true that Chinese officials sustained to have a certain prestige and status even if they temporarily fell out of favor with their superiors or the Emperor.

Nevertheless, in the 19th century, when China was faced with unprecedented challenges, complicated through the intrusion of the contemporary, industrialized West, the Chinese officialdom became a prisoner of its own scholarship, of its own complacency and self-esteem. Although several outstanding officials understood the challenges the country faced, and even risked their necks advocating the need for bold, innovative reforms to meet the challenge, they were exceptional. The majority tended to carry on with their conventional outlook and manners of functioning which were unable to cope with the pressure of growths. With the defeat of the reform movement of 1898 which was led through Kang Yuwei and other junior officials, the initiative to pull China out of its crisis finally went out of the hands of this significant stratum of traditional society into the hands of newly emerging classes and forces who had very few links with or loyalty to the old social and political order.

Early 19th Century Crisis and Decline

It has often been said that China's traditional social and political system collapsed on explanation of the impact of Western imperialism on China. But today mainly historians would agree that this is an unduly simplistic picture of what happened in the 19th century. Through the time the Western maritime powers first trained their guns on China in the mid-19th century, the traditional system in China was already manifesting several of the symptoms of crisis and decay. This part seeks to acquaint you with those factors that made the Chinese Empire particularly vulnerable in the face of pressure of ascendant, aggressive Western imperialism.

State and Society under the Ch'ing

At the beginning of the 19th century, a vast territory ranging from the islands off the South China coast to Manchuria in the North, from the China Sea in the East to Sinkiang in the West, had been ruled through a single ruling home, the Ch'ing, for a century and a half. Although the Ch'ing rulers were Manchus — ethnically and culturally very dissimilar from the Chinese — their rule was in several compliments one of the mainly successful of any of the dynasties that had ruled in excess of China.

After the initial wars that had accompanied the Manchu conquest of China, which ended in the 1680s, China experienced an era of relative peace and stability. There was no major challenge to the throne either from ambitious generals or officials or from peasant uprisings. Tibet and Mongolia more, they had been firmly integrated into the Chinese Empire through a network of special political and religious ties with the Ch'ing Emperor. This, in scrupulous, was a unique feat of the Ch'ing rulers, which ensured that these usually 'troublesome' regions remained fairly peaceful throughout the Ch'ing rule. Of course, there were some strikes against the Ch'ing in Tibet in the 18th century. Though, these were quickly suppressed through military expeditions which, although costly in financial conditions, did not make disturbances in the Empire as a whole.

In the first one and a half centuries of Ch'ing rule, there were only three rulers on the throne of China. All three of these rulers were vigorous, hardworking monarchs who took a keen interest in the affairs of their Empire. This contributed to the overall prestige and stability, as well as efficiency, of the management. Officials in the provinces were kept on their toes through the Emperors, who used to demand reports and issued directives even on relatively small matters. The Emperors also organized a network of spies and informers to check up on the behaviors of the officials. The volume of paperwork meant to be directly handled through the Emperor became so heavy that the Ch'ing Emperors set up a special body of the mainly high-ranking officials — the Grand Council — to sort out the papers and transmit them to the throne.

In a sense, the very success of early Ch'ing rule contained within it the seeds of later decay and weakness. The extensive era of peace and stability led to a population explosion which in turn had serious economic consequences. The absence of major internal or external threats led to complacency and a decline in the effectiveness of the military establishment. The rising centralization of administrative powers under the first three Ch'ing Emperors also had adverse consequences. On the one hand, the volume of administrative work became too much for later Emperors to handle efficiently, leading to sluggishness and a creeping paralysis throughout the management. On the other hand, although the functions of the Government had increased considerably in scope and complexity, the Ch'ing rulers were reluctant to augment the size of the official establishment. This too limited the effectiveness of the management. It also narrowed the opportunities for members of the educated gentry to enter the government service, leading to rising unemployment, frustration, and restlessness within this significant class. All this led to the emergence of a serious political and social crisis in the first half of the 19th century.

Demographic Pressures

Flanked by the 17th and 19th centuries, the population of China doubled, from in relation to the 150 million to 300 million. Agriculture

sustained to be the mainstay of the livelihood of almost eighty per cent of the people. Since there was hardly any arable land left to be opened up, this population explosion led to extraordinary pressure on the land.

Because of the system of parceling out landed property equally in the middle of all the sons of a family, landholdings in China tended to get more and more fragmented. This led to the rising pauperization of a big number of peasant families. Paradoxically, the opposite tendency — of rising land concentration and landlordism — was also apparent in this era. Unable to sustain themselves on their tiny plots of land, more and more peasant cultivators were forced to sell off their land to those better off, and to become tenant farmers mercilessly exploited through their landlords. Others were forced to become dependents of the landed gentry mainly because they could not afford to pay the heavy tax obligations which the state imposed on peasant cultivators. Tenancy and absentee landlordism were particularly prevalent in the fertile areas of central and south China. But even in the north, where there were a superior proportion of owner-cultivators, the peasantry was increasingly burdened through poverty, indebtedness, and state exactions.

This in turn led to a twofold migration:

- There was an augment in migration of Chinese to other regions, particularly from the densely populated regions of southern China.
- Several peasants migrated to the hilly, relatively unpopulated, or unproductive lands in the South and South-west. They did so in the hope of eking out a livelihood free from the oppression of landlords and state officials.

The rising population, as well as the rising destitution of the peasantry, rural artisans and others, led to the swelling of the ranks of what the Government described the "lie min" (—the wandering people) It was precisely this vast reservoir of oppressed, homeless and destitute people who had been uprooted from their traditional houses and occupations, that shaped a fertile breeding ground for banditry, smuggling and other types of lawless action, as well as for revolts and rebellions.

Administrative Decline

With the growth and development of the Empire under the Ch'ing dynasty, the tasks of management also increased. Yet, the formal administrative tools to handle these tasks did not grow significantly. For instance, despite the great augment in population the size of the civil service — the core of the whole management—did not augment. The total number of officials in the early 19th century was roughly the similar as it had been in the 17th century. This was partly because of financial constraints and partly because of the Manchu Emperors' anxiety in relation to manage being weakened on the bureaucracy.

A consequence of this situation was that the officials of the Ch'ing Government were through and big overworked, and also underpaid in comparison with their heavy burden of responsibilities. This was particularly true of those holding the crucial post of district magistrate. They establish it physically impossible to cope with all their tasks and had to allow a rising proportion of their work to be handled through their subordinate staff — advisers, clerks, runners, scribes and others. The scope for corruption and bribery in the management correspondingly increased enormously. This in turn heightened the burden on the peasants who had to deal with an increasingly corrupt management when they had to pay their taxes, or when they got involved in judicial proceedings, etc.

The rising volume of work, particularly paper work, also meant that mainly officials had to be content with —ruling through the book. Several officials preferred to ignore emerging troubles in their regions of jurisdiction. They did so in the hope that either these troubles would be resolved themselves, or else that they themselves would be transferred to other regions before the troubles became unmanageable. There were very few in the middle of the officials who would willingly stick their necks out and draw the attention of their superior or of the Emperor himself to serious troubles in their regions.

The narrowing of opportunities to enter the prestigious civil service meant that a rising number of the educated gentry remained unemployed, or else had to take jobs as underpaid village teachers or as staff or hangers-on of

officials. This led to rising demoralization and frustration in the middle of this part. At the similar time, there was rising pressure on those who did get into the coveted service to enrich them and to favor their family members, friends, and others in several methods. There is no doubt that the high morale tone that was supposed to be the feature of the Confucian officialdom was increasingly lacking in the middle of the officials as the 19th century wore on. Officials neglected their duties, turned a blind eye to the misdeeds of the local elite and pocketed funds that were planned for the maintenance of public work and for other public purposes. Exceptions to this pattern did exist, but they were unusual.

Fiscal Crisis

Corruption in the management reduced the inflow of revenue into the imperial treasury. It has been estimated that a mere one-third to one-fifth of the tax revenues actually paid through the people establish their method into the coffers of the central government.

The land tax, the principal source of revenue, was calculated in type but was usually paid through the peasants in cash. This system was prone to all types of manipulation through officials at several stages. The government had fixed the value of a specified quantity of rice in silver in the eighteenth century and this value was not adjusted thereafter. Moreover, the peasants were usually able to pay only in copper, which meant that the value in silver had to be reckoned in conditions of copper cash. Local administrative personnel invariably manipulated the silver-copper swap rate to squeeze the maximum possible out of the peasants, while what they transmitted to the central government was based on the official swap rate which was much lower. As time wore on, this type of corruption increased considerably leading to serious shortfalls in government revenues. Meanwhile the peasantry, taxed to the limit, was seething with discontent.

The problem was complicated in the 19th century through the serious reduction in the availability of silver and copper metal for minting coins. On the one hand, this was due to a decline in the manufacture from local mines. But the major outflow of silver to finance the illegal opium trade from the

1820s also exacerbated the problem. The result was that a big amount of substandard currency came into circulation, playing havoc with the swap rate flanked by silver and copper currency.

The weak and unstable financial base of the central government meant that it could not undertake any major initiatives on its own to meet the crisis of war and rebellion in the mid-19th century. The vast indemnities imposed on it through the victorious Western powers after the Opium Wars and other military engagements in the later 19th century further eroded its financial base.

Military Weakness

More than a century of peace, without any major military engagements or challenges, weakened the military strength of the Ch'ing Empire. The well-known Manchu military forces, (the Bannermen) who had subjugated an Empire of such a vast size, had become useless as a fighting force through the early 19th century. Quartered in dissimilar parts of the Empire, leading an idle life, they had degenerated into demoralized, parasitic units unprepared to handle any type of fighting. Extensive before the outbreak of the Opium Wars, their degeneration had been shown through their inability to contain the White Lotus Rebellion that broke out in Szechwan in 1813. In the end, it was the Chinese —Green Average forces and the local militia that succeeded in putting down this uprising. When the illicit opium trade began to spread in the 1820s and 1830s, it was the Manchu troops who were in the middle of the first to be seriously afflicted through the opium-smoking habit.

In their effort to prevent any build-up of military power that could challenge their rule, the Ch'ing rulers had undermined the effectiveness of the military establishment. They had set-up cumbersome military tools, with several conflicting rows of power. The dissimilar military commands were kept separate from each other. This was to prevent them from uniting against the central imperial power. This involved the military in a lot of bureaucratic red tape and inhibited its fighting skill. For instance the Ch'ing could not easily contain the serious problem of pirate fleets in the early 19th century. This was because the pirates could freely race approximately from one lay to another, but the government's naval forces were bound through rules that

forbade the fleet of one naval command from pursuing the pirates into the waters under another naval command.

The absence of any threat from the sea (other than piracy) had made the Ch'ing naval establishment particularly weak and ineffective. The vast old forts on the sea, with their antiquated armaments, and the cumbersome naval vessels, were no match for the swift, light warships of the Western powers and their formidable fire power. When the Ch'ing finally awoke to the need for —solid ships and effective guns, it was after they had suffered a series of humiliating military defeats at the hands of the Western powers in the middle of the 19th century.

Mid-19th Century Crisis

In the early decades of the 19th century, it was clear that the Chinese Empire was faced with a crisis of broad dimensions. The serious troubles afflicting Chinese society and government impaired China's skill to deal effectively with the rising challenge posed through the Western powers at her doorstep. They were also responsible for the magnitude and intensity of the great wave of peasant rebellions that shook China in the 1850s and 1860s.

Yet in several methods the crisis at this stage was more in the nature of a traditional —dynastic crisis, such as China had experienced several times before. Even the mainly astute statesmen in China in this era felt at the mainly, that the Ch'ing dynasty was heading for a collapse. Though, they did not consider that the whole socio-political order that had lasted for centuries was in peril. Their confidence seemed to be vindicated when the Ch'ing dynasty made an extra ordinary come-back in the 1860s and 1870s, after putting down the great rebellions and seemingly containing the Western threat through skilful political and diplomatic action. Though, deeper forces were at work which was undermining not only the ruling dynasty but the traditional order itself. The story of these forces, which drew China irrevocably onto the path of revolutionary change, belongs to the succeeding chapters of this history.

SOCIETY AND POLITY: JAPAN

Background to the Establishment of Tokugawa Supremacy

Japan has often been described an imitative civilization but this is a superficial view which overlooks and underestimates the strength of the culture urbanized in Japan. Livelihood under the cultural power of China, Japan was though, physically cut off. The sea separating the islands of Japan from the continent was hard to cross. This meant that get in touch with was limited and sporadic. Therefore for Japan, China was an ideal and it could accept and incorporate what it received without thought to actual Chinese practices. This skill to open oneself to new thinking placed the Japanese in an advantageous location in later years when they encountered the modern European powers.

Chinese power brought in not only Buddhism but also a writing system and the political and administrative structure of a unified state. Japanese society which was evolving from patriarchal units and developing a monarchical state avidly sought to use these institutions to support and describe the new powers of the monarchy.

A legal code, described the Tahina code, completed in 701 AD laid down a set of penal as well as administrative laws to govern the country. The country was divided into provinces, each to be ruled through a governor. Though unlike in China, a council of religious practices was placed above all other offices.

Perhaps the mainly important development throughout the era of ‘great change’ (Taika as it is recognized in Japanese) was the abolition of private title to land. These reforms inspired through the Chinese but customized to suit Japanese circumstances were to some extent cosmetic and the real powers of state formation was longer and contested. The epitome of classical Japan was reached throughout the Heian (peace and tranquillity) era when the capital was recognized in modern day Kyoto. Heian Kyo, as it was then described was laid out beside the rows of the Chinese Tang dynasty capital of Ch’ang-an.

This era marks the ascendancy of the Fujiwara family to power. The striking and recurrent characteristic of Japanese history is the divorce flanked by legitimacy and power. The Emperor sustained to remain the legitimate ruler but actual power was exercised through the Fujiwara family, the mainly powerful of whom was Fujiwara-no-Michinaga (966-1028 AD).

Heian civilization was an aristocratic culture which was created and accepted on through a few thousand courtiers. Throughout the tenth and eleventh centuries this culture produced a highly sophisticated and refined aesthetic philosophy. Material life was though, very easy and austere. Their food was rice, sea-weed, radishes, fruit, and nuts. A few vegetables and very little meat or fish was eaten. Tea was introduced from China only in the ninth century but was used only as a medicine. Their major form of transport was the ox-cart.

The aristocratic class slowly lost powers and revenue to the emerging class of military rulers. The military landowning class consolidated its privileges and rights in excess of both civil and military functions leaving the imperial court with only the title to power. Through 1190 real power had shifted from the Imperial Capital Kyoto to Kamakura. The Kamakura bakufu (the word literally means —tent government). It originally referred to the headquarters of the army in the field) inaugurated an era of feudal rule and brought to fore the samurai or warrior class.

The Kamakura bakufu controlled its territories through vassals and appointed shogun or governors to administer the provinces. The samurai or warrior culture began to develop throughout this era. The word samurai means to serve, and designates that as a warrior he is to serve his lord.

The Kamakura was followed through the Ashikaga (1333-1573) throughout which feudal institutions urbanized. The court defused of the

military was confined to powerless obscurity. Several Emperors were even too poor to be buried properly or be able to perform proper accession ceremonies.

From the end of the fifteenth century war became a constant characteristic and in these unsettled times of a country at war (sengoku) several farmers shaped bands of ikki to protect themselves. These groups indulged in extortion and at times others attacked money-lenders. They were part of the social transformation which was taking lay. Religious sects, like the Ikko sect of Amida Buddhism also recognized their power in Echizen and Kaga (contemporary Fukai and Ishikawa). The warlords or daimyo attempted to strengthen their political and economic power.

Despite wars the economy grew and institutions urbanized a degree of sophistication. In the political anarchy which prevailed up to the middle of the sixteenth century the feudal lords devoted much of their attention to consolidating their holdings and preventing antagonistic alliances. In this disorderly situation — a creation of conflicting groups — there appeared three figures that brought in relation to the unification of Japan: Oda Nobunaga (1543-82), Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537-98) and Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543-1616). These three men of widely differing character followed each other and brought in relation to the not only the political unification of Japan but also economic and social consolidation.

The unification these three accepted out represented the success of the feudal fief as the vital political unit. In this procedure the other groupings.

Oda Nobunaga came from a minor feudal family in Owari in central Japan. Through astute alliances and successful battles he strengthened his location and expanded his power. In October, 1571 Nobunaga destroyed the Buddhist monastery of Hiezen. This monastery was a vast intricate with big estates and its own warriors. Its destruction and the massacre of in excess of three thousand monks effectively put an end to their bid for political power.

In a similar manner Nobunaga fought the armed leagues of the Jodo Shenshu sect of Buddhism. These Ikko Ikki, as they were described, centered

approximately the temple of Ishiyama Honganji in Osaka. The acme of his power was symbolized in the construction of the magnificent castle of Azuchi. Enemies remained, though, and he was assassinated through Akechi Mitsuhide, one of his own generals.

Nobunaga at the time of his death controlled in excess of one-third of Japan and laid the foundation for the emerging political structure. In 1571 he started a new system of land tax assessment and in 1576 he began to disarm the peasantry. Extensive years of continuous warfare had led to the emergence of an armed population. Nobunaga, to ensure peace, not only disarmed the peasantry so that they could return to their primary job of working on the land but also brought the warriors or samurai to the castle towns, which were to form the nucleus of the emerging municipalities. This step helped to reduce the self-governing power of the military landed aristocracy. Nobunaga also attempted to introduce uniformity in weights and events.

Toyotomi Hideyoshi, a successful commoner of Nobunaga, supervised to defeat other contenders such as Shibata Katsuie and in 1585 had himself appointed Kampaku (regent) through the Emperor. For the after that few years he dealt with other rivals and through 1590 had defeated his major opponents.

Hideyoshi rose from humble origins to become the highest political power in the land. His policies urbanized the trend set through Nobunaga. In 1588 he began a ruthless sword hunt, the aim of which was to clearly demarcate the farmer from the soldier. In 1590 a land survey recorded meadows in the name of the free cultivator. Assessment of taxes was to be based on productivity but was levied on the village as a unit. All proprietary rights in land were with the daimyos or feudal lords. Hideyoshi attempted an abortive invasion of Korea in 1592. This failed because of the opposition through Korean guerrillas as well as the Chinese. Part of the failure was also due to his inability to recognize the importance of naval power. Though, for Japan a significant benefit was the arrival of several Korean artisans, particularly potters who settled in regions of Kyushu.

Hideyoshi was a powerful figure and excelled in the pursuit and exercise of power. Though, he was ostentatious and vulgar and towards the end of his life mentally unstable. When Hideyoshi died Tokugawa Ieyasu was

the strongest daimyo with holdings twice as big as any other daimyo (2.3 million Koku).

Tokugawa Ieyasa had been powerful in eastern Japan since the time of Nobunaga and his dealings while Hideyoshi had see-sawed but both realized that confrontation was not advisable. With the help of other daimyo he recognized his supremacy on 20th October 1600 on the field of Sekigahara through defeating his opponents. In 1603 Tokugawa Ieyasa was appointed Shogun and his power was confirmed.

Ieyasa was a shrewd and capable ruler and he cautiously built the vast edifice of the Tokugawa Shogunate on the foundation laid down through his precursors. His political ability and acumen in creating a complete system which ensured that no rival power could threaten the supremacy of the Tokugawa home contributed to the amazing longevity of the Shogunate.

The Tokugawa State

In this part the mechanism of political manages will be studied. The institution and functioning of Daimyo as a method of political manages will also be examined.

Mechanism of Political Manage

The system instituted through Tokugawa Ieyasu is described the bakuhan system. This refers to the Bakufu or central government and ban or feudal fief. The political structure recognized a system dependent on a balance flanked by the central Tokugawa home government and the semi-autonomous feudal fiefs (ban).

In theory, Tokugawa Ieyasu was given the title of seie-tai shogun (barbarian subdueing common). This was a military title which traced its origin to the Kamakura Shogunate. In information the Emperor livelihood in Kyoto was totally devoid of power and power. The rulers' titles through themselves accepted no power but maintained the symbolic power of the Emperor. The title was passed down to successive Tokugawa rulers and

brought with it the obligation to pacify Japan. This pacification in the widest sense came to involve restriction of get in touch with foreigners. It also underlay the social system which theoretically restricted social mobility and froze social dealings in the well-recognized shi-no-ko-sho system (samurai, farmers, artisans, and merchants).

The main principles of the Tokugawa system were enunciated in 1615 in two sets of instructions:

- The first, a set of 17 articles clearly stated that the Emperor and his court should confine themselves to academic and cultural affairs. The shogun confirmed his right to appoint senior court officials.
- The second set of 13 articles laid down a set of restrictions on the powers of the feudal lords. They could not build or repair fortifications or contract marriages without the shogun's approval. They were forbidden to harbor fugitives from other fiefs.

These instructions clearly illustrate that the Tokugawa Shogunate was creating a unified system of manage.

Daimyo

The Daimyo or feudal lords have been classified through J.W. Hall as early contemporary "daimyo" as these feudal lords had elaborate government structures which were ideologically justified through Confucian principles and sustained through the Bakufu's guarantee of peace and stability.

The mainly significant method of political manages was to divide the daimyo into two major categories:

- One, the fudai — those who were either related or had been considerably loyal to the Tokugawa, and
- Two, the tozama or —outerl daimyo — those who had been defeated in war.

The fudai daimyo were given strategically significant lands and these landholdings jointly with those of the Tokugawa home exceeded that of the tozama daimyo. The tozama, on the other hand were ordered to change provinces, several of their fiefs were confiscated, and above all they were excluded from holding office within the Tokugawa government.

The daimyo swore loyalty to the Tokugawa home but in the initial years flanked by 1600-1650 several domains changed hands and the point was accentuated that these lands were held at the pleasure of the Shogun. Therefore as a reward for services 172 new daimyos were created and on 281 occasion's daimyos were transferred. This transfer policy helped to weaken the links flanked by the daimyo and the people of the province. Throughout the 17th century in excess of two hundred daimyo lost a part or all their territory for offences.

At the core of Tokugawa strength was the armed might of some 60,000 armed vassals. These banner men and housemen, as they were classified, were direct retainers and were liable to military service. Though, their power need not be exaggerated for there were more than a total of 200,000 samurai employed through all the other daimyo. So, the Tokugawa system depended for its effectiveness on ensuring that no big opposition block could form against its rule.

This system of checks and balances involved administrative machinery which excluded those who had power and legitimacy. It also involved a system of hostages recognized as alternative attendance or sankin kotai. The administrative machinery evolved in excess of the era. In the first fifty years the Shoguns themselves exercised power but slowly from 1666 effective power passed to administrative heads — Grand Chamberlain and subsequently the chief Councillors. These officials were from the ranks of medium and minor vassals while the great vassals were excluded from office. Those homes which could give heirs to the Tokugawa home were also excluded from holding office. Officials held concurrent appointments and were also rotated. All policy matters were dealt with in consultation and required joint approval.

The Tokugawa home exercised direct power in excess of its own territories which were in excess of 4 million koku and controlled the major municipalities like Osaka, Nagasaki as well as the copper and silver mines directly. It employed censors (metsuke) who secretly kept a watch on daimyo and accounted on their behaviors.

The alternative attendance system formalized in 1635 through Iemitsu, the third shogun, required the daimyo to reside in the capital Edo (present day Tokyo) for sure periods. Throughout the time when he was absent from the capital the daimyo had to leave his family as hostage to ensure his loyalty to the Shogun. The daimyo, when they traveled to Edo had to have a big retinue flanked by 150-300 members and were required to follow designated routes. These journeys as well as the cost of maintaining establishments in Edo served as a drain on their wealth and acted as a constraint on their power.

The Tokugawa system of management was at one stage a national government and at another a big daimyo government. The Shogun at the top in excess of-saw both functions. While on paper the system appears straight in practice it was distant from coherent. At times the theoretical checks, like job rotation, were flouted and individuals like Tamuna Okitsvgu (1719-88) or Matsndaira Sadanoba (1758-1829) successfully exercised great power and power.

Nature of the Tokugawa State

The political structure was a centralized state with overriding powers with the Tokugawa in excess of the daimyo. While the daimyo controlled administrative functions within their domains they were ultimately answerable to the Shogun and held their office at his discretion. This political unification under the Tokugawa power, though, had its limitations in practice.

The Shogun never exercised his power to confiscate or re-allocate Han in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century and on occasions when attempts were made they were resisted. Yet, the administrative structure of the Tokugawa controlled crucial regions of foreign dealings, coastal defense, and

key urban centers as well as the sources of gold and silver. This system brought in relation to the two and a half centuries of peace and stability.

Tokugawa Social Structure

Tokugawa society was divided into status groups and movement within these groups was theoretically impossible. Yet, in practice, because of economic development, people changed their social status.

Emperor and Aristocracy

The powerless Emperor at Kyoto was the centre of a small and in accessible court culture which made up in elaborate lineages what it lacked in real power. There were 137 aristocratic families with mainly of them claiming descent from five medieval lineages. A majority of them claimed descent from the Fujiwara family which had been powerful in classical Japan. These aristocrats had incomes comparable to the minor vassals of the Tokugawa and were often forced to supplement these meager incomes through teaching. They were often skilled in the arts. Several aristocrats became Buddhist priests and played a crucial role in the Buddhist order. The Tokugawa home stayed clear of the Emperor and the Court though Ieyosa had married his daughter to the then Emperor Go-Mizunoo.

Samurai

At the top of the social hierarchy was the warrior class and throughout this era it numbered in relation to the 2 million in a total population of approximately 25 million. This was a rather big number for a ruling class. Their duties were to serve their lords and loyalty was accentuated as the paramount virtue.

The samurai were internally divided into two vital groups — shi and sotsu. The shi or upper samurai were high ruling officials and the real

aristocracy while the sotsu or rural vassals served in lower positions. Marriage flanked by the two for instance, was very hard.

The income of samurai varied from 200 koku to 10,000 koku and because of the financial troubles throughout this era their real incomes were declining and some married into merchant families to improve their financial location.

Throughout this era of peace and stability the samurai code of conduct, recognized as bashido (i.e. the method of the warrior) was urbanized. The crux of the philosophy was that a samurai should at all times be ready to offer his life for his lord. Till 1663 several samurai would commit suicide (junshi) when their lords died. This practice was later forbidden. They also had the right to kill those of the lower classes if they were offended. Several suffering from lack of money and work often took to vendettas which became the subject of popular drama. Those samurai who had no master were recognized as ronin (masterless samurai). These unemployed men posed a social problem and in 1651 some of them even led an uprising.

The samurai derived their income from land but had no managed in excess of the land. In effect they received a stipend from the daimyo or shogun and if they held office then a stipend attached to that office as well. They were in return required to uphold a retinue depending on their status. With high degree of literacy, as the farming of both material as well as literary arts was encouraged, they became government officials.

Peasants, Artisans and Merchants

An overwhelming part of the population was occupied in agriculture and the revenues from this sustained the Tokugawa bakufu. The villages exercised a sure degree of self government which strengthened cooperative functions amongst them. Their life was hard though and they subsisted on a diet of millet and buckwheat with vegetables and miso (a mixture made from soya-bean). Natural disasters and famines took their toll of human life.

Peace and stability increased the commercialization of the economy and improved the lot of some sections of peasants. Several took to producing

for the market and as taxes remained constant they could channel their gains into creation sake (a rice wine) soya sauce, or producing silk. Some also appeared as money-lenders. Though land could not be sold, tenancy increased as did movement to urban regions.

The growth of urban centers designates the dynamism of the Tokugawa economy. Through the end of the 18th century the capital Edo had a population of almost a million people. To meet their needs craftsmen and shopkeepers congregated here as in other municipalities, such as, Osaka, Kyoto, and castle towns like Kanazawa, Sendai, Kagoshino which had population of in excess of 50,000. The development of roads, like the Tokaido (eastern sea road) Nakasendo (middle of the mountain road) Sanyodo (road on the sunny face of the mountains) and Sanindo (road on the shadow face of the mountain) improved commerce.

The town culture which urbanized was essentially a merchant led movement. The merchants (Chonin) though socially looked down upon as parasites were the early entrepreneurs of Japan. They worked hard and contributed to the development of a vibrant social system. In 1627, for instance, Mitsui Toshitsuga opened a small drapers shop in Edo described Echigaya which urbanized into today's Mitsukashi owned through the Mitsui Company.

The Tokugawa home patronized sure merchants who were given a monopoly in excess of the purchase and sale of rice, conversion of money and other allied behaviors. Osaka was the centre of commercial action and these merchants built great homes and accumulated wealth. Slowly the real dynamism moved to smaller towns and later villages which did not have monopoly privileges.

The Tokugawa philosophy based on the thought that wealth was generated through, agriculture did not effectively tap this new source of wealth. Rather on occasions it would issue edicts to restrict the display of wealth through the merchants or take forced loans from them. The merchant class was not an undifferentiated group but it divided through the privileges it enjoyed under the Bakufu. They were responsible for structure up the

institutions and acquiring the skills which made it possible for Japan to successfully change itself into a modern nation.

The Tokugawa Era: An Evaluation

For two and a half centuries Japan under the Tokugawas thrived and urbanized with little foreign get in touch with. The Western powers were excluded with only the Dutch allowed limited access. Diplomatic dealings were maintained with Korea and China and a limited trade sustained with these countries as well. Internally, Japan was divided into 244 han or fiefs with a sure degree of autonomy. There were a bewildering number of currencies and even the dialects spoken differed greatly. The social classes were fixed and free movement restricted. It was in several methods a world within walls. These restrictions were in part responsible for the extra ordinary extensive duration of Tokugawa rule.

Though, it would be wrong to merely see the continuities and ignore the signs of change and development. Peace allowed trade and commerce to flourish within Japan and this helped to bring in relation to the national market which increased linkages flanked by the han. In practice movement flanked by han appears to have been frequent and both thoughts and people crossed han boundaries. These very changes in society and the inability of the political structure to creatively respond to the new situations generated thoughts and philosophies which laid the foundation for undermining the hegemony of the Tokugawa home.

It is hard to have an overall assessment of the era. Though, we necessity consider the question that whether the system lasted because of secure supervision and heavy repression or because of the lack of government interference. For instance, seclusion worked not because the world was also indifferent towards Japan. Likewise the towns and villages regulated themselves without much interference from the Bakufu.

Yet, the era laid the foundation for the development of modern Japan in that the skills and institutions urbanized the skill of the people to accept new thoughts and grasp the opportunities presented to them.

RELIGION AND CULTURE: CHINA AND JAPAN

Religion in Classical China

There are several views and opinions concerning the nature and objectivity of religion in early China. Some have described the early religion as monotheism which was later converted to polytheism. Others consider it to be of a primitive faith which incorporated worship of ancestors, nature, heaven, and earth.

Legend and custom, which mentions of tribal groups, attribute the status of gods, the sons of god, or both to the tribal chiefs who made significant contributions to their tribes. For instance Taitai, the son of the chief of Jintian tribe, constructed a water storage tank in excess of Fenshui river. Hence, he was attributed as the god of Fenshui who enjoyed sacrifices offered through the people. We discover several more such examples in the legends like that of Yu the Great of Gonggong tribe, Chi of the Chou tribe and so on. What is significant here to be noted is that all the legends which attribute supernatural powers to the chiefs do so because of their acts of water conservation, flood manage or contributions in agriculture and animal husbandry.

The earliest written history of China is traced to Tang (16th to 11th century BC) and Chou (11th to 8th century BC) dynasties. Both were slave-owning civilizations and we do get a thought in relation to the religion and religious practices throughout this era.

- **Tang:** The Tang kings traced their geneology to the first king who was the son of the lord and the dynasty had beep establish on whose orders. The earliest ancestor was therefore recognized with the supreme God. This was a divine theory of the origin of kingship. It was whispered

that the kings were born to rule in excess of the people and after death they became gods to rule in excess of the dead. Great respect was given to matriarchal power because we discover special sacrifices offered to deceased mothers and grandmothers. All types of superstitions were present and the Tang nobles were of the view that everything in the world was controlled through gods. Divine will was sought through oracles. A big number of oracle-bone inscriptions have been established which divinations of good or evil are.

- **Chou:** Chou was an ancient tribe and their ancestor Chi was worshipped as god of agriculture. Their king, Wu, laid the foundations of dynastic rule and Chou state was well organized in excess of vast parts of China. The Chou also derived their power from a heavenly mandate and recognized their ancestral god with the supreme god. Interestingly, the Chou mentions the Tang as elder sons of the supreme god who did not perform to the letters' expectations. Hence, the supreme god shifted to the younger son i.e. the Chou. Embodied with divine will, the Chou had a mandate in excess of human world. Though, this heavenly mandate was not a permanent one. It worked till the conduct of rulers met with the approval of heaven. In information, this concept of heavenly mandate (tien) to the ruler played a vital role in the body politic of China. Both, the ruler as well as the general people, interpreted it in relation to their own interests. For instance several a peasant revolts in the subsequent era derived their ideological thrust through advocating that tien had been withdrawn. Throughout both these dynasties political power was legitimized through religion. But it appears that the supreme god of Chou was less autocratic than that of the Tang. Out of this religion there appeared sure norms of political and social conduct and behaviour which, later on, got a definite form.

Several classics were also written throughout this era. Written on bamboo slips or silk, these classics exerted tremendous power on the society

and culture of China. Five books in the middle of these classics are quite well-known:

- Shih Ching i.e. the Book of Poetry consists 74 lesser odes, 31 greater odes and 31 sacrificial odes. Written throughout Chou rule, they deal with specific events and offerings to God,
- Shu Ching i.e. the Book of History is a collection of political documents,
- I Ching i.e. the Book of Changes was a work of divination,
- Li-Chi was the Book of Rites, which had recorded rituals, and
- Chun Chin i.e. the Spring and Autumn Annals was a chronicle of historical importance.

In later years all these works became well-known as Confucian classics. Confucius himself was associated in the form of rewriting, editing, or revising these texts.

Schools of Thought

The Chinese philosophical thought throughout the classical era catered to the needs of the society rather than the individuals. The philosophers, throughout this era, came mainly from a group of politicians—products of the emerging bureaucracy and the intricate political system. In excess of the time these political philosophers recognized their, own base; shaped a coterie of followers and became teachers. Their disciples slowly set up dissimilar schools of thought. In the middle of the several philosophical trends we shall talk about in relation to the Confucianism, Taoism and sure other beliefs.

Confucianism

Confucianism is mainly a Western name, although the Chinese speak of King Chiao or the —Confucian Teaching‡ (or Religion). The designation more commonly employed through the Chinese has been Ju Chiao, or the —Teaching of the learned‡. Though there is a controversy in relation to the subsistence of Confucius the Chinese mention in relation to the birth in 551 BC and he existed till 479 BC. He took up several jobs like a low ranking official managing warehouses; a private teacher and an official in charge of criminal punishment and the maintenance of social order. He was associated with several literary works. His preachings are recognized as Confucius learning which later urbanized into the cult of Confucianism. He was respected as the cult’s greatest sage, but other teachers and scholars were honored as having shared in its development. To a sure extent Confucianism represented the totality of the Chinese philosophical thought outside such special systems as Taoism and Buddhism. Confucianism was supposed to be a bulwark of religious rites which appeared throughout the Chou dynasty or may be earlier Confucius took extensive tours to propagate his views and made disciples. After his death his statements were compiled through his disciples in book form recognized as The Analects.

The main substance of his teachings was to help his disciples obtain the necessary skills for entry into politics. His teachings were antagonistic to the teachings of the official school of nobles. For instance, he advocated that men were alike in nature and this was contrary to the ideology of the slave society of his time. Likewise his preaching that good and capable should be appointed to official positions was contrary to the prevalent hereditary rule of office.

The Communist historians of China, while acknowledging the great contributions of Confucius in the cultural history of China have described him as a reformist rather than a revolutionary. This is because:

- His thoughts did not lead to their logical conclusion,

- In spite of his taking education to the people as a private teacher, he taught the similar which the nobles used to learn,
- He defended the hierarchy of nobility and did not oppose the official hereditary system, and
- In an effort to solve troubles, instead of by new thoughts, he depended on the old formalities to reshape old thoughts.

Though he is referred to as being —politically conservative they accept that he —worked against the tide of history.!

Here we necessity remember that Confucianism never went to the extremes. Rather it is set in a pattern of compromise i.e. always seeking the middle path. Hence, it provided the emerging state, ruling groups and bureaucracy with a philosophy based on their political needs.

Because of this Confucianism became popular in the middle of the ruling groups. In excess of the years it became the state cult which has an extensive and varied history. Yet, Confucianism was a changing philosophy.

In excess of the periods of time it was altered again and again. According to the Confucian theory, reinforced through the state, the emperor was the religious as well as the political head of the realm. They consider that the emperor, as a part of the universe, has come not only to rule the mankind but to perform religious functions. He was the son of T'ien and an associate of Heaven and Earth. Through the centuries Confucian scholars differ with the subsistence of T'ien (Heaven), but mainly of them consider universe favors righteousness in man, so all should uphold religious rites. Several members of the official hierarchy on duty in the provinces were charged with the performance of religious rites. Sacrifices to the spirits of local mountains and streams were expected of them. They also took part in such ceremonies as those in the local temples of Confucius and in the temple of the municipality God. Another significant characteristic of Confucianism is respect to ancestors. Several thoughts and practices distant from Confucian in their

origin came to be grouped approximately conceptions of the future life and ritual for the dead. In this development Buddhism and Taoism had a very big share. Popular superstition and animism made extensive contributions. It is, almost certainly more to Confucianism than to any other one factor that the cult of the dead loomed so big in China. Confucianism as a philosophy was considerably deep-rooted in China and it has been perceived as a method of life.

Taoism and other Sects

Another school of thought which influenced the philosophical beliefs throughout the classical era was Taoism. The philosophers who preached Taoism felt disillusioned through the rising warfare and despotism. Hence, it was a philosophy mainly dedicated to the thoughts of protest against the despotic rulers. It championed the cause of individual whose concern was to stay fit with the surroundings of nature. They attacked the feudal society of the times. With primitively as its ideal, Taoism attacked all types of knowledge with the belief that knowledge can corrupt human society. This in information led to opposing any type of social advancement. For instance, they would praise a peasant who in spite of his knowledge in relation to the water-wheel, preferred to carry water on his back. The main source of Taoism came from the classics Lao-Tzu and Tao-te ching whose authors are not recognized but Lier was supposed to be the founder of Taoism.

Taoism never became a dominant ideology of religion. Yet its emphasis on the connection flanked by human beings and nature influenced the growth of an aesthetic sense in the society. It was throughout the Tang era that royal favour was granted to Taoism:

- Several temples were constructed in the memory of Lier who was conferred with the title of the Supreme Emperor of the profound heavens,

- Taoist priests had access to imperial palaces, and
- Taoist classics became a part of the curriculum of imperial examinations.

In spite of this Taoism could not match the popularity of Confucianism or Buddhism. Another sect that gained power was Mohism named after its founder Mo-tsu. With no emphasis on rites or music this sect preached universal love. The concept was that one should treat well the other person, his family, and country. Mo-tsu whispered that good was rewarded and evil was punished through heaven and the demons. This was done keeping in view the method people behaved. The rulers, through invoking the heavens' will, were to be type for —the starving may have food, those suffering from cold may have clothes, and the toilers may have some rest.¶

Mo-tsu was opposed to the inherited wealth of the nobility. He also stood for skill as the criteria for government office.

Mencius, another significant thinker of the time (372-289 BC) urbanized further the Confucian concept of benevolence. In his view everyone is good through nature and this inborn goodness can be further cultivated. As in the case of other thinkers, Mencius's thought also, incorporated political as well as economic views. For instance on the political face him:

- Advocated that a king who enjoyed popular support deserved to be described a king where as the one who had lost it would be a tyrant,
- Condemned tyranny and was of the view that a king who did harm to the state necessity be replaced, etc.

Likewise, on the economic face he propagated self-sufficiency of the family through having immovable property. A family of eight members may own 100 mu of land; grow enough to eat; raise domestic animals and plant mulberry trees to get silk-worms.

It is not possible to talk about each and every thinker who left his spot or the Chinese mind. Though the thinkers of the classical era immensely contributed in the realm of thoughts that were to stay for centuries to come.

Buddhism

The earliest references to Buddhism are traced back to the first century AD — the era of Han dynasty. It is whispered that on the invitation of a Han emissary two Indian monks, Kshyapa Matanga and Dharamaranya visited the Han Court. Though the historicity of this visit is questioned, there is no doubt that several travelers and merchants beside the silk route had brought Buddhism to China.

In excess of the years Buddhist teachings became popular and they received royal patronage also. For instance Prince Tsiao Chiliang and Emperor Wu Pi became devout Buddhists. There appeared several monasteries and several became monks. Compared to the Confucian system the ruling classes establish Buddhism more convenient to divert common discontent in other directions. For instance the Buddhist tenets of reincarnation and transmigration impressed upon the people to seem for happiness in the after that life. Whereas Taoism offered escape to an individual, Buddhism offered salvation. Lively debates were held comparing Taoist and Buddhist views. Mainly of the monks came from the upper classes. Though, there were some who had been bought throughout their childhood from needy parents through the monasteries.

There were strict rules for monks but with the passing of time monks also became landlords. As monastical landlords they enjoyed vast privileges and wealth. They were exempt from state taxes and labour services. The Monasteries also performed sure social functions such as inns, public bathrooms and at spaces they acted as banking institutions.

The major contributions of Buddhism were in the field of literature and architecture. In Chinese the Buddhist canon (Tripitaka) is described as the San Tsang which is further divided into Ching i.e. sutras. Several Buddhist works in Indian languages were translated into Chinese. Constant travel to India in search of Buddhist texts further increased the knowledge in relation to the geographical characteristics, social and economic life of other countries.

Besides monasteries several pagodas and temples were constructed. There are a number of unique sculptures and paintings influenced through Buddhist themes. In addition the Buddhist contribution was tremendous in the fields of architecture, sculpture, and paintings—particularly throughout the Tang era. The Thousand Buddha caves at Tun huang present fine examples of clay statues, wall paintings, and sculpture.

Here we necessarily remember that though Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism remained the dominant religions, sure other faiths were also introduced in China throughout the Tang era. For instance:

- Zoroastrianism, which came to China through Persia, spread in north China,
- Manichaeism, again of Persian origin, spread in the closing decades of 7th century and its followers were later recognized as Light worshippers,
- Nestorianism, a sect of Christianity, also made its entry in China, and through Arabian merchants Islam was also recognized.

There were also attempts made throughout this era to challenge the power of several religions in excess of the political or day to day life of the people. For instance Fu yi (559-639 AD) questioned the validity of Buddhism which in his view was usurping the powers of the emperor. He felt that the monks and nuns were parasites who evaded taxes and they should be sent back to productive work. At the same time it has to be noted that the ruling sections had successfully utilized several religions to manage the people.

Medieval Era

In the post Tang era all the three prominent religions i.e. Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism sustained to power the Chinese society and polity. Though, each one of them faced ups and downs at dissimilar intervals as several ruling homes promoted religions according to their own interests. But we necessarily not say that religion was presently used through the ruling groups alone. The oppressed sections of the society—particularly the peasants, interpreted several religious dogmas according to their own perceptions and at times sought inspiration from religious ideology to revolt against their oppression. This was a constant characteristic throughout the Ming and Ch'ing rule. Simultaneously efforts were made to provide a new direction to the existing faiths.

Neo-Confucianism

In the 11th century AD there appeared a school — Neo-Confucianism. Though this was basically a product of resurgence of Confucian values and ideals, it contained elements of Buddhism and Taoism. Chou Tun (1016-1073 AD) projected the thought of the —the Absolute which according to him was the essence of the universe. Though his philosophy revolved approximately objective idealism in social dealings, he measured the feudal order as a manifestation of —the Absolute'

Other scholars who gave direction to Neo-Confucianist thoughts incorporated the Cheng brothers—Cheng Hao and Cheng Yi. They advanced the notion of cause' which was the essence of the universe. Differentiating amongst the people on the foundation of social positions, they urged upon them to refrain themselves even from the very thought of changing things. Several Confucius works were re-written or edited throughout this era. The

ruling dynasties used the Neo-Confucian ideology to further strengthen their hold.

Religion under the Mongols

In the 13th century the Mongol incursions had a deep impact on China. Here we are not discussing the political implications of the Mongol rule. The Yuan regime, as the Mongol rule came to be recognized, pursued a policy of toleration in the field of religion. But the Maitry sect and the White Lotus Society faced suppression because of their anti-Yuan behaviors. The regime, though, gave patronage to Lamaist Buddhism. Neo-Confucianism also remained popular.

A motivating development throughout this era was the arrival of Christian missionaries for converting the ruling home to Catholic religion. But Father Giovanni (in 1245 AD) was told through Gujuk Khan that the Pope and all Christian kings should pay homage to him. Father Guilanme of France also got the similar answers from Mangu Khan in 1253 AD. In information throughout this era there was constant interaction with Westerners. Though, it was the Muslim faith that made sure inroads through royal patronage. Several immigrants brought Persian and Arab culture which was welcomed through the Chinese, particularly in the field of astronomy and medicine.

The Ming-Ch'ing Era

Throughout the Ming era Confucianism remained the dominant philosophy whereas Buddhism and Taoism declined. Confucianism had a vast impact on education. For instance the subjects taught at the Imperial College incorporated the Five Classics and Four Books of Confucianism. Likewise the questions in the civil services examinations, at all stages, were based on these works.

The emperors employed several scholars and some of the well-known literary works of the era were:

- The Romance of Three Kingdoms; A novel based on historical themes and characters.
- Outlaws of the Marsh: An account of peasant revolts.
- Journey to the West: An account of modern social reality through the depiction of a Monkey King Sun Wukong, Buddhist monks, deities and demons.

A significant development throughout the era of transition of powers from Ming to Ch'ing was the emergence of thinkers who attempted to answer the several modern troubles. In the middle of them were scholars like Fang Yi chih, Wang Fu chih Ku Yan wu, Huang tsung hsi, Tang Chen and Yan Yuan. Mainly of them opposed feudal oppression. For instance Wang mentioned that —Land should not be appropriated through the ruler of the country as his private property‡; Ku Yan wu whispered in —learning for the purpose of utilization‡, Huang criticized feudal laws as —laws of a single family‡; Yan whispered that —all land in the world will be enjoyed through all the people in the world‡ and he was very critical of the Neo-Confucianist views.

The Ch'ing rulers declared their faith in Neo-Confucianist ideals. This was used as a tool to set up and uphold their effective manages in excess of the people. For instance in 1684 AD the Emperor Kang hsi paid homage to Confucius through visiting Chufu. Though on the one hand thoughts and scholars were used to uphold the hold of ruling classes, on the other hand were the scholars who kept exposing the corrupt system. Authors like Wu Ching tzu wrote satirical works on the civil services examination.

Religion and Rebellion

We also mentioned that how the several emperors and ruling classes used religion to uphold their hold in excess of the people. Though, the case was not always so. At dissimilar intervals of time and in dissimilar areas peasant revolts took lay against the oppressive feudal rule. In mainly of the revolts the peasants and their leadership drew inspiration from religious thoughts to oppose their oppressors. We discover the stability of this trend throughout the Chinese history up to the end of 19th century.

The first recorded peasant uprising in China was the one led through Chen Sheng and Wu Guang in the early third century BC throughout the Chin rule. After that we discover a number of uprisings like the Yellow Turban Uprising (844 AD) in which Chang Jiao founded a secret religious sect Taiping Tao (Doctrine of Justice), traveled in the middle of the people to propagate his views and challenged the Eastern Han Court. After prolonged battles his peasant armies were defeated through the Han troops. Though, here we shall refer to some of the prominent revolts only where religion played a vital role in mobilizing the peasants.

- A significant peasant uprising throughout the Northern Sung rule was led through Fang (1120 AD). He drew inspiration from Manichacism to organize the peasants.
- Chung Tsiang led another uprising against the Sung in 1130 AD. He too used religion to awaken the peasants.
- Another peasant uprising was that of the Red Scarves in which a religious sect i.e. the White Lotus Society played a major role.
- The woman peasant leader Tang Saier was influenced through Buddhist and Taoist views. She led the uprising in Shantung (1420 AD i.e. early Ming era). Several nuns were arrested through the government to discover her but she could not be arrested.

- Throughout the Ch'ing rule secret religious sects and civilizations led peasant movements. For instance Lin Shuang wen, who staged an armed uprising in 1786 AD, was the leader of Heaven and Earth Society (Triad). Likewise the sect of Heavenly Cause had amongst its members mostly poor peasants. This sect challenged the Ch'ing rule in 1813-14 AD. Later on The Taiping rebellion drew inspiration from Christianity.

In information it is hard to list all such peasant uprisings. But what is to be emphasized here is that on the one hand several religious notions were used through the ruling classes to continue their hold in excess of the toiling masses and on the other the poor masses drew inspiration from religion to oppose their oppressors.

Japan: Classical Religion and Culture

After having discussed China let us shift the focus to Japan. The era spanning the introduction of Chinese thoughts and institutions to the flowering of Japanese culture, in the widest sense, throughout the Heian era laid the vital structure of a unique civilization. Throughout this time continental culture entered Japan and intermingled with existing thoughts. This interaction, though mainly peaceful, was epitomized in a seventeen article —constitutionll formulated through Prince Shotoku Taishi. Taishi represented the group which advocated the adoption of the new Buddhist thoughts.

These thoughts had originated in India and came to Japan through China and Korea. Buddhism provided sophisticated religious and philosophical system and suited the needs of an emerging state.

Indigenous Roots

Pre-Buddhist Japan was organized in matrilineal groups described uJi. Their religious thoughts were codified only in the 7th century as Shinto i.e. the —method of the Gods|. This body of thoughts placed emphasis on Kami as —superior| beings or —gods| who resided in mountains, lakes, trees and on ritual purity. The rulers claimed both spiritual and secular powers. There were a big number of deities but the main shrine at Ise became the Imperial Shrine. The rulers of this Yamato state claimed descent from the Sun Goddess, Amaterasu no Mikhami and hence they were regarded as divine.

In later era these myths of an Imperial Home tracing an unbroken lineage to the Sun Goddess and a chosen people were potent forces in supporting the destruction of the Tokugawa home and later in justifying Imperial Japan's expansion into China in the years before the Second World War.

Buddhism

The date traditionally given for the introduction of Buddhism is 552 AD but it almost certainly came in earlier brought through travelers from China and Korea. Buddhist thoughts appealed to the ruling elite. They gave rise to an intense intellectual action with a number of schools flourishing under Imperial patronage. The tensions with indigenous Shinto thoughts were minimal. The major feature of the Nara era sects of Buddhism was that they were very intellectual and aristocratic. Learned commentaries on abstract questions were attractive to the small aristocratic and educated class. Two monks, Saicho and Kukai, played a significant role in the development of Buddhism.

Saicho, basing his teachings on the Lotus Sutra, formulated a religious system which held that work, meditation, and faith led to enlightenment. The Tendai sect, as his thoughts were described, and thoughts of the Shingon (True Word) sect, used the Mahavairocana sutra and argued that the several

teachings represented dissimilar stages of enlightenment and the Mahavairocana sutra was the final and supreme stage. This could be attained through practicing the secret teachings of Shingon. The earlier emphasis on revise now shifted to rituals passed from teachers to disciples.

Both these sects flourished through the ninth and tenth centuries and establish favour in the middle of the Heian aristocracy. These thoughts of universal salvation and enlightenment throughout one's life time did not make a religion as such for the people. The nobility distant from being doctrinaire followed several doctrines simultaneously and these religious thoughts provided a guide for proper secular behaviour.

Aristocratic Culture

The guiding principle of the aristocratic culture was approach and form. Built on principles initially learned from China and influenced, as well as shaped through Buddhist thoughts, Japanese culture attained perfection throughout the Heian era. Elegance and charm are its chief features and the pursuit of secular goals the major objective.

The first collection of poems which appeared in 759 AD described the Manyoshu best symbolizes the innocence and freshness of this culture which valued natural beauty. Poetry became a very significant genre which, through much formalized conventions that determined the use of languages, was used to convey the meditations of their heart.

There were other genres and in the 11th century a masterpiece the Tale of the Genji was written through Murasaki Shikibu. She was a court attendant and the first major writer. Moreover, it is important that a woman wrote such a work throughout that era. Men learnt and were expected to write in Chinese, the language of learning while women, writing in Japanese could be more creative. This advantage led to the manufacture of several superior works through women writers.

In art and architecture the patronage of Buddhist monasteries was very significant while few examples survive. The Byodoin, an intricate intended to symbolize the Western paradise in Amida Buddhism is a fine instance. Painting was mostly on scrolls illustrating books like the Tale of the Genji.

The small aristocratic culture of the —good people (yoki hito) was narrow which insulated and pursued the search for beauty with great attention to detail. Aesthetic ideals were recognized with high status. The rapid adoption and integration of continental thoughts and the creation of a sophisticated culture with a fine sense of beauty shaped the core of the later Japanese culture.

Medieval Religion and Culture

The emergence of a warrior (bushi) culture with the Kamakura Bakufu was marked through very dissimilar values from the aristocratic Heian court. Religious development too, proceeded to widen and power the daily life of the general people. The main values underlying the thoughts of this era were heroism, self-discipline, devotion to duty and simplicity in taste. If the Tale of the Genji best symbolizes the elaborate refinements of the Heian court than the 13th century tales of war like The Heike Monogatari (Tales of the Heike) best symbolize the values and interests of the medieval era. In religion too, the elaborate rituals and intricate theologies of the classical schools of Buddhism were replaced through easy doctrines and minimal rituals. The medieval age rejected the effort to formulate all embracing philosophical systems. Instead it accepted pluralistic and even conflicting thoughts and practices. These growths were significant for the rise and growth of popular religions and their effects were felt through society at big.

Religious Growths

The mainly significant religious development throughout this era was the introduction and growth of Zen Buddhism. The warrior class establishes the thoughts of Zen very attractive and their patronage, in turn, helped in the spread and growth of these thoughts.

In the propagation of Zen the monks Dogen and Eisai (1141-1215 AD) played a pivotal role. These monks had been educated in Japan and then went to China where they were influenced through Ch'an (Dhyana). The vital principles of their doctrines emphasised the transmission of thoughts through a teacher rather than through doctrinal revise. They argued that rather than ritual or good work, self-discipline and meditation were the crucial techniques for salvation. In row with their thinking they led easy and austere lives unlike the earlier Buddhist sects whose monasteries had become elaborate and even ostentatious spaces. Zen Buddhism propagated the thought that through self-discipline the initiated could understand his inner being. Social status was not significant and all could achieve enlightenment if they averted themselves. Dogen placed emphasis on meditation (zazen) while Eisai used paradoxical statements to break the disciple's pre-conceived methods of thinking.

Amida Buddhism was also a significant religious doctrine which establishes widespread appeal in the middle of the masses. The doctrine assured anyone who whispered in true rebirth in the Western paradise or Jodo. Preachers like Genshini (942-1017 AD) and later Shinran (1173-1262 AD) traveled and recognized Jodo temples and won adherents. Shinran placed total emphasis on faith and even argued that doctrinal revise came in the method of enlightenment as it marked the assertion of the ego.

Contrary to these doctrines the monk Nichiren (1222-1282 AD) sought to discover a universalistic message in the Lotus Sutra and advocated a secure link with the state. He saw his goal as creation Japan the land of Buddhism

and denounced other sects. It was claimed that his prayers saved Japan from the Mongol invasion. This claim further increased his following.

Buddhism's spread in the middle of the people was in part due to the renunciation of celibacy for monks through Shinran. Priests could marry and raise their successors and the sects urbanized through this a stable institutional structure. Several of these groups also occupied in politics by their armies and supervised their internal affairs. Monasteries, supported through the local population, became armed centers which occupied in battle. In Kyoto, for instance, there were twenty-one heavily fortified Lotus temples. The Istiyama Honganji in Osaka was a big armed Ikko centre.

Several religious practices, including Shinto flourished as well. A Shinto scholar Kilabatake Chikafusa (1293-1353 AD) wrote an influential work on the Imperial Home which, he argued assured the destiny of Japan.

This era saw the flourishing of a diversity of schools of thought and religion united only through the thought that performance was central to their philosophies. That is through ones effort, whether secular or sacred, man could achieve his goals. Status and recognized precedents, which were central to the Heian aristocratic culture, were replaced through the glorification of action and will.

Formation of a Warrior Culture

The bushi or warriors, inspired through the new currents of philosophical and religious Thoughts, expressed a cultural vision which articulated the vital unity of man, nature, and society. This vision of a unified and interdependent whole was sustained through the bushi but was shaped with the powers which came from China and the earlier aesthetics of the nobility (kuge).

The architecture of the age symbolized this unity. The residences of the warriors were constructed so that behaviors such as religious meditation, tea ceremony, and poetry parties could be accepted out.

The literature was predominantly tales of war and usually recited through traveling monks. The *Taiheiki* or the *Chronicle of the Great Peace* narrates the disagreement flanked by 1318-1367 AD and is one of the best recognized works of this era. Several of the works express the Buddhist thought of life being impermanent and transient.

In theatre the highly formal *No* plays attained their zenith. Combining earlier traditions Kanami (1333-84 AD) and Zeami (1363-1444 AD) codified a *No* into a powerful dramatic medium. Though highly stylized the plays dealt with the inner emotions, compassion, hatred, and the Buddhist ideals of examining the self. Music, which was an integral of the performance, was also used very effectively.

Paintings were influenced through Zen artists of the Sung and Yuan. These charcoal ink paintings (*Sumie*) were easy and direct and represented not a detailed representation of phenomena but an emotional response to it. One of the greatest of these schools was recognized through Kano Masanoku (1434-1530 AD). This Kano school urbanized decorative elements and the use of vivid colors.

The tea ceremony symbolized the austere taste and philosophical predilections of the warrior class. Tea, introduced from China, became the centre of an artistic and philosophical system. The tea room, whose dimensions were based on the cell of the Indian Buddhist teacher Umitakirti, was a small easy room where the guests assembled to drink tea. As practised through masters such as Sen no Rikya (1522-91 AD) the ceremony became symbolic of Buddhist thoughts and was a highly cautiously crafted performance. The tea intensity and the gardens outside the tea room were expressive artistic achievements.

The culture of the warriors was patronized through the monasteries and wealthy merchants. It urbanized and sustained integral links with the popular culture and allowed a wide diversity of artistic behaviors to flourish in spite of the political disorders which prevailed. The medieval world left the confined spaces of the aristocracy and establishes a vital and creative source of inspiration in the middle of the people.

Religion and Culture in the Tokugawa Era

The relative peace and political stability throughout the Tokugawa era enabled social dealings to be stabilized and allowed the ruling groups to enunciate an ideology for the new order. The doctrines of Confucianism, particularly the version propagated through Chu Hsi described Neo-Confucianism had been recognized in Japan from the 12th century but it now became the dominant philosophical system. The creation of a system of universal beliefs was matched through the importance of the warrior class emerging as cultural elite in a hierarchically ordered society.

Peace and prosperity also enabled the emergence of a creative and popular culture. Economic prosperity and the political compulsions which forced the warriors to live in municipalities led to greater urbanization. The chonin or towns people culture was pre-eminently the creation of the rising merchant class.

The organic conception of an ordered social hierarchy was pressured through the emerging forces of change. Growth and development, in turn, helped to dissolve the recognized norms and hierarchies and gave rise to movements, such as those which attempted to revive the central location of the Emperor. These internal movements finally succeeded in bringing down the

Tokugawa Bakufu when it was faced through pressures from the Western powers.

Patterns of Thought

Chu Hsi's Neo-Confucianism amalgamated Confucian concepts with Mahayana Buddhism and, in Japan his emphasis on the importance of the five human relationships (flanked by father-son, ruler-subject, husband-wife, older-younger brother and flanked by friends) and the obligations these imposed were establish to be attractive. Scrupulous importance was given to loyalty.

The Bakufu employed Confucian scholars as advisors, the mainly well-known of whom was Hayashi Razen (1583-1619 AD) who founded an academy in 1633 in Edo. Both Confucian thoughts and Shinto beliefs were seen as similar in that they demanded loyalty to the ruler. These scholars propagated what appeared as the ideology of the ruling class. The warriors were encouraged to revise appropriate texts and learn both military and civil arts (bunbu).

Martial arts had been a part of the bushi's educational curriculum but throughout the great peace of the Tokugawa, Yamag Soko (1622-85) and others enunciated a philosophy for the warriors which came to be recognized as Bushido (The Method of the Warrior). With no battles to fight the samurai was encouraged to be eternally vigilant in the service of his lord.

The bushi used Neo-Confucian thoughts to describe their superiority in excess of the other groups but the core of widely accepted values was disseminated because of the rising literacy of the people. Ishida Baigan (1685-1744 AD) taught the thoughts of self-farming to the merchants while Ninomiya (1787-1856 AD) — described —the peasant sage^{ll} — promised his teaching' on the thought of a debt of gratitude for life.

The questioning of recognized beliefs grew out of a revise of ancient texts. The school of national learning (Kokugaka) began with philological studies of the poetry collection of Manyoshu and The Tale of the Genji and ended up criticizing the Chinese method of thinking. Scholars like Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801 AD) who spent a life time annotating early texts urged a return to the true spirit of Japan. This trend was influential in reviving interest in the Imperial Home. The Mito school in 1657 had started writing a history of Japan—a work within this loyalist custom—which stretched to 397 volumes.

The questioning and rising diversity of thought was also apparent in the works of Ogyu Sorai (1666-1728 AD) a strong supporter of samurai rule. He though, questioned the excessive reliance on Chu Hsi and wrote: —the world changes, carrying languages (or language) with it. Languages change, carrying the method with them. This is the main because the method is not clear.¶ Hence, he also accentuated reading the original writings of Confucius. These questionings of recognized thoughts introduced a conflicting diversity in the intellectual life of the era. The bushi and the townsmen articulated new rows of thought which were influential in creating the new order of Meiji Japan.

An influential face stream was that of Dutch scholars. When Japan had severed dealings with Western powers a small group of the Dutch were allowed to stay on a man-made island, Deshima, off Nagasaki. Japanese trained as Dutch interpreters served as transmitters of Western knowledge — particularly in relation to the medicine, painting and gunnery. Several of these interpreters were physicians, like Sugita Genpelen and towards the end of the Tokugawa era several of them provided valuable information in relation to the red haired barbarians‘ as the Dutch were described.

A significant ingredient which made this intense intellectual action possible was the widespread literacy. Schools described terakoya run through Buddhist temples provided vital education to ordinary people. Several of the han or fiefs had their own schools. In 1865 73 per cent of the daimyo had their

own schools. Private academies run through Confucian scholars or those of other persuasions also provided a way to learn. Some scholars suggest 40 per cent male literacy (10 to female) but though the figure may be debatable it does indicate the spread of literacy at that time.

The Rise of an Urban Culture

The initial burst of culture, as Japan was brought to peace under the efforts of Nobunaga, Hideyoshi, and Tokugawa Iyeyasu, recognized as Momoyama culture was brash, even vulgar and ostentatious. The great castles were expression of this new power of the rulers and the masochism of the early Tokugawa rulers at Nikko with their highly ornate architectural approach are an apt expression of the prevailing taste. These castles were decorated with lavish paintings and the rulers patronized tea masters and skilled craftsmen.

Under the Tokugawa samurai creativity was apparent till the mid-seventeenth century. But the vital elements of the new culture were created and inspired through the merchant and artisans of the towns. The epitome of this culture was the ukiyoe or —the floating world. In this social legroom where money rather than status was the dominant principle new shapes of writing, painting, and drama were brought to perfection.

The poet turned novelist Ihara Saikaku (1642-1693) wrote of this world with force and humor. The stories centered approximately the daily troubles and life in the pleasure quarters—scandals, waste fortunes and the troubles of love. They won him a wide readership. These novels were illustrated with wood block prints, an art which urbanized throughout the era. The prints were usually of the women of the licensed quarters but also incorporated well-known spots and daily life as well as well-known actors.

Kabuki, a popular dramatic form which often looked upon plots from earlier legends but often dealt with star crossed love as well as, was very popular. The plays with their lively dialogue and dramatic presentation exercised a wide appeal.

In poetry Matsuo Basho (1644-1694 AD) perfected the concise seventeen syllable haiku. This short, suggestive form encapsulated the delicate sensibilities and the vitality of earlier cultural practices. A diversity of literary shapes attest to the vitality of the era. *Gesaku* or stories written for amusement is a term used to cover a range of genres or shapes of writing.

Artistic manufacture was not connected only to literature and block prints but sheltered a wide field of behaviors. The Kano school sustained to flourish and the gorgeous screens produced through Ogata Korin are in the middle of the best examples from this era of fine painting. Some of the finest ceramics were produced throughout this time. Ogata Kozan (1663-1743 AD), the brother of Ogata Korin, was a well-recognized potter. Much of Japanese pottery was exported in late sixteenth century to Europe where it was a major power. Lacquer ware was also widely in demand. The tea ceremony, landscape gardening, and flower arrangement also grew into significant behaviors.

The possibilities of this cultural action were created due to economic prosperity. Literacy enabled the creation of a wider audience and printing also urbanized. Japan had learnt of movable kind in the late sixteenth century but because of the aesthetic demands of the language it went back to block printing. Materials published had an immense range of readers, some learned others not. So, some works used Chinese characters without any notation others indicated the pronunciation and some were written in the more easily read Japanese syllabi.

The high point of this town culture was approximately the year 1700 described the Genroku era. After that the creativity declined though there were

artists and writers who sought new directions. Through the time Commodore Mathew Perry came to open Japan to the West, the intellectual order created in the seventeenth century was disrupted and the leading thinkers were searching for new routes and formulating new questions.

TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: CHINA AND JAPAN

Components of Traditional Chinese Economy

In an underdeveloped economy, it is often hard to draw a clear row flanked by traditional and modern components. Through the traditional economy one means sectors or such features of economic action which have urbanized indigenously. China's traditional economy evolved in a slow and gradual procedure in which organizations, techniques of manufacture and sharing, etc. were urbanized in excess of a extensive span of time. The Chinese attitude towards life, methods of livelihood and doing business had a bearing on these organizational behaviors which were not subject to swift and frequent changes.

On the other hand, sure contemporary economic characteristics were introduced from outside. They usually represented an advance and newer method of doing things. These were also incorporated and adapted and the procedure was one of innovations. It is worth mentioning here that China has been very rich in natural possessions. The vastness of land, fertile plains, forest wealth, reserves of minerals and coal, rich water possessions, etc. have all contributed in the economic development. Though, the economic development of China passed through several phases witnessing progress as well as regression. The main components of the traditional Chinese economy can be classified as agriculture, handicrafts, trade, indigenous transportation, and service behaviors.

Agriculture

China has predominantly been an agricultural society. Agriculture advanced in excess of the years beside with changes in the agrarian structure and dealings. The manufacture dealings in agriculture passed through several stages; from hunter-gatherers to slavery and feudalism. All these stages left their spot on agrarian dealings. There appeared two patterns of land ownership — private and communal. The private ownership of land gave rise to landlordism. The communal ownership of land incorporated royal and government estates as well as military and monastic lands. Interestingly, all these patterns of land ownership expanded and functioned in a feudal system. Dissimilar types of taxes were imposed through the state as well as the landlords and the state regulations proved beneficial to the landlords. For instance the monastic landlords were exempted from paying taxes and labour services. This was in spite of their big lands, assets, and works. Here, we are not going into the complexities of the agrarian dealings throughout the several stages of the development of the agrarian system. Though, throughout all the stages we discover sure technological advances in the field of agriculture. Particularly, throughout the eighth and twelfth centuries AD agriculture was transformed to a big extent. We know in relation to the changes from a diversity of sources. For instance:

- Chueh Szuhsieh (throughout the Northern Wei Dynasty) wrote a book, *The Manual of Significant Arts for the People* which sheltered a diversity of themes related to agriculture like sowing operations, adopting agriculture manufacture according to local circumstances, farm apparatus, husbandry and emphasis on high yields for it read: —Better reap good harvests in excess of small regions than poor harvests in excess of big regions.¶
- Lu Yu (733-804 AD) wrote *The Book of Tea* which mentioned in relation to the farming of tea bushes and tea-processing methods.
- In 1149 AD Chan Fu wrote a book *Agriculture* which dealt with paddy field work.

- In 1273 AD the Yuan government issued *The Fundamentals of Agriculture and Sericulture* which contained details in relation to the cotton rising techniques.
- Wang Chen wrote a book *On Agriculture* flanked by 1295-1300 AD. This book gave illustrations of agricultural implements and operations.

Besides the advancement in the methods of agricultural operations we discover an improvement in the excellence of apparatus also. For instance the popularization of iron smelting through hydro-power flows tremendously increased the manufacture of iron agricultural implements.

The Sui-Tang era witnessed a new kind of plough which had eleven parts and was adjustable for working in varying depths. Throughout the early Ming era efforts were made to bring more land under farming. For instance King Chu Yuan advocated that the soldiers posted at frontiers should devote 70 per cent of their efforts towards farming and 30 per cent towards defense. For soldiers posted in the interior the ratio was 80:20 per cent. Though, in due course of time the Ming government increased taxes on the peasantry.

The land system that gained prominence under the Ming was manorial. Its vital feature was that the peasant held land from the landlord and in return he owed sure dues and services. For instance, he was supposed to work for a number of days on the landlords' lands. This system remained quite effective till the 15th century. Though, a number of peasant uprisings contributed to the decline of the Ming dynasty. Some of them were:

- The uprising in Shantung under the leadership of a woman peasant Tang Saie (1420 AD)
- The peasant uprisings under the leadership of Yeh Tsung lie in Chejiang province (1445-50 AD)
- In 1448 AD, in Fujian province, Teng Mao chi declared himself the —King of levelers‡ and led the peasants in armed uprising
- The peasant uprisings in Shaanshi province (from 1627 AD onwards), etc.

In information feudal oppression, famines and floods left their spot on agriculture. The Ch'ing era witnessed a gradual rise in the land under farming. For instance, in 1661 the total land under farming was 82,350,000 acres and through 1812 it had gone up to 118,500,000 acres. Agricultural development centered approximately the farming of rice and cash crops. Land tax remained the greatest tax.

Though, there also appeared a labour market. A big number of hired laborers worked on the lands of the landlords on seasonal, yearly, or daily foundation. Though this was in specific areas only it slowly paved the method to free the laborer from feudal manage to sell his labour.

Another significant development in the pattern of land ownership was the emergence of a new landlord class. This consisted of government officials, gentry, and merchants.

The Ch'ing rule witnessed a number of peasant revolts, the mainly well-known one being the Great White Lotus Rebellion (1796-1804). But it was only throughout the 1850s that the Taipings attempted to set up a new agrarian structure in China.

Handicrafts Industry

Chinese handicrafts, particularly from the Shang era (1523-1027 BC), have been of a high excellence. For instance excavations have acquiesced beautiful pottery and bronze vessels of this era. The manufacture of such items sustained and the mainly regularly pursued handicrafts were:

- Pottery
- Lacquer and Porcelain ware
- Bronze items like vessels, weapons and apparatus, etc.
- Cloth, and
- Paper

Likewise salt creation, iron smelting etc. urbanized as specialized skills. The traditional handicrafts industry urbanized as a subsidiary to

agriculture. This was because the seasonal character of agricultural operations gave ample time to the peasants to engage themselves in handicrafts manufacture. Slowly self-governing craftsmen also appeared on the scene in rural as well as urban centers. Though, the techniques of manufacture remained mainly primitive where only easy apparatus were used. Several items had a market even outside the country. For instance throughout the Han era Chinese brocade was in great demand in Rome.

At dissimilar intervals sure innovations were also accepted out. For instance throughout the Three Kingdoms era the old weaving loom was made easier to operate through reducing the number of pedals from 60 to 12. Likewise the paper made throughout the Tang era was well-known for its fine and even texture in several countries outside China. High excellence porcelains were produced under the Sung and Yuan dynasties. Some of the well-known kilns were situated at Henan, Kaifeng etc. Through the time of Ming-Ch'ing era the blue vase and the multicolored vase were the mainly well-known products.

The salt industry had expanded throughout the Tang era and through Ch'ing era a big work force, consisting thousands of workers, was employed in salt creation plants.

Sure achievements were made in the field of iron smelting and new methods of creation steel were introduced throughout the Ming era. Coke was used as fuel for iron smelting. Smelting of zinc, a very hard procedure, was done in China since the early decades of fifteenth century and later the method spread to Europe.

Engraved wood block printing had appeared throughout the Tang era and through Ming-Ch'ing era printing was also being done through movable kind made of copper, lead, tin, or wood. Besides the regular printing plate now the multi-printing plate was also introduced.

Spinning and weaving remained a subsidiary job but from the middle decades of the Ming rule it also urbanized as a self-governing enterprise, manufacturing for the market. For instance, throughout the early Ming era we discover the proof of hired weavers working on the looms of a wealthy merchant. It was accounted throughout the Wan Li era that:

- —Craftsmen in Hangzhou, having their own employers, were paid wages on a daily foundation. Those who had no regular employers stood on a bridge early in the morning waiting for their names to be described.¶

This designates that a free labour market had appeared. Several rich weavers also increased the number of looms in order to hire other weavers to augment manufacture. A significant development was the sharing of raw materials to weavers, dyers, and stampers through cloth merchants. The raw material was processed stepwise till the final product came. Hence, on the one hand the rich weavers were becoming owners of workshops and on the other the merchants, acting as contractors, organized textile manufacture. Though, these behaviors were confined to South-eastern China only. Yet, they represented the beginning of capitalism in China. A new type of class thrash about was also emerging. We discover proofs of protest against augment in taxes on looms. For instance in the closing years of sixteenth century several workers went on strike in Suchou when the tax superintendent increased taxes on looms.

Similar incidents were witnessed in the mining industry. In 1603 the workers of the Hsi shan mine went to Peking to demonstrate against the high-headedness of the mine superintendent. In 1606 the office of the tax collector was burnt through the miners of Yunan. Yangjung, the mine superintendent, killed more than one thousand miners in retaliation. This further enraged the miners and more than two hundred of Yang's followers were killed. All these incidents showed the rising awareness in the middle of the workers.

Though the Chinese industry did not develop on contemporary rows (as was the case in Europe) handicraft workshops represented the highest stage of development in the traditional industry of China.

Indigenous Transport

As we all know communications play a vital role in the growth of a country's economy. In traditional China the mainly vital transportation link

was through the rivers and canals. In information from very old days—particularly the Chin-Han era — water conservancy projects were urbanized in relation to navigation, agriculture, and animal husbandry. Some of the significant canals dug throughout this era were:

- Liu Chu canal
- Tsao-chu canal built under the supervision of Hsu po, an expert on water conservancy, and
- In 69 AD the Haunghe river was harnessed under the supervision of Wang Chin, etc.

In all these projects a vast labour force was involved. These projects also improved the transportation of grain. A strange author listed 137 major waterways in China throughout the Three Kingdoms era in his work *Water methods Classic*. Through 6th century AD Li Tao-Yuan mentioned 1252 other waterways in his work.

Flanked by sixth to twelfth century AD a number of canals were built at state initiative. The aim was to link the principal rivers in North China. The construction of Grand Canal, which stretched six hundred miles from Hankchou to Shantung province, was a major attainment. Besides helping in the transportation system the canals also improved irrigation facilities.

It is worth mentioning here the efforts of Pan Chi hsun in supervising water conservancy works and navigation beside the Huanghe and Huai rivers throughout the sixteenth century. He even wrote two books: *My Humble View of the Two Rivers* and *An Outline of River Manage*.

Throughout the Ming-Ch'ing era big-level efforts were made to improve transportation through rivers and canals. Though, rampant corruption appeared in this region. In 1811 AD it was estimated that more than half the budget of water manage was lost in corruption. The post of superintendent of water manage acquiesced the main amount of bribery.

As distant as land routes are concerned, the Tang and Sung governments not only maintained the earlier routes but also improved them.

The situation remained the similar throughout the Ming-Ch'ing era. Efforts were also made to clear the main routes from pirates.

Ocean navigation in China had an extensive history and through the nineteenth century sure coastal villages and major ports had urbanized for overseas trade.

Improvements in communications immensely contributed towards the formation of a nationwide market and gave impetus to trade.

Trade and Commerce

In ancient China trade was mainly controlled through nobles or officials. This was the case particularly throughout the Chou era. Through the Warring States era we discover that merchants had appeared as a social class. There is a reference to a merchant Pai Kui who made big fortunes through the purchase of grain and selling silk and lacquer ware in the years of good harvests. In the years of bad harvests he sold grain and bought textile and cotton goods. The ancient silk route was well-recognized and through first century AD Chinese merchants were trading with the Western World. Through the time of Tang rule Chinese commodities had a market in Arabia, Japan and other countries. The mainly significant items of trade were silk fabrics and porcelain wares. A significant development throughout this era was the appearance of —fei qian (means flying money) a bill of swap.

Throughout the Sung, Chin and Yuan era paper currency also appeared in China. Extensive trade also led to urbanization and establishment of market centers. For instance in Hangzhou commercial behaviors were accepted out even in night and the municipality had more than twenty licensed pawn shops. Marco Polo described Dadu, throughout Yuan rule, a municipality where one thousand carts filled with silk were transported every day.

Very often there were protests through merchants against high taxation. For instance in 1599 the merchants of Lin Ching (in Shantung province) went on strike against the tax superintendent and burnt his office. There also appeared local merchant associations (Tung-hsiang hui) but till the nineteenth century they could not consolidate merchants' interests and powers.

The merchants were termed lower in social stratification and the government imposed several types of controls on them. For instance:

- Licensing was there in items like salt manufacture and sharing,
- Trade in rice was dominated through grain tribute system, and
- Direct manage was kept on silks and pottery made in imperial manufactories.

Obstacles in Capitalistic Development

Some characteristics of initial capitalistic development had appeared in China throughout the late Ming and Ch'ing era. Though, its normal growth was hindered due to a diversity of reasons. Let us briefly look at some of them.

- For an extensive time China had a self-enough economy, under a feudal set-up. This, to a big extent, effected manufacture procedures. For instance, we have already seen how peasants were exploited through landlords. Hence, any augment in productivity benefited the landlord whereas the peasant received no share in it. The peasant manufactures either of food granules or handicrafts remained confined to meet the daily demands of the traditional household. Therefore, the emphasis on traditional household structure restricted market dealings and commercial activities. This in turn hindered the expansion of industrial capitalism.
- The handicraft guilds in China worked under strict regulations. These regulations were imposed through the feudal government to have a strict manage in excess of the artisans. Moreover, the regulations related to the sharing of raw materials, grading of finished products etc., forestalled competitions in the market and this again hindered capitalist development.
- The attitude of the feudal government towards commerce, handicraft, textile, and mining industries was also an obstacle in the development of capitalist shapes of manufacture. For instance the Ch'ing

government levied heavy taxes on tea, salt, and liquor; often purchased products at low prices and restricted the movement of products as well as traders. Several a times' mines were closed arbitrarily despite the profits. This was done so because the government was afraid that the constant waiting jointly and interaction amongst the miners might make troubles for the government.

- Status wise merchants remained at the lowest stages in Chinese society. In order to obtain social status they invested in buying lands. This diverted a considerable amount of money which otherwise could have played a role in commercial and industrial development.
- Investments in land and money-lending were measured a profitable business. This prevented the transformation of wealth into industrial capital.
- Restrictions imposed on foreign trade throughout the Ming and Ch'ing era adversely affected the manufacture of sure commodities of trade.

In short we can say that though cracks were emerging in feudal system it was the feudal power on economy that restricted the development of capitalism in China.

Japanese Economy

Human beings began inhabiting the Japanese islands as early as 10,000 BC, but little is recognized in relation to the societies. Early humans in Japan, though, mainly existed on hunting and gathering. It was at a latter stage that settled agriculture became the practice. Sometime throughout the final era of what is described the Jomon era (rope pattern pots), a name given because of the distinctive pottery, rice farming was introduced from continental Asia into Kyushu. Initially rice was grown in arid seed beds or swamps.

Rice farming spread in the following Yayoi era and in the relic's scenes of pounding rice and storehouses can be seen. Since that time rice has played not only a significant economic role but its farming has strengthened

cooperative behaviour as well. The need to share both water possessions and labour helped in the creation of village societies. The lack of flat ground led to terraced meadows and rice became the crucial element in the Japanese diet.

Early Japanese society was organized into patriarchal clans and each depended on occupational groups who shaped hereditary guilds. These were described be or tomo. There were armourers, weavers, potters, woodcutters, and fishermen. Therefore, at the birth of Japanese civilization several of the economic practices of later periods were already apparent

Chinese Power

Throughout the eighth century the reforms inspired through Chinese models helped to change the patriarchal groups into a civil mobility. The abolition of private title to land was one of the more distant reaching changes. The vesting of title on the land to the Imperial power led to surveys of land and population. The surveys encountered difficulties as the terrain was hilly and concepts of land ownership were also very unclear. The new system described Ku-bun-din (mouth division rice meadows) assigned 2,000 sq.m. to a man and in relation to the two thirds of this to a woman. Taxes on this were to be paid in rice, labour and other products.

The Chinese administrative system was grafted on to what was still a society with very little trade and a primitive agriculture. Money was not used regularly and the coins which have been establish were from China.

The Imperial power sought to augment its revenue base and encouraged people to bring land under farming. In 722 AD an order was given to bring 2-1/2 million hectares under the flow. This was in relation to the total region then being cultivated. The rulers granted tax exemption as well as made scarce iron apparatus accessible. Several of the big temples such as Todaji were also involved in this task. Spades and hoes were the main apparatus used. Irrigation channels were also built. Though, because of several troubles the system was not successful and led to the development of feudal structures.

The economy, in spite of troubles, had urbanized. Money came into greater use as copper was exposed in 708 AD and a mint recognized. Rice and even salaries began to be expressed in money conditions. Gold coins were

produced in 760 AD and even rates of swap flanked by copper, silver and gold began to be fixed.

In the Heian era (784-1185 AD) agricultural land expanded but increasingly the revenue from these estates was taken not through the Imperial power but through those who controlled the estates (shoen). The rising power of military families as well as of temples was accepted out at the expense of the Court. Therefore, through 902 AD, land allotments under the Kti-bun-din system were stopped and the number of shoen or manors began to grow.

Artisans throughout the Heian era provided the elegant trappings of the nobility. In officially run workshops the products for this highly refined culture were created. Paper creation, for instance, was urbanized. Flanked by April and July on an average a worker made 196 sheets per day. Silversmiths dedicated in casting or polishing and rim creation, etc. Payments were in rice and salt. Through the 9th or 10th century it appears that professional artisans with a prescribed manufacture output and defined pay were instituted and this sustained for a extensive era in Japan.

Shoen and the Rise of the Warriors

Shoen or manors were territories where the proprietor assumed mainly of the duties of governance and took in excess of all fiscal rights. Some of the first shoen were given to Buddhist temples and even the Emperor controlled shoen land Through the end of the 11th century the Court had lost mainly of its land and through the 13th century the whole country was divided into five thousand shoen. Several proprietors had multiple holdings. This system became a structure of government totally alien to the Taiho code because now relationships flanked by the several landholders and the cultivators depended on private agreement. The cultivator, moreover, saw the dues he received not as a salary but coming to him because of sure personal benefits to superiors. Hence, the link flanked by them became more personal.

The Kamukura Bakufu based its power on a framework of mutual loyalties and tried to institute a system of land tenure and government in the provinces where a big number of practices were being followed. For instance, under this system:

- Stewards were appointed to bring waste land under farming as well as to oversee the collection of taxes and a new set of rules described the Joel code sought to give a guide to the vassals of the Kamakura Bakufu.

These rules, through attempting to treat disputes impartially, brought some relief to the cultivator and in essence sustained to remain in force till the nineteenth century.

Though, the life of the cultivator sustained at a primitive stage. Taxes were as high as two-thirds of the produce and rice remained a luxury which mainly could not afford. The cultivators or *hyakusho* (Man with a hundred names that is one who is referred to through several such names) did not have a family name. Their staple food was wheat and millet. In the 14th century *soba* (buckwheat) began to be cultivated as well and shaped a staple in the cultivator's diet. Roads were primitive and travel unsafe.

Coastal shipping had begun to develop and trade with China was restarted after having been stopped in 894 AD. The Japanese lacked ships capable of creation the voyage and goods were accepted in Chinese vessels. Kamakura Japan imported Chinese silks; brocade, perfumes, as well as copper coins and tea. The Japanese exports incorporated gold, mercury, tar, lacquer ware, screens and swords. This list of exports designates that Japanese crafts including sword manufacture had attained a high stage through this time. Swords were necessary not only for the warriors but significant in Shinto, the indigenous belief system as well. Through the end of the 10th century sword blades were signed through master craftsmen. Beside with this the distinctive amour was urbanized ay well. For instance narrow iron plates were held jointly with colored cord. Lacquer had been used not only on small objects but for structures and shrines as well for a extensive time. From the tenth century a new technique was evolved in which gold and silver powder was sprinkled on to lacquer which had not dehydrated. Then another layer of lacquer was applied and polished so that the design appeared. The development of these skills and techniques made the Japanese products more attractive to the

Chinese. Finally, the import of copper coins demonstrates that internal trade and commerce was also rising and a greater use of money was required.

Life throughout these times was spartan even for the ruling warrior class. The homes were modest in level and built to accommodate their retainers as well as provided with legroom for archery, fencing and horsemanship. Heat was generated from small charcoal fires and light from oil lamps. The tatami or rush mat now commonly used in Japan only appeared in the 15th century. The Japanese had already urbanized the thought of taking hot baths or steam baths. These baths were built either through the wealthy people in their houses or in big temples.

The Country at War

The Kamakura Bakufu was destroyed in 1333 AD and the rule of their successors, the Ashikaga, lasted in effect till 1568 when Oda Nobunaga entered Kyoto. The era flanked by 1467-1568 AD is described the ‘country at war’ (Sengoku). In spite of unsettled circumstances and endemic fighting the productivity of land actually improved throughout this era.

Farming techniques became more rigorous and the use of human and animal manure became widespread. Farming implements were also improved and double cropping followed in the region flanked by the Kansai and the Kanto. New crops like barley, imported from Indo-China, were also cultivated. The Zen monasteries, because of their interest in tea ceremonies, grew tea. Hemp was the main source of fibre for clothing for the people while silk was confined to the aristocracy.

Copper, gold and silver had been mined earlier but now skilled, smelters were brought from China and Korea and their skills used to improve the excellence of Japanese goods. Likewise silk weavers were brought from China and potters and cloth manufacturers from Korea.

Internal trade led to the growth of markets which urbanized either at the gates of big temples or approximately the castles of the Daimyo. They were usually held on fixed days like, the 4th, 14th or 24th day of the month. Wholesale trade also urbanized. The wholesale merchants or banya started behaviors of banking and future trading. They also became money-lenders.

Throughout this era merchants began to form guilds or za. These guilds were exempted from sure taxes and they recognized their own networks. They usually had a temple or a noble as a patron.

Communications were still hard because of numerous barriers but there was an improvement, particularly in river and coastal traffic. Therefore, new towns urbanized on the coast like Otsu, Tswauga and Hakata. Japan had a population of approximately 10 million in the 13th century and through the 17th century it is conjectured to be 18 million.

Of course these are very tentative estimates but they do indicate the range of development.

Trade with China had suffered a setback after the attempted Mongol invasion in the 13th century. In 1542 it was restarted. Though, due to several troubles with the Ming rulers, these attempts once again ended through 1548 AD. These troubles incorporated the limits placed on the number of ships, as well as demands through the Chinese that the Japanese authorities suppress the Japanese pirates who were marauding on the coast.

Approximately 1585 the Portuguese opened a base at Macao and from here they began to trade with the Japanese. Trade was initially connected with the Christian missions and trade profits financed the behaviors of the missionaries. The Portuguese traders not only brought Chinese silks but also guns. Though, their missionary action created troubles and jointly with the advent of the English and Dutch, rivalries urbanized. This, jointly with internal growths within Japan led Tokugawa Keyom to issue the edicts prescribing Christianity in Japan (27 January 1614 AD) and in 1616 foreign trade was limited to the ports of Nagasaki and Hirado. In 1635 an artificial island, Deshima, was built off Nogasba and the Dutch were allowed to live there. Through 1640 Japan had cut off contacts with the Western countries and remained mainly secluded for the after that two and a half centuries.

Economy in the Tokugawa Era

The transition to the Tokugawa era was marked through continuities as well as discontinuities. The prolonged political stability under a centralized

bureaucracy allowed economic growth and led to social changes. The closure of the country made foreign trade a very minor aspect in economic life. Though, the political system which required samurai vassals to live in municipalities and the Daimyo to leave hostages in Edo led to the urbanization of a primarily agrarian society. The growth of urban centers increased commercial and artisanal action and began to change social dealings as money began to play a crucial role. Hereditary status began to lose ground to wealth. These growths attest to the evolving and dynamic character of the economy and society of the Tokugawa era.

Urbanization compared to the earlier era was a noticeable trend. The capital Edo had a population of in excess of a million in the 18th century while Osaka, the commercial centre had almost half a million inhabitants. Because of the system of alternative attendance, more than two hundred new transit towns grew up beside the highways. There were ten local municipalities of forty to fifty thousand or more inhabitants. Scholars have calculated that through the end of the 18th century 15 per cent of the total population or in relation to the 4 million people existed in towns. The samurai, though belonging to the ruling class, were slowly losing their economic hold. This was because their stipends were losing purchasing power.

The urban concentration led to greater commercialization and the merchant society, in spite of its low social status, came to play a vital role. While the merchants of England and France derived a big part of their strength from the international trade, Japanese merchants' powers had a purely domestic character. Their economic location depended on the privileges granted to them through the Tokugawa home.

The early merchant homes like, Konikeya Zenenwn, built their wealth through acting as financial mediators and running warehouses from which rice for the Daimyo.

Slowly their money-lending behaviors became social troubles faced through the Daimyo increased. These merchants had, before acquiring the monopoly privileges, often been sake brewers, an job practised through rich fanners. The Tokugawa set up a guild in 1670 which gave these merchants a monopoly in excess of banking, credit and financial functions. The fortunes of

these merchants were intimately connected with that of the Bakufu, and they did not survive the Restoration, of 1868. For instance, the abolition of the sankin-kotai system was the first indication that their dominance had come to an end.'

The end of the 17th and early 18th centuries saw the growth of inter-local trade which led to the improvement of communications. Rising productivity also allowed local specialization. Merchant homes like Mitsui began to contract the total textile manufacture of an region through advancing working capital and opened retail shops to sell directly to the consumers. Flanked by 1680-1720 such merchants helped to build up inter-local trade.

Through 1800 Tokugawa Japan saw the development of local commerce in which the farmer turned businessmen played an active role. This also led several Daimyo, who were facing financial troubles, to seek the help of these entrepreneurs. In 1861, for instance, a rural businessman of Tottori han was placed in charge of silk-cocoon marketing. He was even given the privilege of wearing two swords which was allowed only to the samurai.

The Bakufu maintained manage in excess of the merchants, though not always successfully. It also contributed to creating a custom of state-industry ties which played dominant role in subsequent Japanese development. Through the 18th century commercialization was widespread and almost a third of the Bakufu's agricultural tax was payable in money.

The monetary system allowed only the Tokugawa to mint coins but the Daimyo could print paper money for local use. The value of the coin was determined not through its metallic content but through the value assigned to it.

The rural population was composed of a big number of landless laborers and tenant farmers. Urban growth created a labour shortage in the municipalities. This made possible the movement of the rural poor to municipalities. Moreover, better farming techniques, improved implements and the spread of commercial action helped to augment the economic vitality of some areas. But these benefits were unevenly distributed and created imbalances. The landlords used their gains in productivity to go into creation oil, brewing sake, textile manufacture or money-lending. The dissolution of

the rural order compounded through years of famine, particularly in the 1780s and 1830s increased the frequency and duration of peasant revolts. The 17th century was relatively peaceful, but, from 1750 there were more than six —disturbances a year. They were often violent, and aimed not only against the government but the rural rich. Towards the end of the era several of these uprisings assumed a millenarian character that is they described for a return to a righteous order which was supposed to have lived earlier.

The cause of rural poverty is debated through scholars. Ando Seichi, for instance, argues that if the Tokugawa rulers had been able to transfer their financial difficulties to the peasantry they would not have suffered such difficulties. J.W. Hall sees the era as one of overall growth and prosperity but blames rural poverty on unequal sharing and local imbalance.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

- Discuss the people and ecology of East Asia.
- Discuss the procedure for recruitment of bureaucrats in China.
- What were the main factors responsible for administrative decline in China?
- What were the primary occupations during the Tokugawa period?
- Discuss the nature and objectives of religion in classical period of China.
- Write a short note on Neo-Confucianism.
- Discuss the Aristocratic culture prevailing during Japanese Classical period.
- Discuss the importance of Canal system.
- Discuss the obstacles in the capitalistic development in China.

CHAPTER 2

Western Imperialism

STRUCTURE

- Learning objectives
- The opium wars in china
- The unequal treaty system in china
- Japan and the west (up to the Meiji restoration)
- Review questions

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this chapter, you should be able to:

- Learn about the background to, and the main events of, the Opium Wars.
- Understand the nature of the Chinese response to the Western presence in China in this period
- "Unequal treaties" signed between China and the western powers and Japan in the 19th century.
- Know about the initial contacts Japan had with the Western countries.
- Learn why Japan adopted a policy of isolation.

THE OPIUM WARS IN CHINA

The Opium Wars, also recognized as the Anglo-Chinese Wars, divided into the First Opium War from 1839 to 1842 and the Second Opium War from 1856 to 1860. These were the climax of disputes in excess of trade and diplomatic dealings flanked by China under the Qing Dynasty and the British Empire.

Opium has been recognized in China since the 7th century and for centuries it was used for medicinal purposes. It was not until the 17th century that the practice of mixing opium with tobacco for smoking was introduced into China through Europeans.

The import of Opium into China stood at 200 chests (annual) in 1729, when the first anti-opium edict was promulgated. This edict was weakly enforced, and through the time Chinese authorities reissued the prohibition in starker conditions in 1799, the figure had leaped; 4,500 chests were imported in the year 1800. The decade of the 1830s witnessed a rapid rise in opium trade, and through 1838 (presently before the first Opium War) it climbed to 40,000 chests. The rise sustained on after the Treaty of Nanking that concluded the war.

The opium trafficked into China had come from East India Company's operations in Bengal, British India, produced at its two factories in Patna and Benares. In the 1820s, opium from Malwa in the non-British controlled parts of India became accessible, and as prices fell due to competition, manufacture was stepped up.

These commodities were accepted through British merchants to the coast of China, where they sold for a good profit. With the drain of silver and the rising number of the people becoming victims of the drug, the Daoguang Emperor demanded action. Officials at the court, who advocated legalization of the trade in order to tax it, were defeated through those who advocated suppression. In 1838, the Emperor sent Lin Zexu to Guangzhou, where he quickly arrested Chinese opium dealers and summarily demanded that foreign firms turn in excess of their stocks. When they refused, Lin stopped trade altogether and placed the foreign residents under virtual siege, eventually forcing the merchants to surrender their opium to be destroyed.

In response, the British government sent expeditionary forces from India, which ravaged the Chinese coast and dictated the conditions of resolution. The Treaty of Nanking not only opened the method for further opium trade, but ceded territory including Hong Kong, unilaterally fixed Chinese tariffs at a low rate, granted extraterritorial rights to foreigners in China (which were not offered to Chinese abroad), a mainly favored nation clause, and diplomatic representation. When the court still refused to accept foreign ambassadors and obstructed the trade clauses of the treaties, disputes in excess of the treatment of British merchants in Chinese ports and on the seas led to the Second Opium War and the Treaty of Tientsin.

These treaties soon followed through similar arrangements with the United States and France later became recognized as the Unequal Treaties, and the Opium Wars represented the start of China's "Century of humiliation".

European Trade with Asia

Direct maritime trade flanked by Europe and China began with the Portuguese in the 16th century, which leased an outpost at Macau starting from 1557; other European nations soon followed. European traders, such as the Portuguese, inserted themselves into the existing Asian maritime trade network, competing with Arab, Chinese, and Japanese traders in intra-local trade. Mercantilist governments in Europe objected to the perpetual drain of silver to pay for Asian commodities, and so European traders often sought to generate profits from intra-local Asian trade to pay for their purchases to be sent back home.

After the Spanish acquisition of the Philippines, the swap of goods flanked by China and western Europe accelerated dramatically. From 1565, the annual Manila Galleon brought in enormous amounts of silver to the Asian trade network, and in scrupulous China, from Spanish silver mines in South America. As demand increased in Europe, the profits European traders generated within the Asian trade network, used to purchase Asian goods, were slowly replaced through the direct export of bullion from Europe in swap for the produce of Asia.

Qing Attitudes Toward Trade

The Qing, and its predecessor the Ming, shared an ambivalent attitude towards overseas trade, and maritime action in common. From 1661 to 1669, in an effort to cut off Ming loyalists, the Qing issued an edict to evacuate all populations livelihood close to the coast of Southern China. Though it was later repealed, the edict seriously disrupted coastal regions and drove several Chinese overseas.

Qing attitudes were also further aggravated through traditional Confucian disdain (even hostility) towards merchants and traders. Qing

officials whispered that trade incited unrest and disorder, promoted piracy, and threatened to compromise information on China's defenses. The Qing instituted a set of rigid and partial regulations concerning trade at Chinese ports, setting up four maritime customs offices and a sweeping 20 percent tariff on all foreign goods. These policies only succeeded in establishing a system of kickbacks and purchased monopolies that enriched the officials who administered coastal areas.

Although foreign merchants and traders dealt with low stage Qing bureaucrats and mediators at specified ports and entry points, official get in touch with flanked by China and foreign governments was organized approximately the tributary system. The tributary system affirmed the Emperor as the son of Heaven with a mandate to rule on Earth; as such, foreign rulers were required to present tribute and acknowledge the superiority of the imperial court. In return, the Emperor bestowed gifts and titles upon foreign emissaries and allowed them to trade for short periods of time throughout their stay within China.

Foreign rulers agreed to these conditions for many reasons, namely that the gifts given through the Emperor were of greater value than the tribute received and that the trade to be mannered while in China was very lucrative and exempt from customs duties. The political realities of the system varied from century to century, but through the Qing era, with European traders pushing to gain more access to China, Qing authorities denied requests for trade privileges from European embassies and assigned them "tributary" status with missions limited at the will of the imperial court. This arrangement became increasingly unacceptable to European nations, in scrupulous the British.

British Trade and the Canton System

British ships began to appear infrequently approximately the coasts of China from 1635; without establishing formal dealings through the tributary system, British merchants were allowed to trade at the ports of Zhoushan and Xiamen in addition to Guangzhou (Canton). Trade further benefited after the

Qing relaxed maritime trade restrictions in the 1680s, after Taiwan came under Qing manage in 1683, and even rhetoric concerning the "tributary status" of Europeans was muted. Guangzhou (Canton) was the port of preference for mainly foreign trade; ships did attempt to call at other ports but they did not match the benefits of Guangzhou's geographic location at the mouth of the Pearl river trade network and Guangzhou's extensive experience in balancing the demands of Beijing with those of Chinese and foreign merchants. From 1700–1842, Guangzhou came to control maritime trade with China, and this era became recognized as the "Canton System".

Official British trade was mannered through the auspices of the British East India Company, which held a royal charter for trade with the Distant East. The EIC slowly came to control Sino-European trade from its location in India.

Low Chinese demand for European goods, and high European demand for Chinese goods, including tea, silk, and porcelain, forced European merchants to purchase these goods with silver, the only commodity the Chinese would accept. In contemporary economic conditions the Chinese were demanding hard currency or specie (gold or silver coinage) as the medium of swap for the international trade in their goods. From the mid-17th century approximately 28 million kilograms of silver were received through China, principally from European powers, in swap for Chinese goods.

Britain's problem was further complicated through the information that it had been by the gold average from the mid-18th century and so had to purchase silver from other European countries, incurring an additional transaction cost.

In the 18th century, despite ardent protest from the Qing government, British traders began importing opium from India. The introduction of opium into China was caused through Britain's need to send something back to China in return for their highly consumed Chinese tea. Britain first tried exporting European clothes, but the Chinese preferred their own silk. The British exported a big quantity of silver for Chinese Tea. With India and its poppy meadows under Britain's command, the logical option to fix the imbalance of trade was to start trading opium.

Because of its strong mass appeal and addictive nature, opium was an effective solution to the British trade problem. An instant consumer market for the drug was secured through the addiction of thousands of Chinese, and the flow of silver was reversed. Recognizing the rising number of addicts, the Yongzheng Emperor prohibited the sale and smoking of opium in 1729, and only allowed a small amount of opium imports for medicinal purposes.

Growth of Opium Trade

Following the Battle of Plassey in 1757, in which Britain annexed Bengal to its empire, the British East India Company pursued a monopoly on manufacture and export of Indian opium. The monopoly began in earnest in 1773, as the British Governor-General of Bengal abolished the opium syndicate at Patna. For the after that fifty years opium trade would be the key to the East India Company's hold on the subcontinent.

Considering that importation of opium into China had been virtually banned through Chinese law, the East India Company recognized an elaborate trading scheme partially relying on legal markets, and partially leveraging illicit ones. British merchants carrying no opium would buy tea in Canton on credit, and would balance their debts through selling opium at auction in Calcutta. From there, the opium would reach the Chinese coast hidden aboard British ships then smuggled into China through native merchants. In 1797 the company further tightened its grip on the opium trade through enforcing direct trade flanked by opium farmers and the British, and ending the role of Bengali purchasing mediators. British exports of opium to China grew from an estimated 15 tons in 1730 to 75 tons in 1773. The product was shipped in excess of two thousand chests, each containing 140 pounds (64 kg) of opium.

Meanwhile, negotiations with the Qianlong Emperor to ease the trading ban accepted on, coming to a head in 1793 under Earl George Macartney. Such discussions were unsuccessful.

In 1799, the Qing Empire reinstated their ban on opium imports. The Empire issued the following decree in 1810:

- Opium has a harm. Opium is a poison, undermining our good customs and morality. Its use is prohibited through law. Now the commoner, Yang, dares to bring it into the Forbidden Municipality. Indeed, he flouts the law! Though, recently the purchasers, eaters, and consumers of opium have become numerous. Deceitful merchants buy and sell it to gain profit. The customs home at the Ch'ung-wen Gate was originally set up to supervise the collection of imports (it had no responsibility with regard to opium smuggling). If we confine our search for opium to the seaports, we fear the search will not be sufficiently thorough. We should also order the common commandant of the police and police-censors at the five gates to prohibit opium and to search for it at all gates. If they capture any violators, they should immediately punish them and should destroy the opium at once. As to Kwangtung and Fukien, the provinces from which opium comes, we order their viceroys, governors, and superintendents of the maritime customs to conduct a thorough search for opium, and cut off its supply. They should in no methods consider this order a dead letter and allow opium to be smuggled out!

The decree had little effect. The Qing government, seated in Beijing in the north of China, was unable to halt opium smuggling in the southern provinces. A porous Chinese border and rampant local demand only encouraged the all-too eager East India Company, which had its monopoly on opium trade recognized through the British government, which itself wanted silver. Through the 1820s China was importing 900 tons of Bengali opium annually.

Napier Affair and First Opium War (1839–1842)

In 1834 to accommodate the revocation of the East India Company's monopoly, the British sent Lord William John Napier to Macau. He tried to circumvent the restrictive Canton Trade laws which forbade direct get in touch with Chinese officials through attempting to send a letter directly to the

Viceroy of Canton. The Viceroy refused to accept it, and closed trade starting on 2 September of that year. Lord Napier had to return to Macau (where he died a few days later) and, unable to force the matter, the British agreed to resume trade under the old restrictions.

Within the Chinese mandarinat there was an ongoing debate in excess of legalizing the opium trade itself. Even the Emperor at the time, a teenager who spent mainly of his time in bed with his concubine, Cixi, was a user of the drug. Though, legalization was repeatedly rejected, and in 1838 the government sentenced native drug traffickers to death. Approximately this time, the British were selling roughly 1,400 tons per year to China. In March 1839, the Emperor appointed a new strict Confucian commissioner, Lin Zexu, to manage the opium trade at the port of Canton.

His first course of action was to enforce the imperial demand that there be a permanent halt to drug shipments into China. When the British refused to end the trade, Lin blockaded the British traders in their factories and cut off supplies of food. On 27 March 1839 Charles Elliot, British Superintendent of Trade—who had been locked in the factories when he arrived at Canton—finally agreed that all British subjects should turn in excess of their opium to him, amounting to almost a year's supply of the drug, to be confiscated through Commissioner Lin Zexu. In a departure from his brief, he promised that the crown would compensate them for the lost opium.

While this amounted to a tacit acknowledgment that the British government did not disapprove of the trade, it also forced a vast liability on the exchequer. Unable to allocate funds for an illegal drug but pressed for compensation through the merchants, this liability is cited as one cause for the decision to force a war.

As well as seizing supplies in the factories, Chinese troops boarded British ships in international waters outside Chinese jurisdiction, where their cargo was still legal, and destroyed the opium aboard. After the opium was surrendered, trade was restarted on the strict condition that no more drugs would be smuggled into China. Lin demanded that British merchants sign a bond promising not to deal in opium, under penalty of death. The British officially opposed signing of the bond, but some British merchants that did not

deal in opium were willing to sign. Lin had the opium disposed of through dissolving it in water, salt, and lime, and dumping it into the ocean.

In 1839, Lin took the step of publishing a letter addressed to Queen Victoria questioning the moral reasoning of the British government (it is not recognized that she ever received it). Citing what he understood to be a strict prohibition of the trade within Great Britain, Lin questioned how it could then profit from the drug in China. He wrote: "Your Majesty has not before been therefore officially notified, and you may plead ignorance of the severity of our laws, but I now provide my assurance that we mean to cut this harmful drug forever."

In information, opium was not illegal in England at the time, and comparably smaller quantities were imported. The British government and merchants offered no response to Lin, accusing him instead of destroying their property. When the British learned of what was taking place in Canton, as communications flanked by these two parts of the world took months at this time, they sent a big British Indian army, which arrived in June 1840.

British military superiority drew on newly applied technology. British warships wreaked havoc on coastal towns; the steam ship *Nemesis* was able to move against the winds and tides and support a gun platform with very heavy guns. In addition, the British troops were the first to be armed with contemporary muskets and cannons, which fired more rapidly and with greater accuracy than the Qing firearms and artillery, though Chinese cannons had been in use since previous dynasties. After the British took Canton, they sailed up the Yangtze and took the tax barges, a devastating blow to the Empire as it slashed the revenue of the imperial court in Beijing to presently a fraction of what it had been.

In 1842, the Qing authorities sued for peace, which concluded with the Treaty of Nanking negotiated in August of that year and ratified in 1843. In the treaty, China was forced to pay an indemnity to Britain, open four ports to Britain, and cede Hong Kong to Queen Victoria. In the supplementary Treaty of the Bogue, the Qing empire also recognized Britain as an equal to China and gave British subjects extraterritorial privileges in treaty ports. In 1844, the

United States and France concluded similar treaties with China, the Treaty of Wanghia and Treaty of Whampoa respectively.

The First Opium War was attacked in the Home of Commons through a newly elected young member of Parliament, William Ewart Gladstone, who wondered if there had ever been "a war more unjust in its origin, a war more calculated to cover this country with permanent disgrace, I do not know."

The Foreign Secretary, Lord Palmerston, replied through saying that nobody could "say that he honestly whispered the motive of the Chinese Government to have been the promotion of moral habits" and that the war was being fought to stem China's balance of payments deficit. John Quincy Adams commented that opium was "a mere incident to the dispute... the cause of the war is the kowtow—the arrogant and insupportable pretensions of China that she will hold commercial intercourse with the rest of mankind not upon conditions of equal reciprocity, but upon the insulting and degrading shapes of the dealings flanked by lord and vassal."

Second Opium War (1856–1860)

Chinese authorities were reluctant to stay to the conditions of the 1842 Treaty of Nanking. They had tried to stay out as several foreign merchants as possible and had victimized Chinese merchants who traded with the British at the treaty ports. To protect those Chinese merchants who were friendly to them in Hong Kong, the British granted their ships British registration in the hope that the Chinese authorities would not interfere with vessels carrying the British flag.

In October 1856, the Chinese authorities in Canton seized a vessel described the "Arrow", which had been occupied in piracy. The "Arrow" had formerly been registered as a British ship and was still flying the British flag. The British consul in Canton demanded the immediate release of the crew and an apology for the insult to the British flag. The crew was released, but an apology was not given. In reprisal, the British governor in Hong Kong ordered warships to bombard Canton.

Clearly, the Chinese had a good case: the "Arrow" was a pirate ship and had no right to fly the British flag as its British registration had expired. The bombardment of Canton was a breach of international law. The governor of Hong Kong had acted rashly without consulting London. Though, the British Prime Minister, Palmerston, supported the actions of his officials, who claimed to be upholding British prestige and avenging the insult to the flag. Moreover, Palmerston was keen to force the Chinese into accepting full-level trade with Britain, whether they wanted to or not.

The Chinese issue figured prominently in the British common election of March 1857, which Palmerston won with an increased majority. He now felt able to press British claims more vigorously. The French were also eager to be involved after their envoy, Baron Jean-Baptiste Louis Gros, seemingly had his demands ignored (French complaints involved a murdered missionary and French rights in Canton). A strong Anglo-French force under Admiral Sir Michael Seymour occupied Canton (December 1857), then cruised north to capture briefly the Taku forts close to Tientsin (May 1858).

Negotiations in the middle of China, Britain, France, the USA and Russia led to the Tientsin Treaties of June 26–29, 1858, which theoretically brought peace. China agreed to open more treaty ports, to legalize opium importation, to set up a maritime customs service with foreign inspection and to allow foreign legations at Peking and missionaries in the interior.

China soon abrogated the Anglo-French treaties and refused to allow foreign diplomats into Peking. On June 25, 1859 British Admiral Sir James Hope bombarded the forts guarding the mouth of the Hai River, below Tientsin. Though, landing parties were repulsed and the British squadron was severely damaged through a surprisingly efficient Chinese garrison.

Anglo-French forces gathered at Hong Kong in May 1860. A joint amphibious expedition moved north to the Gulf of Po Hai. It consisted of 11,000 British under Common Sir James Hope Grant and 7,000 French under Lieutenant Common Cousin-Montauban. Unopposed landings were made at Pei-Tang (August 1, 1860). The Taku forts were taken through assault with the assistance of the naval forces (August 21). The expedition then advanced up-river from Tientsin. As it approached Peking, the Chinese asked for talks and

an armistice. An allied delegation under Sir Harry Smith Parkes was sent to parley, but they were seized and imprisoned (September 18). It was later learned that half of them died under torture. The expedition pressed ahead, defeating some 30,000 Chinese in two engagements, before reaching the walls of Peking on September 26. Preparations for an assault commenced and the Old Summer Palace (Yuan Ming Yuan) was occupied and looted.

Another Chinese request for peace was accepted and China agreed to all demands. The survivors of the Parkes delegation were returned, though Common Grant burned and destroyed the Old Summer Palace in reprisal for the mistreatment of the Parkes party. Ten new treaty ports, including Tientsin, were opened to trade with the western powers, foreign diplomats were to be allowed at Peking, and the opium trade was to be regulated through the Chinese authorities. Kowloon, on the mainland opposite Hong Kong Island, was surrendered to the British. Permission was granted for foreigners (including Protestant and Catholic missionaries) to travel throughout the country. An indemnity of three million ounces of silver was paid to Great Britain and two million to France.

The Anglo-French victory was heralded in the British press as a triumph for Palmerston, which made his popularity rise to new heights. British merchants were delighted at the prospects of the expansion of trade in the Distant East. Other foreign powers were pleased with the outcome too, since they hoped to take advantage of the opening-up of China. Russia soon extorted the Maritime Provinces from China and founded the port of Vladivostok (1860–61).

THE UNEQUAL TREATY SYSTEM IN CHINA

The Era of Co-Operation, 1860-1870

In the late 1850s, it appeared as if the Western powers were actively working for the collapse of the Ch'ing Dynasty. The Western assault on Tientsin and the capital Peking, including the burning down of the imperial summer palace throughout the Second Opium War, was a heavy blow to the

fortunes of the Ch'ing. Equally important was the Western attitude towards the great Taiping Rebellion which was then raging through mainly of Central and South China. Formally, the policy of the Westerners in this civil war was one of neutrality. But in practice, it bordered on sympathy and even a degree of active support for the rebels.

Though, after 1860, this trend reversed itself. After winning substantial concessions from the Ch'ing at the Treaty of Tientsin, the Western powers seemed to realize that their interests would be best served through the survival of the dynasty which had made those concessions. Therefore, the Western policy changed approximately overnight from sympathy for the rebels to active support to the Ch'ing in its drive to put down the Taiping Rebellion. They also desisted for the time being from putting more pressure on the Ch'ing Government and instead set in relation to the creation the best use of the concessions they had already won. The foreign powers also began to assist China's efforts to modernize. One probable cause for this new policy of supporting the Ch'ing Government was the reluctance of the British, the strongest foreign power in China at the time, to augment their direct political and military entanglements overseas after the rude jolt to their colonial rule in India in 1857.

The conciliatory mood in the middle of the Western powers and their diplomats in Peking was matched through a new mood in the middle of the ruling circles in China. The negotiations with the Western powers in 1860, as well as the suppression of the Taipings (which was completed in 1864), brought to prominence a set of high officials who were not so violently anti-foreign, and who whispered that China needed above all else a era of peace in which to recover and strengthen herself. These officials incorporated the well-known leaders of the Taiping-suppression campaign, Tseng Kuofan and Li hung-chang, and the Manchu Prince Kung. These leading statesmen whispered in learning some things from Western science and technology, as well as Western diplomacy, and were not averse in principle to a limited co-operation with the West in sure spheres.

The result of this change of heart on both sides was the so-described —Co-operative Policy, which ensured that the status quo in Sino- Western

relation was maintained for a full ten years with little disturbance. It was in this era that sure institutionalized shapes of interaction flanked by China and the West were evolved.

The Treaty Ports

One of the major consequences of the First Opium War was the opening up of five ports to foreign trade and residence, including the original Canton. These came to be recognized as the —treaty ports|. The treaty of Tientsin that ended the Second Opium War increased "the number of treaty ports to sixteen, while the Chefoo Convention signed flanked by China and Britain in 1876 added five more to the list. Therefore, the whole length of the China coast as well as its major navigable waterway, the Yangze River, came to be dotted with these centers of foreign trade and business.

The treaty ports, and especially the —foreign concessions| (the regions where the foreigners resided jointly) that grew up within them became a typical characteristic of Sino-foreign dealings from the mid-19th to the mid-20th century. From the point of view of territory they did not amount to very much. But, from the economic, political and judicial point of view, they represented a sizeable infringement on Chinese sovereignty.

In the foreign concessions, the foreigners governed themselves and the Chinese subjects who existed within them. In several of the treaty ports, the concessions were named after the nationality of the dominant foreign power in them (e.g. the British concession, the French concession, etc.). Though, in the main of the treaty ports—Shanghai, the British and American concessions merged in 1863 to form the well-known —International concession|. Usually speaking, the —foreign concessions| were governed through a municipal council which was elected through the foreigners who owned property above a sure value, and which was subject to the approval of the consular corps, the direct representatives of the foreign powers in the treaty ports. The municipal council levied taxes for the maintenance of their concessions, had their own police forces, and in common ran their own police affairs with no interference from the Chinese government. The Chinese residents of the foreign concessions were distinctly second class citizens, who were heavily taxed but

had no rights. In some cases, they were even banned from by sure roads, parks, etc. which were reserved exclusively for foreigners.

In the —foreign concessions| were situated the consular courts—foreign courts which tried foreigners involved in legal cases according to their own laws in keeping with the principle of extra-territoriality. Even Chinese residents of the foreign concessions were not tried through Chinese courts but were liable to stand trial before mixed courts consisting of both Chinese and foreign judges. Needless to say whenever the trial involved a Chinese against a foreigner, the Chinese was at a tremendous disadvantage—not only because of the bias of the foreign judges, but also because the Chinese could not usually comprehend the foreign legal procedures.

As the years passed, the foreign concessions evolved their own distinctive culture and lifestyle that were totally alienated from that of China. Usually speaking, they were enclaves of wealth with relative stability and privilege, amidst the poverty and turmoil of 19th and early 20th century China. They were backed through the gunboats of the foreign powers anchored nearby.

The Foreign Inspectorate of Customs

One of the mainly prominent characteristics of the treaty ports, as well as one of the mainly unique institutions in modern China's dealings with the foreign powers, was the Foreign Inspectorate of Customs.

In 1854, when Shanghai was besieged through rebels and the Chinese Superintendent of Customs was driven from his post, the foreign consuls in Shanghai got jointly and took on the collection of customs dues themselves as a temporary measure. Though, when peace was restored, this practice was not discontinued but was permanently institutionalized. The Western powers felt that this was in their interest, as it would ensure that the low tariffs they had won after the Second Opium War would be respected, and there would be no undue extortion through local Chinese officials. The Ch'ing Government too, preferred to continue this arrangement, as it ensured that a big and steady revenue would come directly into its treasury. The system was so regularized. The Foreign Inspectorate of Customs shifted its headquarters from Shanghai to

Peking in 1865. In every treaty port, there was a Foreign Inspector of Customs, with a big and well-trained staff consisting of both foreigners and Chinese under him. Its main function was of course, the collection and remittance of customs duties and levies. But it slowly expanded its functions to contain things like the maintenance of harbors and rivers, creation geographical surveys, etc. Although the Ch'ing Government benefited financially from the action of the Foreign Inspectorate, it nevertheless represented a further erosion of China's sovereignty in economic and administrative matters.

An motivating characteristic of the Foreign Inspectorate of Customs was that all its employees, including the foreigners, were formally servants of the Chinese government and not representatives of their own countries. Even the British, Sir Robert Hart, who directed this service for forty years and came to enjoy immense power, always, measured himself to be a loyal employee of Ch'ing Government. Sure modern scholars like J.K. Fairbank have coined the term —synarchy to describe this phenomenon. They have viewed it not as a form of imperialist manage, but as a form of collaboration flanked by the Chinese Empire and individual foreigners which had deep roots in the traditional Chinese form of government. Though, it necessity be remembered that the connection flanked by China and foreign imperialism in the 19th century had its own unique and unprecedented character. The Chinese Empire in this era was in decline, and the foreign powers were in a commanding location not only militarily, but also from the economic and technological points of view. To the emerging Chinese nationalists, the attendance of a big number of foreigners directing the economy and significant matters of state was as humiliating as the gunboats of the foreign powers patrolling their rivers and coastline. Particularly as the Ch'ing Government became more dependent on the customs revenue, and also when a big portion of China's finances came to be mortgaged to several foreign powers through indemnities and loans, the manage of the customs revenues through foreigners became very important. It ensured that China could not go back on her treaty obligations, and that an rising proportion of her wealth would go to the foreign countries.

China's Introduction to Contemporary Diplomacy

China's shattering defeat in the Second Opium War influenced some of her leading statesmen of the need to revamp her institutions and mechanisms for dealing with the foreign powers. They felt the need to get to know more in relation to the West, and particularly the need to understand and master the theory and practice of modern international law. The Manchu Prince Kung was the prime mover behind this trend, but the Grand Councilor Wen-hsiang, Li Hung-chang and other high officials also played a significant role.

These statesmen began to view international law as a tool which could be used to prevent further arbitrary encroachments on China's sovereignty through other powers. They felt that the existing treaties, although they were decidedly unequal, could be maintained as a limit beyond which no further concessions would be permitted. Their efforts were encouraged through the mood of co-operation that prevailed in the middle of the leading Western powers and their representatives in Peking at this time.

Therefore, on the recommendation of Prince Kung and Wen, the court agreed to the setting up of a type of foreign office in March 1861, which was described as the Tsungli Yamen. Headed through a varying number of high-ranking statesmen, it directed the work of dissimilar bureaus assigned to deal with the major Western powers as well as coastal defense. The Foreign Inspectorate of Customs was also attached to this office from 1860 to 1870; it was the leading body which concerned itself with the execution of foreign policy.

Separately from the Tsungli Yamen, the system of having two Superintendents of Trade for the northern and southern ports was also set up at Tientsin and Shanghai respectively. When the dynamic Li Hung-chang became the Superintendent of Trade at Tientsin in 1870, he was involved in so several matters concerning the foreign powers, that eventually he eclipsed the Tsungli Yamen itself in the conduct of foreign affairs.

Another innovation in this era, also associated with the Tsungli Yamen, was the setting up of the Tung wen Kuan in 1862. Originally planned as a school to train selected Chinese and Manchu students in the Western

languages, it eventually came to contain subjects such as modern physics, chemistry, physiology, etc, in its curriculum. It also began to publish translated works of Western international law, philosophy, political economy and science. This school was staffed and headed through foreign professors and scholars.

The Treaty of Tientsin (1860) had contained a provision for the revision of the Treaty after a period of ten years. Through the late 1860s, the Tsungli Yamen felt sufficiently confident of its expertise in international law and Western-approach diplomacy to press actively for treaty revision, hoping that the outcome would be more favorable to China than before. To this end, it took up the offer of the sympathetic American representative at Peking, Anson Burlingame, to undertake a mission to the Western countries on behalf of the Ch'ing Government urging them to renegotiate the treaties. On the whole, the Burlingame Mission was well-received wherever it went. This raised the hopes of the Tsungli Yamen and the Ch'ing Government. Though, these hopes were soon shattered. In 1870, the British Government rejected the Alcock Convention for the revision of the treaties, which had the approval of the Ch'ing Government. This rejection in effect marked the end of the era of cooperation flanked by the Ch'ing and the Western powers, and the beginning of a era of renewed friction and disagreement.

Rising Foreign Encroachments: Friction and Disagreement, 1870-1900

The last quarter of the 19th century saw a sharp downward trend in China's dealings with the big powers. In this era, these powers renewed their offensive against China culminating in the combined military assault on Peking after the Boxer Rebellion in 1900, and the close to partition of China into separate spheres of foreign power and power. The impulse for these growths did not lie only within China itself. Britain as well as Tsarist Russia in the last decades of the 19th century was characterized through a strong expansionist drive, as was France of the Third Republic. The United States of America, freed from the pre-occupations of the Civil War, began to seem with

interest towards the East. Germany, as well as Japan of the Meiji Restoration, urbanized into strong powers which also coveted overseas markets and territories: It is not surprising that the expansionist drives of all these powers converged on China, which had not yet come under the colonial yoke of any one power, and which seemed to be unable to extricate itself from the procedure of crisis and decline.

Missionary Action and Popular Hostility

One of the major irritants in Sino-Western dealings in this era was, ironically enough, not the overtly military or economic behaviors of the Western powers, but the behaviors of several individual missionaries and missionary organizations. The era in question began, and ended with major clashes in excess of the issue of missionaries and their behaviors.

The Treaty of Whampoa signed with France after the First Opium War permitted missionary action in China, while the Treaty of Tientsin of 1860 permitted the missionaries to reside and carry out their behaviors any where in China. Unlike the Western diplomats and the Western merchants who existed congregated jointly in selected enclaves in the ports or in the capital, Peking, the missionaries spread out everywhere. This was especially true of the Catholic missionaries. They existed for the main part in small towns and villages, where they intervened actively in the local social and political life. They freely acquired property, and were permitted to re-inhabit lands confiscated from the Jesuit missionaries in the 18th century. They converted local residents to their faith, and then proceeded to attempt and extend their own legal immunity in criminal cases to these converts. They also set up schools and orphanages which were viewed with deep suspicion through the local population, who often whispered that the missionaries were kidnapping their children. Particularly obnoxious to the local people and the local authorities was the tendency of the missionaries to appeal to their own countries for protection and support on every issue. It became increasingly general for the gunboats of the foreign powers to sail threateningly up the rivers in a illustrate of force, whenever there was a conflict flanked by the missionaries and the local people in some part of China. Therefore, popular

hostility to the foreigners, which was mainly confined to the region approximately Canton in the era flanked by the two Opium Wars, rapidly spread throughout the interior of China. The 1860s saw innumerable clashes which resulted in physical violence and killings.

This culminated in the Tientsin Massacre of 1870, where a conflict in excess of an orphanage led to the death of 21 foreigners and in relation to the 30 Chinese Christians. Beside with the rejection of the Alcock Convention, this incident marked a turning-point in Sino-Western dealings. China was made to pay heavily for it, including the payment of almost half a million taels as indemnity.

The Tientsin Massacre was through no means the last such disagreement in excess of the issue of the missionaries. There were frequent such riots and clashes, some especially serious, like the riots in Sichuan province in Western China in 1886 and those beside the Yangze River valley in 1891. The latter approximately led to a combined Western military invasion of China, which was prevented mainly through the complete capitulation through Ch'ing Government. This capitulation was widely resented through the Chinese, reinforcing anti-Ch'ing sentiments in the middle of them, as well as the feeling that the Ch'ing rulers were —traitors|| who were in league with the foreigners. Anti-foreign currents therefore became intertwined with movements for the overthrow of the dynasty. It was precisely such a fusion of currents that led to the explosive Boxer Rebellion of 1898-1900 in North China. Fearful of losing its power, the Ch'ing made an in relation to the turn in its policy and sided with the rebels against the foreigners. Though, when the combined armies of the foreign powers sacked North China and once again occupied and destroyed much of Peking, the Ch'ing capitulated again. China survived the crushing defeat of the Boxer Rebellion through another ten years, but only as a shadow of its former self. The imperialist powers further entrenched themselves in China. The very harsh conditions of the Boxer Protocol which the allied powers imposed on China in 1901 made further deep inroads into China's economic, financial and political independence.

Foreign Pressure Beside China's Margin

After 1870, the big powers also began to illustrate renewed interest in territorial expansion at the expense of the Chinese Empire. Initially, the target of their expansionist behaviors was not the heartland of China itself. They sought to gain manage of territories beside the margin of China, Which the Ch'ing Government did not effectively manage (such as Sinkiang in the West), or else which were traditionally measured tributaries of China (such as Vietnam and Korea). Though, each challenge to these peripheral regions directly affected the security and prestige of China and exposed further her rising weakness.

The first step in this direction was taken through Russia, which took advantage of a rebellion in Sinkiang to inhabit the Ili area of Sinkiang in 1871. It was only after a protracted diplomatic thrash about lasting 10 years that the Ch'ing Government was finally able to get back manage of mainly of the area through the Treaty of St. Petersburg of 1881.

In precisely the similar era, Japan began to maneuver for manage in excess of the island of Taiwan and the Liu Ch'iu (Ryukyu) islands off the China coast. The Japanese briefly occupied Taiwan in 1874. Finally, a treaty was signed in 1875, which tacitly accepted Japanese sovereignty in excess of the Liu Ch'iu islands, and in which the Chinese agreed to pay Japan an indemnity of 2 million dollars.

With the Russians and the Japanese, in Ili and Formasa, the Chinese did not directly go to war. But ten years later, China went to war with the French in excess of Vietnam (Annam), which had extensive been a tributary state of China. The Sino-French war of 1884-85 was a disaster for the Chinese. Although they did not have to pay an indemnity, China had to formally renounce all rights in excess of Vietnam. Even more significant was the information that the defeat represented the clear failure of China's twenty-year extensive efforts to modernize and strengthen her military capability. The failure of this limited modernization inspired some Chinese to advocate more thorough going reforms in the years that followed, while others (like the leader of the 1911 Revolution, Sun Yat-sen) were influenced that nothing short of the overthrow of the Ch'ing could save China from further humiliation.

France followed her victory in Vietnam with the conquest of Laos in 1893. Britain, too, made territorial gains that threatened the security of the Chinese Empire. It annexed Burma in 1886, turned Sikkim into a British protectorate in 1890, and subsequently made inroads into Tibet. Russia began the rapid colonization of Siberia, on China's northern boundary.

Meanwhile Korea, traditionally a tributary state of China and under its strong political and cultural power, became the focus of interest of many of the powers. Eventually, in 1885, Japan supervised to assert its right to intervene in Korean affairs through a Sino- Japanese convention signed in that year. China sustained to retain some rights there, but not for extensive. In 1895, when both Chinese and Japanese troops intervened throughout a revolt against the Korean King, the Japanese demanded the withdrawal of Chinese troops. This led to a war in which the Chinese were badly defeated and half of their modernized naval fleet was destroyed. In the Treaty of Shimonoseki that followed, China was compelled to accept the mainly humiliating conditions that incorporated complete renunciation of all her rights in Korea, Taiwan and the Pescaders Islands. Even more important was the clause ceding the Liaodung Peninsula which was part of Manchuria. Eventually, Japan was forced to return Liaodung because of the pressure of Russia, Germany and France, which was motivated through their own rivalry with Japan. Though for this intervention through the three powers, the Chinese had to pay a heavy price in the form of more concessions to these powers. This set off a real —scramble for concessions| in the middle of all the major powers, which saw even more thorough humiliation and use of China through the imperialist powers.

The “Scramble for Concessions”

The early Western economic interest in China was trade, and it sustained to be the predominant interest even after the Opium Wars. The foreign concessions in the Treaty Ports were acquired not so much to get a territorial foothold in China, as to facilitate the progress of foreign trade. Though, face through face with the growth of this trade, other shapes of economic action through the foreigners also urbanized. Initially, these shapes

of economic action, like banking and shipping, were closely related to trade. The first foreign bank was the British-Chartered Oriental Banking Corporation set up in Hong Kong in 1845 and in Shanghai in 1848. The first foreign shipping company was the Shanghai Steam Navigation Company set up through the Americans in 1862.

Though, after 1860, foreign firms also ventured into manufacturing with vigor. Through 1894, there were more than 87 foreign industrial ventures with a total capital of 13 million taels and employing 34,000 people. Initially they were occupied mainly in shipbuilding and repairing, and processing goods for export. But soon they also turned to producing goods for sale in China itself. In the vicinity manufacturing goods for sale in China was one method in which the foreign firms could avoid customs duties and reduce their transportation costs. With their vast capital possessions, privileges and technological superiority, they faced little competition from Chinese manufacturers.

With the progress of imperialism in the last quarter of the 19th century, the imperialists' desire for new outlets for their capital increased enormously. China seemed like a vast, and as yet mainly untapped, field for their investment. Foreign industrialists and bankers competed fiercely with each other for contracts from the Chinese Government to build hydraulic works, construct fortifications and arrange arms shipments, build railways and open mines, etc. To be in a stronger location with respect to the Chinese Government as well as with respect to their competitors from other countries, firms from one country began to combine in syndicates which undertook to manage all matters relating to a scrupulous project—from financing it, to supplying technological expertise and personnel, as well as all the necessary equipment.

The economic penetration of China through imperialism urbanized dramatically after the Sino- Japanese war of 1894-95. The weakness of China was used to extract maximum economic concessions from her. Following the instance of Japan, the three powers which intervened seemingly on China's behalf after the war—Russia, France and Germany—also sought special privilege and concessions. They demanded as a —right that they should be

allowed to build railways, open factories and mines in those parts of China where they felt they were entitled to special power. Russia, like Japan, demanded and obtained concessions in Manchuria. France was interested in the southern provinces of Yunan, Kwansi and Kwantung; while Germany was interested in the eastern coastal area of Shantung. Not to be outdone, Britain sought and received concessions in the territories adjoining Hong Kong and the Yangze River valley, as well as the port of Weihaiwei. Usually speaking, the form adopted through the big powers to win these concessions and set up their own spheres of power, was to lease territories for an extensive era (like 99 years), throughout which the Chinese Government would not be allowed to have any rights in those territories, while the concerned foreign power would be allowed to have full manage, including the power to station their own police forces in those regions. Or else, the concerned power would secure a promise from the Chinese Government not to provide any other country rights in those territories.

The pace of the scramble for concessions was so frenzied, that through the turn of the century China resembled a big melon carved up into dissimilar sections for the enjoyment of others. In each of these sections, a scrupulous foreign power was the virtual overlord. It determined what factories, which mines and which railways were to be urbanized in its own part, with no consideration other than its own benefit. These powers then concluded agreements amongst themselves—without any reference to the Chinese Government—to respect each other's spheres of power. Even when the Americans (who did not have any such concessions) got an agreement from all the powers to respect equal opportunity for trade, the Treaty Ports and the customs service in their sphere of power—the so-described Open Door Policy of 1900—they did not bother to contain the Chinese Government in this agreement. Nor did they question the right of these countries to have their own spheres of power or concessions in China.

Another important characteristic of the scramble for concessions was the loans extended to the Chinese Government through the foreign powers. The first agreement for such a loan of 400 million francs was obtained through the Franco-Russian Banking Corporation, to enable the Chinese Government

to pay back the indemnity Japan had imposed on it after the war of 1894-95. Others were quick to follow suit with other loans. In 1896, British and German banks obtained the contract for another loan to the Chinese Government to meet the second installment of the indemnity to Japan. This loan was concluded on conditions even more unfavourable to the Chinese. Not only was the interest rate higher, but it was made clear that China would not be allowed to pay back the loan in full before 36 years were in excess of, and that no changes would be allowed in the management of the Foreign Inspectorate of Customs, since a portion of the revenues was pledged against the loan.

Through the loans, the financial and economic grip of the imperialists in excess of China was tightened into a vice from which China could not extricate itself. Through the end of the century, the whole customs revenue which had once been used for the modernization of Chinese defense and other sectors was required presently to create the payments on the debts. Moreover, each loan, though highly profitable to the lender, was measured to be a —favourable done to the Chinese Government, for which it was entitled to more —concessions and other privileges. Therefore, an very intricate network of economic use was built up.

The extent of China's humiliation and subjugation at the hands of the foreign imperialists cannot be gauged merely through the formal treaties signed flanked by the Chinese Government and the foreign governments. The economic contracts and agreements which China entered into with several foreign banks, syndicates, etc., also undermined the sovereignty and independence of China to no less a degree. The foreign contracting parties were powerful economic conglomerates which had the full backing of their home governments. China could not run the risk of defaulting on these agreements without getting itself involved in a full-level war with the imperialists. Therefore, even when the Ch'ing Government was overthrown in 1911, its successor governments for several years did not repudiate any of the treaties or economic agreements with the foreign powers, who sustained to control China economically and politically for three more decades.

JAPAN AND THE WEST (UP TO THE MEIJI RESTORATION)

Initial Contacts

In 1542 three Portuguese who were traveling through a Chinese junk were forced to land on the Japanese island of Tanegashima because of a typhoon. This is said to spot the first get in touch with of Europeans and Japanese. This brief encounter was followed through rising visits of Portuguese traders and missionaries. Japan's get in touch with Europe brought with it not only new goods, such as guns and tobacco but the Japanese were also exposed to a range of new thoughts as well as to Christianity. The rulers of Japan actively promoted these contacts and were receptive to the new thoughts allowing the missionaries to propagate their doctrines.

Though, through the early years of the Tokugawa era troubles arose flanked by the Europeans and the Japanese rulers, in part because Christianity was seen as a disruptive power. Consequently foreigners were banned from entering Japan. Therefore Japan's first get in touch with the European nations was limited to in relation to the a hundred years. Yet, the legacy of this short interlude played an significant role in the internal growths of Japan. A group of scholars recognized as the Dutch scholars, because they studied Dutch and through that language learnt in relation to the Western science and civilization, urbanized a body of knowledge which questioned the dominance of Chinese classics. Their power though limited and confined through much of the Tokugawa era assumed importance in the closing years of Tokugawa rule when the Western powers appeared once again on the Japanese coast.

Iberian Interlude

In the middle of the 16th century when the Portuguese arrived in Japan the country was undergoing a procedure of unification. In that sense it is still not really appropriate to speak of a Japanese nation at this time. The land was governed through a number of powerful local lords or Daimyo who exercised their power through a closely interlinked network of retainers or samurai. Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582), the son of a feudal lord from the province of Owari had through ability and strength extended his sway in excess of a big part of Japan. In 1568 when he entered the Imperial capital of Kyoto the medieval age

of Japan can be said to have ended. The procedure of unification was accepted further through his common, Hideyoshi, who usurped power after Nobunaga's death. After Hideyoshi, power was taken through the shrewd and cunning kugawa Ieyasu and he was able to set up a system of government which provided Japan with a stable rule for almost two hundred and fifty years. Japan's initial get in touch with the West took lay within this context.

Here it would be appropriate to point out that while Japan's get in touch with the European nations was brief and limited it had a extensive experience of dealings with its East Asian neighbors, China and Korea. In the formative years of Japanese civilization Chinese power and Korean contacts had been decisive in molding and giving Japan a sophisticated set of institutions and philosophies. In the fourteenth century the Japanese had been active in trade, commerce and even piracy in the area and there were Japanese settlements as distant as Siam.

European expansion has a extensive and intricate history but for our purpose here it is necessary to note that a Papal Bull issued be the Pope had divided the world flanked by the Spanish and the Portuguese. Portugal was given the exclusive right to spread Christianity in the Eastern hemisphere while Spain was given the Western. In Portugal the Society of Jesuits founded in 1540 through Ignatius Loyola was the dominant sect. The Jesuits consequently played the major role in the spread of Christianity and they retained their exclusive hold in excess of Japan even after Spain and Portugal were united in 1580 under Philip II. This monopoly was resented through other Christian orders like, the Franciscons, Dominicans, and Augustinians. It was only in 1608 that the ban on the other orders working in Japan was lifted and this contributed to further rising rivalry and competition flanked by the Christian orders in Japan. This rivalry was effectively used through the rulers to further their interests.

It necessity be noted that though several of the missionaries came with Portuguese missions they themselves were not always from Portugal. For instance Francis Xavier (1506-1552) was from Navarre which then was a part of France and Will Adams (1564-1620), the Englishman who worked with Ieyasu, was employed on a Dutch ship, Erasmus.

Get in touch with flanked by Japan and the European nations took lay in a era when commercial and trade rivalry was intense and moreover, the version of Christianity which came to Japan was the mainly militant one and strict. In 1549 Francis Xavier came to Kagoshima and began to preach Christianity with the approval of the Daimyo of Satsuma. The Japanese religious environment, in contrast was marked through tolerance and the co-subsistence of Shinto and Buddhist religious systems. Buddhism had come from India through China and Korea and been altered and adapted in the procedure of transmission. The introduction of Christianity was initially viewed with similar interest and toleration. It was not seen as threatening either the political power or the social fabric of Japan. But we necessity remember here that it was not presently Christianity which had come to Japan because beside with it had come trade and commerce.

The behaviors of the Christian missionaries and the troubles they created are very closely connected with the desire for trade and at times it is hard to isolate the one from the other. From Nobunaga to Ieyasu the rulers were open to Christian thoughts and treated the missionaries well. Several Daimyo converted to Christianity. This was mainly motivated through a desire to draw trade. Nobunaga's tolerance of the Jesuits behaviors was also determined through his vigorous suppression of Buddhist and other sects. The Buddhist monasteries had become powerful centers exercising political power backed through the strength of their private armies and extensive landholdings. Nobunaga's patronage helped the Jesuits to win converts and through 1582, there were some 150,000 Christian converts.

Hideyoshi, the after that ruler put a ban on Christianity in 1587 and executed a number of priests and Japanese converts. Hideyoshi's action appears to have been based on the fear of the political implications of Christianity. Spanish monks and traders also intrigued against the Portuguese and sought to augment their own power. Though Christian converts were executed it was nothing on the level of the Inquisition in Europe. In spite of the ban he was interested in bringing the European traders to eastern Japan. The trade accepted through the Europeans was not presently of Western goods. The Portuguese played an significant role as intermediaries in the trade

flanked by China and Japan. They brought Chinese textiles, porcelain, medicine, spices and gold as well. When Ieyasu came to power he too attempted to power the traders to move to ports close to Edo. He was in touch with the Spanish in the Philippines. Though, while the missionaries were tolerated there was a rising suspicion of their sectarian rivalries and a fear that they were serving the interests of their monarchs. Also, there was an understanding that trade could be accepted on without the missionaries and edicts barring Christianity appeared in 1606, 1607 and 1611. But it was only in 1617, after Ieyasu's death that the first execution of a foreign priest took lay.

After Ieyasu died his successor Hidetada began persecuting Christians. This was due to the suspicion that their behaviors would endanger political stability. The Europeans were competing with great intensity for trading privileges and would spread rumors and suspicion against each other. In 1622 the authorities suspected that the Spanish Roman Catholic Church was scheduling to invade Japan. The number of Japanese converts is not recognized but it is estimated to have reached 300,000. Rising suspicion increased repression and Christianity was driven underground from 1626 onwards.

The final blow came in 1637 when the Shimabara rebellion occurred. In this region there were a big number of Christian converts and this challenge to Shogunal power was viewed with alarm. The rebellious peasants raised Christian slogans and accepted banners with Jesus and Mary written on them. The Tokugawa Shogunate saw this as a political threat and crushed the rebellion. In the aftermath of the rebellion Buddhist priests were sent to —pacify the hearts and minds of the people. The following year, in 1638, the Portuguese were expelled.

The hostility to Christianity arose out of the fear of political disruption. The Tokugawa Shogunate saw the danger of Christian missionaries encouraging Daimyo with moral and material support and this could endanger the stability of the political order.

Christianity as a doctrine also establishes it hard to integrate with existing beliefs. Initially missionaries had appeared as another sect of

Buddhism. For instance, the Jesuits used Dainichi, a word for the Buddha and Vairocana, for God in the belief that it meant supreme diety. Slowly, of course, understanding of Christianity increased but its intolerance of Buddhism and indigenous beliefs made it hard for it to discover acceptance.

The Portuguese and Spaniards were also joined through the Dutch who sought to extend their trade. Will Adams, who was employed through the Dutch, establish favour with Ieyasu and he used this to put forward the suspicion of Protestant states against the Catholic powers. The English too were in rivalry with the other European powers. These rivalries and internal troubles which were imputed to Christianity led the Tokugawa's to increasingly limit and ultimately proscribe Christianity. In 1624 all Spaniards were ordered to be deported and several were executed. The Shimabara peasant rebellion, in 1637 in which there were several Christians, increased the ferocity of anti-Christian policies. In 1638 the Portuguese were ordered to leave. The English trading station had closed through 1623 and so through 1640 only a small group of Dutch traders were left. Of course there were Chinese traders.

Sakoku

The policy of separation followed through the Tokugawa is recognized as sakoku or closed country and several explanations have been offered to explain why the Tokugawa imposed a ban on the entry of foreigners and prevented Japanese from leaving Japan on pain of death. They also limited the size of ships to prevent extensive voyages. It is normally argued that the Tokugawa were forced to take these steps because they wanted to eliminate Roman Catholicism which for them was a socially disruptive and politically dangerous doctrine.

The Catholics owed allegiance to the Pope and could pose a danger to the power of the Shogun. A second explanation is that the Tokugawa wanted to monopolize trade and the Europeans were not willing to shift their trade from the ports of Nagasaki to ports approximately the Tokugawa capital Edo.

Though, these explanations ignore the information that the Tokugawa sustained to have diplomatic and trade dealings with their Asian neighbors,

China and Korea. Foreign trade was supervised through the Daimyo and was not a monopoly exercised through the Shogun. Therefore the Tsushima Daimyo maintained a permanent factory at Waegwan in Korea from 1611 to the Meiji era. Scholars like Ronald Toby have argued that the Tokugawa's policy of separation was part of a superior foreign policy which sought to maximize security and confirm and strengthen the sovereignty and legitimacy of Tokugawa rule. The Tokugawa began to assert their location and at the similar time had a break from the Sinocentric world order. They abandoned the earlier attempts to normalize dealings with China and through 1635 the Shogun was by the title of —Great Prince of Japan (Nihon Koku Taikun). The expulsion of European powers was presently one aspect of a superior foreign policy. In information the word —sakoku or closed country was never used in the 1630s. Its earliest use is in 1858 only.

The Dutch Window

The Dutch traders were permitted to continue their trade from a small man-made island Deshima off the coast of Nagasaki. This small trading station served as a window to the Western world for the Japanese. The trickle of trade was not as significant as the thoughts which slowly seeped in and inspired the Rangakusha or Dutch scholars. These studies were officially encouraged through the eighth Shogun Yoshimune and a number of distinguished scholars like, Arai Hakuseki (1657-1725), Sugita Genpaku (1732-1817), and Hiraga Gerinaj (1726-1779) who accepted out significant work which introduced the thoughts of science. These scholars learnt Dutch with great difficulty and effort as there was hardly any get in touch with the Dutch at Deshima and they had to compile their own dictionaries. Several of them were doctors and they learnt in relation to the anatomy and dissection from European works. Astronomy, geography and military science were also some of the subjects on which they concentrated. They sought knowledge which could be applied and not presently abstract theories and doctrines.

The chief feature which identifies this group is their concern with national power rather than any desire to improve the lives of the people. Dutch studies helped to diffuse Western learning and provided practical help to the

Shogun and Daimyo. Japan's initial get in touch with the West had brought firearms. The gun played a decisive role in the Battle of Nagashino in 1575 only thirty two years after the first Portuguese appeared and later Hideyoshi effectively used firearms in his invasion of Korea. The Dutch scholars were not the only product of this get in touch with Europe. Christianity though officially proscribed sustained to be practiced through small groups and these hidden Christians, as they were described, devised elaborate methods to continue their worship.

Black Ships off the Coast of Japan

Tokugawa society was, in spite of its dynamism, in accessible from growths in Europe. When foreign ships began appearing and demanding access to Japanese ports it was faced with a serious problem. Throughout the seventeenth century Japanese military capabilities were not very dissimilar from the Portuguese or English but through the nineteenth century the European nations had urbanized in methods unimaginable in Japan. The rise of England as a major colonial power and the spread of its power to Africa and Asia were dimly recognized to the Tokugawa and they were also unaware of their inability to deal effectively with the threat posed through the Western nations. The encounter with the West in the nineteenth century posed new troubles for the Tokugawa and it was not equipped to deal with these troubles. The imperialist intrusion became a critical factor in the decline of the Bakufu as it attacked the Bakuhan system at several critical points. The encounter showed clearly that while the Bakufu could enforce the policy of separation it could not initiate any change. The question of who would exercise power in Japan had arisen because of internal troubles but the Western encounter further aggravated the tensions and made a resolution of these issues imperative. The entry of the European powers allowed the groups who were discontented with the Bakufu to come jointly in a coalition against Tokugawa rule.

Japan was opened to the West through the United States when Commodore Matthew Perry came in 1853 and was promised a treaty the

following year. In 1858 Townsend Harris, Counsel for the USA concluded a treaty which opened Japan to trade and commerce. This marked the culmination of a procedure which had begun much earlier. The Russians and British had been pressing on the coast of Japan since the seventeenth century. The Russians had recognized themselves on the Sea of Okhotsk and from here they made exploratory trips. In 1739 Spanberg, a Russian explorer had exposed a route to Japan. Subsequently serious efforts were made to open Japan and set up dealings. In 1792 Lieutenant Laxman went to Hokkaido but he failed to win any concessions. The after that envoy went to Nagasaki, which was the only port where foreigners were allowed but the Japanese were not interested in foreign trade. In 1806 and 1807 the Russians raided Japanese posts in Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands and this led to tensions and confrontations flanked by the two countries.

The British had been attempting to explore this region as early as the seventeenth century. Captain Cook was scheduling to go to Japan when he died in 1793. The mission led through Macartney to China in 1793 also failed to go to Japan though it had been planned. In 1797 an English ship went to Hokkaido and in 1808 the frigate Phaeton entered Nagasaki.

The United States, because of its interests in whaling and trade with China, was beginning to play an increasingly significant role in opening Japanese ports to foreign trade. The whaling ships had visited Nagasaki and other ports sometimes chartered through the Dutch who had lost their ships in the Napoleonic wars. But the need to take provisions and shelter throughout storms made a regular arrangement vital for these ships. Through the 1840s in the United States westward expansion had brought with it thoughts of manifest destiny. Attempts through U.S. businessmen in China to gain access proved futile and the government began to be interested in Japan. From 1835 attempts were made to conclude diplomatic arrangements. In 1846 Commodore Biddle came to Edo Bay but he was refused entry. Commander Glynn subsequently went to Nagasaki in 1849 but did not create any arrangements to carry on trade.

External Pressure and Internal Debate

The pressure on Japan to conclude diplomatic and commercial dealings with the Western powers placed the Bakufu in a hard situation. The initial reaction was to uphold strict separation. In 1806 a decree ordered local officials to stay foreigners out and later the officials were told to destroy any ships which came close to the coast. The barbarians had to be kept out and the integrity of Japan preserved. Yet it necessity be noted that the reaction to the problem was intricate. On the one hand the Japanese clearly lacked the military capability to stay the Western nations out but on the other hand mainly groups were adamant that there should be no relaxation of the policy of sakoku or closed country.

The subsequent years witnessed the confrontation of these two trends, as one argued that Japan should be closed and the other was urging accommodation to the foreigners or opening the country (kaikoku). These two positions were connected to the question of supporting the Bakufu as the legitimate ruling power in Japan or reasserting the power of the Imperial Home as the real legitimate power. The elements dissatisfied with the Bakuhan system came to urge a policy of sonno-joi or —revere the Emperor and expel the barbarians. This policy had its intellectual roots in the philosophical doctrines which argued that Japan's uniqueness arose because its Emperor was regarded as a direct descendant of the Sun Goddess. This uniqueness and the central location of the Emperor in the political and cultural system of Japan were further reinforced through scholars who were writing a history of Japan from the time of its mythical base. These doctrines evoked a sympathetic response in the middle of groups who establish it increasingly hard to function within the Bakuhan system.

Intellectuals like Aizawa Seishisai (1782-1863) and Fujita Toko (1806-1855) urbanized the argument against allowing foreigners entry into Japan. Yet, they sought to augment Japan's strength through by Western techniques. The technological constructions of the West would be used to protect and preserve the integrity of Japan. There were voices for reform even from within the Bakufu.

The Bakufu had in excess of the years witnessed a deterioration in its financial condition and periodic reform had not proved effective. From 1841-1843 Mizuno Tadakuni, head of the highest Bakufu office of Roju (Elders), had accepted out the Tempo Reforms. He was replaced and his successor Abe Masahiro was the major figure to formulate Bakufu policy till 1857 when he died. Abe was in favour of involving the great Daimyo who had been excluded from the councils of government. Even Tokugawa Nariaki, Daimyo of Mito and an influential member of the Tokugawa family was in favour of a broad based support from the leading Daimyo.

The Bakufu was not united on what policy to pursue but there were a number of contending approaches. By the expertise of the Dutch scholars the Bakufu recognized a school to revise Western books and this through 1857 became the Institute for the Investigation of Barbarian Books. Several of the Dutch scholars, well-known with the behaviors of the Western nations in China and other parts of Asia, advocated reform events, particularly of the Tokugawa's military capabilities to meet the foreign threat. For instance, as early as 1784 Hayashi Shihei (1738-1793) published A Discussion of the Military Troubles of a Maritime Nation advocating extensive military reform.

Sakuma Shozan (1798-1866) an influential scholar who had studied gunnery and other Western subjects coined the slogan —Eastern ethics and Western sciencel. They failed to understand that thoughts arise out of sure cultural situations and that by Western techniques would invariably effect Japanese values. The slogan recognized Japanese weakness but such views were still politically ineffective. The pervasive view was that foreigners should be kept out; that trade would be harmful and that a change in the political system was required to meet the crisis.

The Coining of Perry

In 1853 Commodore Matthew Perry came to Japan via China and Okinawa. His squadron of two steam frigates and two sloops entered Edo Bay in July 1853. Perry supervised to present a letter from the President of the USA. Perry's imperious behaviour underlined the inability of the Tokugawa Bakufu to deal effectively with the power of the Western nations. The

question of whether to open Japanese ports was referred to the great Daimyo as well as to the Imperial Court. This was an unprecedented move but the Tokugawa were not in a location to enforce a policy without the support of these groups. The era from 1853 to 1868 when the Tokugawa Bakufu was replaced through the Meiji government marked a era of intense, and at times, acrimonious debate and rapid changes. The positions of the several groups were in a flux and rather than see the advocates of an open country or a closed country as fixed groups it is better to see them as on behalf of strategies for meeting the foreign threat.

In 1854 Perry returned with greater force and after negotiations the Treaty of Kanagawa was signed on March 31, 1854. The treaty opened the ports of Shimoda and Hakodate where U.S. ships could refuel and provision their ships. There was a mainly favored nation clause which would automatically extend any benefits granted to any other country. The United States was also allowed to post a counselor agent at Shimoda. The treaty was a small step as the ports opened were small and remote but it had a major departure from the Bakufu's earlier policy of separation.

Presently as Perry and concluded his treaty the Russians had also been active. Putiatin had been trying to extract a treaty and settle the boundary to the north of Hokkaido but had failed. In October the Bakufu concluded a similar treaty with the British and then with Russia in which Nagasaki was also opened. In 1855 the Dutch too signed a treaty with the Japanese.

The United States sent Townsend Harris as its counsel to reside in Shimoda in 1856. Here, he faced considerable difficulties, but through patience and tact supervised to convince the Bakufu that they would be better served through signing a treaty with the United States otherwise they might have to sign more onerous treaties with the other Western powers. The Harris Treaty signed on July 29, 1858, opened the ports of Kanagawa and Nagasaki and through stages Nigata and Hyogo. Foreigners were to be allowed to reside at Osaka and Edo and they were to have extra-territorial privileges. Finally, the two countries would swap representatives. Similar treaties were concluded with the other nations. Aside from opening ports, the major concession the Japanese made was to fix import and custom duties at low rates.

The Aftermath

The Bakufu's policy of granting concessions to the foreign powers was rising internal opposition. While Abe Masahiro had obtained Imperial sanction for the treaty and involved the great Daimyo in the councils of the Bakufu there was opposition from those who had traditionally exercised manage of the government? The after that head of the Council of Elders, Hotta Masayoshi, was not in favour of involving the outside Daimyo and supported a policy of granting trading rights to the Western powers.

Hotta sought to not only obtain the support of the Daimyo for a full commercial treaty but went to Kyoto to get advance approval from the Emperor. But the Court in 1858, because of opposition from some Daimyo, did not provide a clear answer. In 1858 Ii Naosuke became Tairo, the highest location within the Bakufu government and he sought to reassert the power of the Shogunate. He signed the commercial treaty without sanction from the Imperial Court and also resolved the dispute in excess of who would succeed to the Shogunate. The Shogun was without child and weak and consequently the Daimyo of Mito was trying to have his son Keiki named as heir and since Keiki was adopted into the Hitotsubashi family his claim was legitimate. His claim was supported through the Imperial Court and this was a departure from earlier practice for the Court had never been involved in Bakufu affairs. Ii Naosuke had the Daimyo of Wakayama appointed as successor to assert the power of the Bakufu.

It may be pertinent to point out that adoption was a general practice in Japan and blood ties were not of great importance. Through adoption social status could be improved. Therefore a woman from a —low status‖ could be adopted through someone with —high status‖ and then married to one of equal rank. Merchant homes often adopted capable clerks as official heirs if their own sons were incompetent.

Ii Naosuke's actions provoked a reaction amongst the supporters of the Emperor but he met this with strict events. The Ansei purge in which Ii Naosuke punished those involved in the Hitotsubashi party might have succeeded in reasserting the power of the Bakufu but Ii was assassinated in March 1860. Ii Naosuke's death was a blow to the Bakufu but even more

damaging was the rising strength of the Court and Daimyo. Opposition to the Bakufu gathered approximately the Imperial Court and was led through the outside han of Satsuma and Choshu. Several samurai gathered approximately Kyoto and these masterless samurai or ronin provided a volatile and militant group approximately the Imperial Court.

The Ansei Purge was effective insofar as it attempted to make a political structure where the Bakufu would be the dominant political force but in which the dissident elements and the Imperial Court would also be involved. The loyalist elements were of course angry and the climate was one in which talk of revenge and war had become general. Ii Naosuke's successor attempted to improve ties flanked by Edo and Kyoto. The marriage of the Shogun Iemochi and the Imperial Princess Kazunomiya was an expression of this closeness of the Court and the Bakufu. The Bakufu also sent a mission to Europe in 1862 which supervised to persuade the British and the French to postpone the opening of trade in Hyogo and Nigata.

Though, the Bakufu, though recognized as the ruling power, was in a weak location and the han of Choshu seized the initiative to press its demands. Ii Naosuke's successor Ando Nobuyuki was almost killed through loyalist elements and this put an end to his attempts. The year 1862 marked a watershed because from this point the Bakufu lost its dominance and became one of the contending forces vying for dominance. It steadily lost the initiative to Choshu which began to assert its power and location and to press its demands. Kyoto was controlled through Choshu and the Shogun was persuaded to pay a visit and issue an edict calling for the expulsion of foreigners from June 25, 1863. The order was accepted out through Choshu which bombarded ships of the United States, France and Holland. This act invited the retaliation of the United States and France.

Satsuma, the other main rival of the Bakufu accepted out a coup and with the aid of the han of Aizu took manage of Kyoto and the Imperial Court from Choshu. Choshu retaliated but was unsuccessful in its efforts to recapture Kyoto and moreover, because of its attacks on foreign ships a combined fleet of U.S., French, English and Dutch forces attacked Choshu and demanded an indemnity of \$3 million. This high demand was used as a lever to gain further

privileges in June 1866 when tariffs were reduced from a common 20 per cent to only 5 per cent.

Earlier in Satsuma on September 14, 1862 a British national Richardson had been killed. This incident is recognized as the Namamugi incident because it took place close to the village of Namamugi and the Bakufu had to pay an indemnity of 100,000 pounds and after threats through Britain Satsuma was also forced to pay 25,000 pounds.

In 1864 the Bakufu was involved with bringing Choshu under manage but its second expedition launched in August 15, 1866 was defeated. In this context foreign intrusions were beginning to play an increasingly significant role. From 1853 till in relation to the 1865 imperialism had been creating steady encroachments into Japanese territory and was becoming involved in Japanese social procedure. But after 1865 this trend assumed alarming proportions and imperialism began to pose a dangerous threat to Japanese sovereignty. Russian expansion in the north of Japan had been a problem and after 1865 concern began to mount in the Bakufu that the Russians were expanding their claims in Sakhalin and Karafuto.

In a situation of rising domestic discord the Western powers pressed the Tariff Convention of 1866. This was guided mainly through the British Minister Sir Harry Parkes and in the languages of Conrad Totman was —a solid base upon which to construct a huge and enduring imperial commercial establishment in Japan.

Anglo-French Rivalry in Japan

Up to now it had been a question of Japan and the foreigners but soon Anglo-French rivalry began to intervene in Japanese affairs with the French gravitating towards the Bakufu and the British supporting Satsuma and Choshu. The French connection began in 1864 when a Bakufu official was sent to Paris and Leon Roches came to Japan. Roches slowly began to pursue an self-governing French policy rather than work in concert with the other Western powers. A decision was taken to advance a loan to build a major shipyard at Yokosuka and the thought of a joint Franco-Bakufu trading

company was also floated. Likewise, the British too were slowly shifting towards supporting the han. In 1866 Ernest Satow, an official of the British Legation had translated into Japanese a series of articles that he wrote urging foreigners not to treat Japan as one single entity but rather as a collection of Daimyo ruled han. Japan was slowly intertwined in Anglo-French rivalry and the danger of imperialist incursion was rapidly assuming dangerous proportions. The linking of Bakufu and France and Britain and Satsuma-Choshu had serious internal repercussions. The Daimyo on the one hand were strengthened against the Bakufu but mutual suspicion also increased and conciliatory overtures were made hard. Finally, the dependence of both Daimyo and the Bakufu on Western military technology and training increased.

The war against Choshu enabled the foreign powers to further augment their stages of involvement particularly in the matter of supplying guns to the several groups. Sometimes the fears were incorrect but there were several rumors that the Daimyo were getting financial aid and military help. Katsu Kaishu, a Bakufu official described England as a —famished tiger and he went on to warn that the Bakufu too should not borrow money from France as that was a —hungry wolf.

Inland travel through foreigners and missionary action were two regions which were also creating troubles. Through 1867 not only diplomats but technicians and missionaries were moving in relation to the in regions of Japan. Once Hyogo and Osaka were opened this travel increased and the Bakufu issued instructions to allow foreigners to travel, to visit Nara and to enter the —theatre and restaurants in Edo and Osaka. This led to incidents of violence as the public had still to accept the thought of foreigners entering Japan. Attacks on foreigners increased and this further increased demands for indemnities.

The opening of Japan had not meant that Christianity would be allowed and the ban on the religion sustained. Though, with the rising attendance of foreign residents Christianity was allowed to be practiced in the treaty ports. Missionaries began to arrive and in spite of the ban took steps to spread their religion. French missionaries had opened a church in Nagasaki in

1865 and they allowed in those Japanese who began to practice the religion openly. A Japanese official wrote in complaint to the French representative Leon Roches that missionaries were preaching in villages, waiting in peoples houses, collecting gold and silver and that their behaviors were disruptive and necessity be stopped. These troubles created tensions not presently flanked by the Bakufu and the foreigners but flanked by the local people and the foreigners and the Bakufu, aggravating an already intricate problem.

Through 1867 the foreign powers had become deeply involved in the internal rivalries and this involvement created a dangerous situation for Japan in which it could easily have succumbed to colonialism. The economic effect of the treaties and the entry of foreign trade had been disruptive. Cheap manufactured goods like cotton fabric were ruining traditional domestic industry. In scrupulous the favorable gold: silver swap in Japan was used through foreign traders to devastating effect. In Japan the gold: silver swap was 6:1 whereas in the rest of the world it was 15:1. Traders brought in silver and bought gold cheap and then exported this gold to create a handsome profit. The huge export of spices and influx of silver disrupted the Japanese economy and caused undue hardship to the people. The big number of peasant uprisings and urban disturbances is ample reflection of the strains the economy and society were undergoing.

The cause why Japan was not colonized has been explained in a diversity of methods. Explanations stress the interest of imperialist countries in China and the relative neglect of Japan because it did not offer a potentially big market. Though, the imperial powers were actively intervening in Japanese affairs and it is only because the era of civil war was brief that they did not have the opportunity to entrench themselves in local politics. Leon Roches was recalled through the French government and so he could not act on behalf of the Bakufu. The United States was involved in its own civil war and Britain backed the winners and so there was no cause for it to change the outcome.

The Japanese groups aside from their slogans were mainly clear that separation was no longer a real choice and they had to deal with the Western world and this would only be possible from a location of national strength. Japanese society was in a location to evolve policies and strategies to counter

imperialist power and the sources of these strengths necessity be sought in the extensive and intricate history of Japan from at least the sixteenth century. Japan's successful handling of Western pressure was not a matter of having a breathing legroom.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

- What you understand by the Canton system?
- What were the economic consequences of Opium trade on China?
- What were the institutions which played a key role in China's dealings with foreigners in the later 19th century?
- Why did Japan adopt a policy of isolation?
- What were the problems faced by the Tokugawa due to its encounter with the West in the 19th century?

CHAPTER 3

Japan: Transition to Modernization

STRUCTURE

- Learning objectives
- Decline of feudalism and the Meiji restoration
- Modernization in Japan-1
- Modernization in Japan-2
- Modernization in Japan-3
- Review questions

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this chapter, you should be able to:

- Know about the new social forces which were generated by economic development.
- Discuss the nature and meaning of the Meiji Restoration.
- Familiarize yourself with the steps that the Meiji leadership took to establish a constitutional government.
- Understand the nature of the Meiji state and the meaning of the Emperor System.
- Know about the quest and efforts of some of the Japanese intellectuals about the Western ideas.
- Know about the characteristic features of Japan's pre-modern economy and its transformation in the Meiji period.

DECLINE OF FEUDALISM AND THE MEIJI RESTORATION

Tokugawa Decline

Feudalism

The question of feudalism is also one which needs to be cautiously understood. The Tokugawa political and social structure was not feudal in the classical sense but represented the emergence of a political system which was closer to the absolutist monarchies of Europe in the seventeenth century. The connection flanked by the Shogun and the feudal lords or Daimyo was fundamentally unequal and in all significant matters the Shogun's power was paramount. Therefore, the Daimyo had to spend a sure era every two years in the capital Edo and throughout the era of their absence leave their families as hostages. Throughout crisis, such as big-level peasant rebellions the Shogun intervened directly, in spite of the theory of han (feudal fief) autonomy. The Tokugawa had also, through seizure or when a Daimyo died heirless, reallocated Daimyo so that they were in no location to challenge the overriding power of the Shogun. The Baku-han system functioned with several checks and balances to prevent the unity of any opposition group being realized and the paramount power lay with the Tokugawa Shoguns in Edo.

The character of the ruling samurai elite had also undergone considerable change. The policy of separating the samurai from the land begun through Hideyoshi had resulted in their concentration in castle towns. The income of the samurai was derived in part from land and in part from a stipend which he received for a job. The samurai class was divided through status distinctions which restricted the nature of their jobs and several were unemployed. Therefore the employed samurai slowly evolved into a bureaucracy where merit and performance became integral criteria, for judging them. Later bureaucratic legacy was in no small method responsible for the method in which the Meiji Government achieved its objectives of developing contemporary institutions and implementing new policies.

Economic Changes

The decline of the Tokugawa order has its roots in a contradiction which lay in the structure itself when it was built in the seventeenth century. The contradiction was flanked by the ideal which visualized a hierarchic status divided society based on a easy agrarian economy and the reality of a more intricate commercial economy beside with a social order which again was much more intricate. The changes brought in relation to the through a extensive era of peaceful development generated such social and intellectual forces which questioned and undermined the foundation of Tokugawa rule. The Bakufu's attempts to reform the system through returning to the foundation of its easy thoughts were increasingly ineffective. The Kansai reforms of 1790 accepted out through a Tokugawa official Matsudaira Sadanobu were the last major effort through the Tokugawa to strengthen their shaky rule and reassert their power. Their failure marks the beginning of decline which was precipitated through the coming of Western powers seeking to open Japan. The domestic troubles were aggravated through foreign pressure and resulted in the collapse of the Tokugawa and the emergence of the Meiji Government.

The Tokugawa economy though even at the beginning of the nineteenth century mainly agrarian, had through now been transformed. In 1800 the population was somewhere flanked by 30 and 33 million and it was rising slowly. Eighty-five per cent of this population existed in the villages but the municipalities of Edo, Osaka and Kyoto had in excess of 2 million people where as the castle towns had populations ranging of from 10,000 to 100,000. Therefore, Japan was distant from presently a easy agrarian society. Urbanization had given an incentive to trade and commerce. There also urbanized sure institutions for carrying out these behaviors.

Osaka, which was the commercial capital of Tokugawa Japan, beside with the merchant guilds in the municipality (Ten Swap Homes or Junin ryogae) enjoyed the patronage of the Shogunate. These privileges entitled it to trade in tax—rice, change money and develop money-lending operations. The commercialization of economy put strains on the Tokugawa but there prescriptions for the ever rising financial deficits sustained to be based on

Confucian maxims i.e. restricting lavish life-styles and consumption. The output of rice grew slowly and since rice was the traditional tax base any augment in taxes led the farmers to engage in other more profitable crops.

The rural economy was rapidly changing in character and through the nineteenth century local specialization had produced a diversity of economic action. In central and southern Honshu commercial action had spread widely with several villages specializing in rising cotton, oil seeds, etc. In the region approximately Edo almost a quarter of the rural population was through now employed in commerce and handicrafts. The municipalities had become the manufacture centers of textiles, lacquer and pottery. But as these shifted from rural regions the municipalities became commercial and administrative centers and sustained to draw unauthorized immigrants from rural regions.

The commercialization of the economy and a fairly constant tax base, because of the Tokugawa Bakufu's inability to effectively manage the new sources of wealth, led to financial troubles for both the Shogun and the Daimyo and their samurai retainers. In 1830, for instance the domain of Satsuma owed thirty-three times its annual revenue and through 1840 Choshu owed twenty-three times its annual revenue. This deterioration in finances affected the samurai whose incomes were low even in the seventeenth century and who were now faced with rising prices and an inability to satisfy their rising demands.

The Bakufu had taken recourse to several steps to alleviate these troubles but their reforms failed to understand the nature of the problem. In 1705 the Bakufu had confiscated the wealth of merchants, like the rich and powerful Yodoya, but this was of no use. In 1720's Tokugawa Yoshimune (1684 -1751) took events to reform the fiscal and administrative system in which he licensed the merchants but he also took events to reduce consumption and money supply, a traditional prescription. The only effort which was considerably dissimilar was through the Bakufu official Tanuma Okitsugu (1719-1788) who sought to encourage commerce and through taxing it raise government revenues. But these attempts were foiled and he was removed from office. His successor Matsudaira Sadanobu (1758-1788) sought to repeat the steps taken through Yoshimune and in 1841 Mizuno Tadakuni

went so distant as to abolish government sanctioned trading rights. These events merely served to complicate and confuse the already grave situation and they had to be withdrawn.

The inability of the Bakufu to implement effective and appropriate policies was matched through a rising augment in unauthorized trade flanked by producers and local merchants, a trade which the domains were forced to accept or even actively support to overcome their own financial difficulties. In Choshu, for instance, in 1840 gross non-agricultural income was the similar as net agricultural income but while agricultural income was taxed 39 per cent non-agricultural income was taxed only 10 per cent. Through 1840 in the commercialized areas in Honshu and Shikoku villagers were firmly connected to a cash economy.

Tensions and Conflicts

The growth of a cash economy and the consequent changes in social dealings generated tensions and conflicts. The divisions within the samurai prevented the formation of a communality of interests. The merchants too were not a monolithic bloc but divided through their interests. The Osaka merchants favored through the Bakufu were closely tied to the Tokugawa structure and when it collapsed they too were finished, except for the Mitsui home which survived because of the farsightedness of its founder.

The rural merchants who had begun to play a dynamic role were excluded from the benefits of privilege and they were responsive to the need for change. As in the municipalities so also in the rural regions, too, economic changes disrupted the social fabric and disorders became both frequent and increasingly violent. In the 1780's and 1830's famine, price rise or excessive taxation resulted in peasant protests. The Tokugawa peace had been enforced with vigor in excess of the peasantry and as early as 1637 the Shimabara rebellion had been put down with great severity. In excess of the intervening years protests urbanized from mass petitions to violent actions involving thousands and spread in excess of several villages.

Scholars have calculated that in the seventeenth century peasant rebellions averaged one or two a year while after 1790 they had gone up to in

excess of six a year. The early peasant actions had been as village solidarities, mainly peaceful and concerned with reduction of taxes. But in the latter era they were often against the advise of village elders, violent and often destructive of property. Peasant protests also evolved, at times, a millennial character. Therefore, for instance, even in urban centers protests increased in the last years of the Tokugawa. The mainly representative of these urban protests were described Yonaoshi (world renewal) which drew their inspiration from folk traditions and sought a restoration of righteousness. Rural unrest was as much a product of economic changes as it was of rising education and awareness.

Education, Scholars and Thoughts

Pre-contemporary statistics are not very reliable but it can be said that compared to mainly pre-industrial civilizations the stage of education in Japan was high. A diversity of schools ranging from the terakoya or temple schools to others sponsored through the Daimyo and Bakufu to private academies created a literate class of people. In the municipalities the spread of literary works testifies to the urbanized state of the publishing industry as well as to the education and cultural liveliness of the town dwellers.

The questioning of the values and ideals of Tokugawa society also gathered momentum and it sought its inspiration from a diversity of sources. The questioning of the primacy of Chinese learning led scholars to search for the foundation of Japanese culture and civilization in the past when it flourished uncorrupted through Chinese values. Motoori Norinaga through his revise of the classic Heian novel through Murasaki Shikibu, *The Tale of Genji* sought to discover the true heart of Japanese culture which lay, according to him, in the divinely descended Emperor, in the Shinto kami or gods and in the primacy given to emotion in excess of logical reasoning. These thoughts, grouped under the School of National Learning came to emphasize the Imperial institution as central to Japanese culture and politics. Hence, the land of Japan was divine and the Emperor as a direct descendant of the Sun Goddess was a livelihood god and hence Japan could not be compared to any other country. Motoori Norinaga's thoughts were accepted on through Hirata

Atsutane (1776-1843) who was very critical of Chinese learning. Parallel to these thoughts was the growth of historical scholarship approximately the Mito school. The han of Mito was a collateral branch of the Tokugawa and could give a successor to the Tokugawa home. The han sponsored a history of Japan (Dai Nihon shi) and this too stressed on the role of the Emperor,

The Tokugawa Bakufu had virtually in accessible Japan from international get in touch with but they allowed the Dutch to retain a small trading station at Deshima, a man-made island off Nagasaki and this became a window to Western learning. There appeared in the middle of the Japanese a group of Dutch scholars (Rangakusha), so-described because they studied Dutch and through the language translated several books on medicine, metallurgy, fortifications and other practical subjects. These scholars shaped an significant and critical face stream which played an significant role throughout the secure of the Tokugawa era.

Sugita Genpaku (1733-1817) who studied medicine wrote in relation to the impact that Western books on medicine had on him. In 1771 he participated in the dissection of a human body, done in secrecy as it was forbidden, and he establish that the Dutch books on anatomy were absolutely accurate in their account and he was struck through the —great variation flanked by the knowledge of the West and the East. Other scholars, like Honda Toshiaki (1744-1821) advocated economic development and foreign expansion and Kaiho Seiryō (1755-1817) urged the government to engage in trade and commerce. These thoughts were derived from their reading of Western works and studies of Western civilizations.

In the components of the new thoughts prevalent in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was the awareness that the state necessity combine administrative, entrepreneurial and military skills to make a new and stronger Japan. Also suggested was the central importance of the Imperial institution. These trends coalesced and came jointly when political criticism of the Bakufu increased. The Bakufu was increasingly unable to tackle the problem of coping with the Western powers who were demanding that Japan open her doors and allow free access to trade and diplomatic dealings.

The knowledge of the Dutch scholars was used through men of affairs to examine the changing situation. Watanabe Kazan (1793-1841) symbolizes one such effort.

A retainer from the domain of Tawara he was an accomplished and intelligent man who saw that the strength of the Western nations lay —in the revise of things, a sense of science, and a forward motion of events. Science, in Western civilizations was to aid —the other three branches of knowledge represented through religion and ethics, government, and medicine and to extend the foundation upon which rest the several arts and techniques that are subordinate to them.

Though Kazan was arrested and he later committed suicide others accepted on with similar work. Ogata Koan (1810-1863) opened a school in Osaka in 1838 where the fruits of Dutch learning were imparted and several of the students of this school were to play an significant role in the Meiji Restoration.

In 1825 Aizawa Seishisai's New Thesis or Shinron appeared. Aizawa, (1781-1863) aware of the advances of the Russians in the north saw that the strategy that could counter the Western threat required military strength as well as a cultural regeneration. The West used Christianity and conscription and hence Japan necessity modernizes its weapons and revives its kokutai national essence. He wrote —The sun rises in our divine Land' and the primordial power originates here. The heirs of the Great Sun have occupied the Imperial Throne from time immemorial. Aizawa was therefore drawing on several traditions to put forward a new programme for meeting the challenges posed through the Western threat and he was by Western knowledge to reassert the primacy of Japan and Japanese values.

The loyalist ideals inspired through the imperial institution which sought to reassert the purity of Japanese culture and at times to incorporate Western technology to reinforce and strengthen these native concepts was further strengthened through other intellectual currents. The School of Oyomei or Wang Yang Ming, the Chinese philosopher, argued that conventional reasons were not helpful as guidelines to action and the individual necessity search for these within oneself and act accordingly. These concepts inspired

Oshio Heihachiro, a low stage official, to provide up his job and lead a rebellion in 1837.

The External Crisis

The extensive-term internal forces which undermined the strength and legitimacy of the Tokugawa Bakufu were aggravated through the gathering external crisis. Japan was becoming the substance of external attention. Russia, while expanding crossways Siberia, had begun to explore the northern parts of. Japan. The United States was looking for ports to provision and fuel its clipper ships on the China run. Britain and France were also major players in the area and all were interested in gaining access to Japan.

The Japanese reaction to foreign pressure and their attitudes to foreign policy had traditionally been divided into two ideals:

- Joi i.e. drive out the foreigners, is seen as an irrational reaction advocated through naive patriots. Joi advocates the argument of a limited war which would drive out the barbarians and revitalize the country. This was not so utopian as the world had still to think Of the thought of a total war.
- The kaikoku i.e. open country thought, was put forward in a diversity of methods •but all arguing that Japan' was in no location to counter the Western threat and so needed time to preserve its integrity.

Instead of considering the history of the closing years of the Bakufu as a era when two static positions confronted each other it is more productive to consider these as instrumental devices through which ideologues and policy makers sought to realize sure social ideals. The sakoku or closed country ideal was based on the great peace of the Tokugawa, an unobtrusive Emperor and restricted foreign contacts. This ideal was slowly replaced flanked by 1853 and 1868 through the kaikoku or open country ideal which put forward an active Emperor and a nation united through general cultural and ethical values and by the learning of the West to build a system which would be militarily strong. This shift from one to the other was supported through intellectual and

economic changes which increased the stage of public participation in the question of foreign dealings.

The era from 1853 onwards when Commodore Perry landed in Japan can be divided into three sub-periods:

- **1853-1858:** Throughout this era the Bakufu tried to minimize foreign demands to open ports. Abe Masahiro, the Bakufu official, argued that rejecting Perry's demands for a treaty would invite the danger of war while acceptance would provide them a breathing legroom throughout which they could strengthen themselves. The real danger, as perceived through the *Bakufu* was not so much to do with trade as the fear of social disorder. Foreign penetration threatened the capital Edo and even more importantly the Imperial capital of Kyoto. As a *Bakufu* official wrote, arguing that Yokohama should be opened to stay foreigners absent from —the Imperial Palace, the shrine territories and the private fiefs— so that it could preserve the natural order through creation only the minimum concessions. The chief Bakufu official Hotta Masyoshi advanced the thought of *kaikoku* or open country. He argued that in the new circumstances trade and alliances with other countries were vital and necessary. Japan had to reconsider her policy of separation because —military power always springs from national wealth and the means of enriching the country are principally to be establish in trade and commerce. This was a new argument for the ruling establishment as up to now traditional wisdom had seen only agriculture as the foundation of wealth and commerce and merchants were frowned upon. Hotta was advancing a new proposition but he was still bound in the ' old dream of keeping the foreigners at bay. He was proposing that Japanese go out to acquire this wealth but such arguments still did not concede the right of residence in Japan to foreigners. The Bakufu signed the treaties in 1858 which allowed trade at Yokohama and permitted foreign residence in Edo from the following year in 1859. These moves gave an impetus to opposition movements and the —revere the Emperor, expel the barbarian— (*sonno*

joi) movement gathered momentum particularly when one of the loyalists assassinated Ii Naosuke, a Bakufu official.

- **1860-1864:** Throughout 1860 and in 1863 there was an unsuccessful effort to restore the Emperor. In this fast paced political scenario there were other attempts to broaden the base of political participation. The great Daimyo who had been excluded from power and kept out of the decision-creation councils sought to use the beleaguered Itakufu's weakness to augment their role and strength. One such move was an alliance of Court and Shogun (kobugattai). This move wanted to bring jointly a coalition of high ranking members of the nobility and the samurai to work in unison for national unity. This move too was unsuccessful but the danger of civil war was averted for the time being. The overriding fear that foreigners would create use of internal disunity was ever present in the minds of the leading political actors. The 1860's saw the foreigners still excluded from the region approximately the Imperial capital of Kyoto described the Kinai and steps were taken to ensure its defence and protection. In 1864 the Bakufu agreed to indemnify foreigners rather than allow foreigners in the Kinai and in 1865 the Court approved the treaties but refused to allow foreigners in Hyogo, even though this was agreed to in the treaty. The Bakufu had to accept a ruinous rate of tariffs in lieu of this provision. The bombardment of the han of Satsuma and Choshu marked a clear lesson which showed the futility of both the policies of the forceful expulsion of foreigners and of giving limited concessions. Through 1865 it was clear that sakoku or closed country could not succeed.
- **1865-1868:** This era marks the triumph of an open country policy and an acceptance of the new order. The Bakufu sent official embassies to London and Paris in 1867 and even before that an official Ikeda Nagaaki wrote, after a tour of Europe, that —to lay the foundations of national independence it is fundamental that national unity be attained within Japan.‖ He advised that it was imperative that the Japanese sign

treaties and travel gather information and revise the Western countries. In this changed situation the Shogun Yoshinobu could write:

- —if we alone, at such a time, cling to outworn custom and refrain from international dealings of a type general to all countries, our actions will be in disagreement with the natural order of things.¶ These statements could not have been made earlier. They indicate clearly the intellectual transformation of the Japanese. No doubt their thoughts had been transformed under the pressure of circumstances but the choice they made was a part of their creative response to a new situation.

The final decade of the Tokugawa Bakufu saw a new pattern of dealings emerging. Satsuma and Choshu had come closer to England and the Bakufu was friendlier with France. This pattern was potentially dangerous as these imperialist powers could make a civil war through supporting their favored friends.

This danger was perceived and the situation did not deteriorate because of the Imperial restoration which brought in relation to the a centralized bureaucratic state.

The return of power from the Bakufu to the Emperor in 1868 marks the Meiji Restoration. The Emperor was given the posthumous name of Meiji or enlightened government and this came to be used to denote his era from 1868 to 1912. The abdication of Tokugawa Keiki was announced through an Imperial Edict on January 1868. This marked the formal end of the extensive rule of the Tokugawa.

In April the Court announced the Charter Oath which laid down the policies the new government would follow and in October, 1868 the Emperor Mutsuhito selected the Chinese characters meaning —enlightened rule or Meiji through which his reign would be recognized.

The restoration or *ishin* as the event is recognized was accepted out through some sections of the nobility and particularly the hans of Satsuma, Chosku, Hizm and Tosa. It was supported through sections of the samurai and rural rich who establish the constraints of the Tokugawa system increasingly

restrictive. These groups wished to share power with the Bakufu and when foreign pressure made it hard for the Bakufu to uphold its location these groups asserted themselves.

Foreign demand to open the treaty ports and the Bakufu's vacillation allowed these groups to rally approximately the Imperial Court and demand that the Tokugawa hand back power to the Emperor. In this demand they were supported through the loyalists who genuinely wished to have an active Imperial Court. The han particularly Satsuma and Choshu had initially been at loggerheads, each leading their groups but they came jointly and used the court to topple the Tokugawa Bakufu

In 1854 the Treaty of Kanagawa was signed and through 1859 Japan's foreign dealings were recognized on the foundation of the unequal treaties as in China. The pressure to open treaty ports, (Aomori, Hakodate, Yokohama, Nagasaki, Kobe) created a sense of crisis in which several critics of the Tokugawa came jointly. For instance, even conservatives within the Tokugawa camp who disapproved of the treaties allied with the Kyoto nobility and they tried to reform the Bakufu

Satsuma and Choshu played a dominant role because they were —outside lords (they had been defeated in 1600 through the Tokugawa) and they were excluded from power. Their han were distant from the Tokugawa regions and their territories integrated. These han were even able to attempt internal reform as well as build their forces to resist the Tokugawa.

The Debate

Whether the events of 1868 spot a restoration or a revolution are questions which scholars are still debating? Tetsuo Najita, for instance writes that, —The Japanese Emperor did not have a specific structure of power to restore, and whatever grandiose images came to be associated with him after the *ishin* [restoration] were the result of the ideological construction of the contemporary state and not the legacy of recent history.¶ The events of 1867 and 1868 were not of a cataclysmic nature and if only this era is measured, then the transition from Tokugawa to Meiji appears easy and with little disagreement. Though, when viewed from the beginning of the nineteenth

century then it can be seen that the changes which were brought in relation to the profoundly altered Japan and created a new nation state. The view of the nature of this transition has been influenced through the concerns of the writers and their times.

A well-recognized Meiji intellectual Tokutomi Soho had argued that it was not Meiji leaders but the circumstances which helped to make a contemporary Japan. He saw feudal Japan as already weakening with the emergence of rural leaders whose strength was based on a productive and rich economy but who were denied political power. Others, including the last Tokugawa shogun Yoshinobu, who wrote his memoirs in 1915, argued that it were the forces of Imperial loyalist which were responsible for bringing in relation to the restoration.

The Marxist View

A very influential analysis of the Meiji Restoration was made through the Marxists in the 1920's when internal repression and an aggressive foreign policy led them to reexamine the nature of the contemporary Japanese state. A vast range of detailed and scholarly works were produced and the views were divided into two broad groups:

- The Labour-Farmer group (rono-ha) saw the restoration as fundamentally a bourgeois revolution which ended feudalism and laid the foundation for capitalist development.
- The other group, which took its name from the series of lectures they produced i.e. the koza group, argued that the Meiji Restoration was not a successful capitalist revolution but one which ushered in an absolutist rule. This was based on the —Emperor System and the power of this system rested on feudal dealings which had sustained in the countryside.

The Marxist arguments were closely tied to their political programmes. If feudalism had ended then it was not necessary to fight the Emperor which would bring in relation to the proscription of the party but if feudalism was still significant then the Emperor system had to be countered and this meant the party would be banned.

An influential Japanese ideologue Ikki saw the restoration as a restoration-revolution recognizing both the forward looking elements as well as the constraints of the past which sustained. In a work which was banned approximately immediately after it was published he forcefully put forward this view.

The Post-War Debate

In post-war Japan the debate has sustained. E.H. Norman in his path breaking work put forward an interpretation which has influenced several scholars. Norman saw the restoration as the work of a coalition of —lowers samurai and —merchants. This coalition was crucial to creating the Meiji state and it was responsible for the characteristics which were urbanized, namely foreign expansion and internal centralization. Though, other scholars have establish this framework hard to substantiate through detailed studies.

Albert Craig has argued that —lower samurai is analytically meaningless as —upper samurai were a very small percentage and any movement would contain a big number of lower samurai. Thomas Huber, who, like Albert Craig studied the hanof Choshu, has defined the lower samurai through their income and concluded that they incorporated commoner village officers. Shibahara Takauji has seen the popular anti-feudal sentiments as the driving force behind the restoration movement. Conrad Totman, though, argues that commoners took part on all sides and it is not possible to equate anti-feudal with anti-Bakufu.

The role of popular discontent is hard to analyze. Certainly there were popular movements but, as one revise points out, several of them took lay in the Tokugawa regions which were relatively more wealthy than the anti-Bakufu domains. The role of merchants also needs to be cautiously studied before it can be conclusively argued that they were supporters of the loyalist movement.

Marius Jansen has questioned the actual danger posed through foreign intervention arguing that the governments were not either really interested or in a location to augment their power. Though, he does concede that the Japanese perceptions of foreign threat were an significant force in

creation the people take action. In scrupulous the fear of foreign loans played a crucial part in this era as well as in the Meiji era.

The debates will continue and we need to further refine our understanding of the actual procedures through careful and detailed revise. Though, it can be said that there are three major regions approximately which the debates centre:

- The first is that the Meiji ishin arose as a protective reaction again the Western imperialist threat.
- Secondly, the real disagreement lay flanked by the forces of feudalism and the emerging capitalist forces and the Meiji state which appeared was a mix of these two elements.
- Thirdly, the debate continues on the nature and role of the lower samurai.

Conrad Totman has argued that the prime cause of the Meiji Restoration was the internal collapse of the Tokugawa Bakufu and this was brought in relation to the through a extensive-term decline caused through an inability to respond to the new forces generated through the continuous peace and economic development. He sees the movements of the early 1860's such as the sonno-joi and kobugattai as voluntaristic but, he argues that they failed to unify the country. His analysis stresses the importance of national political thoughts and consequently he does not lay a crucial significance on domainal affairs and troubles. The problem of the domains was significant but not the crucial determining factor in the kind of change that was brought in relation to the.

Harold Bolitho who has studied the fudai daimyo of Tokugawa Japan takes an opposite view. He argues that central power had not urbanized but rather the weak shoguns had increased the strength and power of the han. The domainal interests then became the crucial force in the last years of the Bakufu. These han interests establish symbolic leadership under the Emperor. This coalition of hans under the Emperor could challenge the Bakufu and press its demand for political change. The kobugattai movement was the main effort to replace the Bakufu through this coalition. The sonno-joi movement

was national in scope and brought lower and middle ranking samurai jointly against the Bakufu.

Thomas Huber in his revise of Choshu focuses on the class nature of the movement which helped to bring in relation to the Meiji Restoration. Huber agrees with Bolitho in placing importance on imperialist pressure but he disagrees with both Bolitho and Totman and argues that both domainal consciousness and national consciousness were not crucial in the anti-Bakufu movements. Huber's revise of the movement described Heaven's Revenge in Choshu shows that it was a consciousness of class and a desire for social justice which was the prime driving force. Huber's examination of the Bakufu's attempts to reform the structure from within is less hopeful. He sees the Bakufu as essentially conservative and incapable of change and the reformers were at best marginal within this structure.

The events of the Meiji Restoration have been examined through scholars working on Japan but few specialists from other regions have tried to seem at this event within the superior framework of how civilizations have made the transition to a contemporary state. The procedure is hard and has not always been successful. Mexico experienced a peasant revolution in 1910 which was put down but after decades of capitalist development it still remnants an underdeveloped country. Turkey, on the other hand accepted out, under Kamal Ataturk in 1919, a national transformation but it too failed to develop. In Asia, China accepted out a republican revolution in 1911 and in 1949 the Chinese Communist Party came to power but it too has not been able to successfully industrialize. Japan's Meiji Restoration therefore is significant as marking the successful transformation of a non-industrialized society into a contemporary nation state. This event needs to be measured as part of a superior historical procedure.

The Meiji Ishin was a era when society was thrown into turmoil and thoughts and dealings had not yet jelled into the later —oligarchic state" and so to impose an order from later interests restricts the field of inquiry, as well as casts that inevitability so apparent on historical writing on Japan. Testuo Najita has looked at the transformation that took lay in the method knowledge and the political economy were perceived. The Tokugawa concerns were with

—ordering society and saving the people (keisei saimin) but with the Meiji the prime interest has become —rich country, strong army (Fukoku kyohei). The change from —saving to —mobilizing the people occurred with the Meiji Ishin. This procedure occurred in excess of a era of time and was preceded through debates and confrontation. The transformation of Japan was not something which was accepted out through consensus and harmony. When we consider these questions it becomes hard to accept J.W. Hall's view that —Japan saw little of the social antagonisms or political ideologies which the French or Russian revolutions saw... The Meiji Restoration was neither bourgeois nor a peasant revolution, although both peasant and merchant were establish in the middle of the individuals who led the attack on the Shogunate.

The Russian historian Latyshev notes that flanked by 1868-1873 there were in excess of 200 peasant uprisings and he argues that it would be better to see the restoration as an —unaccomplished revolution. It is also significant to keep in mind that while the Tokugawa home was not killed but sustained, the battles which brought down the Bakufu at Toba and Fushimi involved 120,000 government droops and 3,556 were killed and 3,804 injured. Compare this with the 5,417 lost in the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-5 and then only the magnitude of the thrash about can be appreciated.

The upheaval of the Meiji Restoration has been examined from several perspectives. Irokawa Daikichi, an influential Japanese historian whose work on the democratic struggles of the people has recognized him as a major interpreter of Japanese history, has stressed on the confrontation flanked by —civilization and —westernization. He argues that the hopes of the general people in the Great Renewal (goishin) as the Meiji Ishin was described were thwarted and with the arbitrary changes in customary practices their disillusionment increased and this discontent fuelled the anti-establishment struggles, such as peasant rebellions. It was also apparent in the increased popularity of new religions, such as Maruyamakyo and Tenrikyo.

The tension flanked by the demands for modernity and the destruction of. the method of life of the general people was the driving force for the violent incidents throughout the restoration and immediately after.

In conclusion it needs to be emphasised that while the Meiji Restoration inaugurated a new era for Japan the cause for Japan's successful transformation lie not merely in the breathing legroom which it enjoyed. The Western imperialist powers were certainly more interested in the great China market and did not see any great potential in Japan. This gave Japan the chance to carry out a series' of reforms but that she was able to conceive and execute these reforms, that she was able to use the chance that she had was more due to internal strengths and indigenous institutions.

MODERNIZATION IN JAPAN-1

Establishment of an Imperial Government

The Meiji Government took immediate steps to dismantle the structure of the old government. As early as January 3, 1869 the old offices were abolished and a new council shaped with an Imperial prince at the helm. These changes were not final. Several changes followed as the power of the new rulers expanded and their manage increased. The new rulers crossed sure hurdles through initiating some major steps.

No to Privileges

The first major hurdle in consolidating the new foundation of power was to abolish the rights and privileges enjoyed through the Daimyo and samurai. The Daimyo enjoyed a sure degree of autonomy. Abolishing the privileges of the Daimyo was perceived as the dismantling of an outmoded feudal structure and a confirmation of the power of the Emperor. The fear of opposition held the leaders back but an initial step was taken when a decree requiring the Daimyo to separate —publicl and —privatell business and select officials on the foundation of talent and not birth was issued. Subsequently the leading han (Satsuma,

Choshu, Tosa and Hizen) offered to surrender their privileges and asked that:

- —The court issues such orders as it may deem necessary, disposing of the lands of the great domains and deciding changes in them....so that state affairs, both great and small, may be in the hands of a single power.l

This created the opportunity but it took more negotiations and political manoeuvring till finally the Emperor issued an Edict on August 29, 1871;

- —We deem it necessary that the government of the country be centered in a single power, so as to effect a reformation in substance as well as in information ll

The abruptly worded document putting an end to an age old system was of profound significance. The abolishing of the han laid the foundation for extending the prefectural system all in excess of Japan and creating a

centralized power. This time, the inspiration for these steps was the West and not China as it had traditionally been.

A National Army

The second major step in the structure of the nation state was the creation of a national army. Traditionally the privilege of bearing arms had been monopolized through the samurai ever since Hideyoshi accepted out a sword hunt in the sixteenth century which disarmed the peasantry and ushered in a era of relative peace. The closing years of the Tokugawa saw both the Bakufu and the han improving their military organization. In Choshu an irregular force of commoners had been raised and in continuation of these trends Omura Masujiro of Choshu put forward a proposal for a conscript army in July 1869. This was met with hostility as it struck at the age old privileges and moreover, his proposal required that the recruits sever all connection with their domains.

The proposals to reform the military forces were supported through Yamagata Aritomo, one of the leading Meiji leaders. He saw the importance of western training and organizational methods and he also saw that the trained recruits would return to their villages and become a reserve force. He wrote that stability at house and defence against foreign attack —were characteristics of a single problem". On January 10, 1873 a conscription law was promulgated requiring adults of twenty years to put in three years of active military service and four years of reserve service. The country was divided into six army districts with a combined strength of 31,000 men. The conscription law introduced uniformity and centralization to what had been a varied approach. Since 1853, because of the multiplicity of political power centers' a number of approaches had been tried. Hut it was only when the Meiji came to power it became necessary to have an effective force to quell internal disturbances and protect the nation from the fear of foreign threat. The han, now prefectures, were also facing financial troubles and this coupled with the fear of internal unrest led them to accept this centralized military structure. A Ministry of Military Affairs (Hyobusho) had been created in 1869 and it

was fully integrated into the bureaucratic structure. It was staffed through professional officers.

The commonly held view is that Japan was influenced through the success of Prussia in the Franco-Prussian war (1870-71) and switched from following the French model to the Prussian system in organizing the army. But in actual information it adopted the French model one month after the war. Conscription was instituted not because there was a dearth of recruits for the military forces. Even if half of the 450,000 unemployed samurai were recruited there would have been more than the troops Japan had in the 1880's.

The Tax on Land and Pensions

The third major step in the creation of a centralized political system was the institution of a land tax. Tax had been paid, throughout the Tokugawa era, in rice and there were several local customs and practices. Moreover, land could not be sold. The intricate problem was debated and in March 1872 the ban on the sale of land was abolished and after a era of intense debates a land tax payable in cash was instituted in 1873. The tax was based on 4 per-cent of the land's capital value. Without going into the details of the manner in which this measure was accepted out and the effect it had here it needs to be noted that now the government had the foundation for a stable source of revenue.

The fourth major problem was dealing with the commutation of samurai pensions. In the Tokugawa era the samurai had, as a privilege of their rank, been given stipends. This burden of stipends cost the Finance Ministry a third of the total yield from the land tax. The new government could not reduce these stipends as they had been considerably reduced in excess of the years and it did not want to augment the burden of taxes on business as it sought to encourage growth. It was so, willing to abolish this privilege as well. Though, given the political impact of such a step it had to be accepted out with moderation and care. A few tentative proposals were tried but finally in March 1876 commutation of stipends was made compulsory for all samurai. The negligible stipend holders were given government bonds at fourteen times the annual value. These bonds bore a 7 per cent interest rate. Superior stipend

holders were given bonds five times their annual value and the interest rates were 5 per cent.

The commutation of samurai stipends reduced government expenditure through 30 per cent. Its benefit was felt in the procedure of economic development but it created social and political troubles. The loss of economic as well as social privileges through the samurai fuelled their anger and provided an impetus to the rebellions against the new government. The mainly serious of which was the Satsuma Rebellion of 1877 led through Saigo Takamori, Meiji leader from the influential han of Satsuma.

The significant changes which these reforms reflect and which they brought in relation to the transformed the foundation and nature of rule. The Daimyo and the upper samurai as well as some court nobles were deprived of power though they still retained economic clout. At the lower stages several samurai merged with the peasantry, others became landlords or merchants and some joined the bureaucracy or the military forces. Power was now centralized and controlled through a political system which had the Emperor at the helm and under whom was the bureaucracy and armed forces. In this context changes were accepted out to make a constitutional form of government which would be more acceptable to the Western powers, Japan desired to end the unequal treaties that had been imposed upon it. To this end Japan had to transform itself into a contemporary nation which at that time meant a westernized nation.

Towards Constitutionalism

The Meiji Constitution which came into effect on February 11, 1889 and lasted till May 3, 1947 was the vital document which gave form to the final political structure. But the political system cannot be understood only through learning this document. The constitution was formulated in a context of debate and discussion within the ruling oligarchy and demonstrations and petitions from emerging political associations. The constitution was effected only after a host of other crucial political changes were accepted out. Examining the nature of the constitution the procedure through which it was

formulated and the views of the opposition group designate the nature and character of power in Meiji Japan. First as suggested, seem at the Meiji constitution, then at the opposition demands and finally consider the chief features of the Meiji political structure.

The Meiji Constitution

Japan has a extensive history of constitutions and the earliest is the 17 Article constitution issued through Shotoku Taishi in 604 A.D. but the thought of a contemporary constitution owes more to western legal power than to Chinese ideals. Before the Meiji era there had been deliberative assemblies of feudal lords and there was a custom of public power or *kogi* which several scholars see as the foundation on which contemporary constitutionalism was successfully built. In other languages there was a custom of arriving at decisions through discussion. We have already seen that the power of the Shogun throughout the Tokugawa era was not feudal but purely autocratic.

The Meiji leaders in the initial months issued a statement which was in effect an appeal for unity and which laid down the foundation for future change. The Charter Oath issued through the Emperor on April 6, 1868 had five articles. The first in the middle of these promised: —An assembly widely convoked shall be decided through public discussion.¶ This laid the foundation for the creation of a constitutional system of government.

The crucial troubles which arose while deciding in relation to the nature of the constitution were to do with:

- The speed at which these events would be accepted out,
- The power and power of the Emperor, and
- How these laws would be integrated within Japanese traditional practices so that society would not be disrupted.

The Meiji leaders were also aware of the dangers of socialism and did not want Japan to be faced with these troubles. In the middle of the Meiji leaders Yamagata Aritomo argued that an excessively fast pace would alienate the people and lead to social instability. Ito Hirobumi, on the other hand argued that Japan was now part of an interdependent world and within Japan

the privileges, stipends and power enjoyed through the samurai had been abolished. Hence, in this changed environment it was not possible to ignore democratic thoughts and it was necessary to share power.

The mainly liberal view was put forward through Okuma Shigenobu who advocated a British approach parliamentary system. Okuma was from the province of Hizen and had served as councilor, and flanked by 1873-1880 as a Finance Minister. His memorial of March 1881 was a radical proposal advocating the establishment of a Parliament through 1883 with election in 1882. The government would be shaped through the majority party. He wrote, —Constitutional government is party government and the thrash about flanked by parties are the thrash about of principles.¶

Approximately diametrically opposed to this was the view of Iwakura Tomomi, an influential noble who belonged to the core group of Meiji leaders. He and Inoue Kowashi argued that in Japan, unlike Britain there was no custom of political parties and they would not be successful. So, the Emperor should appoint and dismiss the Cabinet self-governing of a parliamentary majority. Such views were supported through influential newspapers. The Tokyo nichii, nichii shinbun, a paper secure to the government was a strong supporter of the divinity of the Emperor.

The loyalist custom had argued that Japan was created through the gods and the Emperor was a direct descendant of the Sun Goddess, whose grandson was the first Emperor of Japan. The lineage of the Imperial Home had sustained in an unbroken row and this recognized the uniqueness of Japan's political structure or kokutai. Kokutai literally means the political body and this became a key word in the debates which took lay approximately the functions of the Emperor. Throughout the Meiji era this word was interpreted in several methods even to argue against the mythical traditions but later it came to be exclusively associated with the thought of a divine Emperor.

An influential Meiji intellectual Fukuzawa Yukichi who was an ardent modernizer wrote an article on the Imperial home. In this he argued that the Imperial family should stay out of politics as it belonged to all the people. The

Emperor would remain a symbol of unity and stability while power would rotate flanked by responsible parties.

These debates reflect the range of thoughts within the ruling establishment and the dissimilar perceptions these leaders had even while broadly agreeing on the goals that national policy necessity aim for. The procedure of drafting was accepted out in great secrecy through a team headed through Ito Hirobumi and they were advised through German legal scholars H. Roesler and A. Morese. Though, before the draft was even prepared an Imperial ordinance created a peerage system in 1884 and in 1885 a Cabinet system with Ito Hirobumi as the first Prime Minister was recognized.

An Imperial decree on October 11, 1881 promised a constitution so that —our imperial heirs may be provided with a rule for their guidance." The constitution would come into effect in 1890 and its vital premise was that parliamentary democracy should be controlled otherwise it would disrupt the social and political order. To further ensure that the opposition did not make troubles, laws were enacted to manage public meetings and publications. Finally in 1887 the Peace Preservation Law gave the police the power to remove anyone —who plots or incites disturbance, or who is judged to be scheming something detrimental to public tranquility.¶

The final draft was submitted in April, 1888 and on February 11, 1889, a day described Kigensetsu, when the supposed anniversary of the first Emperor Jimmu is celebrated, the constitution was gifted through the Emperor to his people.

The Debate

There are debates in relation to the whether the constitution was merely a facade or. a genuine effort to chart out social change. One view sees the Meiji oligarchy as an alliance of factions (hanbatsu) from the hans (Satsuma, Choshu, etc.) but this overlooks the centralizing forces at work in the Meiji Government. Other scholars have argued that Japan like Prussia, because of late development, chose the thought of a social monarchy and was able to carry-out its programme of modernization. The ambiguity of retaining a traditional Emperor with sacrosanct powers (Article-I: —The Empire of Japan

shall be reigned in excess of and governed through a row of Emperors unbroken for ages eternal. Article 4 The Emperor is head of the Empire, combining in himself the rights of sovereignty) was to remain a source of tension until the end of the Second World War when the occupying forces of the United States imposed a new constitution.

The proponents of the Meiji state as —absolutistll argue that the samurai were able to use the Imperial institution to free themselves from a feudal system and base their power on a coalition of class forces. This was possible because no single class was dominant; feudal power was in decline, the peasantry was rebelling and the bourgeoisie was rising. E.H. Norman argued that it was this absolutist state which could have accepted out the immense task of modernization. Allied to this argument is the view of peasant rebellions as creating a climate of fear that a popular revolution would endanger the social system and so, absolutism was acceptable to a wider range of groups.

Protests and Revolts against the Meiji State

We have looked at the method in which the Meiji oligarchy accepted out a series of reforms to make a new political structure. This entailed wide ranging debates within the ruling oligarchy but it also created dissension, protest and turmoil outside the ruling establishment.

In common it worked to the advantage of the superior landholders. Through abolishing several customary rights landlord-tenant disputes increased mainly in excess of the question of rents. Though, the class which was mainly adversely affected, survival farmers for instance, were also the mainly powerless to protest.

Against Dismantling of Privileges

The more violent reactions were provoked through the dismantling of the structure of privileges of the traditional elite. The Shizoku rebellions flanked by 1874 and 1877 were serious challenges to the new regime. These revolts were led through young samurai who had been active in the anti-Tokugawa movement and occupied. significant positions in the new Meiji government. Eto Shimpei who led the Sage rebellion of 1874 was a member of

the Council of State; Maebara Issei, who participated in the Shimpuren uprising in Kumamoto was in the government, and Saigo Takamori, who led the last and mainly serious uprising, the Satsuma Rebellion of 1877 was one of the core group of the Meiji leaders and had occupied significant posts.

The elites establish their traditional privileges taken absent and were looking for an opportunity to assert themselves. They came jointly in excess of the question of whether Japan should invade Korea or not. Korea had refused to open diplomatic and trade dealings with Japan and Saigo hoped to use this to build a Samurai army. Saigo had earlier proposed a development model in which he argued for adopting Shinto as a state religion; specific events to revitalize the rural economy and the manufacturing sector would support the stipends of the Shizoku.

The Meiji leaders did not substance in principle to invading Korea but were opposed to the timing as they felt that Japan was still not sufficiently strong and such adventurous action would invite Chinese or Russian intervention as well. The Iwakura Mission, which had toured Europe and the United States 1871-1873, was well aware of Western military and economic strength. These leaders argued that Japan could not afford to divert valuable possessions urgently needed for modernization. Though the hard liners failed this had repercussions.

Satsuma played a crucial role because the samurai population there was very big, as the rural warriors or gosh were also measured samurai. In the rest of Japan samurai had existed in castle towns through out the Tokugawa era and had no direct connection with the land. The changes directly affected the privileges and livelihood of the goshi and they provided willing recruits to the anti-government normal revolts.

The failure of these revolts attests to the success of the government in establishing its power and creating a wide support structure. It was also due to the failure of the rebel leaders to effectively rally and use their supporters and sympathizers. The Satsuma rebellion was though, better organized and superior in level with 22,000 supporters. The government sent an army of 33,000 and later reinforcement of 30,000. The success of the government

forces was due as much to the narrow political base of the rebels, their tactical errors as to the superiority of an army based on universal conscription.

Freedom and Peoples' Rights Movement

The Meiji government also faced opposition from within the oligarchy in excess of its policies. Itagaki Taisuke and Goto Shojiro, who belonged to the Tosa (a leading han in the Meiji Restoration) faction, were one group who argued for a democratic government. They led the Peoples' Rights Movement which began as an upper class anti-government movement. The early advocates of peoples' rights were samurai and wealthy farmers (gono) who had been active in the Meiji Restoration but slowly the supporters expanded to contain school teachers, priests, petty merchants and small landholders. The changing character of the movement reflects this change in its composition.

The Peoples' Rights Movement also put forward a vision of Japanese politics which was dissimilar from that supported through the Meiji leaders. So, even though there are several characteristics which are in general and though some of the movement leaders compromised with the government this differing foundation marks a clear divide. The movement also created political consciousness and contributed to the growth of political associations and political parties. Finally, the growth of the movement within a decade of the Meiji Restoration points to the subsistence of local traditions of protest and solidarity. The rapid spread of Western liberal thoughts was possible not only because of reasonably high stages of education but because there was a background within which these new thoughts could be assimilated.

In the formative era (from 1874-1878) many political organizations were shaped, such as the Public Party of Patriots (Aikokuto) in 1874 and the Society to Set up One's Ambitions (Risshisha). The membership of these groups was mainly in Tosa, now described Kochi Prefecture and its leaders, like Itagaki Taisuke, Ueki Emori, Kataoka Kenichi described for a popular assembly and a representative government. These institutions, they felt, would remedy the troubles created through the concentration of power, conscription, heavy taxes and the mismanagement of foreign affairs.

The manifesto of the Risshisha proclaimed:

- —We, the thirty million people in Japan are all equally endowed with sure definite rights, in the middle of which are those of enjoying and defending life and liberty, acquiring and possessing property, and obtaining a livelihood and pursuing happiness. These rights are through nature bestowed upon all men, and so, cannot be taken absent through the power of any man.¶

Though, all scholars are not unanimous in accepting these statements at their face value. Robert Scalapino sees this rhetoric as a tool with which sure members of the ex-samurai class sought to gain political power for they could no longer rely either on military power or on intellectual and social prestige. Itagaki Taisuke was distant from liberal in his views of the people and sought to build his base on the samurai, richer farmers and merchants. He argued that political power should rest with the monied class.

From 1878 to 1881 the movement spread, in spite of government repression, as it was fuelled through the rising discontent of the general people (heimin) who were affected through the land tax revision. This discontent led to the formation of numerous civilizations particularly at the village stage. Irokawa Daikichi, who has done pioneering work on these groups, calculates that in excess of 150 were shaped. In October 1881 when the Freedom Party or Jiyuto was shaped. It had 149 affiliates and through November of that year it could rally more than 135,000 people in a petition campaign to demand representative government.

The oligarchs had announced in 1881 that they would form a national assembly within nine years. Okuma, who had advocated an early date for convening the national assembly resigned and shaped his own party, the Constitutional Reform Party (Rikken Kaishinto). This party drew its support from the urban middle class while the Jiyuto was mainly supported through wealthy farmers even though its leadership was mostly of former samurai.

The movement had been rising particularly in the rural regions and conventions were held demanding a constitutional government. To take an instance, in March 1880 the 4th common convention of the —Association for the Establishment of a National Assembly¶ was held with 114 delegates on behalf of 96,900 members spread in excess of 28 prefectures.

This intense political action was also reflected in the big number of private constitutional drafts which were written. Flanked by 1879-1881 there were more than forty drafts through private individuals. This political activism reflected the desire to escape feudal restraints and make a wider awareness. Civilizations shaped at the village stage, such as the Learning and Debating Society at the small market town of Itsukaichi read western liberal works, debated methods to improve society and this —ignorant rabble discussed drafting a national constitution, a legal system and a code of civil rights. One of the members Chiba Takusaburo produced a full constitutional draft which is highly evaluated as an enlightened document.

The government's repressive machinery was being enforced. The promulgation of laws restricting the press and limiting public meetings in 1875 and 1877 silenced several supporters. Under the 1875 and 1876 laws some sixty persons were arrested but through 1880 the number had gone up to more than three hundred. The Ordinance on Public Meetings (1880) allowed the police powers to regulate the behaviors of political groups. Moreover, soldiers, teachers and students could not attend political meetings. In 1881, 131 political meetings were disbanded followed through 282 in 1882. The press was treated equally harshly. The editor of a Tokyo paper, Azuma was sent to jail for two years and fined 200 yen for saying that the Emperor was, like other government officials, a public servant.

After 1881 the Peoples' Rights Movement began to splinter and according to some scholars the violent incidents which took lay flanked by 1882-1885 form a separate stage which they call —incidents of extremism (gekka jiken). These incidents in Fukushima, Gumma, Kanagawa, Ibaraki and Saitama were mainly organized through leaders from the Jiyuto —to overthrow the oppressive government, which is the public enemy of freedom." In 1884 in the Kabasan incident they attempted to assassinate the government ministers to —protect the citizens' happiness and natural liberties. The Kabasan incident was not an uprising of people caused through economic difficulties but an effort to change the government through insurrection. Though, in the Chichibu uprising of 1884 the economic distress of the people was the prime factor.

The suppression of the Chichibu uprising marked the end of the movement. In information, the movement had, in spite of the extensive era of agitations, achieved very little. The Meiji oligarchy promulgated a constitution in 1889 which limited political rights and it was only in 1918 that the prime minister came from the parliament. The movement was limited through internal factionalism, a weak leadership and above all through its acceptance of the central role of the Imperial institution. This laid them open to attack through the oligarchy that controlled the Emperor.

Though, the movement, in part, was responsible for pushing the Meiji leaders to convene an assembly and promulgate a constitution. It helped to set up the foundation for a system of political parties. These traditions of political dissent were accepted on later through the socialist and Christian movements though the people's rights leaders were not successful in countering the Meiji political culture of authoritarian rule.

The Nature of the Meiji Political System

We have seen how the Meiji political system evolved and what its vital characteristics were. The opposition and its demand of a dissimilar and more democratic structure have also been examined. The predominant thrust of the Meiji oligarchy in the political sphere is best summed up in the slogan —rich country, strong army‖ (fukoku kyohei). This slogan illustrates the Meiji oligarchy's thought that for Japan to survive and preserve its national integrity in the face of Western imperialist threat it had to make a wealthy and wealthy nation and build a strong defence forces to protect it.

The Meiji leaders efforts were directed through these goals and to achieve them they accepted out a procedure of centralization of power and suppression of dissent on the grounds that it dissipated national energies, created social disorder and increased the danger of foreign power.

The Emperor

The key figure in the political system was the Emperor, who, even though he did not exercise personal power, became the source of power. It is for this cause that several Japanese historians speak of an Emperor system or

describe the Meiji era as —emperor system absolutism (tennosei zettaishugi). It is significant to keep in mind that in Japanese the word used for the emperor—tenno— has a much more religious significance than the word Emperor in English. The Emperor had existed in relative obscurity throughout the Tokugawa era. He was dependent on the Bakufu for finances. Yet, he was regarded as the source of virtue and the central figure in Japanese culture. The Meiji leaders set in relation to the structure up the image of the divine Emperor and to present him as the —axis of the nation (Ito Hirobumi).

The Emperor made (from 1878-1885) six great circuits of the nation. These Imperial progressions, in the languages of Inoue Kaoru, were cautiously intended not only to inform the people of the emperor's offers the opportunity of displaying direct imperial rule in the flesh therefore dispelling misgivings in relation to the monarchical government. (Inoue Kaoru in 1878).

The Meiji leaders were very consciously by the Emperor for political ends though at the similar time his direct involvement was severally curtailed and he existed in the expressive phrase of the times —above the clouds. The Emperor was projected as an aloof and distant ruler who was above politics. He became in the languages of Mori Arinori the —peerless capital, the greatest possible treasure in the enterprise of fostering loyalty and patriotism.

Goto Yasushi divides the development of the Emperor System into three periods:

- The first from 1868 to 1884, saw the formation of the vital characteristics of the system,
- In the second, from 1885-1895, the system was implemented, and
- In the third, from 1895-1905, there was a restructuring.

The two pillars on which the system rested were the bureaucracy and the military.

Bureaucracy

The bureaucratic structure was shaped in excess of a era of time but through 1872 a hierarchical system with 15 categories of bureaucrats had been created. These were divisible into three broad categories of which the first two groups were direct imperial appointees and were treated differently even under

law. Moreover, the policy of recruitment allowed access to people from several social classes and only a small percentage of the nobles and samurai became bureaucrats. The powers and privileges of these officials were not because of their birth but because they were employees of the Emperor. Likewise, the military was directly answerable to the Emperor and they were to later use this power to topple cabinets and enforce their view.

The Meiji Government even while creating political institutions denied political action as a legitimate right. It saw politics as something which divided people and represented selfish group interests and it projected the Emperor as on behalf of the will and interests of the nation in a non-partisan manner. This was enforced through excluding groups from taking part in political action. Women, teachers and soldiers were forbidden to attend political meetings. In the Rescript to Soldiers and Sailors it was written—neither be led astray through current opinions nor meddle in politics but with single heart fulfill your essential duties of loyalty.¶ Women were not permitted to go out of the homes on political business till 1922.

The Meiji Emperor ruled till his death in 1912 and his reign marked the transition of Japan from a closed and inaccessible country to a major world power. Japanese institutions were radically transformed and though hesitatingly, a constitutional structure was created. The parliament or Diet as it is described in Japan was able to assert a small degree of power and power on the ruling oligarchy. From these tentative and hesitant steps a party system evolved and political debates increased. But right from the beginning the Meiji leaders were able to seize the initiative and take decisions on the course of national policy. This was because they controlled and kept out of the constitutional procedure both the bureaucracy and the military. Key institutions and ministries functioned directly under the Emperor. It is for this cause that even though in the subsequent periods there were changes, there were no violent social upheavals because dissimilar government institutions were jockeying for power. Therefore in the 1930s it was the army which became the dominant force within the government.

MODERNIZATION IN JAPAN-2

Japan and the Western World

The Tokugawa Era

Japan had not been strictly inaccessible from foreign get in touch with even throughout the Tokugawa era. Japan had allowed limited rights of residence to Dutch traders at the man-made island of Deshima off Nagasaki. It is significant to note that throughout the Tokugawa era two of the mainly significant sources of knowledge were from outside Japan i.e. China and Holland. This experience of Western knowledge provided a foundation with which the Meiji intellectuals could learn from the West.

Through translations the Japanese had access to a vast amount of information in relation to the not only these countries but in relation to the foreign affairs in common. Books were imported and the Dutch had to provide regular reports on the world situation. Because of their heritage of learning from Chinese books the Japanese rapidly learnt from the Dutch works and through the middle of the nineteenth century there was a strong and active custom of scholars who were aware of the world. These scholars were now increasingly desirous of actually seeing the world and once Perres' Black ships appeared they were eager to go and revise the sources of Western strength.

The loyalist teacher Yoshida Shoin (1830-59) exercised a deep power on several of the Meiji leaders. He was a fiercely nationalistic person and was executed for his extremist thoughts under the Tokugawa rule. He tried to smuggle himself on to Perry's ship but was thwarted in his effort. Later another intellectual Nijima Jo supervised to smuggle himself abroad. He was helped through several people who were impressed through the intensity of his desire to see the world. He studied in the United States and later became a respected figure in Japan through founding a university. Both of these men had very dissimilar thoughts, but they saw the West as a source of strength from which they could learn and this learning was to be used to build the foundations of the state.

Though individual contacts and trips slowly increased the Bakufu also sent official missions. In 1860 a mission was selected to go to the United States. One of the officials, Oguri Tadamasa, played a significant role in structure the Yokohama and Yokosuka foundry and shipyard with French help. The first Japanese ship to cross the Pacific Ocean was the Kanrin Maru and on board was Fukuzawa Yukichi.

Fukuzawa Yukichi became the mainly well-known of the westernizes. His books describing the West were written in easy Japanese to follow unlike the literary approach then favoured and they became best sellers. Other Bakufu missions went to Europe and though they traveled on specific diplomatic duties they also gathered knowledge in relation to the West and several of them systematically investigated Western institutions and practices. Therefore, they would revise the school system or the functioning of politics and reports were written. Fukuzawa, for instance, wrote extensively on what he saw and he assiduously investigated not only the functioning of Western gadgets but also the social and political organization. His book *Circumstances of the West* (Seiyo iijo) published flanked by 1866-69 is a mine of information but it also provided a model of what Japanese society could be transformed into.

Japanese visitors to other countries wrote their books but several others translated Western works. One of the mainly popular translations was through Nakamura Masanao of Samuel Smiles *Self Help*.

The Meiji Era

After the Meiji Restoration travel became easier and was actively encouraged. The new government, inspite of the troubles with which it was faced, sent the Iwakura Mission which incorporated several significant leaders of the new government. Their members incorporated veteran diplomats and the purpose of this mission was to cautiously revise the West in all its characteristics. The members concentrated on sure regions. For instance, Okubo Toshimichi studied industry and the economic systems through touring factories as well as the slums where the workers existed.

The Japanese sought for knowledge from approximately the world. As their understanding increased they began to rank nations. For instance:

- England served as a model for industrial development,
- Prussia for the military,
- France for the police and educational system, and
- America for agricultural development.

Another significant method that the Japanese learnt from the West was through employing foreign employees for teaching them. Initially the Japanese had learnt from the Dutch but later they were replaced through the English and the French. In the Meiji era through 1875 there were 520 foreign employees in the Japanese government. This number slowly declined, but the number of foreigners employed through private companies increased. In 1897 there were 760 such individuals. These employees were in a wide range of professions like education, engineering, and there were several technicians. It is motivating to note that the Japanese government spent lavishly to buy the best expertise accessible. Foreigner's salaries amounted to one-third of the Ministry of Industries regular budget and one-third of the allocations for Tokyo Imperial University. This designates the financial burden the government was willing to bear to gain access to the knowledge they thought necessary. At the similar time the high cost almost certainly led them to learn rapidly and this was continuously emphasised upon. For instance Ito Hirobumi said in a lecture in 1873:

- —It is imperative that we seize this opportunity to train and educate ourselves fully....then as a matter of course as suggested, is able to do without foreigners... So let all ambitious youths throughout the land proceed vigorously with their studies.¶

Though, the desire to learn and copy the West also reached absurd stages. For instance the craze for Western things is best symbolized through the —hall of the Deer Pavillion¶ where the Meiji elite dressed in Western formal attire, complete with top hats, and held ballroom dances. Though, this

was not the only face of westernization and though there were excesses there was a deep and serious desire to learn the new knowledge.

Role of Intellectuals

The Japanese phrase *bunmei kaika* or civilization and enlightenment which were popular at this time designate the trend of the times. On February 1, 1874 thirty-three intellectuals shaped a society, the Meirokusha, to promote civilization and enlightenment. This society incorporated several of the prominent members of the Meiji elite. Its first president Mori Arinori was Japan's first envoy to the United States and served in several capacities in the government including Minister of Education. He had conceived the thought of the society because he was interested in education and was looking for methods to further it in Japan.

The members of the society also incorporated a wide range of intellectuals. There were Confucian humanists like, Nishimura Shigeki who argued that the key to Western success was in morality. Nakamura Keiu also stressed individual morality and self reliance and because of this he translated J. S. Mill's *On Liberty* and Samuel Smiles *Self Help*.

Intellectuals like Kato Hiroyuki and Tsuda Masamichi and Nishi Amane talked of the organic nature of society. They argued that Western strength lay in the information that its society was rationally constructed and operated. But their positions were quite dissimilar. Kato, for instance, stressed the importance of the Imperial institution while Isuda argued for developing enlightened legal and bureaucratic institutions.

Fukuzawa Yukichi who was also a member was the only one who consciously remained outside the government and operated as a self-governing intellectual. He helped to set up the Keio University. He argued that the people had yet to develop the sense of independence and because of this the government still remained despotic for the —people are still powerless, ignorant. He was quite contemptuous of government saying that it was —basically a lay where several people of intelligence gather to work like one stupid person.

Mori Arinori on the other hand was insistent that all capable people necessity work for the government and help the nation advance. He was also instrumental in setting up the Commercial Institute which later urbanized into the Hitotsubashi University.

The search for enlightenment and civilization was a quest to imbibe Western values and thoughts. The ideals were expressed in the Charter Oath of 1868 in which it was written:

- ‘Evil customs of the past shall be abandoned and everything shall be based on the presently laws of Nature. Knowledge shall be sought throughout the world so as to strengthen the foundations of Imperial rule.’

The era of bunmei kaika introduced the whole range of Western liberal thoughts and this was accepted on through the peoples‘ rights intellectuals like Ueki Emori and Nakae Chomin. Though, these views were dominated through a dismissive attitude to Japanese culture and values. The laws governing civilization were seen as universal and Japan had merely to learn them to advance as the Western civilizations had done. All civilized people would become one in their humanity was the message these intellectuals learnt.

The intellectuals were also engrossed in the thought of learning science and technology subjects which were contemporary and would develop the nation. Their thoughts also were premised on the equality of men. Fukuzawa began his book *The Advancement of Learning with the languages: —Heaven did not make men above men, nor set men below men.* It was from this vision of self-reliant individuals that these writers were critical of the persistence of feudal practices which inculcated blind obedience and slavish imitation. The continuation of these values was through the family system. The bunmei kaika intellectuals were for an open democratic society where talent would be rewarded and where internationalism would be the order of the day. National differences would slowly be reduced. Taguchi Ukichi could write that then an Englishman livelihood in Tokyo would be a Tokyoite as much as a Kagoshima man livelihood in Tokyo.

Education and Development

Meiji Japan inherited a number of systems of education from the Tokugawa era but above all it inherited an attitude to education which saw its importance and necessity. Throughout the Tokugawa era there were spread in excess of the country temple schools (terakoya) where reading, writing and arithmetic were taught. These schools were meant to provide a vital knowledge which would enable the students to function effectively in society.

Therefore they used books like *A Primer on Business*. There were schools run through the han and mainly attended through samurai where the education was more literary than practical. The Bakufu also recognized the Shoheiko where law, the Chinese classics and mathematics was taught. The Kaiseijo (School of Foreign Learning) recognized through the Bakufu became a source of knowledge in relation to the west and illustrates the concern that the ruling powers had with learning the outside world.

Through the middle of the nineteenth century there were 250 han schools. The Dutch power led to establishment of schools of Western learning. Unlike the contemporary system the Tokugawa schools were decentralized and often run at the house of the teacher. The pupil went to revise to the teachers he selected rather than go to a school with a set curriculum. This allowed for a great deal of diversity but the excellence also varied.

Initial Efforts

It is motivating to note that with the Meiji Restoration and even as the country was caught up in the confusion of civil war and revolution the government opened these schools to —cultivate our human possessions. In 1869 a university was recognized in Tokyo and in 1871 a Ministry of Education was set up. In 1872 the government issued an Education Act which divided the country into eight university districts and these were sub-divided into thirty-two middle school districts. The middle school districts were further divided into two hundred and ten elementary school districts. Outside this system the government also set up dedicated schools and universities such as an Agricultural College and a Centre for Commercial Studies.

The Meiji programme was ambitious in level but it faced financial difficulties. There were also further adjustments and changes in the system as they learnt from other countries. Much of the educational budget was spent in sending students abroad to revise. For instance in 1873 out of a total of 800,000 yen, yen were for revise abroad.

The system recognized through the 1872 Act was modeled on the French system but it was dissimilar in significant methods. In Japan it was a single track system and elementary education was free while in France it was a dual track with the Church controlling elementary education till 1833. Though, there were riots against this system. The people had to bear a big part of the cost of establishing and running the schools and they establish this burden excessive. In 1873 the government assistance to schools was only 12 per cent of the total budget.

The financial burden of the new educational system was a cause for opposition. The materials and teachers for running this new system also proved inadequate. There were few textbooks and the teachers did not really know how to use the ones that were there. In 1876 only 1/6 of the 52,000 teachers had been trained in the new system. Finally, the westernization of education, as of other characteristics of life also provoked a critical reaction. The riots were directed against not only the financial burden but also against the imposition of the Gregorian, calendar as well as against conscription.

In 1879 an Educational Ordinance, under the power of thoughts from the United States instituted some changes which led to a greater degree of decentralization and local autonomy. These reforms had been instituted throughout a era when the Peoples' Rights Movement was becoming stronger and also as the tide against westernization was rising with ideologues demanding a greater stress on traditional values. The reforms failed to tackle these troubles and were a failure.

Reforms under the Cabinet

In 1885 the Cabinet system was started and Mori Arinori became the first Minister of Education. Mori, influenced through the Prussian methods, had always been concerned with education. He saw education as firmly

connected to the development of the nation. He wrote: —In the management of all schools, it necessity is kept in mind, what is to be done is not for the sake of the pupils, but for the sake of the country.¶ Therefore, the pupil should be obedient as well as trained. Mori recognized the need to have well-trained people but he also saw that the critical spirit could also be directed against the state and pose a threat to the governments' order. To fulfill both these objectives Mori's reforms recognized a dual structure:

- School education was subordinated to political objectives and the inculcation of loyalty and patriotism was emphasised upon.
- University education, on the other hand, was relatively free and advanced research as well as graduate training was encouraged.

Tokyo University had been recognized in 1877 but in 1886 a system of Imperial universities was recognized and Tokyo University became Tokyo Imperial University. The state placed great importance on creating an appropriate system. The Diet could exercise very little manage' in excess of education as it was placed in the administrative structure of the state. This meant that education also came under the manage of the Emperor. In 1899 when Yamagata Arikotomo had been Prime Minister he issued an ordinance which made it necessary to have the approval of the Privet Council before there could be any changes in the vital educational law. Finally, through 1913 the state had the exclusive right to produce text books.

Conservatives and the Educational Reforms

The educational reforms were part and parcel of the Meiji state's creation of a centralized political structure and reflected a desire to mould a pliant and obedient citizenry. On this question of values which were to be stressed a debate arose and it marked the assertion through conservatives and traditionalists of indigenous values and beliefs. The rampant westernization provoked a reaction and several who had supported the Meiji reforms now questioned the direction and manner of change.

The Imperial Rescript

In 1890 an Imperial Rescript on Education was issued. This document laid the conservative and traditionalist argument with great clarity. The Rescript had been drafted through Motooda Eifu, a Confucian tutor to the Emperor and Nishimura Shigeki, also a Confucianist. These two articulated the conservative location which resembled the earlier view of combining Western techniques with an eastern ethic. Motooda as tutor to the Emperor had been campaigning against the replacement of Confucian teaching through American and French moral books. Motooda also used the Emperor to back his argument saying that the Emperor was deeply troubled. In *The Great Principles of Education* (Kyogaku taishi), an Imperial prescript of 1879, he had argued that the westernizers —take into themselves a foreign civilization whose only values are information gathering and technique, therefore violating the rules of good manners and bringing harm to our customary methods. In Japan, he felt, necessity reassert the primacy of its values which are based on loyalty and filial piety.

It was after this statement that centralization of education increased and pupils and teachers were forbidden to attend political meeting. Motooda's view was not fully supported within the ruling oligarchy. Ito Hirobumi represented a constitutional monarchist location and he was opposed to Motooda's argument for direct imperial rule.

Nishimura Shigeki who had initially been in the Meirokusha and supported the introduction of —civilization and enlightenment now began to publish Confucian thoughts customized through Western thoughts. In a book described *Discourse on Japanese Morality* published in 1886 he had described for reviving the fundamental Confucian values integral to Japan and by Western thoughts selectively to support and strengthen this Confucian framework.

In 1889 Mori was assassinated and Motooda and Nishimura were able to have the Emperor issue a —sacred rescript which was issued before the first Diet opened. The Imperial Rescript proclaimed:

- —Our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety has from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire, and herein lies the source of Our Education.¶

It went on to encourage the people to —advance public good and promote general interests¶, respect the constitution, offer their lives to the state and —therefore guard and uphold the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth.¶

This document became the crucial expression of conservative thoughts. It was also treated in the schools and in society at big as a sacred scripture. Slowly as Imperial ceremonies, which had been private court ceremonies, became national ceremonies the Rescript on Education began to be treated with reverence. In 1891 the Regulations for Elementary School Ceremonies on Festivals and Holidays required that students and staff bow before the Imperial photograph, read the Rescript and sing the national anthem. The Emperor was the link binding the people into loyal citizens.

The Conservative Arguments

In the middle of the conservatives a number of arguments were advanced to uphold traditional values. The philosopher Inoue Tetsujiro tried to defend custom through showing that it was rational and necessary but others objected to such arguments. Kuga Katsunan the editor of a newspaper described Nihon (Japan) argued against accepting the thought that Japan necessity develop as the West has urbanized. He was critical of the argument that there were universal laws of development and argued that advocates of this location did not understand that each society urbanized according to its own history and traditions. Each nation had a livelihood culture which was reflected in the method its people existed and thought. For Kuga accepting filial piety or loyalty to the Emperor required no rational justification or academic protection but was justified because these were the historic customs of Japan.

Kuga Katsunan further went on to argue for the importance and necessity of preserving the cultural traditions of a country. A nation's traditions provided the foundation on which its people could be united; these values knitted society and gave strength to the nation. Force was not the only method that a nation could be defeated for if it lost its historical custom it would also lose its independence. This was a strong and persuasive argument given through Kuga.

At the time the Rescript was issued a Christian philosopher Uchimura Kanzo refused to bow to the document and wrote an essay in relation to the conflict flanked by religion and education. Uchimura argued that as a Christian he could not reconcile his belief in the universal brotherhood of man with the thought that the Emperor was a divine being. But Kuga argued that if Christianity was indigenized and became part of Japanese custom presently as Buddhism had become then there should be no disagreement. He objected to Christianity because of its foreign trappings.

The argument flanked by the advocates to *bunmei kaika* and the conservatives was not mannered in a political vacuum but was taking lay even as Japan was attempting to achieve equality in its dealings with the foreign powers. The unequal treaties imposed throughout the Bakufu were still in force and foreigners enjoyed legal and economic privileges. The Meiji government was also greatly concerned in relation to the negotiating an end to these treaties and for this it set in relation to the creating a contemporary nation so that it could claim that they were equal to the Western countries.

In this context these thinkers were attempting to answer the fundamental question of what social progress meant. Mainly accepted the thought that progress was necessary but whether this meant that all civilizations would become the similar of that each would preserve its essence were the questions debated. Of course it can be argued what the essence of a society is or whether this too develops and changes in excess of time.

Miyake Setsurei, leader of a society described the *Seikyosha* and editor of a journal *Nihonjin* (The Japanese) sought to preserve the national essence. In his mainly influential book *The Japanese: Truth, Goodness and Beauty* (written in 1891) he argued that world civilization advanced through

competition and each national had its feature talents. The West might be the mainly advanced today but the world would progress only if other cultures and values flourished. For Miyake promoting one's own cultural values was essentially to be working for world progress.

Miyake defined the ultimate goals of world civilization as truth, beauty and goodness. Here the Japanese could:

- Contribute to the spread of truth through projecting knowledge in relation to the Asia in which Europe was deficient,
- Propagate goodness through defending Asia against Western imperialism, and
- Finally, because of their unique sense of beauty, which was dissimilar from the Western conception, contribute to world civilization.

Conservative's Impact

The conservative location was influential in the middle of the wider public and its effect on policy was also considerable. For instance the government was in the procedure of revising the civil codes and conservative opposition delayed not only the Civil Code (1898) but the Commercial Code (1899) as well.

The search for Japanese custom and the importance of preserving indigenous values was not confined to the intellectual and political world but was also pursued in the arts. Okakura Tenshin helped to revive an interest in Japanese art with the help of Ernest Fenellosa. Okakura was also instrumental in setting up the Fine Arts University and collecting and learning Asian art. His well-known statement —Asia is one! inspired several to work for Asian unity. Okakura and Fenellosa helped to stem the wholesale fascination with Western painting and divert the eyes of their contemporaries to see the beauty and strength of their art as well as appreciate the richness of their aesthetic values.

The conservative adherence to the values enshrined in the Imperial institution was reinforced through the Meiji government's political policies of by —the Imperial household as the cornerstone of the nation!, in the languages of Ito Hirobumi. The Meiji leaders after the crisis of 1881 when Okuma had

been expelled were concerned in relation to the political demands for democracy voiced through the Peoples' Rights Movement and they sought to balance the need to develop and industrialize while at the similar time preserving social order. Ito himself toured Europe and establishes inspiration in conservative European thinkers. The Motooda groups of conservatives had a mystical vision of the Emperor and this was urbanized through Hozume Nobushigp who connected ancestor worship and loyalty through the Imperial Home.

In society as well there was a rising intolerance of criticism against the Emperor and a scholar Kume Kunitake was expelled from Tokyo University for describing Shinto as a primitive form of worship. In schools a host of textbooks glorified the Emperor and from 1903 the Ministry of Education compiled ethical books so that it could stay a manage on the content of the books.

The Socialist Views

The disillusionment with the universal thoughts of bunmei kaika brought in relation to the widespread interest in traditional values but slowly as these thoughts became excuses for preventing reform and change several conservatives as well as liberals were disillusioned. The end of the 1880's with the progress of industrial development saw the rise of trade unions and labour organizations and the structure up of a socialist movement. Matsuzawa Koyo, a Japanese historian has argued that the first socialists in Meiji Japan were influenced through their experiences of socialism in the United States. The subsequent socialists like Kinoshita Naoe were influenced through the thoughts of the Peoples' Rights Movement and several of them worked as journalists. The final group of Meiji socialism, those born in the 1880, like Osugi Sakae had first experienced the power of local movements.

These socialists were influenced through the tensions of development and the troubles of poverty that were created. They sought to discover methods to reduce the differences flanked by the rich and poor. They were mainly agreed that the Meiji Restoration had been a progressive revolution which had overthrown feudalism and recognized freedom and equality. In

1903 Kotaku Shusui wrote a book on the essence of socialism as did the other well-known Meiji socialist Katayama Sen. Both socialists were concerned with establishing an economic system which would eliminate economic inequality. For this they argued for public ownership of manufacture facilities and equal sharing. They also felt that this could be brought in relation to the through peaceful means and so they supported a universal suffrage law and worked to augment common education. Finally the socialists were also influenced through Social Darwinism which saw history as a procedure of continuous growth and development. Though, their weakness was that they were addressing only the small part i.e. the middle class and failed to develop organizations to bring in relation to the social change. Presently as the bunmei kaika advocates could not offer arguments to the conservatives the socialists, Christians and pacifist groups also failed to spread their thoughts. Once Japan had won its victory against China in the Sino-Japanese war (1894-95), the nationalist thoughts spread with greater intensity.

Pan-Asianism

The fight against Western imperialists, both to preserve the political as well as the cultural independence of Japan, led some thinkers to think of an Asian alliance against the West. Thinkers like Okawa Shumei and Kita Ikki, argued that Japan necessity work with other Asian countries to liberate Asia. They felt that only in this method would Japan be able to protect itself. Japan was part of Asia and it shared general values and a cultural custom with other Asian countries. Several of them worked with Koreans and Chinese to advance the cause of revolution in these countries. Miyazaki Totten met Sun Yat Sen and went with him to China to work for the Chinese revolution of 1911. Sun himself saw the Meiji Restoration as the first step and the 1911 Revolution as the second step in the regeneration of China.

The thought of the pan-Asianists, as these people were described because they advocated Asian unity, was very easily subverted and used through the militarists to advance the cause of Japanese expansionism. In their thinking there was a great deal of ambiguity and when they talked of an Asian alliance, for several it really meant with Japan as the leader.

MODERNIZATION IN JAPAN-3

The Meiji Restoration and the Economy

The new Meiji Government inherited a host of troubles from the Tokugawa Bakufu and perhaps the mainly significant one was the financial debts which had accumulated. The financial troubles of the Bakufu and the rising debts of the han had played a major role in the downfall of the Tokugawa. The management of this vast debt as well, as the expenses which were incurred in the restoration wars was the mainly pressing problem which the new leaders faced. To be sure of a stable source of revenue the government could only turn to the agricultural sector and to reduce its debts it had to cut the stipends of the samurai.

Throughout the Tokugawa era the stipends of the samurai retainers shaped almost 30 per cent of the revenue. In the han the Daimyo spent almost 20 per cent of their revenues in maintaining their residences in Edo which was demanded of them because of the system of alternative attendance. The government took immediate steps to reduce these stipends and reform the land tax. The stipends were commuted into government bonds or lump sum payments. The amount was effectively reduced further because of rising inflation so that the government's fiscal burden became manageable.

Agricultural reform was the after that crucial region and though it began in 1873 it took six years to complete. Throughout the Tokugawa era land tax was based on productivity and theoretically paid in rice but with the reforms the tax was payable in cash on the assessed value of the land. The national tax rate was 3 per cent of the assessed land value and the local tax one-third of the national tax.

Now the tax payer became the owner of the land. These events had been preceded through changes such as abolishing customary restrictions on land use and land surveys. In spite of the governments care in not provoking outbursts there were protests, the main of which was in 1876 in Wakayama Prefecture. Though the government initially adapted a rigid stance it softened

as other samurai revolts erupted and in 1877 the land tax was lowered to 2.5 per cent of market value which meant a 17 per cent reduction in the yearly tax.

Politically the measure was a success for flanked by 1874-1881 there were only ninety nine incidents of protest and of these thirty seven were really landlord tenant disputes. Tax assessments were now equalized and rational but it worked to the greater advantage of the landlords particularly as customary land rights did not ensure permanent tenancy. This also explains the augment in landlord tenant disputes. Though, it has been argued through Sydney Crawcour that the new tax as a proportion of output was no higher than the old rate and in some cases actually lighter.

The main effect of the land tax was that land now became a capital asset which could be bought and sold.

The Initial Stage of Economic Development

The years flanked by 1868 and 1885 spot a era when the government sought to bring order and lay the groundwork for economic development. The Meiji government inherited not only heavy debts but also some newly built factories and shipyards. The political compulsions of the Meiji leaders forced them to consider the development of protection industries even while they were establishing their political hold. In the closing years of the Tokugawa the Bakufu as well as many han had begun to tentatively set up ironworks and foundries. For instance, the han of Hizen had in 1850 recognized a reverberatory furnace for smelting iron and subsequently it was able to cast cannon by the iron it roduced.

Likewise in shipbuilding there had been sure growths. The Bakufu as well as other had built steamships. Coal mines were being modernized and cotton spinning plants built. The Meiji government built on this small but developing base. The government was also faced with a decline in foreign trade earnings hence, it set in relation to the structure an infrastructural base so that Japanese manufacturing would be encouraged. The leaders were wary of being swamped through foreign goods. The capital expenditure required was too heavy for entrepreneurs to effort on their own and the government through

actually importing and setting up plants hoped this would introduce new technology and organizational methods.

In 1872, for instance the Tomika silk filature plant was set up. Mainly of these government plants did not function well but they as well as the experimental stations and farms brought in the latest technologies and methods. Flanked by 1868-1881 the government spent in relation to the 36.4 million yen in these enterprises. These enterprises were subsequently sold at low prices to private entrepreneurs and businessmen to lay the foundation for the development of capitalism.

In the field of agriculture, which sustained to give the revenue for growth and development, there is a controversy in relation to the growth rates. Kazushi Ohkawa estimates that flanked by 1878 and 1882 the annual value of agricultural manufacture was 432 million yen in current prices. He later revised this figure through 50 per cent.

In 1874, according to a survey taken at that time, 60 per cent of the physical output was from agriculture and 30 per cent from industrial goods and the rest from extractive industries like mining, fishing and forestry. In agriculture rice was the major crop. It is motivating that sake, a rice wine and processed food accounted for 42 per cent of the industrial manufacture the rest being yarns and textiles.

This survey provides an thought of the common characteristics of the economy at the time of the Restoration revealing that, it was still undeveloped compared to the economies of the Western nations.

In 1881 Matsukata Kasayashi became Finance Minister and he had to tackle the severe inflation faced through Japan. Because of the decline in earnings as well as the drain of specie, Matsukata reduced the currency in circulation through rising the specie backing. This in effect strengthened the hands of the stronger businesses and channeled possessions into the contemporary sector. The recession in the economy severely affected those at the margins of society and worsened the circumstances of tenants and small farmers.

The commutation of stipends and the writing off the han debts (estimated to be 47 million yen) and such events helped to transfer invertible

possessions into the hands of government and the rural rich. This set the framework for the growth of economy. What should be emphasised here is that there were certainly institutions in the Tokugawa economy which made it possible for the Meiji leaders to build a contemporary economy but as some scholars like James Nakamura point out that the growth rate at this time was not extraordinarily high. Such an argument suggests that the Meiji success may have more to do with the information that they could restrict consumption and stay it at low stages till the Second World War.

Structure the Infrastructure

A major cause for the growth of economy was the heavy expenditure undertaken through the government in structure the infrastructure. In 1872 the National Banking Act, based on the U.S. model led to the establishment of some 150 national banks. There were other private banks and the capital came initially from the commuted stipends of the samurai. According to E.H. Norman —the feudal lord ceased to be a territorial magnate drawing his income from the peasant, and became instead, through virtue of the commutation of his pension, a financial magnate investing his freshly capitalized wealth in banks, stocks, industries or landed estates, and so joined the small financial oligarchy.

Slowly the rural rich and businessmen came to control this sector. Through 1900 there was a diversity of banks such as the Hypothec Bank, the Industrial Bank, etc. On the advice of the Meiji Government the big financial houses had also shaped Tsusho Kaisha (Commercial Companies) and Kawase Kaisha (Swap Companies). These Kaisha's were regulated through Tsushoshi (Commercial Bureau recognized in 1869). The banking and loan capital depended heavily upon the state for support. The Meiji Government in turn used this to develop such industries which needed vast capital investments. It is worth mentioning here that capital accumulation played a major role in industrialization. Through the end of the 19th century the rate of interest on loans was flanked by 12 to 18 per cent where as on deposits it was 7 to 8 per cent.

Transport and communication were also given great importance. The first railway row was built from Tokyo to Yokohama and through 1881 there were presently two hundred miles of rail rows. In this field the government encouraged private investors through guaranteeing their investments. For instance through 1903 there were 4,500 miles of operating track and 70 per cent of this was built through private companies. In 1906 the Railway Nationalization Bill led to the acquisition of seventeen companies and the Imperial Japanese Railways had more paid up capital than all industrial companies combined.

In shipbuilding also the government followed a policy of selective subsidies to encourage the growth of indigenous business enterprises. Initially Iwaski Yataro's Mitsubishi Company was given huge subsidies and it was able to effectively counter foreign competition. But soon there were changes and the NYK (Nippon Yusen Kaisha), shaped in 1885, became the major company. Flanked by 1883 and 1913 the government gave subsidies so that the company could expand its fleet and they were able to raise their share of tonnage accepted into Japanese ports to 50 per cent. As a face benefit the development of shipbuilding industries led to development of engineering and other related skills.

There were similar growths in the generation of electric power which was increased through technological growths in generation and high tension transmission. Cheaper labour and capital costs allowed small companies to buy cheaper motors which in turn enabled them to augment their productivity.

The economic landscape of Japan began to be transformed. Nakamura Takafusa, an economic historian describing the initial era opined that contemporary industry was like sparsely scattered islands in a sea of traditional industry. But the introduction of these new growths led to a gradual change. Flanked by 1883-1913 the labour force increased from 22 to 26 million. Employment was still mostly in the traditional sector which accounted for almost 60 per cent of the employment. In output agriculture accounted for 20 per cent and other traditional sectors for another 40 per cent.

The point to notice is that the contemporary sector was still rising at a modest pace and that the traditional sector played an significant role in the

economic development of the Japanese economy. Likewise in agriculture there was little change in the size of farms. The average size was presently under one hectare and this remained true for much of the era. Though, concentration of land did augment. From 1885 to 1914 tenancy rose from 35 to 45 per cent. The growth in numbers and power of the landlords is clearly reflected in their rising role in business and politics.

Agricultural growth again is a controversial topic but there is an indication that gross farm value of manufacture grew at an average annual rate of 1.7 per cent in constant 1934-36 prices. The growth was caused through the augment in fertilizers, machinery and labour as well as technological changes. Moreover the growth of village co-operatives also contributed to the spread of new thoughts as well as an improved marketing. Though, it has to be noted that Japanese agriculture benefited not from trying to import European techniques which were tried but proved unsuccessful but through by traditional small-level farming and improving it.

Whatever the rate of growth and whether it was as high as once thought the significant point to be noticed is that food manufacture kept up with demand and there was no lag. In 1880 the agricultural labour force was 17 million and it fed a population of 36 million but through 1920 while the agricultural population had declined to 14 million the total population had increased to 55 million. Food imports from the colonies were not that substantial. Unlike other developing countries food habits hardly changed with the income increases. Income inequalities also contributed to raising savings in the middle of the rich and reduced consumption in the middle of the poor.

Foreign trade also played a crucial role in the initial years when it was 6 per cent of the total but through 1905 it was 28 per cent. Moreover, silk had initially shaped the major export thing but slowly the quantity of agricultural products was reduced though they still contributed one-fourth of total commodity exports.

Traditional industry supplied goods as well as contributed to capital formation and exports and while the Meiji Government initially attempted to organize trade associations it later concentrated on promoting industries by new technologies. But from 1879 when the Osaka Chamber of Commerce

organized traditional trades, several laws to organize this sector were enacted. The information is that this sector supplied a range of demand and gained from the cheaper electricity and transport as well as the cheaper and superior materials produced in the contemporary sector. Finally the traditionally produced products were able to compete in the export market. That is why Sydney Crawcour has argued that industrial growth in Japan before World War I was really the growth of the traditional sector.

In sure regards Japan's experience has been dissimilar from the Western countries. The normal pattern of industrialization as in the Western countries has been a progress from light industry, like textiles to mining and metallurgical or chemicals to mass produced goods. In Japan railways urbanized even before the iron and steel industry as the materials and components were imported. The extile industry was recognized approximately simultaneously with iron and steel shipbuilding, etc. In other languages these industries could be recognized because the state was willing to bear the burden through subsidies and protection. The criteria used were the national interest rather than the economic viability of the project.

The Shipbuilding Encouragement Act of 1896 is a good instance of the method in which domestic construction was promoted. The Act provided that steel steamships built in wholly owned shipyards would get a subsidy of 12 yen per ton for ships of 700-1000 tonnes and 20 yen per tonne for 1,000 or more tonne ships.

If the engines were Japanese made than 75 yen per horsepower would be given addition. Even this was not enough to compete with foreign made ships and it was only in 1899 when the Navigation Subsidy Act was amended and subsidies for foreign-built ships cut to half of that for domestically built vessels that domestic manufacture picked up.

What becomes apparent in looking at the growth of the contemporary sector is the secure links it had with military demands. When military expenditure increases then the contemporary sector grew as it did throughout the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars. Scholars like W.W. Lockwood see military expenditure as a drain but others like Kozo Yamamura argue that it helped to disseminate Western technology and skills.

The Development of Trade Unions

The first Japanese workers union was shaped in San Francisco approximately 1890 through Takano Fusataro and when he returned to Japan he shaped one in 1897. Takano was influenced through the thoughts of Samuel Gompers. He rejected all demands for radical action and was opposed to socialism. Takano felt that inequality of wealth was inevitable and that it was only possible to carry-out moderate and gradual reform.

The other pioneer in the trade union and socialist movement was Katayama Sen. Katayama Sen started as a Christian socialist and he worked in the middle of the poor and it was this experience which led him to organize workers in Tokyo. In 1897 he recognized the Society for the Promotion of Trade Unions.

Oi Kentaro, a radical thinker was active in the Osaka area. He set up vocational training centers, night schools and even special banks. There was a rising realization that concrete steps necessity be taken to better the lot of the working men and this required not only organizing them but creating facilities for their education and material well-being.

The early trade union thinkers were in common moderate in their programmes stressing the need to work in harmony and co-operation. But Katayama was insistent that the feudal dealings which sustained to govern the dealings flanked by workers and capitalists necessity be ended. In spite of their moderateness the government suppressed them within three years and this led the organizers to think of methods to act politically.

The socialist movement had been gaining strength and power in the middle of the intelligentsia. In 1901 a Socialist Party was shaped and this too was banned approximately immediately. The government's repressive legislation like the Peace Preservation Law of 1900 as well as other administrative and civil codes was used to suppress the growth of workers' organizations. The government's policy reduced the growth of trade unions for a while but it also increased their radicalism and several began to advocate class war.

The Russo-Japanese war of 1904-5 is a significant divide in the economic history of Japan. From this era onwards iron and steel, coal, metal mining, etc. began to develop and Japan also began to pursue her policies of foreign expansion with greater vigor. The economic growth also generated rising disputes in industry as well as tenant uprisings in the rural regions.

The initial years of the century from 1900 to 1910 saw the labour movement even more suppressed because of the several prohibitory laws and this suppression led to increased violence which reached its peak in the Ashio copper mine case in 1909. The mines were situated close to the resort of Nikko at the headwaters of the Watarase river. Copper was an significant raw material and the mines were extensively urbanized without thought to the environmental pollution that they were causing. In 1896 because of the deforestation of the watershed region floods had divested thousands of homes downstream leading to protests and the mines came to symbolize the distorted development of Meiji industrial development.

In February 1909 the Ashio mine workers, some 1,200 went on strike for better working circumstances and higher wages. The Meiji Government followed a policy of ruthless suppression but on the other hand of trying to improve working circumstances so that social discord would be reduced. The government was quick to ban socialist civilizations. Here it is motivating to note that it even banned a society to revise insects, the Insect Society, because it contained the dreaded word society (shakai) which suggested socialism.

The bureaucracy had begun to look at working circumstances as early as 1882 when there were only fifty factories. The reports and studies of the minimum standards necessary in the factories were though, not translated into law. The first factory law was passed in 1911 in spite of the objections of business homes but this law was considerably watered down and gave ample time to industry before its implementation was made necessary.

The Rural Regions

Greater interest was shown in the transformation taking place in the rural regions. The Meiji land resolution had removed the traditional practices and

customs which at times protected tenants and now they were more vulnerable to landlord pressure. Tenancy rights could be cancelled at any time and there was no restriction on their property rights. This is the cause that in the early years there was an augment in tenancy disputes. Even though the land tax was reduced from 3 per cent to 2.5 per cent the tenants were unsuccessful in reducing their financial burdens.

In the era from 1870-1880 several tenancy disputes also arose because of ignorance as there was a bewildering diversity of tenancies at the time of the restoration and they slowly fell into disuse. Mainly tenants rented lands from a number of landlords partly to spread their risks and partly because landholdings were fragmented. Several landlords took to rural industries such as silk reeling; they were also money-lenders. The landlords were, as Ann Waswo argues the dominant elite in rural society and till 1900 or so they played a considerable role in society.

Japan: Transition to Modernization The government actively encouraged the landlords to consolidate their holdings so that it could give better facilities like irrigation and drainage. The tenants were on the one hand lured through a more profitable life in the municipalities where wages were higher. This created a labour shortage in agriculture which led to an augment in wages but it was still profitable for landlords to lease land rather than cultivate it. Moreover, the rising expenditure of the government led it to create local governments responsible for public works and education. This added tax burden was another source for tension in the rural regions.

To diffuse the troubles of the rural regions the government bureaucracy initiated a Rural Improvement movement. This was a continuation of what had been done in the 1870s through the Hotokusha or Repaying Virtue Society. These civilizations shaped under the leadership of landlords were based on the teachings of Ninomiya Sontoku an eighteenth century agricultural reformer. They sought to develop both the correct virtues as well as practical improvements in agriculture. Such attitudes in the bureaucracy were responsible for the passage of laws such as the Industrial Co-operatives Law 1899 which encouraged the setting up of credit, consumer marketing and producers' co-operatives. The government was motivated through a desire to

stabilize circumstances in the rural regions because it felt that this was vital for both the economic growth of the country as well as its social stability. They were seeking for methods to encourage national loyalty and patriotism.

In 1908 the Imperial Rescript (Boshin shosho) urged the Japanese to work hard and co-operate so that through their efforts —the rising prosperity of our empire is assured.‖ The government also used youth organizations and military associations to spread these thoughts of communal effort. This communal effort, it was stressed, would —protect the security of society‖.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

- What role did the Rangakusha (Dutch scholars) played in bringing about intellectual transformation?
- What do you understand by the idea of Kaikoku?
- How and why a National Army was created in Japan?
- Discuss the various views within the oligarchy as to the nature of the constitution.
- What were the reasons behind the quest of Japanese intellectuals about Western ideas? How did they learnt from the West?
- Discuss the impact of Land Tax on Japanese economy.
- Discuss the efforts made by the Government to industrialize Japan in the key sectors.

CHAPTER 4

Rebellions, Reforms and Revolution

STRUCTURE

- Learning objectives
- Taiping uprising
- The boxer uprising
- Political reforms in Japan
- The Chinese revolution of 1911
- Review questions

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this chapter, you should be able to:

- Understand the origin of the Taiping Rebellion as well as its social base.
- Assess the programme and activities of the Taipings.
- The deteriorating socio-economic conditions of late 19th century China.
- The features of the Boxer Protocol which concluded the movement.
- Know about the initial pledge made by the Emperor of Japan to allow political participation by the people.
- Understand the process by which the Baku-han system was destroyed.
- Aware of the various factors that led to the outbreak of the revolution in China,

TAIPING UPRISING

Background

In the languages of Jean Chesneau —The Taiping Movement was characterized through its triple content: national, religious and social. It was:

- Anti Manchu for it attacked the ruling dynasty as —foreign and barbarousl,
- Religious in the sense that it vehemently attacked Confucianism; combined popular Chinese cults and borrowed thoughts from Christianity, and
- A social protest movement in the sense that it not only shook the edifice of feudalism in China through offering a programme of changing the agrarian dealings but also stood for emancipation of women.

But before we go further let us seem at the historicity of the situation which led to the combining of sure factors and generated such a revolutionary upsurge. After 150 years of Ch'ing rule, symptoms of social and economic crisis and political disorder began to manifest themselves in a important method in the early 19th century China. A well-known pattern of rising peasant discontent, administrative corruption and ineptitude, natural disasters, uprisings and foreign encroachment — associated in the traditional Chinese historical consciousness with dynastic decline — began to appear. Here, as suggested, limit ourselves to describing only those circumstances in South China in the 1840's which provided fertile ground for the outbreak of the Taiping Rebellion. Though, it necessity be noted here that anti-Manchu sentiments were not new to South China. Similar was the case in relation to peasant uprisings which had a extensive history.

In the early 19th century all the circumstances which made the life of the general people increasingly hard and insecure were prevalent in South China. In addition, the dislocation caused through the foreign attendance and the Opium wars, the tensions generated through the attendance of diverse ethnic societies in this area, and a pattern of chronic lawlessness and anarchic violence, all combined to create the situation in South China and specifically in the provinces of Kwangsi and Kwangtung particularly explosive.

For the Manchu rulers, South China had always been the mainly hard area to manage. After their conquest of China in the mid-17th century, it had been the last area to be fully subjugated. Even after the last major centers of resistance to Manchu rule had been snuffed out, the region sustained to be hard to manage. Partly, this was so because of its sheer aloofness from the seat of management at Peking. This was particularly true of these hilly, semi-barren or border regions, such as in Kwangsi, which had been colonized only in the 18th century. In addition the rising pressure of population on the land had forced people to migrate from the more fertile lowland regions. In common, the attendance of the police and management was much less in such regions than in the earlier settled and more densely populated regions. These newly settled regions, because of migration from dissimilar regions, had a more mixed population. This had also generated considerable social friction. The hard circumstances of boundary life contributed to a tendency for the dissimilar societies to group jointly in mutually warring heavily armed groups. This contributed to the growth of secret civilizations like the Triads (Tien Ti Hui) which flourished under such circumstances.

In Kwangtung and Kwangsi provinces, a major source of social tension was the century's extensive disagreement flanked by the people recognized as the Hakka and the original settlers (recognized as penti). The Hakka were that group of people who had migrated into this area from the North throughout the 12th and 13th centuries. In spite of their several centuries of residence in the South, they sustained to retain several of their distinctive features, and customs as well as their own dialect. Conflicts flanked by them and the other local people were numerous and often violent. A sense of alienation from their surroundings characterized this society from which appeared the founder of the Taiping Movement, Hung Hsiu-chuan. The initial social base of the Taipings was from in the middle of the Hakkas.

The attendance of the Western traders also contributed to the spreading of a climate of lawlessness beside the South China coast and its hinterland, particularly from the early 19th century when opium became a major thing of

trade. The illicit opium trade generated a intricate underground smuggling and sharing network involving thousands of local people. The Opium War itself was particularly disruptive. Following the war and the Treaty of Nanking, much of the foreign trade which was formerly centered in this country shifted north to Shanghai. Thousands of coolies, boatmen and others in the Canton region, who were employed because of trade, were suddenly without jobs. As a source of livelihood, they now turned to banditry. Pirates driven inland through the British navy's piracy suppression campaigns also contributed to the floating population of adventurers and desperadoes ready for any type of action.

It is not without significance that, separately from the Hakka people, the initial adherents of the Taiping Movement came more from the strata of displaced peddlers, boatmen, coolies and others rather than from the ranks of the peasantry. The treaty of Nanking had adversely affected the native handicraft industry. For instance foreign textiles now captured the market and the role of native cotton goods declined. Similar was the case with handicrafts. A big number of handicraft workers were unemployed.

The Ch'ing government, in order to pay the war indemnity imposed several levies leading to an increased burden on the peasantry and soaring prices. For instance through 1846 the price of salt had gone up through more than 100 per cent in sure regions. The landlord class sustained to use the peasant. Mainly of the land was concentrated in hands of big landlords. The sufferings of the general people and the anti-ruling class sentiments were best reflected in the proclamation of the Tien Ti Hui (Triads) when this secret society rose in revolt:

- Throughout the Empire, rapacious officials are worse than bandits and the corrupt mandarins of the public offices and no better than wolves and tigers. The crimes committed through the rich are left unpunished, and the wrongs of the poor never redressed.

Deprived of their means of support, the people are plunged into darkest depths of suffering. Immediately preceding the Taiping upsurge, throughout the 1840s, there were a number of uprisings led through peasants or displaced handicraft workers, etc.

Hung Hsiu-Chuan and the God Worshippers Society

The founder of the Taiping Movement, Hung Hsiu-chuan (1814-1864) was born in a peasant family of Hua-Hsien, Kwangtung province. For some time he worked as a village teacher but had aspirations to become a bureaucrat. Hung appeared unsuccessfully four times in excess of a era of 15 years for the first stage of examinations. No doubt these failures necessity have brought an anti-establishment feeling. Following his second failure, Hung for the first time came into get in touch with a couple of Protestant missionaries and received a set of Christian tracts (although this did not create any great impression on him initially). Following his third failure, he lapsed into a deep depression in which he experienced hallucinations. These two events jointly not only proved to be decisive in shaping Hung's life, but also left a profound stamp on what later became the Taiping Movement. Hung was influenced that the visions he saw were a message that he was a son of God and the younger brother of Jesus Christ, who had the mission of spreading God's word and save mankind. He attacked Confucianism as the religion of feudal lords. In his view the devils were —creation troublell as —mainly of the canons taught through Confucius are absurd". Following his dismissal from the job of a school teacher for his unorthodox beliefs in 1844, Hung and his devoted friend and convert Feng Yin-shan moved to the neighboring province of Kwangsi to carry on with their missionary behaviors. Within a few years, they had won in excess of thousands of converts, particularly from in the middle of the poor peasants, miners and charcoalburners of the Hakka society. These converts were organized into a society of God-Worshippers, (Pai Shang Ti Hui). Characterized through fanatical zeal, religious fervor and pro-poor feelings this society was to challenge the foundation of Ch'ing rule.

Before we go further it is worth noting that Hung wrote several articles and poems to propagate his revolutionary thoughts. These incorporated:

- Doctrines on Salvation,
- Doctrines on Awakening the World, and
- Doctrines on Arousing the World.

Following are some examples of his writings:

- Attacking the feudal lords and autocracy he wrote: —All under Heaven have the similar Heavenly Father and so are of one family What cause is there for the Emperor to grasp everything in his own hands?||
- In the Doctrines on Arousing the World he opposed the torture and injury that was inflicted through the supernatural system —i.e. from the Monster King of Hell to the several demons of the world — on the people. These demons were, none else than the Ch'ing Emperor and his subordinates. The people ought to revolt against these sources of evil.
- In one of his poems he gave the message of capturing the demons and suppressing the traitors so that peace could be brought:

It is not easy to pinpoint exactly when the Society of God-Worshippers made the transition from a religious sect to a movement that threw an open challenge to the rule of the Ch'ing Dynasty. The behaviors of the God-Worshippers, plus the usually high stage of militarization in Kwangsi, ensured that very early they had to organize themselves in a semi-military fashion. The militarization of the God-Worshippers reached a new stage in July 1850, when a call was issued to all their branches to converge on Hung's headquarters at Chin-t'ien and to pool all their possessions in a single camp. Such an organization was naturally a threat to the government. Very soon, there were armed clashes flanked by the army of the God-Worshippers and the imperial troops, which ended in victory for the former. This emboldened the God worshippers to issue a formal declaration on January 11, 1851, of the

establishment of their —Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace (Tai-ping Tien-Kuo), with Hung Hsiu-ch'uan himself as the —Heavenly King (T'ien-wang). The rebellion had begun, and for Hung and his followers, there was no turning back thereafter.

The Heyday of the Taiping Rebellion

What initially appeared to be a small skirmish flanked by the rebels and Ch'ing troops soon turned out to be a huge uprising? It was not presently a question of defeating the Ch'ing forces or do absent with some landlords for the Taipings had in their minds a complete reorganization of the socio-political order. Here we shall talk about the victories of the Taipings and the program they adopted in their regions of power. They also got support from others like the Tieu Ti Hui and leaders like Lo Ta-kang and Su San-niang who had rebelled elsewhere.

Shortly after the proclamation of the —Heavenly Kingdom, the Taipings began their march to the north. There began a series of fierce clashes flanked by the Taiping forces and the Ch'ing troops beside the route of the march. Both sides suffered heavy losses, but overall, the progress of the Taipings could not be stopped.

The first major victory of the Taipings was the capture of the town of Yungan. There, they accumulated strength, becoming an army of approximately 37,000. They also urbanized their apprehensions to being the after that rulers of China, through issuing a formal call to all Chinese to rise up and overthrow the alien Manchu rulers, and through adopting a new calendar — traditionally a sign of the coming to power of a new dynasty. The superstitious notions of lucky and unlucky days — as was the case in old calendar — were done absent with.

The Ch'ing forces laid siege to the Taipings at Yungan, from which it took the Taipings in relation to the 6 months to break out. From Yungan, the Taipings sustained to forge northwards, chasing the borders into Hunan province. This was a major political and military step from strategic point of view. It meant that the Taiping Rebellion was no longer a small provincial movement in a remote area of the Empire. It had set its eyes on the capture of the rich, culturally urbanized and politically significant Yangtse River area of Central China.

The Northern march saw a phenomenal augment in the forces and possessions accessible to the Taipings. The severely exploited masses of South-central China enthusiastically responded to the Taipings' egalitarian social message. This swelled the Taiping ranks to many lakhs through the time they reached the major towns beside the Yangtse River.

For instance they were joined through the coal miners of the Taochow and Chenchow. They also added to their possessions hoards of silver and grain seized beside the method from state treasuries as well as ammunition and ships. With these enormous reserves, they sustained their march capturing several towns and adding to their ranks. In March 1853 they swept into the great municipality of Nanking, the old capital of the Chinese Empire, which they renamed Tienching i.e. the Heavenly Capital of their own —Heavenly Kingdoml

The Taiping Organization and Programme

The transition in the character of the Taiping Movement was indeed extra ordinary. From a small group of converts to an alien religion it had appeared as a formidable political military power with a vision of conquering all of China and transforming the whole social order. Now the original messianic vision and appeal of its founders became more programmatic and geared to changing the social and economic order.

The main leadership of the movement remained in the hands of the mainly prominent early converts. Hung Hsiu-chuan, of course, was the —Heavenly King, but power was shared flanked by him and the other —kings (wang), all of whom were part of the original circle. There were 5 Kings — 4 of them named after the dissimilar directions (East, West, North and South), while the fifth was recognized as the —Assistant King.

The Taiping followers were organized into a combined civil and military structure. The family was the vital unit of this structure, with groups of families being organized into military divisions. Though, these military detachments not only fought, they also cultivated land, and constructed public works, etc. Every member of the family contributed in his own method. For instance the older people made bamboo spikes or cooked meals and the children helped the adults in battle. Their leaders not only led them in battle, but were also civil officers responsible for all economic, administrative, judicial as well as social and religious functions.

Although the family remained the vital unit of organization, the emphasis in the middle of the Taipings was on communal ownership of all possessions and communal livelihood, with an element of the segregation of the sexes as well. All property, as well as the products of the people's labour, were measured to be the property of the state (The sacred treasury), to be enjoyed through all as equally as possible. The Taipings did attempt to implement such events in those regions which remained relatively firmly under their manage. Here we are not going into each and every detail of the Taiping programme. We shall be discussing only some of the major characteristics related to it.

The Land System

The vital programme of the —Heavenly Kingdom was contained in an extraordinary document described —The Land System of the Heavenly Kingdom (Tien-chao tien-mou chih-tu). This document contained much more

than presently regulations relating to land. It was based on the radical thought that all land was to be owned in general and its fruits were to be used for the sustenance of all. Therefore, the Taipings abolished all private property. This in information was a proclamation to abolish the feudal system. They divided all land into 9 categories according to excellence. Every man and woman in excess of 16 years was to receive a share for farming, and the sharing was to be such that no family received a disproportionate share of good or bad land. The land, therefore distributed was not to be the property of the individual. It was to be used only for the purpose of manufacture. Any produce of the land beyond what was necessary to meet the vital needs of the family was to be surrendered to the communal pool.

The doctrine of communal use of land was not a new one to China. It could be traced back to the ancient text *The Rites of Chou* or throughout the short rule of Wang Mang of the Hsin dynasty (c. 8-23 AD). This idealistic programme, though, could not be implemented into actual practice say except in a few pockets. We cannot say whether the exigencies of war or the difficulties of implementation were the obstructions in the method. Yet, we discover that' in the Taiping regions the power of the landlords was partly destroyed and several fled to other regions. For instance in Yangchow peasants paid no rent for three years and in regions approximately Nanking tenants stopped paying rents to landlords. Likewise, in several regions rent reduction upto 50 per cent took lay.

The Location of Women

An significant texture of the land system, as well as of the social policy of the Taipings as a whole, was the thought of the equality of men and women — something fundamentally alien to the Confucian order. Women shaped a part of the Taiping armies, and even held positions of responsibility. Hung's sister herself commanded the. women soldiers. Nu-Kuan (Women Residential Halls) was opened for the stay of Young girls and widows of those killed in war.

The measure to abolish the practice of foot-binding as well as prostitution and polygamy, were also significant indications of the Taipings' attitude towards women. W. Muirhead, a British missionary, after visiting the Heavenly Capital described the changed location of women as therefore:

- 'While walking beside the streets, the number of females that are seen on the method is rather a novelty. They are in common well-dressed, and of very respectable appearance. Several are riding on horse-back, others are walking and mainly of them have big feet.
- Not a few stop to hear our preaching, and always conduct themselves with perfect propriety. This is new as compared with the former course of things and the whole reminds one partly of house life.'

Separately from these practices which they regarded as degenerate, the Taipings also abolished slavery, gambling, the consumption of tobacco and wine, and opium smoking.

Handicrafts and Trade

The Taipings encouraged handicraft workers to work in specialized workshops related to their products. These workshops were supervised through Taiping officials. Though, the needs of the army were kept in mind and the products were mainly used through the army. Initially attempts were made to abolish trade and commerce. It was proclaimed that:

- Everything is granted through Heavenly Father. It is not necessary to purchase things with money.

But soon it was realized that this was an unrealistic location. Now attempts were made to regulate commerce through the central power. A free market was allowed outside the capital where goods were bought and sold. The merchants, in order to carry on trade, had to buy a license. The rate of tax

on trade was definitely low under the Taipings when compared to the Ch'ing ruled regions.

In several methods, the Taiping Movement retained vital elements from its origins. It never lost its profoundly religious character, which was based on a form of Christianity (although interpreted in a unique method through Hung Hsiu-chuan and the other leaders of the movement). Several of the elements of its programme also owed their inspiration to the communal kind of life practised through the early converts in the middle of the Hakka societies in Kwangsi.

Through any standards, including those of our own time, the programme of the Taipings could be measured truly revolutionary. This assessment, though, has to be tempered with the knowledge that the Taipings, perpetually fighting or under siege, had little time or opportunity to fully implement their events. The Taipings followed two dissimilar standards — one for the leaders and the other for the masses. Nevertheless, it is this deeply idealistic programme of the Taipings which distinguished them mainly from other peasant rebellions and anti-dynastic uprisings, and which perhaps inspired the fanatical enthusiasm and loyalty of its follower's right to the end.

The Downfall of the Taipings

The capture of Nanking in 1853 in one sense showed the boundless ambition and potential of the Taiping Rebellion. But in another sense, this victory marked the limitation of the movement, because presently after it was achieved, the Taiping leadership made the crucial decision not to push forward with all their force towards Peking. They decided to consolidate their hold at Nanking and the Yangtse River area, and to send only one part of their force to Peking. This decision virtually saved the Ch'ing dynasty. The weak Taiping northern expedition was routed through the spring of 1855, leaving intact the

headquarters and rallying centre of the Ch'ing Government at Peking, Although it took another nine years for the Taipings to be totally crushed, the Yangtze River valley remained the northern main limit of the —Heavenly Kingdom, leaving the Ch'ing with a sizeable part of its empire intact.

Tseng Kuo-fan and the Ch'ing Efforts to Crush the Taipings

After the capture of Nanking, the Taipings concentrated their military efforts on securing the major towns and municipalities beside the Yangtze River, from Wuchang in the West to Chinkiang in the East. Initially, the Ch'ing military response was entirely suspicious. The Imperial troops set up two camps outside Nanking, one each on the north and south of the Yangtze River. But they could not prevent the Taiping troops from overrunning the rich prefectures on both the sides of the river. The demoralized imperial troops with their antiquated organization were no match for the supremely motivated, crusading army of the Taipings.

When the Ch'ing Government finally woke up to this information; they restored to desperate events. This incorporated in 1853 calling on an significant official, Tsing Kuo-fan, who was on leave in his native Hunan province, to raise a militia force to challenge the Taiping rebels who were on an offensive there. Tseng loyally responded to the call, but he had his own thoughts how to go in relation to the implementing it.

Tseng set in relation to the raising a force (recognized as the Hunan Army) that would be as tightly organized and as committed as the enemies it was to face. He cautiously selected able scholar-officials as commanders, and they in turn recruited soldiers from in the middle of the local peasantry who would be loyal to them. In comparison with the soldiers of the regular army, these recruits were well-paid and thoroughly trained. They were indoctrinated to consider that they were defending their villages, their lands, their temples and the security of their lives from the marauding —bandit armies. At the

similar time, Tseng Kuo-fan issued public appeals to the local population of all classes to assist in the rebel-suppression campaign.

Tseng Kuo-fan's cautiously thought out and executed strategy acquiesced dividends. Initially, the result of the encounters flanked by the Taiping troops and the new Hunan Army did not significantly favour either face. Both sides won or lost major engagements. Though, the crushing defeat of the regular imperial forces camping outside Nanking in mid-1856 ensured that there was no other force thereafter to challenge the Taipings other than the new troops of Tseng Kuo-fan. In recognition of this, the Ch'ing Court enhanced the power and responsibilities vested in Tseng Kuo-fan. Through 1860 Tseng, now given the exalted location of Imperial Commissioner and the complete command of all operations against the Taipings, commanded a fine army of 120,000 men and a galaxy of able commanders and strategists.

Attitude of the Western Powers

Initially, the attitude of the Western powers in the treaty ports to the Taiping Rebellion was one of mild sympathy. The 1850's was a era of rising tensions flanked by the Western powers and the Ch'ing government and there was no compelling cause for the foreigners to rush to the defence of the Ch'ing. Moreover, the information that the Taipings ostensibly followed a form of Christianity was a factor in their favour.

Officially, though, the Western stance and particularly that of the British, was one of strict neutrality or wait-and-see. As extensive as their treaty rights, the treaty ports and the commerce were left untouched; the Westerners saw no cause to intervene.

From in relation to the 1860, this attitude began to change and the Westerners became increasingly hostile to the Taipings. There were many reasons for this:

- One was that the extensive-drawn out anarchy and violence in the Yangtse area and close to the coast did not favour the interests of commerce, and the foreigners held the Taipings responsible for failing to set up a stable effective management in the regions under their manage.
- Another cause was the strict Taiping opposition to opium the commodity in excess of which the British had gone to war with the Taiping brand of Christianity, and even began to regard it as somewhat blasphemous.
- The Westerners began to get disenchanted with the Taiping brand of Christianity, and even began to regard it as somewhat blasphemous.
- Perhaps a more significant cause was the change in the Ch'ing attitude to the Western powers and their demands, which was in turn related to the inner court politics of the Ch'ing dynasty. With the signing of the new round of treaties after the Second Opium War, through 1860, the Westerners had a greater stake in the survival of Ch'ing rule as the guarantor of these treaty rights. Though, the information that they were now allowed diplomatic representation in Peking meant that some of the leading Western representatives became more well-known with leading Ch'ing officials and even recognized in the middle of them a moderate faction which was favorable to the thought of closer ties with the West. The ascendancy of this faction, headed through the brother of the former Emperor, Prince Kung, after 1861 made the Western policy makers more sympathetic to the Ch'ing.

Western official neutrality turned to active intervention against the Taipings only when they launched an assault on Shanghai in 1860. Initially it took the form of a private foreign detachment commanded through an American, F.T. Ward, and financed through wealthy businessmen of Shanghai. The successes of this force were soon recognized through the Emperor in the form of the title —Ever-Victorious Army‖ bestowed upon it. Under the leadership of the British, Charles Gordan, the —Ever-Victorious

Armyll soon expanded its operations from merely the defence of Shanghai and the nearby area to joint expeditions with the Chinese troops under the official Li-Hung-Chang. against the Taiping strongholds. But more significant than this direct intervention through foreigners in the war against the Taipings was their supply of arms, which played a major role in giving the pro-Ch'ing forces superiority in excess of the Taipings. In information, officials like Li-Huhg-Chang, while not averse to taking Western help in limited spheres, were very much against their direct participation in the fighting, fearing that this would eventually lead to greater Western interference in Chinese affairs.

Internal Troubles of the Taipings

The year 1856 which marked a high tide of the Taiping fortunes with the defeat of the imperial troops encircling Nanking, also saw a major crisis within the movement. Factional infighting in the middle of the top leaders dealt a blow from which it never recovered.

The East King, Yang Hsin-Ch'ing, had for some years sought to elevate his own location at the expense of his rival kings. Because of his undoubted military skill and skilful manipulation of spiritual matters (e.g. through lapsing into trances) he had through 1856 acquired a location second only to Hung Hsiu-ch'uan himself.

Though, Yang aspired to replace Hung himself as the chief leader. He started creation moves in that direction which were, though, quickly understood through Hung. Hung summoned the two other remaining kings, the North King and the Assistant King, to his rescue (the South and West Kings both having been killed in earlier campaigns). They killed the East King and butchered in excess of 20,000 of his followers. But in the procedure, they fell out with each other, leading to the North King's slaughter of the Assistant King's whole family and followers. Disgusted with the North King's actions, Hung had himself executed barely three months after Yang. Hung also fell out

with the Assistant King; leading to the latter's desertion with a vast number of followers.

At the end of it there was none of the original group of leaders left except Hung. Hung increasingly disassociated himself from official matters. Were it not for the efforts of one of his last remaining lieutenants, Li-Hsiu-Ch'ing, it was quite likely that the Taiping cause would not have lingered on for the seven more years that it did.

The Defeat of the Taipings

The end came on a 3-pronged movement under the overall direction of Tseng Kuo-fan. Tseng's brother was given charge of encircling Nanking. Li Hung-Chang was in charge of pacifying Kiangsu, while another commander Tso Tsung-Tang, was charged with the fighting in Chekiang province. Prior to this, the last major offensive campaign of the Taipings to the west was defeated in 1861.

Through 1864, the troops loyal to the Ch'ing had met one success after another, and the location of the Taipings holed up at Nanking became untenable. Nevertheless, the defenders of Nanking fought down to the last man, with no one surrendering. The final taking of Nanking through Tseng Kuo-fan troops on 19 July, 1864 was very bloody, as were the subsequent mapping in campaigns. The armies of Tseng Kuo-fan were merciless in their victory, taking a toll of many hundred thousand people presently in the last stage of the campaign.

At one time, it had seemed possible that the Taipings would overthrow the Ch'ing and succeed in conquering all of China. But their decline and fall was rapid. The eruption of rivalry in the middle of the Taiping leadership, leading to its virtual decimation in mutual fighting, was undoubtedly a key factor in its defeat. In the last stage of the rebellion, the Taipings were virtually without a centralized command structure. They were also deprived of

the mainly talented commanders and organizers who had built up the movement from scratch.

The deteriorating excellence of the Taiping leadership coincided with the revival and strengthening of the leadership of the Ch'ing forces. The formation of the new armies under the leadership of Tseng Kuo-fan and his proteges through passing the old and ineffective military tools of the imperial troops was decisive in the defeat of the Taipings. The leaders of these forces had been cautiously selected through Tseng himself on the foundation of their talent, skill and personal loyalty to him.

Another cause for the failure of the Taiping Movement was some of the glaring inconsistencies flanked by what they preached and what they practised. The Taiping leaders propagated and imposed on their followers a communal, spartan type of life. But, particularly after they recognized themselves at Nanking, they did not follow this pattern themselves. On the contrary they led mainly ostentatious luxurious lives.

The Taipings projected themselves as leaders of all the Chinese, against the alien Manchu rulers of the Ch'ing dynasty. But this nationalistic appeal was mixed with their religious teachings and practices, which were not equally acceptable to all Chinese. Their rejection of Confucianism and thoughts of egalitarianism alienated the gentry, while the destruction of temples and shrines alienated even the lower classes. Their suspicion and intolerance of non-Christian creeds made it harder for them to effect extensive-term co-operation with the other numerous secret civilizations and rebel groups of the time.

Ultimately, perhaps it was the failure of the Taipings to win a quick decisive victory in excess of the Ch'ing that went against their interests. Their failure to attempt to march on to Peking, and their failure to destroy the encirclement of Nanking early, were both military blunders which ensured the prolongation of the fighting which ruined normal life and economic action in

the area. The Taipings as the rebel force, rather than the Ch'ihg were blamed for the disorder through the people. There is also proof that this was the main factor which turned the attitude of the foreigners decisively against the Taipings. When it was clear that the Taipings could not illustrate proof of their skill to set up a stable and constant management and to ensure peace in their area, the foreign trading society turned hostile to the rebels. Though this was not the major factor in the Taiping defeat, but it was through no means unimportant.

The Nature and Impact of the Taiping Rebellion

There has been a considerable debate in excess of the nature of the Taiping Rebellion and the impact it had on China. Let us look at some of the characteristics related to this debate.

Rebellion or Social Revolution

In the extensive history of imperial China, peasant rebellions of great sweep and power were periodic occurrences. In that sense, the Taiping Rebellion could legitimately be seen as the last in a extensive series of such rebellions.

Though, in several methods, the Taiping Rebellion was not a 'typical' Chinese peasant rebellion. It occurred in a area (South China) at a time (the mid-19th century) which had felt the impact of an entirely new phenomenon — the attendance of the West. This information profoundly affected the Taiping Rebellion in several methods.

Mainly obviously, the Western impact affected the ideology of the Taiping Rebellion through the beliefs of its founder, Hung Hsiu chuan. The religious ideology of the Taipings was never a minor factor in their actions. Rather it was something always at the fore front. It is true that several other peasant rebellions in Chinese history were anti-Confucian and egalitarian in

their overtones. But the Christian beliefs of the Taiping leaders gave their anti-Confucian egalitarian views a more strident, insistent character.

No other peasant rebellion had embodied the thought of equality and brotherhood of all men in such a concrete programme of land redistribution, of communal ownership, etc. None had given such a high status to women. None had taken up with such a passion the eradication of the major social evils of the time, such as opium-smoking, gambling, prostitution and so on. Moreover, the Taipings were also conscious of the problem of the Westerners at their doorstep and tried to address this problem, without descending into blind anti-foreignism.

In short, instead of being a easy traditionalist rebellion aiming at the replacement of an oppressive ruling home through another, the Taiping Rebellion was a movement with a vision, a social message and a comprehensive programme of reform. It was a product of unique, middle stage of Chinese history. It tried to address the problem of that age within sure limits. It is precisely this uniqueness of the Taiping Rebellion that had led to its being termed as a —revolution. Chinese communist historians have referred to it as the —first great high tide of the revolution in the history of contemporary China. They have viewed it as the opening salvo of a century extensive thrash about of the Chinese people for national renewal and social transformation eliminating on the revolution of the Chinese masses led through the Communist Party of China in 1949.

It is tempting to view the Taiping Rebellion as the last of the anti-dynastic rebellions of imperial China or as the first of the series of a revolutionary upheavals in contemporary Chinese history. Though, it would perhaps be more accurate to view the Taiping Rebellion for what it was. It was the product of a society in the grip of an unprecedented social and economic crisis, in which the discontent and despair of the people had no other outlet than that of a violent uprising against the establishment.

The Aftermath

Not presently the Chinese communists, but other visionaries and revolutionaries of the 20th century, like Dr. Sun Yat-sen, were inspired through the nationalistic credo of the Taipings, their social programme, and their assault on the establishment. Though, this memory or inspiration is virtually all that survived of the Taiping Rebellion after the thorough extermination accepted out through the loyalist armies. There remained no distinctive groups or trends associated with the Taipings or upholding its banner even underground. A movement that came into being in the 1840's and rapidly reached a location of fame and power survived not more than 20 years altogether.

Strangely enough, the Taiping Rebellion had a non important impact on the politics of the Ch'ing dynasty which it had set out to destroy. The Ch'ing won the battle against the Taipings, but in the procedure, they weakened their own undiluted power. The Hunan army of Tsing Kuo-fan, the Huai army of Li Hung-Chang and other new forces used to suppress the Taipings were the mainstay of new centers of power that were not wholly dependent on the Ch'ing court. In their desperation to suppress the Rebellion, the Ch'ing ceded significant powers to their high Chinese officials — something they had always been careful not to do in the past. They relinquished their monopoly manage of all regular troops. They also had to provide a great deal of freedom of operation to provincial officers and to local gentry's members. All this put jointly represented a definite shift of powers within the existing political structure.

As extensive as strict loyalists like Tseng Kuo-fan were at the helm of affairs, this shift of powers was not openly used to challenge the rule of Ch'ing Emperors. But in the extensive run, this helped to erode the foundation of their power and prestige. It is not without significance that in the final revolution that overthrew the Ch'ing in 1911, the key actors were not so much the peasants as the soldiers and officers of the new armies and the local gentry.

THE BOXER UPRISING

Socio-Economic Circumstances in China

Here we talk about the socio-economic circumstances in the late 19th century China. Throughout this era an augment in population led to an augment in the number of unemployed in the middle of educated or the literate. Competition for official jobs grew/as now there were more claimants to decreasing possessions. The Ch'ing government did not adequately expand the administrative structure to create it commensurate with the growth of population and commerce. Failure of the institutional structure of the government to grow meant that upward mobility of young literate was hampered. Job competition and frustration brought in relation to the all stages of corrupt practices: bribery, nepotism and favouritism, which in turn adversely affected the procedures of management. This also meant the erosion in the prominence of the Confucian principle. Personal cliques and patronage networks appeared which adversely affected The examination system, taxation and the management of justice.

The peasant was further crushed. Provincial officials, whose primary task was to take tax from cultivators based on a quota assigned to them and stay some surplus for themselves, became unmerciful towards the general folk. The demand on these officials from the central treasury was high as the Peking government struggled to uphold an army, a body of court officials and pompous ceremonies. The officials, in turn, shifted this burden on the peasantry through imposing heavy demands and used all types of tyrannical methods. As a consequence the number of peasant revolts increased. Several peasants also migrated to the municipalities.

The civil service which had kept China jointly century after century and dynasty after dynasty transformed into an entity for obstructing progress. Added to official rapacity and inflicting hardships upon people, were the

frequent occurrences of natural calamities like famine and flood. Suffering and tension in the countryside increased through several times as the government failed to bring relief to the people. The management appeared only as an embodiment of organized repression. On the other hand the legitimacy of the central power was challenged through rebellions in several parts of the country.

Separately from weakening of the government the population explosion directly hindered technological growth. —The super-abundance of human muscles, as John Fairbank puts it —made labour saving devices uneconomical. Human life as well as human labour had become very cheap. For the general people life was reduced to a thrash about for survival. Families had to water every grain of food. Some evaded taxes through linking themselves with the rich and powerful land-owners and supplied them with workers, musclemen and girls. In the middle of those who fled to the municipalities, the fortunate ones sold their labour cheaply to stay body and soul jointly. The rest became beggars, prostitutes, criminals and so forth. Even for the self-enough farmer, it was a hard time. He needed protection from unscrupulous officials, bullies and musclemen of big landowners and bandits who appeared from the landless destitute.

This deepening of a crisis in its socio-economic situation was further fuelled through the sinister demands of imperialism on China.

Imperialism

The military defeat of China in the Opium Wars and the unequal treaty system had made China approximately a semi-colony of the Western powers. The imperialists justified their actions shamelessly in the name of modernization. For instance, England claimed that this act of theirs brought China into the family of nations and made it enter international trade on conditions of equality. But external interference in China jeopardized the

Emperor's status. People were dismayed and shocked to see the powerlessness of the 'Son of Heaven' which the Emperor was whispered to be.

Western intrusion into China, in the middle of other things, introduced Christian missionaries in big numbers and makes a class of middlemen recognized as compradors to carry on business with the Chinese. Both these factors were eventually to have major bearings on the country in later years. To be able to successfully handle the challenges posed through both the foreign powers and the deteriorating socio-economic circumstances, the Ch'ing court did create an effort to modernize the system through reforms. In the 1860s the —self-strengthening movement¹ was launched and later other imperial decrees, edicts and laws were passed to modernize and westernize sure characteristics of Chinese life at least partially. Education, military training, science and technology and the legal system all came under the purview of the reform movement. In 1898 the so- described Hundred Days Reform, officially sponsored touched upon several of these things but it was the —too little, too late² syndrome which made the reforms seem like the last-ditch effort of a decaying system to stay itself in order.

Towards the end of the 19th century world capitalism had entered its monopolistic stage that is the stage of imperialism. In such a stage, in the languages of Lenin —The export of capital as distinguished from the export of commodities acquires exceptional importance³. The thrash about for the territorial division of the world became very keen. China was a victim of this monopolistic stage. China's defeat at the hands of Japan in 1895 beside with the conclusion of the Treaty of Shimonoseki — another unequal treaty, made another imperialist entry in China. For the Chinese the crisis was never as worse. The treaty of Shimonoseki stipulated that Japanese businessmen could start factories in China's Treaty Ports. This provision satisfied the demand of imperialism to have outlets for the export of capital. China had been forced to accept the mainly-favoured nation clause in the earlier unequal treaties which meant that privileges given to one had to be given to the rest. So as soon as Japan got the privilege of starting factories in China, all other powers got it

too. In the year 1895-96 itself many factories were set up in China which not only extracted cheap labour from the Chinese to create profit for themselves but also inhibited the growth of its own industry.

Japan had also imposed on China a heavy war indemnity, for which the Ch'ing government had to take two vast loans from the Russo-French and Anglo-German monopoly capitalist groups. In return they had to be given special privileges in China. Under these political circumstances high rates of interest on these loans made a mockery of Chinese sovereignty. This was more so because foreign banks in China, through which imperialists exported capital, also dictated conditions to the Manchu government.

The Treaty of Shimonoseki also incorporated the provision of Japan's job of big slices of Chinese territory — the Liaotung peninsula and Taiwan. This also began the procedure of inter-imperialist scramble for Chinese territory. At one point the partition of China seemed approximately imminent. Flanked by 1896-98 mainly of China was carved into spheres of power of dissimilar imperialist powers. For instance:

- Russia got the regions north of the Great wall, the Yangtse valley went to Britain,
- Shantung to Germany,
- Fukien to Japan and Kwantung, Kwangsi and greater parts of Yunan to France.

To uphold their hold in excess of these territorial concessions, the powers began to build railways, go in for other stages of constructions and exploited the possessions of these regions. This also maintained the flow of capital into China. The imperialist powers although collaborated to use China and jealously guarded every right and privilege they extracted. Hence, confrontation amongst these powers was also a notable characteristic.

In big numbers the Foreign missionaries came to China. The official Chinese historians have termed them as those —who were the cloak of religion but actually served imperialist aggression. They had been coming into China many years before the Sino-Japanese War. Their behaviors incorporated: structure of Churches preaching the gospel, and sometimes clashing with the local populace. From the 1860s anti- missionary struggles were waged in several regions.

The Boxer uprising had a definite anti-Christian or anti-missionary stance and so debates in academic circles have tried to sort out whether the uprising was primarily —anti-foreign or anti-missionary. The Chinese interpretation is that it was anti-imperialist in the first lay and secondly it was also anti-Manchu. In all probabilities, because the missionaries happened to be foreigners, they were the first targets of the uprising. The masses and peasants were blatantly hostile to Christianity for the important cause that Christianity was the symbol of all that was foreign. For the Boxers the foreign missionaries were —primary devils and their native Chinese converts the —secondary devils. Hence both needed to be liquidated. Several Western scholars like Victor Purcell, also hold this viewpoint.

The Yi Ho Tuan

Since a extensive time secret civilizations have lived in China, They have organized the downtrodden to become rebels against several an recognized order. Whenever suffering and misery reached intolerable stages people often took to —banditry and secret society membership. There have been instances of secret society leaders organizing a successful rebellion against a dynasty and setting up their own dynastic rule: The Boxers or the Yi Ho Tuan are whispered to have originated in the White Lotus sect, a group of secret civilizations, which claimed to be descended from Ming emperors, who ruled China before the Ch'ing took in excess of in 1644 A.D. Their behaviors had somewhat Subsided or were not noteworthy for a extensive time.

In August, 1898, the Boxers appeared on the borders of Chili and Shantung provinces as is apparent from some official documents. In October the uprising actually started with the attack on Christian families and houses. Presently sometime earlier placards had appeared which declared that converts would be killed. Several who joined the Boxers are whispered to be anti-Manchu to the core who connected up with other rebels against the universally hated foreigner.

Why Shantung?

The outbreak of violence in Shantung province where the uprising took strong roots is no accident. Shantung had to bear the brunt of the imperialist encroachments. Throughout the Sino-Japanese war, the invading armies of Japan attacked the Shantung peninsula and for three years occupied this area, threatening not to withdraw until the indemnity imposed was paid in full. Two of Shantung's big ports came under the manage of Germany and Britain. Germany had also marked off the whole province as her sphere of power. The introduction of coasted navigation and railways through the imperialists adversely affected the employment patterns. Several boatmen, porters, pedlars and small traders were rendered jobless. This added to the overall deteriorating socio-economic condition.

Through the end of the 19th century, a network of churches had spread all in excess of China. Shantung alone had in excess of a thousand churches and in relation to the eighty thousand missionaries and Christian converts. According to the official history of China, written after communist take-in excess of, the missionaries were used as apparatus of aggression against the Chinese people. As one explanation says:

- —Several of the missionaries—directed through their archbishops, bishops or other higher-ups-composed intelligence, forcibly seized farmland, put pressure on low-courts, extorted money from the people, bought in excess of gangsters and other bad elements to become

converts, created incidents, bullied China's general folk, and committed crimes including murder. Like a plague they brought limitless distress upon the Chinese people. The Ch'ing officials, high and low, sheltered before imperialist tyranny. They invariably reached to disputes flanked by the people and the missionaries through shielding the after and oppressing the former, leaving them without recourse.

This explains the frequency of anti-missionary incidents. In each case the imperialists demanded punishment, extorted compensation, and therefore expanded the sway of the church. What could the Chinese people do but take up arms against the imperialists and their lackeys.

The Uprising

Popular struggles against foreign churches took lay in Shantung in 1896 led through a secret society described Ta Tao Hui (Big Sword Society). In 1897 and 1898 too such struggles broke out. The Yi Ho Tuan Movement soon engulfed Shantung and spread elsewhere.

The membership of this organization comprised peasants, handicraftsmen, urban poor and unemployed wage laborers. It never had a central organ. The vital unit was the 'tao' or shrine and consisted of young men, teenage boys and several women. Strict discipline was observed through both, leaders as well as the rank-and-file, who held the organization jointly. Each Boxer squad was shaped of 10 fighters and 10 squads made up a brigade.

In the winter of 1899-1900, the Boxers, in order to oppose imperialism attacked missionaries and churches in Shantung. The foreigners stationed in Peking, fearing the escalation of the movement pressed the Ch'ing government to crush it. Yu Hsien, the reigning governor of Shantung was removed and in his lay came Yuan Shi-Kai whose —new Armyll was emerging as a powerful political force. Yuan was a favorite of the imperialists. In order

to crush the uprising he enacted a proclamation to ban the Yi Ho Tuan. As a part of his suppression campaign he also ordered the troops to shoot anyone connected to the Boxers and assured them full protection if they did so.

The Yi Ho Tuan fought bravely and astutely against Yuan's army while maintaining their anti-imperialist behaviors. Yuan strengthened his army adding new battalions to it. He also sought the help of German troops and other armed forces which were raised through the imperialists to massacre the Yi Ho Tuan. The latter suffered serious setback. In the spring of 1900, the Boxers, in big numbers, left Shantung and moved to neighboring Chili (present day Hopei province) in the vicinity of Peking. Mainly of their behaviors, henceforth, took lay in this region but the power was even felt in Shansi, inner Mongolia, Hunan and also the North-eastern provinces of China. The Boxers received widespread support from the local populace. With their help they fought battles with the government troops while carrying on the killing of missionaries, converts and those who backed them. Destruction of churches, property belonging to foreigners, residences and quarters was accepted on both sporadically as well as systematically. In the month of May the Yi Ho Tuan captured the strategic municipality of Chochow, south of Peking. As they accepted on their fight their rank swelled and this alarmed greatly the foreign powers in China as also the Ch'ing Government.

In a few days time the Boxer troops penetrated into Peking. They had disrupted the railway links to the capital which cut off government's reinforcements from the north as well as the south. In Peking the Yi Ho Tuan forces had earlier operated in small groups involving in behaviors accepted out secretly. They had put up anonymous poster calling for an —exterminate the foreigners campaign. In the capital the ranks of the organization swelled up as several belonging to the working class joined it. The poster campaign brought several adherents to the movement. Their posters reflected the people's anti-imperialist sentiments and their disgust with the ruling dynasty who they whispered, collaborated with foreigners to repress their own people. One popular poster read as follows:

- —Mainly bitterly do we hate the treaties which harm the country and bring calamities on the people? High officials betray the nation. Lower ranks follow suit. The people discover no redress for their grievances.¶

Through early June, 1900 Peking was filled with Yi Ho Tuan posters. Its members began to enter the municipality through day as well as through night. Even guards at the municipality gate did not stop these either out of shared sentiments or out of fear. Wearing their red turbans and girelles and red-bordered shoes and socks, the Boxers paraded on the streets of the capital with swords and spears. In a short span of time more than 800 shrines were set up in Peking. They stayed in the houses of the royalty and nobility spread all in excess of the municipality and assaulted foreigners. The latter, in a helpless states huddled in the legation quarters or in the cathedrals with armed protection. The Boxers held their demonstrations mostly in the night. They urged people not to buy foreign articles and accepted on their indoctrination and other behaviors.

Simultaneously, similar struggles were ignited and accepted out in Tientsin. Here the movement had started in the form of poster destruction, setting up shrines and military training. Through mid-1900 they manufactured their own swords and spears. Beside with burning down churches, they broke electricity poles and wrecked the office of the customs. In two to three months, the Boxer uprising engulfed the whole Peking Tientsin regions. Its anti-imperialist orientation was indicated through the information that they took the churches, railways, power rows, steamers and foreign goods as the immediate targets of their pent-up hatred. In the summer of 1900 Peking and Tientsin were virtually controlled through the Yi Ho Tuan.

Within months of its dramatic behaviors which began in Shantung, the Boxers raised their banner of revolt on both sides of the great wall and beside the middle and lower reaches of the Yellow River The imperialist powers finding the Manchu government to weak to put down this popular revolt began

discussions amongst themselves to discover a method to curb the Boxers. It appeared that their survival in China was at stake. Through July and August 1900 anti-imperialist posters appeared in several spaces in the provinces of Kiangsi, Fukien, Kwangsi, Shanti and Kansu. People were also seen practicing boxing and other Chinese martial arts at public recreation grounds. In several of these spaces people set fire to churches and drove out missionaries. Several local secret civilizations, initially not part of the Boxers, joined them in this violent anti-imperialist thrash about.

Imperialist Intervention

Despite the open anti-Manchu standpoint of the Boxers and efforts made through Yuan Shih-Kai and other military mandarins to suppress them, the Dowager Empress, Tzu Hsi took an ambiguous stand. A court edict said that all rebels were not to be measured bandits. Another one said that the organization members acted on the ancient principle of —keeping mutual watch and giving mutual help. This made the imperialists doubly nervous and the Boxers, mainly likely, interpreted this as a go-ahead signal. Foreign officials also whispered that several senior court officials and some governors secretly encouraged the —seditious secret society. Five foreign envoys (of Britain, France, Germany, Russia and the United States) also demanded that the Chinese Government declare the Yi Ho Tuan, a criminal organization thereby repudiating the court's own standpoint on the Boxer uprising. The Manchu government saw this as a direct infringement on its affairs and realized that the foreigners were a greater threat to them than the Boxers.

Through May, the foreign powers began preparing their troops for an armed confrontation with the Boxers. Eight powers viz, Britain, France, Germany, Austria, Italy, Japan, United States and Russia shaped a joint command. Remaining in China was a - general interest of all and for the time being they gave up their differences to strike a blow on Chinese nationalism. The Chinese foreign office (Zongli Yamen) described for the powers not to advance their reinforcements. As this call went; unheeded, the Chinese

Government prepared for war. The allied armies' advance to Peking was a direct threat to China's sovereignty.

The Imperial Council scheduled a meeting on June 16 to talk about the situation arising out of the eight powers armed intervention. The meeting showed differing perception of the nobility and senior court officials on the Boxer movement. There was clearly a pro-Boxer and anti-Boxer division. The foreign powers were determined to carry out an armed suppression and so the court through an Imperial edict declared war on June 21, 1900. The diplomatic society was asked to leave Peking in 24 hours, which was later extended. On the expiration of the set time limit, Chinese troops opened fire on the legations. While war broke out in northern China, the governor and viceroys of southern provinces co-operated with the foreign powers and ignored the court's decision to fight them. This demonstrated the disunity of the nation, creation it easier for the imperialists to create an effort to partition China and subjugate it totally. Through June 29, the Peking government took a dissimilar attitude. The Dowager Empress through her diplomats tried to explain to the foreign governments that the rioting —mobs would be exterminated and all foreign legation quarters would be protected. This attitude of the Ch'ing government raises question in relation to the their motive behind the declaration of war. Chinese communist historians call this a mere expedient on the part of the Manchu rulers whose ultimate and real intention was to wipe out the Yi Ho Tuan; collaborate with foreign powers and uphold their rule.

With direct support from a sizeable part of the Chinese ruling class and a passive opposition from another, the eight nation allied army, thoroughly indulged in looting, terrorized the nearby regions and indulged in a violent suppression of the Boxer uprising. Their warships prowled on the Yangtze river and gunboats frequented the Chinese harbors. They befriended the landlords and the gentry who saw in the imperialist forces their guarantee of security.

The Yi Ho Tuan fighters put up a gallant fight against the more resourceful and technologically advanced military combination of the eight powers. In July and August 1900 fierce fighting took place which caused death and destruction on both sides. The British forces as well as those of Russia and Japan forced their way into Peking and through mid-August the capital municipality fell into the hands of the foreign powers. As soon as this news came, the Empress Dowager beside with a small coterie of people fled Peking.

Intense fighting took place elsewhere too. The Boxers put up stiff resistance everywhere but in the end faced defeat. Imperialist troops were not satisfied through their victory but indulged in atrocities and excesses on the Chinese population. In addition to assault, loot, rape and arson they destroyed artworks, scientific instruments, unusual books and paintings—all livelihood proofs of China's ancient glorious civilization.

With the fall of Tientsin on July 14, 1900 the Ch'ing Government asked for a truce and openly invited the imperialist powers for peace talks. The eight nation force, though, only after occupying Peking, agreed to the cessation of hostilities.

Negotiations began in late August but the eight nations involved in the intervention took sometime to agree flanked by themselves on the conditions and circumstances of peace. Though, Presumably after some diplomatic maneuvering in the middle of themselves they signed with the Chinese government the notorious Boxer Protocol which formally ended the Boxer episode in Chinese history. But this Protocol also marked the beginning of a resilient anti-imperialist national upsurge which within a decade wiped out not only the Ch'ing dynasty but the whole emperor-system.

The Boxer Protocol

The Allied Powers' inability to come to an understanding on-how to divide China in the middle of themselves prevented its partition. Rivalry in the

middle of the powers had taken an acute form. But after a great deal of international wrangling a joint note was presented to China in December 1900. Discussions began soon after. Negotiations dragged on for many months and only in September 1901 the final agreements signed.

The Boxer Protocol of September 7, 1901 consisted of twelve articles. They were as follows:

- A member of the Chinese royal family was to proceed to Berlin to convey to the German Emperor the regrets of the Chinese Emperor and the Grand Council for the murder of a German minister, Baron von Ketteler. A monument was to be erected on the spot where he was killed;
- Suspension of the civil service examinations in all municipalities where foreigners were murdered or maltreated,
- Vice-President of China's Board of Revenue was to proceed to Japan to express the Chinese Emperor and government's regrets for the murder of the Japanese Legation Chancellor.
- An expiatory monument was to be erected through China in each of the foreign settlements which had to be desecrated.
- For five years arms and ammunitions could not be imported.
- The legation quarter in Peking was to be reserved for the exclusive residence of foreigners.
- Taku and other forts which impeded free communication flanked by Peking and the sea were to be razed.
- Sure specified centers were to be occupied through the powers.
- An edict was to be issued which would stipulate a death penalty for anyone joining any anti-foreign society.
- Negotiations to be held to amend the existing treaties of commerce and navigation and the establishment of river conservancy boards with foreign participation.

- The Zongli Yamen (foreign office) was to be reformed and upgraded as a Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with precedence in excess of six other ministries.
- An indemnity of 333 million US dollars was to be paid in excess of an era of forty years.

Each and every provision of the Boxer Protocol was a blow on Chinese sovereignty and self-respect. The provision on indemnities was the harshest as it played havoc with China's possessions. The interest rate was so high that the amount would have doubled throughout the era of payment. Every year the already impoverished people of China were burdened with fifteen million dollars of payment. The method of payment implied a very extensive invasion of Chinese sovereignty. As security for the indemnity, the following possessions were taken:

- The maritime customs and that part of the internal customs hitherto under Chinese manage, and
- The salt gaballe.

The Manchu government became, as somebody remarked, —a debt-collecting agency for the powers.

The Boxer episode ended but it revealed the shallowness of reforms which the Ch'ing Government had initiated as they could not save China from humiliation. The Western powers treated China devoid of all consideration and all understanding.

Academic Debate

Scholars have used a diversity of sources to understand the real nature of the Boxer uprising, its impact and the response it evoked. These contain:

- Official publications of the foreign powers involved in China,
- Missionary documents and writings,

- Manuscripts of historians and other scholars in that era livelihood in China, and
- The publications and documents of the Chinese Government.

All these put jointly give a great deal of information. Though, there is an ongoing debate in relation to the its nature. Was it primarily anti-Christian or anti-imperialist? If it was anti-Christian, was it more anti-Catholic than anti-Protestant? How distant were the Boxers anti-dynastic? are the questions approximately which the debate revolves. The Marxist-Leninist viewpoint concerning the outcome of the uprising is that a deliberate well planned conspiracy flanked by domestic feudalism and external imperialism crushed the movement. The non-Marxian interpretation is that the failure of the Chinese system to modernize kept it a weak nation. Hence it did not have the possessions to obstruct foreign intervention or to meet the demands of the people satisfactorily. This was the cause that the Ch'ing Government distanced itself from the Boxers.

One question in relation to the movement asked regularly is: could the Boxers have recognized a successful regime in China? A easy answer is 'quite unlikely'. They were organizationally weak even if they had devoted members. Despite their widespread support, they could not be described an organization as they had all the features of a secret society. Moreover, ideologically they had nothing to offer which could take the lay of state Confucianism which was then on the decline. As compared to the Taipings they had no programme for agrarian reform although a majority of their constituents were peasants. Their sole progressive principle was that they granted equality to women. All said and done, their aim was not to rule China but to rid their country of its enemies.

POLITICAL REFORMS IN JAPAN

Introduction

This Unit deals with the political reforms brought in relation to the in Japan for the establishment of a contemporary nation-state. The era under discussion is mainly from 1868 to 1889 when the constitution was finally promulgated. Japan appeared throughout this era as a united nation under a centralized management. This involved national integration and the removal of the local loyalties which had till then played a major role. The political reforms also aimed to achieve Japan's objective of being recognized as a contemporary nation equal to other Western nations through incorporating several contemporary political institutions.

The promise made in the Charter Oath issued through the Emperor in April 1868 for the establishment of deliberative assemblies and decisions being made through public opinion indicated that public participation in the political procedure would be allowed. In this context a popular rights movement demanding the establishment of a National Assembly arose. These pressures on the Government from the people as well as the initiatives taken through the Meiji leaders to frame a constitution finally led to the promulgation of the Meiji constitution in 1889. Therefore Japan became the first nation in Asia to have a written Constitution.

Charter Oath

In pre-Meiji Japan scholars have traced the history of the procedure through which decision creation was widened to contain a superior public opinion. The Tokugawa Shoguns sought in the last years of their rule to contain a wider range of groups in the political procedure. This background made it possible for the Meiji government to announce, soon after the Imperial Restoration, the principles of decision-creation through public opinion. The Charter Oath of Five Articles proclaimed through the Emperor in April 1868 announced to the world the new path which Japan proposed to take.

The five Articles were:

- Deliberative Assemblies shall be widely recognized and all state affairs decided through public opinion.
- All classes, high and low, shall unite in carrying out the administrative affairs of the state.
- The general people, no less than the civil and military officials shall be allowed to pursue whatever calling they choose so that public apathy may not beset the land.
- The evil customs of the past shall be abandoned and every thing would be based on the presently laws of Heaven and Earth.
- Knowledge shall be sought throughout the world so as to invigorate the foundations of Imperial rule.

The Articles as originally drafted through Yuri Kimimasa of Echizen Clan, who was influenced through the Tokugawa scholar Yokoi Shonan, were inclined towards a constitutional parliamentary government. But due to opposition they were revised through the Meiji leader Kido Koin to reduce the emphasis on the general people and parliamentary government. Though, this declaration was used as the foundation through the people to agitate for and demand the establishment of a National Assembly. This assembly, as perceived through the people would be their representative body through which they could determine their destinies.

Political Machinery

Let us attempt to understand the political machinery which replaced the Baku han system. After the imperial faction overthrew the Tokugawas, in 1868, a new political machinery was recognized through the proclamation of what is recognized as the Constitution of 1868. Under this, a new Council of State (Dajokan) was recognized with supreme political power. It was based on the principle of separation of powers. Further changes were made in July 1869, but the form of Government on which Meiji leaders settled upon till the cabinet system was introduced in 1885, was adopted in July 1871. In this, the

Council of State was divided into the Central Board, the Right Board and the Left Board. The Central Board was the supreme organ of the Government and it was headed through the Chancellor (dajo deijin) and incorporated deputies (dainagon). These deputies were later replaced through Minister of the Left and Right and a number of Councillors. The Left Board was created to perform legislative functions, but it acted merely as an advisory body. The Right Board consisted of Heads of Departments and their deputies. The departments of Foreign Affairs, Finance, War Public Works, the Imperial household, Education, Shinto and Justice were created at that time. The Department of House Affairs was added in 1873. In theory, the Right Board was separated from the Central Board but because influential councillors also served as Heads of Departments, policy creation and administrative duties tended to merge.

Sanjo Sanetomi (1837-1891) occupied the post of Chancellor and Iwakura Tomomi the Minister of the Right, but actual power was exercised through the Councillors, who were primarily men from Satsuma and Choshu. The main leaders were Saigo Takomari, Okubo Toshimichi from Satsuma; Kido Koin, Ito Hirobumi, Inoue Kaoru, Yamagata Aritomo from Choshu, Okuma Shigenobu from Hizen and Itagaki Taisuke and Goto Shojiro from Tosa. All these leaders had played a decisive role in the overthrow of the Shogunate.

Abolition of Han

A change in the administrative machinery alone could not strengthen the new government. The central government did not manage all the revenues of the nation. Less than one fourth of the total agricultural manufacture of Japan was under the manage of the centre. The rest still constituted the revenues of the respective han (domain) which sustained to retain their autonomy. Kido Koin felt that presently as the Shogun had done, other Daimyos should also be compelled to return their domains to the Emperor. The leaders from Satsuma, Choshu, Tosa and Hizen were able to persuade their lords to take the initiative of returning their domains to the Emperor as

early as in March 1869. The other Daimyos also followed suit as they feared that they would be measured disloyal to the Emperor. Those who did not do so voluntarily were forced to do so. The former Daimyos were re-appointed as hereditary han chieftains and paid one-tenth of the han income as salary. The samurai retainers of the ex-Daimyo were given a fraction of their former stipends as income.

The procedure of returning the han lands to the Emperor was completed through 1870. While returning the han lands some Daimyo like Shimazu Hisamitsu of Satsuma, had been led to consider that they would be allowed to retain autonomy as well as their army. Though, the intention of the Meiji leaders was to eliminate the han government totally through replacing the han with prefectures under the direct manage of the central government. This needed some persuasion, particularly in the case of Satsuma. An offer was made to Shimazu Hisamitsu to join the Government but he refused. He, though, allowed Saigo Takamori to join the central government. The Government also organized an Imperial army from the warriors provided through Satsuma, Choshu and Tosa, in order to cope with resistance.

In August 1871 a decree was issued abolishing the han and replacing them with prefectures headed through governors nominated through the central government. The question to be asked here is that why did the Daimyos relinquish their rights so easily? Infact they secured very favorable conditions. For instance they could retain one-tenth of their former han income without having to incur the expenses and trouble of managing the han. Several han were beset with financial difficulties, faced internal unrest in the middle of the peasantry and their samurai retainers were also posing a problem. Hence, it can be said that the central government bailed the han out of their difficulties. Though, the promise to pay the former Daimyo and the samurai a portion of the han income was a burden on the government's earnings as one-third of revenues had to be allocated for these payments. All debts of the han had also became the government's responsibility.

After the abolition of the han in 1871, there was variation of opinion in the middle of the leaders in relation to the kind of government to be recognized. While Saigo Takamosi wanted a system with the Shizoku (former samurai) at the core of the government. Okubo and Kido tended to prefer a centralized bureaucracy.

The class system of dividing the society in a hierarchical manner into Shi, no, ko, Sho (Samurai, peasants, artisan and merchants) which prevailed in the Tokugawa era was abolished. This was a significant reform, which had serious repercussions in the country's political procedures. The Meiji government decrees permitted freedom of job; general people were also allowed to adopt family names and exclusive privileges given to the samurai were removed. Though, in 1872, the government classified the people into three classes, i.e. kizoku (peers), Shizoku (upper class samurai) and Heimin (general people), for the apparent purpose of genealogical identification. The Kizoku class later became the base for creating a new system of peers to manage the House of Peers.

Local Government

The han, numbering 261, were abolished and the country divided into 32 ken (prefectures) and 3 fu (metropolitan prefectures). In the following years, there were attempts of further consolidation. Hence through 1888 the country had only 43 prefectures. Prefectural governors were appointed and controlled through the central government.

Initially, in 1871, several villages were integrated and brought under the administrative districts. The administrative heads of these units were appointed through the centre and, in effect, they were members of the new bureaucratic class. In 1878 the districts were abolished and the whole country was reorganized into towns and villages which became the vital administrative units. In 1880 the town and village assemblies were recognized. Members of

these assemblies were elected to deal with matters prescribed through national law.

So, while on the one hand, through 1880 a centralized administrative system had been recognized, on the other hand assemblies had been set up at the village and town stage. Was this the result of the Popular Rights Movement? Could these assemblies be described the precursor of the National Assembly?

Popular Rights Movement

The movement of popular rights was a result of the discontent of Shizoku (upper samurai) who wanted to share power at the centre which was being monopolized through the Satsuma-Choshu clans. They were joined through the gono or the wealthy farmers who wanted to direct the attention of the government to the troubles of the agricultural societies. It is the Tosa faction led through Itagaki Taisuke, who had left the government on the Korean question which shaped the nucleus of the movement. Itagaki even organized a small political party and its membership consisted of several discontented people from the rural regions. In January 1874, Itagaki, Goto Shojiso and Soejima Taneomi jointly with four other men submitted a memorial to the government asking for the establishment of a national assembly.

They based their arguments on concepts of Western liberalism, complained of official despotism and stated that for the good of the country free public discussion had to be permitted. They also raised the slogan of —no taxation without representation‖ which reflected the dissatisfaction of the agricultural society in relation to the new taxes levied like the one on Sake (rice wine). The memorial raised a debate within Japan concerning the need for calling a national assembly and whether or not the people were prepared for a parliamentary government. The Meiji Restoration through breaking the

bonds of traditional hierarchic institutions and encouraging the inflow of new thoughts, created an environment for political discussion. Educated leaders of rural societies as well as other intellectuals played an important role in opening village schools, establishing political organizations and spreading thoughts in relation to the political rights. Kono Hironaka (1849- 1923), born in a prominent rural family, was one of the key leaders. Intellectuals and journalists from Tokyo went on lecture tours to stir the people's interest in these issues.

The government reacted in two methods:

- Firstly they used repressive laws. For instance a press law was enacted against criticism and it described for censorship through the Ministry of Home Affairs and the imposition of heavy penalties for violation. In April 1880, the Law of Public Meetings was enacted which severely restricted political gatherings and associations.
- A more positive step was also taken in the form of establishing assemblies in municipalities, towns and villages. These assemblies chose the mayors and headmen of the villages. Assembly members, though, were elected through voters with the right to choose one-third of the assembly. Another measure was that mayors were to serve without pay. The poor were therefore effectively left out of the political procedures. The prefectural assembly members were chosen from the ranks of municipality, town and village assembly, who paid more than ten yen in national taxes. The principle of including only the rich in the voters list was not changed when the national assembly was described later.

The government tried to answer the criticism of the Popular Rights Movement through inviting the leaders Kido and Itagaki to enter the government in 1875 with promise of reforms to broaden the base of the government. Though, no meaningful political reforms were made. Consequently Kido and Itagaki resigned. Saigo Takamori, whose plan in 1873

to invade Korea had been turned down, had resigned from the government and led the disgruntled samurai who had been deprived of their privileges, in a rebellion against the government in 1877. This is recognized as the Satsuma rebellion. The Satsuma rebellion was effectively put down through the Imperial Army. The failure of the rebellion only intensified the agitation for the establishment of a national assembly. Throughout 1880, more than 240,000 persons submitted formal petitions in this regard.

The Setting up of a National Assembly

Once the nation had been unified with the abolition of the Bakufu system in 1868 the mission led through Iwakura Tomomi which incorporated in the middle of its members Okubo, Ito, Inoue and Kido visited several Western countries to revise the legal and political institutions. There was a realization that unless these institutions were remodeled beside the rows of Western institutions, it would not be possible to get the revision of the unequal treaties accepted through Western nations. The mission returned influenced that a constitutional government was necessary to build a strong Japan as well as to have the revision of unequal treaties accepted through the Western nations. The debates were in relation to the kind of government, the time frame through which the national assembly should be recognized as well as the meaning of the term —publicl. Within the ruling oligarchy a common consensus appeared that the system of government through a small clique should be changed and in 1873 itself Okubo asked Ito to draft a constitution.

After the assassination of Okubo through a sympathizer of Saigo, Ito and Okuma appeared as the main figures in the task of formulating a constitution. In 1879, on the advice of Iwakura, the Emperor asked the councilors to submit their written opinions in relation to the advisability of a constitutional government. While all the councilors submitted their memorials suggesting some form of constitutional government, insisting upon a gradual approach, Okuma suggested the immediate adoption of a parliamentary

government based on the British model. Okuma had not informed the other leaders of his dissent from their proposals and had submitted his memorial directly to the Emperor. Ito took great exception to this breaking of ranks and felt that Okuma's radical plan was planned to gain support from the people and consolidate his political location.

The rift with Okuma widened on another issue as well; In 1881, the government had decided to sell its holdings in the Hokkaido Colonization Commission for 380,000 yen to a private entrepreneur from Satsuma, while the government had invested 14 million yen. It was alleged that the Okuma leaked the news to the press and caused a furor. The protest campaign was launched through Fukuzawa Yukichi, a friend of Okuma. Okuma was so charged with by the support of the press and the Mitsubishi interests to overthrow the government and was expelled from the government on 12 October 1881.

Though, to placate public opinion, government announced at the similar time its intention to formulate a constitution in 1889 and call a national assembly in 1890. The Ito-Okuma disagreement, in a sense, forced the government to create a commitment concerning constitutional government and announce a definite date. Though,

Okuma's proposal of the British" model of a cabinet responsible to the parliament did not discover much support and Ito appeared as the father of the Japanese's Constitution which was greatly circumscribed and severely limited.

Ito spent one and half years throughout 1882-1883 in Britain, France and Germany creation an in-depth revise of dissimilar political institutions and seeking a system suited to what he saw as the custom of Japan. Even before Ito left on his revise tour, under the power of Herman Roesler, he had decided to adopt the model of Prussian Constitution. In Germany he had the benefit of the advice of the well-known German scholars Rudolf von Gneist and Lorenz

Von Stein. His revise abroad helped him to arm himself with theoretical knowledge to be used against the critics, who preferred the British model.

On his return he recognized an office for the revise of the constitution. At the similar time he took other steps to build the institutional bases necessary to strengthen the government so that it could deal with the demands of sharing power with political parties. In 1884 he created a new system of peers on the German model for the Home of Peers which would act as a check not only on the popularly elected persons from the Kazoku but also to some high government officials, military and navymen and other prominent persons. Ito himself became a Count as did Yamagata Asitomo. In 1888, a Privy Council was created for examining the constitution but it sustained even after this task was completed to become a strong hold of the oligarchy. Two posts self-governing of the cabinet viz. the Minister of Imperial Household and the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal to be filled only through members of oligarchy, were created to insulate the Imperial institution from the power of political parties in case they were able to form the government. The holdings of the Imperial family were enlarged. Their real property holdings increased through almost 6000 times flanked by 1881 and 1890.

Through 1887 their holdings in stocks and bonds amounted to 8 million yen. So a substantial revenue source had been created which could be tapped through the government for carrying out its plans, even if the future parliament objected to them. Such a source would also not come under the purview of the Diet.

The Dajokan was replaced through a Cabinet system in 1885 with ten ministers including the Prime Minister who was responsible to the Emperor. A new balance was maintained flanked by Satsuma and Choshu with four ministers from each. So, even under the new system the dominance of Satsuma and Choshu sustained. The hopes of the leaders of Popular Rights Movement to break this clique under the new system could not materialize. A civil service system was introduced through which all bureaucrats, with the

exception of a few, were to be recruited through examinations only. Therefore the possibility of political parties introducing their nominees to the higher echelons of bureaucracy, in case they take in excess of power, was eliminated. The bureaucracy could develop as a bulwark for the oligarchy. On explanation of the examination system, bureaucrats usually came through the route of government run middle and high schools, as well as the prestigious Tokyo University. This beside with the traditional fear of government officials as well as their pride of belonging to the Imperial service not only made them a new elitist class but also encouraged their —contempt of the people. Moreover, the higher bureaucracy was even privileged under law and had income from sure laws. It had therefore provided enough safeguards for the citadel of the government even before the principle of decisions being made through public discussion was introduced through the new constitution.

The Constitution

In the summer of 1887, Ito and his three assistants Inoue Kowashi, Kaneko Kantaro and Ito Miyoji prepared the final draft of the Constitution which was checked through Roesler and submitted to the Privy Council. The document was deliberated for six months in the Privy Council headed through Ito. Ito held that the —spirit behind the constitution is to limit the power of the ruler and protect the subject's rights. At the similar time, he held that the constitution was drafted to strengthen the power of the ruler. Hence, it can be said that —the Meiji Constitution was essentially an effort to unite two concepts which were irreconcilable, Imperial absolutism and popular government.

Emperor

The task before Ito and others was how to lay the Emperor, who had his roots in Japan's historical custom, within a constitutional system. They further felt that the Emperor's location in the Constitution had to be so defined that he should not only have supreme political power but also be invested with

a religious role through which he would be the focus of spiritual and moral values of the people.

At the similar time, there was agreement that the powers of the Emperor should be derived from the Constitution and he should not have unlimited powers. So, even while Article 3 of the Constitution stated that —the Emperor is sacred and inviolable, Article 4 of the Constitution stated that the —Emperor being the Head of the Empire, the rights of sovereignty are vested in him and he exercises them in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. The Constitution was promulgated on 11 February 1889 as a gift from the Emperor to the people

February was the Empire day, the day when the first mythological Emperor was said to have ascended the throne. The powers of the Emperor included the following:

- Supreme command in excess of the armed forces.
- Power to declare war, create peace and conclude treaties.
- Power to create appointments of officials and broad executive power.
- Power to convoke the Imperial Diet, open, secure, prorogue and dissolve the Home of representatives.
- While the Diet passed the legislation, the Emperor had a veto power and could also issue ordinances.
- All government officials and Cabinet Ministers were responsible to the Emperor, not the Diet.

The succession to the throne according to the provisions of the Imperial Home Law would develop upon male descendants of the Imperial Home. Amendments to the Imperial Home Law would be decided through the Emperor with the advice of the Imperial Family Council and that of the Privy Council.

The Diet

The Diet consisted of two Homes, the Home of Peers and the Home of Representatives. The Home of Peers would be filled through members of the Imperial family, peers and individuals appointed through the Emperor. It was the Home of Representatives consisting of three hundred members which was to be elected through the people on the foundation of limited franchise. Beside with the Constitution the electoral laws of members of the Home of Representative were also promulgated. Voting rights were limited to men and those who had considerable property (on the average, agricultural property above 2-3 hectares) and who were above 25 years of age. Therefore the number of those who had voting rights was 450,000 men out of a population of 40 million. The Lower Home, which had the people's representatives, had only limited legislative powers since the Emperor and the Home of Peers could veto its legislation. Though, the Diet members had the right to introduce bills. The Lower Home could not introduce any amendment to the Constitution, only the Emperor had this prerogative. The Diet had no power in excess of government officials and also had limited manage in excess of the budget. Sure items in the budget could not be changed and if the Diet failed to pass it, the government was authorized to operate on the foundation of the previous year's budget. Though, Diet's approval was necessary for tax bills. This is where the opposition in the Diet could exercise a sure degree of manage in excess of the executive.

Inspite of its limited powers, the government could not conduct its operations without the co-operation of the Diet. Though, the Diet could not overthrow a Cabinet through a no confidence resolution as the Cabinet was not responsible to the Diet. Both Homes were though given the right to appeal to the Emperor directly and also receive petitions from the people.

The duration of the Diet session was limited to three months usually but could be prolonged through Imperial order. Extraordinary sessions were

also to be determined through Imperial order. The deliberations of both Houses were to be held in public. The House of Representatives was subject to dissolution at the will of the Prime Minister. While the House of Peers could only be prorogued, the members of the Lower House had to be newly elected and the House convoked within five months of dissolution.

The Executive

The Constitution did not specifically lay down the qualifications of persons who could become Ministers. There was no communal responsibility of the Cabinet and each individual minister was responsible to the Emperor. The Privy Council was also given the right to deliberate on significant matters of the State and advise the Emperor. The Privy Council as well as the informal group of *genro* (elder statesmen), which was not a body constituted through the Constitution, though, exercised power in the formation of cabinets, as the Emperor gave approval to the advice given through them. The *genro* for several years was mainly constituted through members of Satsuma-Choshu group. The promulgation of the Constitution, so, could not break the power of the Satsuma-Choshu clique.

The military were directly responsible to one Emperor and the Constitution had no provision subordinating the military to civilian manage. The military through the issue of an Imperial ordinance in 1900, which stipulated that only active Generals and Lieutenant-Generals, as well as the Admirals and Vice Admirals, could hold the posts of War and Navy Minister respectively, strengthened their power to bring down cabinets whose policies they disapproved through resigning their posts and refusing to create new nominations. In information this was extensively done through the military and at a later date contributed to the growth of militarism.

Judiciary

The legal system that appeared under the constitution is defined as —rule-through-law rather than rule-of-law. A hierarchy of courts were recognized like the summary policy courts, district courts, local courts and courts of appeal. The court of cessation heard appeals on points of law from inferior courts. Trials were public but when it was measured prejudicial to law and order, a public trial could be suspended. A separate court system (Court of Administrative Litigation) was set up to deal with cases involving administrative authorities. This meant that administrative abuses could not be brought under the scrutiny of law.

The Constitution guaranteed the people sure rights and liberties, but these were restricted within the —limits of law. Official abuses could not, so be challenged in regular courts of law. In reality, Japanese subjects were only given limited rights and freedom.

Working of the Constitution

The Meiji Constitutional system gave the Emperor several prerogatives. But through convention he could not exercise them through his own will. He had to rely on the advice and consent of the Minister of State and the Imperial Diet. The several state institutions like the Cabinet, the Diet, the Military, Privy Council etc. lived more or less independently. These institutions were integrated through the Emperor, who could not exercise his rights on the foundation of his individual will. In other languages, in the interests of the smooth operation of the national government, mutual co-operation and harmony flanked by the several organs was necessary. Throughout the Meiji era, the genro (Elder Statesmen) collectively performed the functions of the Emperor on his behalf. Since 1910, though, with the decline of the genro the shortcomings of the diffusion of power were revealed. Later there were conflicts flanked by the several power centers. If power was

diffused, responsibility was also defused and with the Emperor also not being held directly responsible, the system led to a sense of —irresponsibility.

The Popular Rights groups showed a favorable attitude towards the Meiji constitution as it had not ruled out party cabinets.

Public discussions in the Diet enabled members to inform the people in relation to the several policies and administrative actions of the government. Although the Diet could not overthrow the government, it could mar the image of the Ministers in the public eye and also intimidate the government through refusing co-operation. Hence the Diet, which was initially measured to be an unavoidable nuisance through the oligarchs, assumed greater importance and led to Ito Hirobumi himself establishing a political party in 1900.

The right of presenting memorials directly to the Emperor was exercised through the Diet members in 1892 for censuring the cabinet when they establish that the ministers did not heed to their views. The Emperor only admonished both the cabinet and the Diet members to compose their differences. In December 1893, the members sent a resolution to the Emperor asking for the dismissal of Premier Ito. The Privy Council, answering for the Emperor issued a statement: —As for the resignation of my Chief Minister, I will not permit outside interference.

Throughout the first five years of constitutional government there were four separate cabinets and three common elections. The frequent dissolution of the Lower House and the violence throughout common elections indicated the intensity of the thrash about for the management of Diet as well as the method in which the Diet members were out-manuevered and rendered ineffective. The parties in the Diet became determined that if they could not manage the government, they would obstruct the government wherever possible. It was the Sino-Japanese War in 1894 which closed the ranks flanked by the oligarchs and the Diet members.

The Constitution referred to the people as subjects and placed more emphasis on their duties than on their rights. The property qualification for voters made members representative of elite classes only and they in turn passed Peace Preservation Laws, which further limited the people's freedom.

The Constitution makers of Japan did not really wish to introduce democracy in Japan. Hence, it cannot be described —the failure of the first effort as stated through Robert A. Scalapino. They wanted a strong unified government which would achieve the goals of structure a —rich country and a strong army with limited participation through the public. The limited franchise opened up the movement for extension of suffrage which finally culminated in the grant of Adult Male Suffrage in 1925.

THE CHINESE REVOLUTION OF 1911

The Xinhai Revolution, or the Hsin-hai Revolution, also recognized as the Revolution of 1911 or the Chinese Revolution, was a revolution that overthrew China's last imperial dynasty, the Qing Dynasty, and recognized the Republic of China. The revolution was named Xinhai (Hsin-hai) because it occurred in 1911, the year of the Xinhai stem-branch in the sexagenary cycle of the Chinese calendar.

The revolution consisted of several revolts and uprisings. The turning point was the Wuchang Uprising on October 10, 1911, that was a result of the mishandling of the Railway Protection Movement. The revolution ended with the abdication of the "Last Emperor" Puyi on February 12, 1912, that marked the end of in excess of 2,000 years of imperial rule and the beginning of China's republican era.

The revolution arose mainly in response to the decline of the Qing state, which had proven ineffective in its efforts to modernize China and confront foreign aggression, and was exacerbated through ethnic resentment against the ruling Manchu minority. Several underground anti-Qing groups, with the support of Chinese revolutionaries in exile, tried to overthrow the Qing. The brief civil war that ensued was ended through a political

compromise flanked by Yuan Shikai, the late Qing military strongman, and Sun Yat-sen, the leader of the Tongmenghui (United League). After the Qing court transferred power to the newly founded republic, a provisional coalition government was created beside with the National Assembly. Though, political power of the new national government in Beijing was soon thereafter monopolized through Yuan and led to decades of political division and warlordism, including many attempts at imperial restoration.

Today, both the Republic of China in Taiwan and the People's Republic of China on the mainland consider themselves to be successors to the Xinhai Revolution and continue to pay homage to the ideals of the revolution including nationalism, republicanism, modernization of China and national unity. October 10 is commemorated in Taiwan as Double Ten Day, the National Day of the Republic of China. In mainland China, Hong Kong and Macau, the similar day is usually celebrated as the Anniversary of the Xinhai Revolution. Several overseas Chinese also celebrate the anniversary in Chinatowns crossways the world.

Background

After suffering its first defeat to the West in the First Opium War in 1842, the Qing court struggled to contain foreign intrusions into China. Efforts to adjust and reform the traditional methods of governance were constrained through a deeply conservative court culture where ethnic Manchu rulers did not want to provide too much power to the Han Chinese majority.

In the wars against the Taiping (1851–64), Nien (1851–1868), Muslims of Yunnan (1856–1868) and the Northwest (1862–1877), the traditional Manchu armies proved themselves incompetent, and the court came to rely on local Han armies.

Following defeat in the Second Opium War, the Qing tried to modernize through adopting sure Western technologies through the Self-Strengthening Movement from 1861. In 1895, China suffered a serious defeat throughout the First Sino-Japanese War. This demonstrated that traditional Chinese feudal society also needed to be modernized if the technological and

commercial advancements were to succeed. In 1898, Emperor Guangxu was guided through reformers like Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao for a drastic reform in education, military and economy under the Hundred Days' Reform. The reform was a failure, as it was ended prematurely through a conservative coup led through Empress Dowager Cixi. Emperor Guangxu, who had always been a puppet emperor dependent on Cixi, was put under home arrest in June 1898. Reformers Kang and Liang would be exiled. While in Canada, in June 1899, they tried to form the Emperor Protection Society in an effort to restore the emperor. Empress Cixi mainly controlled the Qing dynasty from this point on. The Boxer Rebellion prompted another foreign invasion of Beijing in 1900 and the imposition of unequal treaty conditions, which carved absent territories, created extraterritorial concessions and gave absent trade privileges. Under internal and external pressure, the Qing court began to adopt some of the reforms. The Qing supervised to uphold its monopoly on political power through suppressing, often with great brutality, all domestic rebellions. Dissidents could operate only in secret civilizations and underground organizations, in foreign concessions or in exile overseas.

Organization for Revolution

Earliest Groups

There were several revolutionaries and groups that wanted to overthrow the Qing government to re-set up a Han Chinese government. The earliest revolutionary organizations were founded outside of China, such as Yeung Kui-wan's Furen Literary Society, created in Hong Kong in 1890. There were fifteen members, including Tse Tsan-tai, who did political satire such as "The Situation in the Distant East"; one of the first ever Chinese manhua, and who later became one of the core founders of the *South China Morning Post*.

Sun Yat-sen's Xingzhonghui (Revive China Society) was recognized in Honolulu in 1894 with the main purpose of raising funds for revolutions. The two organizations were merged in 1894.

Smaller Groups

The Huaxinghui (China Revival Society) was founded in 1904 with notables like Huang Xing, Zhang Shizhao, Chen Tianhua and Song Jiaoren, beside with 100 others. Their motto was "Take one province through force, and inspire the other provinces to rise up".

The Guangfuhui (Restoration Society) was also founded in 1904, in Shanghai with Cai Yuanpei. Other notable members contain Zhang Binglin and Tao Chengzhang. Despite professing the anti-Qing cause, the Guangfuhui was highly critical of Sun Yat-sen. One of the mainly well-known female revolutionaries was Qiu Jin, who fought for women's rights and was also from Guangfuhui.

There were also several other minor revolutionary organizations, such as Lizhi Xuehui in Jiangsu, Gongchanghui in Sichuan, Yiwenhui and Hanzhudulihui in Fujian, Yizhahui in Jiangxi, Yuewanghui in Anhui and Qunzhahui in Guangzhou.

There were also criminal organizations that were anti-Manchu, including the Green Gang and Hongmen Zhigongtang. Sun Yat-sen himself came in get in touch with the Hongmen, also recognized as Tiandihui (Heaven and Earth society).

Gelaohui (Elder Brother society) was another group, with Zhu De, Wu Yuzhang, Liu Zhidan and Helong. This is the revolutionary group that would eventually develop a strong link with the later Communist Party.

Tongmenghui

Sun Yat-sen successfully united the Revive China Society, Huaxinghui and Guangfuhui in the summer of 1905, thereby establishing the unified Tongmenghui (United League) in August 1905 in Tokyo. While it started in Tokyo, it had loose organizations distributed crossways and outside the country. Sun Yat-sen was the leader of this unified group. Other revolutionaries who worked with the Tongmenghui contain Wang Jingwei and Hu Hanmin. When the Tongmenhui was recognized, more than 90% of the Tongmenhui members were flanked by 17 and 26 years of age. Some of the

work in the era comprises manhua publications, such as the *Journal of Current Pictorial*.

Later Groups

In February 1906, Rizhihui also had several revolutionaries, including Sun Wu, Zhang Nanxian, He Jiwei and Feng Mumin. A nucleus of attendees of this conference evolved into the Tongmenhui's establishment in Hubei.

In July 1907, many members of Tongmenhui in Tokyo advocated a revolution in the region of the Yangtze River. Liu Quiyi, Jiao Dafeng, Zhang Boxiang and Sun Wu recognized Gongjinhui. In January 1911, the revolutionary group Zhengwu Xueshe was renamed as Wenxueshe. Jiang Yiwu was chosen as the leader. These two organizations would play a big role in the Wuchang Uprising.

Views

Several revolutionaries promoted anti-Qing/anti-Manchu sentiments and revived memories of disagreement flanked by the ethnic minority Manchu and the ethnic majority Han Chinese from the late Ming Dynasty. Leading intellectuals were influenced through books that had survived from the last years of the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644), the last dynasty of Han Chinese. In 1904, Sun Yat-sen announced that his organization's goal was "to expel the Tatar barbarians, to revive Zhonghua, to set up a Republic, and to distribute land equally in the middle of the people." Several of the underground groups promoted the thoughts of "Resist Qing and restore Ming" that had been approximately since the days of the Taiping Rebellion. Others, such as Zhang Binglin, supported straight-up rows like "slay the manchus" and concepts like "Anti-Manchuism".

Strata and Groups

The Xinhai Revolution was supported through several groups, including students and intellectuals who returned from abroad, as well as participants of the revolutionary organizations, overseas Chinese, soldiers of the new army, local gentry, farmers and others.

Overseas Chinese

Assistance from overseas Chinese was significant in the Xinhai Revolution. In 1894, the first year of the Revive China Society, the first meeting ever held through the group was held in the house of Ho Fon, an overseas Chinese who was the leader of the first Chinese Church of Christ. Overseas Chinese supported and actively participated in the funding of revolutionary behaviors, especially the Southeast Asia Chinese of Malaya (Singapore and Malaysia). Several of these groups were reorganized through Sun, who was referred to as the "mother of the Chinese revolution".

Newly Appeared Intellectuals

In 1906, after the abolition of the imperial examinations, the Qing government recognized several new schools and encouraged students to revise abroad. Several young people attended the new schools or went abroad to revise in spaces like Japan. A new class of intellectuals appeared from those students, who contributed immensely to the Xinhai Revolution. Besides Sun Yat-sen, key figures in the revolution, such as Huang Xing, Song Jiaoren, Hu Hanmin, Liao Zhongkai, Zhu Zhixin and Wang Jingwei, were all Chinese students in Japan. Some were young students like Zou Rong, recognized for writing the book *Revolutionary Army*, in which he talked in relation to the extermination of the Manchus for the 260 years of oppression, sorrow, cruelty and tyranny and turned the sons and grandsons of Yellow Emperor into George Washington.

Before 1908, revolutionaries focused on coordinating these organizations in preparation for uprisings that these organizations would launch; hence, these groups would give mainly of the manpower needed for the overthrow of the Qing Dynasty. After the Xinhai Revolution, Sun Yat-sen recalled the days of recruiting support for the revolution and said, "The literati were deeply into the search for honors and profits, so they were regarded as having only secondary importance. Through contrast, organizations like Sanhehui were able to sow widely the thoughts of resisting the Qing and restoring the Ming."

Gentry and Businessmen

The strength of the gentry in local politics had become apparent. From December 1908, the Qing government created some tools to allow the gentry and businessmen to participate in politics. These middle-class people were originally supporters of constitutionalism. Though, they became disenchanted when the Qing government created a cabinet with Prince Qing as prime minister. Through early 1911, an experimental cabinet had thirteen members, nine of whom were Manchus selected from the imperial family.

Foreigners

Besides Chinese and overseas Chinese, some of the supporters and participants of the Xinhai Revolution were foreigners; in the middle of them, the Japanese were the mainly active group. Some Japanese even became members of Tongmenghui. Miyazaki Touten was the closest Japanese supporter; others incorporated Heiyama Shu and Ryōhei Uchida. British soldier Rowland J. Mulkern also took part in the revolution. Some foreigners, such as English explorer Arthur de Carle Sowerby, led expeditions to rescue foreign missionaries in 1911 and 1912.

Soldiers of the New Armies

The New Army was shaped in 1901 after the defeat of the Qings in the First Sino-Japanese war. They were launched through a decree from eight provinces. New Army troops were through distant the best trained and equipped. The recruits were of a higher excellence than the old army and received regular promotions. Beginning in 1908, the revolutionaries began to shift their call to the new armies. Sun Yat-sen and the revolutionaries infiltrated the New Army.

Uprisings and Incidents

The common focus of the uprisings were those that bounded the Tongmenghui and Sun Yat-sen, including the smaller groups within. Some uprisings below involve groups that never merged with the Tongmenghui. Sun

Yat-sen may have participated in 8–10 uprisings; all uprisings prior to the Wuchang Uprising had failed.

First Guangzhou Uprising

In the spring of 1895, the Revive China Society, which was based in Hong Kong, planned the First Guangzhou Uprising. Lu Haodong was tasked with designing the revolutionaries' Blue Sky with a White Sun flag. On October 26, 1895, Yeung Kui-wan and Sun Yat-sen led Zhen Shiliang and Lu Haodong to Guangzhou, preparing to capture Guangzhou in one strike. Though, the details of their plans were leaked to the Qing government. The government began to arrest revolutionaries, including Lu Haodong, who was later executed. The first Guangzhou uprising was a failure. Under pressure from the Qing government, the government of Hong Kong forbade these two men to enter the territory for five years. Sun Yat-sen went into exile, promoting the Chinese revolution and raising funds in Japan, the United States, Canada and Britain. In 1901, Yeung Kui-wan was assassinated through Qing mediators in Hong Kong. After his death, his family protected his identity through not putting his name on his tomb, presently a number: 6348.

Independence Army Uprising

In 1901, after the Boxer Rebellion started, Tang Caichang and Tan Sitong of the previous Foot Emancipation Society organized the Independence Army. The Independence Army Uprising was planned to happen on August 23, 1900. Their goal was to overthrow Empress Dowager Cixi to set up a constitutional monarchy under Emperor Guangxu. Their plot was exposed through the governor common of Hunan and Hubei. In relation to the twenty conspirators were arrested and executed.

Huizhou Uprising

On October 8, 1900, Sun Yat-sen ordered the launch of the Huizhou Uprising. The revolutionary army was led through Zheng Shiliang and initially incorporated 20,000 men, who fought for half a month. Though, after the Japanese Prime Minister prohibited Sun Yat-sen from carrying out

revolutionary behaviors on Taiwan, Zheng Shiliang had no choice but to order the army to disperse. This uprising so also failed. British soldier Rowland J. Mulkern participated in this uprising.

Great Ming Uprising

A very short uprising occurred from January 25 to 28, 1903, to set up a "Great Ming Heavenly kingdom". This involved Tse Tsan-tai, Li Jitong, Liang Muguang and Hong Chunfu, who formerly took part in the Jintian Uprising throughout the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom era.

Ping-liu-li Uprising

Ma Fuyi and Huaxinghui was involved in an uprising in the three regions of Pingxiang, Liuyang and Liling, described "Ping-liu-li Uprising", in 1905. The uprising recruited miners as early as 1903 to rise against the Qing ruling class. After the uprising failed, Ma Fuyi was executed.

Beijing Zhengyangmen East Railway Assassination Effort

Wu Yue of Guangfuhui accepted out an assassination effort at the Beijing Zhengyangmen East Railway station in an attack on five Qing officials on September 24, 1905.

Huanggang Uprising

The Huanggang Uprising was launched on May 22, 1907, in Chaozhou. The Revolutionary party, beside with Xu Xueqiu, Chen Yongpo and Yu Tongshi, launched the uprising and captured Huanggang municipality. Other Japanese that followed contain and. After the uprising began, the Qing government quickly and forcefully suppressed it. Approximately 200 revolutionaries were killed.

Huizhou Seven Women Lake Uprising

In the similar year, Sun Yat-sen sent more revolutionaries to Huizhou to launch the "Huizhou Seven Women Lake Uprising". On June 2, Deng Zhiyu and Chen Chuan gathered some followers, and jointly, they seized Qing arms in the lake, 20 km (12 mi) from Huizhou. They killed many Qing

soldiers and attacked Taiwei on the 5th. The Qing army fled in disorder, and the revolutionaries exploited the opportunity, capturing many towns. They defeated the Qing army once again in Bazhiyie. Several organizations voiced their support after the uprising, and the number of revolutionary forces increased to two hundred men at its height. The uprising, though, ultimately failed.

Anqing Uprising

On July 6, 1907, Xu Xilin of Guangfuhui led an uprising in Anqing, Anhui, which became recognized as the Anqing Uprising. Xu Xilin at the time was the police commissioner as well as the supervisor of the police academy. He led an uprising that was to assassinate the provincial governor of Anhui, En Ming. They were defeated after four hours of fighting. Xu was captured, and En Ming's bodyguards cut out his heart and liver and ate them. His cousin Qiu Jin was executed a few days later.

Qinzhou Uprising

From August to September 1907, the Qinzhou Uprising occurred, to protest against heavy taxation from the government. Sun Yat-sen sent Wang Heshun there to assist the revolutionary army and captured the county in September. After that, they attempted to besiege and capture Qinzhou, but they were unsuccessful. They eventually retreated to the region of Shiwandashan, while Wang Heshun returned to Vietnam.

Zhennanguan Uprising

On December 1, 1907, the Zhennanguan Uprising took place at Zhennanguan, a pass on the Chinese-Vietnamese border. Sun Yat-sen sent Huang Mintang to monitor the pass, which was guarded through a fort. With the assistance of supporters in the middle of the fort's defenders, the revolutionaries captured the cannon tower in Zhennanguan. Sun Yat-sen, Huang Xing and Hu Hanmin personally went to the tower to command the battle. The Qing government sent troops to counterattack, and the revolutionaries were forced to retreat into mountainous regions. After the

failure of this uprising, Sun was forced to move to Singapore due to anti-Sun sentiments within the revolutionary groups. He would not return to the mainland until after the Wuchang Uprising.

Qin-lian Uprising

On March 27, 1908, Huang Xing launched a raid, later recognized as the Qin-lian Uprising, from a base in Vietnam and attacked the municipalities of Qinzhou and Lianzhou in Guangdong. The thrash about sustained for fourteen days but was forced to terminate after the revolutionaries ran out of supplies.

Hekou Uprising

In April 1908, another uprising was launched in Yunnan, Hekou, described the Hekou Uprising. Huang Mingtang led two hundred men from Vietnam and attacked Hekou on April 30. Other revolutionaries who participated contain Wang Heshun and Guan Renfu. They were outnumbered and defeated through government troops, though, and the uprising failed.

Mapaoying Uprising

On November 19, 1908, the Mapaoying Uprising was launched through revolutionary group Yuewanghui member Xiong Chenggei at Anhui. Yuewanghui, at this time, was a subset of Tongmenghui. This uprising also failed.

Gengxu New Army Uprising

In February 1910, the Gengxu New Army Uprising, also recognized as the Guangzhou New Army Uprising took lay. This involved a disagreement flanked by the citizens and local police against the New Army. After revolutionary leader Ni Yingdian was killed through Qing forces, the remaining revolutionaries were quickly defeated, causing the uprising to fail.

Second Guangzhou Uprising

On April 27, 1911, an uprising occurred in Guangzhou, recognized as the Second Guangzhou Uprising or Yellow Flower Mound Revolt. It ended in

disaster, as only 72 bodies were ever established. The 72 revolutionaries were remembered as martyrs. Revolutionary Lin Jue-min was one of the 72. On the eve of battle, he wrote the legendary "A Letter to My Wife", later to be measured as a masterpiece in Chinese literature.

Wuchang Uprising

The Literary Society and the Progressive Association were revolutionary organizations involved in the uprising that mainly began with a Railway Protection Movement protest. In the late summer, some Hubei New Army units were ordered to neighboring Sichuan to quell the Railway Protection Movement, a mass protest against the Qing government's seizure and handover of local railway development ventures to foreign powers. Banner officers like Duanfang, the railroad superintendent, and Zhao Erfeng led the New Army against the Railway Protection Movement.

The New Army units of Hubei had originally been the Hubei Army, which had been trained through Qing official Zhang Zhidong. On September 24, the Literary Society and Progressive Association convened a conference in Wuchang, beside with sixty representatives from local New Army units. Throughout the conference, they recognized a headquarters for the uprising. The leaders of the two organizations, Jiang Yiwu and Sun Wu, were elected as commander and chief of staff. Initially, the date of the uprising was to be October 6, 1911. It was postponed to a later date due to insufficient preparations.

Revolutionaries intent on overthrowing the Qing dynasty had built bombs, and on October 9, one accidentally exploded. Sun Yat-sen himself had no direct part in the uprising and was traveling in the United States at the time in an effort to recruit more support from in the middle of overseas Chinese. The Qing Viceroy of Huguang, Rui Cheng, tried to track down and arrest the revolutionaries. Squad leader Xiong Bingkun and others decided not to delay the uprising any longer and launched the revolt on October 10, 1911, at 7 pm. The revolt was a success; the whole municipality of Wuchang was captured through the revolutionaries on the morning of October 11. That evening, they recognized a tactical headquarters and announced the establishment of the

"Military Government of Hubei of Republic of China". The conference chose Li Yuanhong as the governor of the temporary government. Qing officers like the bannermen Duanfang and Zhao Erfeng were killed through the revolutionary forces.

After Wuchang, Echoes from other Provinces

After the success of the Wuchang Uprising, several other uprisings occurred in other municipalities and towns in other provinces. Several of the uprisings were followed up with restorations. Some uprisings were more of a revolt for independence, and some were protests or rebellions against local officials, but the outcome was that basically all provinces in the country renounced the Qing dynasty and joined the Republic of China.

Changsha Restoration

On October 22, 1911, the Hunan Tongmenghui were led through Jiao Dafeng and Chen Zuoxin. They headed an armed group, consisting partly of revolutionaries from Hongjiang and partly of defecting New Army units, in a campaign to extend the uprising into Changsha. They captured the municipality and killed the local Imperial common. Then they announced the establishment of the Hunan Military Government of the Republic of China and announced their opposition to the Qing Empire.

Shaanxi Uprising

On the similar day, Shaanxi's Tongmenghui, led through Jing Dingcheng and Qian ding as well as Jing Wumu and others including Gelaohui, launched an uprising and captured Xi'an after two days of thrash about. The Muslim common Ma Anliang led more than twenty battalions of Hui Muslim troops to defend the Qings and attacked Shaanxi, held through revolutionary Zhang Fenghui. The attack was successful, but when news arrived that the Qing emperor Puyi was in relation to the to abdicate, Ma agreed to join the new Republic. The revolutionaries recognized the "Qinlong Fuhan Military Government" and elected Zhang Fenghui, a member of the Yuanrizhi Society as new governor. Xi'an Manchu municipality finally fell on

October 24, after a massacre of its Manchu residents. Several of its Manchu defenders committed suicide, including Qing commoner Wenrui, who threw himself down a well.

Jiujiang Uprising

On October 23, Lin Sen, Jiang Qun, Cai Hui and other members of the Tongmenghui in the province of Jiangxi plotted a revolt of New Army units. After they achieved victory, they announced their independence. The Jiujiang Military Government was then recognized.

Shanxi Taiyuan Uprising

On October 29, Yan Xishan of the New Army led an uprising in Taiyuan, the capital municipality of the province of Shanxi, beside with Yao Yijie, Huang Guoliang, Wen Shouquan, Li Chenglin, Zhang Shuzhi and Qiao Xi. They supervised to kill the Qing Governor of Shanxi, Lu Zhongqi. They then announced the establishment of Shanxi Military Government with Yan Xishan as the military governor. Yan Xishan would later become one of the warlords that plagued China throughout what was recognized as "the warlord era".

Kunming Double Ninth Uprising

On October 30, Li Genyuan of the Tongmenghui in Yunnan province joined with Cai E, Luo Peijin, Tang Jiyao, and other officers of the New Army to launch the Double Ninth Uprising. They captured Kunming the after that day and recognized the Yunnan Military Government, electing Cai E as the military governor.

Nanchang Restoration

On October 31, the Nanchang branch of the Tongmenghui led New Army units in a successful uprising. They recognized the Jiangxi Military Government. Li Liejun was elected as the military governor. Li declared Jiangxi as self-governing and launched an expedition against Qing official Yuan Shikai.

Shanghai Armed Uprising

On November 3, Shanghai's Tongmenghui, Guangfuhui and merchants led through Chen Qimei, Li Pingsu, Zhang Chengyou, Li Yingshi, Li Xiehe and Song Jiaoren organized an armed rebellion in Shanghai. They received the support of local police officers. The rebels captured the Jiangnan Workshop on the 4th and captured Shanghai soon after. On November 8, they recognized the Shanghai Military Government and elected Chen Qimei as the military governor. He would eventually become one of the founders of the ROC four big families, beside with some of the mainly well-recognized families of the era.

Guizhou Uprising

On November 4, Zhang Bailin of the revolutionary party in Guizhou led an uprising beside with New Army units and students from the military academy. They immediately captured Guiyang and recognized the Great Han Guizhou Military Government, electing Yang Jincheng and Zhao Dequan as the chief and vice governor.

Zhejiang Uprising

Also on November 4, revolutionaries in Zhejiang urged the New Army units in Hangzhou to launch an uprising. Zhu Rui, Wu Siyu, Lu Gongwang and others of the New Army captured the military supplies workshop. Other units, led through Chiang Kai-shek and Yin Zhirei, captured mainly of the government offices. Eventually, Hangzhou was under the manage of the revolutionaries, and the constitutionist Tang Shouqian was elected as the military governor.

Jiangsu Restoration

On November 5, Jiangsu constitutionists and gentry urged Qing governor Cheng Dequan to announce independence and recognized the Jiangsu Revolutionary Military Government with Cheng himself as the governor. Unlike some of the other municipalities, anti-Manchu violence began after the restoration on November 7 in Zhenjiang. Qing common Zaimu

agreed to surrender, but because of a misunderstanding, the revolutionaries were unaware that their safety was guaranteed. The Manchu quarters were ransacked, and an strange number of Manchus were killed. Zaimu, feeling betrayed, committed suicide. This is regarded as the Zhenjiang Uprising.

Anhui Uprising

Members of Anhui's Tongmenghui also launched an uprising on that day and laid siege to the provincial capital. The constitutionists persuaded Zhu Jiabao, the Qing Governor of Anhui, to announce independence.

Guangxi Uprising

On November 7, the Guangxi politics department decided to secede from the Qing government, announcing Guangxi's independence. Qing Governor Shen Bingkun was allowed to remain governor, but Lu Rongting would soon become the new governor. Lu Rongting would later rise to prominence throughout the "warlord era" as one of the warlords, and his bandits controlled Guangxi for more than a decade.

Fujian Independence

In November, members of Fujian's branch of the Tongmenghui, beside with Sun Daoren of the New Army, launched an uprising against the Qing army. The Qing viceroy, Song Shou, committed suicide. On November 11, the whole Fujian province declared independence. The Fujian Military Government was recognized, and Sun Daoren was elected as the military governor.

Guangdong Independence

In November, members of Fujian's branch of the Tongmenghui, beside with Sun Daoren of the New Army, launched an uprising against the Qing army. The Qing viceroy, Song Shou, committed suicide. On November 11, the whole Fujian province declared independence. The Fujian Military Government was recognized, and Sun Daoren was elected as the military governor.

Guangdong Independence

On November 13, persuaded through revolutionary Din Weifen and many other officers of the New Army, the Qing governor of Shandong, Sun Baoqi, agreed to secede from the Qing government and announced Shandong's independence.

Ningxia Uprising

On November 17, Ningxia the Tongmenghui launched the Ningxia Uprising. The revolutionaries sent Yu Youren to Zhangjiachuan to meet Dungan Sufi master Ma Yuanzhang to persuade him not to support the Qing. Though, Ma did not want to endanger his connection with the Qings. He sent the eastern Gansu Muslim militia under the command of one of his sons to help Ma Qi crush the Ningxia Gelaohui. The Ningxia Revolutionary Military Government was recognized on November 23. Some of the revolutionaries involved incorporated Huang Yue and Xiang Shen, who gathered New Army forces at Qinzhou.

Sichuan Independence

On November 21, Guang'an organized the Great Han shu northern Military Government.

On November 22, Chengdu and Sichuan began to declare independence. Through the 27th, the Great Han Sichuan Military Government was recognized, headed through revolutionary Pu Dianzun. Qing official Duan Fang would also be killed.

Nanking Uprising

On November 8, supported through the Tongmenghui, Xu Shaozhen of the New Army announced an uprising in Molin Pass, 30 km (19 mi) absent from Nanking Municipality. Xu Shaozhen, Chen Qimei and other generals decided to form a united army under Xu to strike Nanking jointly. On November 11, the united army headquarters was recognized in Zhenjiang. Flanked by November 24 and December 1, under the command of Xu Shaozhen, the united army captured Wulongshan, Mufushan, Yuhuatai,

Tianbao Municipality and several other strongholds of the Qing army. On December 2, Nanking Municipality was captured through the revolutionaries after the Battle of Nanking. On December 3, revolutionary Su Liangbi led troops in a massacre of a big number of Manchus. He was shortly afterward arrested, and his troops disbanded.

Tibetan Independence

In 1905, the Qing sent Zhao Erfeng to Tibet to retaliate against rebellions. Through 1908, Zhao was appointed imperial resident in Lhasa. Zhao was beheaded in December 1911 through pro-Republican forces. The bulk of the region that was historically recognized as Kham was now the Xikang Administrative District, created through the Republican revolutionaries. Through the end of 1912, the last Manchu troops were escorted out of Tibet. Thubten Gyatso, the 13th Dalai Lama, returned to Tibet in January 1913 from Sikkim, where he had been residing. When the new ROC government apologized for the actions of the Qing and offered to restore the Dalai Lama to his former location, he replied that he was not interested in Chinese ranks, that Tibet had never been subordinated to China, that Tibet was an self-governing country, and that he was assuming the spiritual and political leadership of Tibet. Because of this, several have read this reply as a formal declaration of independence. The Chinese face ignored the response, and Tibet had thirty years free of interference from China.

Mongolian Independence

At the end of 1911, the Mongols took action with an armed revolt against the Manchu authorities but was unsuccessful in the effort. An independence movement took lay that was not limited to presently North Mongolia but was a pan-Mongolian phenomenon. On December 29, 1911, Bogd Khan became the leader of the Mongol empire. Inner Mongolia became a contested terrain flanked by Khan and the Republic. In common, Russia supported the Independence of Outer Mongolia (including Tannu Uriankhai) throughout the time of the Xinhai Revolution. Tibet and Mongolia then recognized each other in a treaty.

Dihua and Yili Uprising

In Xinjiang on December 28, Liu Xianzun and the revolutionaries started the Dihua Uprising. This was led through more than 100 members of Geilaohui. This uprising failed. On January 7, 1912, the Yili Uprising with Feng Temin began. Qing governor Yuan Dahua fled and handed in excess of his resignation to Yang Zengxin, because he could not handle fighting the revolutionaries.

In the morning of January 8, a new Yili government was recognized for the revolutionaries, but the revolutionaries would be defeated at Jinghe in January and February. Eventually because of the abdication to come, Yuan Shikai recognized Yang Zengxin's rule, appointed him Governor of Xinjiang and had the province join the Republic. Eleven more former Qing officials would be assassinated in Zhenxi, Karashahr, Aksu, Kucha, Luntai and Kashgar in April and May 1912.

Taiwan Uprising

In 1911 as part of the Xinhai Revolution, Tongmenghui sent Luo Fuxing to Taiwan island to free it from being occupied through the Japanese. The goal was to bring Taiwan island back to the Chinese Republic through having the Taiwan Uprising. Luo was caught and killed on March 3, 1914. What was left was recognized as the "Miaoli incident", where more than 1,000 Taiwanese were executed through the Japanese police. Luo's sacrifice is commemorated in Miaoli.

Change of Government

North: Qing Court Last Transformation Effort

On November 1, 1911, the Qing government appointed Yuan Shikai as the prime minister of the imperial cabinet, replacing Prince Qing. On November 3, the Qing court passed the Nineteen Articles, which turned the Qing from an autocratic system with the emperor having unlimited power to a constitutional monarchy. On November 9, Huang Xing even cabled Yuan

Shikai and invited him to join the Republic. The court changes were too late, and the emperor was in relation to the to have to step down.

South: Government in Nanking

On November 28, 1911, Wuchang and Hanyang had fallen back to the Qing army. So for safety, the revolutionaries convened their first conference at the British concession in Hankou on November 30. Through December 2, the revolutionary forces were able to capture Nanking in the uprising; the revolutionaries decided to create it the location of the new provisional government. At the time, Beijing was still the Qing capital.

North-South Conference

On December 18, the North-South Conference was held in Shanghai to talk about the north and south issues. Yuan Shikai selected Tang Shaoyi as his representative. Tang left Beijing for Wuhan to negotiate with the revolutionaries. The revolutionaries chose Wu Tingfang. With the intervention of six foreign powers, the UK, the US, Germany, Russia, Japan, and France, Tang Shaoyi and Wu Tingfang began to negotiate a resolution at the British concession. Foreign businessman Edward Selby Little acted as the negotiator and facilitated the peace agreement. They agreed that Yuan Shikai would force the Qing Emperor to abdicate in swap for the southern provinces' support of Yuan as the president of the Republic. After considering the possibility that the new republic might be defeated in a civil war or through foreign invasion, Sun Yat-sen agreed to Yuan's proposal to unify China under Yuan Shikai's Beijing government. Further decisions were made to let the emperor rule in excess of his little court in the New Summer Palace. He would be treated as a ruler of a separate country and have expenses of many million taels in silver.

Establishment of the Republic

Republic of China Declared and National Flag Issue

On December 29, 1911, Sun Yat-sen was elected as the first provisional president. January 1, 1912, was set as the first day of the First

Year of the Republic of China. On January 3, the representatives recommended Li Yuanhong as the provisional vice president.

Throughout and after the Xinhai Revolution, several groups that participated wanted their own pennant as the national flag. Throughout the Wuchang Uprising, the military units of Wuchang wanted the nine-star flag with Taijitu. Others in competition incorporated Lu Hao-tung's Blue Sky and White Sun flag. Huang Xing favored a flag bearing the mythical "well-field" system of village agriculture. In the end, the assembly compromised: the national flag would be the banner of Five Races Under One Union. The Five Races Under One Union flag with horizontal stripes represented the five major nationalities of the republic. The red represented Han, the yellow represented Manchus, the blue for Mongols, the white for Tibetans, and the black for Muslims. Despite the common target of the uprisings to be the Manchus, Sun Yat-sen, Song Jiaoren and Huang Xing unanimously advocated racial integration to be accepted out from the mainland to the frontiers.

Donghuamen Incident

On January 16, while returning to his residence, Yuan Shikai was ambushed in a bomb attack organized through the Tongmenghui in Donghuamen, Tientsin, Beijing. A total of eighteen revolutionaries were involved. In relation to the ten of the guards died, but Yuan himself was not seriously injured. He sent a message to the revolutionaries the after that day pledging his loyalty and asking them not to organize any more assassination attempts against him.

Abdication of the Emperor

On January 20, Wu Tingfang of the Nanking Provisional Government officially delivered the imperial edict of abdication to Yuan Shikai the conditions for the abdication of Qing Emperor Xuantong Puyi. It was drafted through Zhang Jian, and was approved through the Provisional senate. On January 22, Sun Yat-sen announced that if Yuan Shikai supported the emperor's abdication, he (Sun Yat-sen) would resign the presidency in favor of Yuan Shikai. After Yuan received this promise, he sped up the procedure. He

threatened Empress Longyu that if the revolutionaries come to Beijing, the lives of the royal family would not be spared, but if they agree to abdicate, the conditions for their abdication would be honored.

On February 3, Empress Longyu gave Yuan Shikai full permission to negotiate the conditions for the abdication of the Qing Emperor. Yuan then drew up his own version and forwarded it back to the revolutionaries on February 3. His version consisted of three sections instead of two. On February 12, 1912, after being persuaded and pressured through Yuan Shikai and other ministers, Puyi (age six) and Empress Longyu accepted the conditions for the imperial family's abdication.

Change of Capital

Dong'anmen Gate Incident

The revolutionaries were trying to lure Yuan Shikai to the South. Through creation Yuan the president of the southern Nanking-based provisional government, he would have to provide up his military power base in the North. In February 1912, troops were looting shops and stealing from rich commercial regions. They then burned down the Dong'anmen gate on the wall nearby the Imperial Municipality. Thousands of people were killed. This mutiny was actually ordered through Yuan and Cao Kun. Yuan intimidated the revolutionaries and made it clear that the new government would have to go to him in Beijing; he was not going to the South. This was an excuse to move the capital of the new republic from Nanking back to Beijing.

Government in Beijing

On March 10, 1912, Yuan Shikai was sworn as the second Provisional President of the Republic of China in Beijing. The government based in Beijing, described the Beiyang Government, was internationally recognized as the legitimate government of the Republic of China until 1928, so the era from 1912 until 1928 was recognized basically as the "Beiyang Era". The first National Assembly election took lay according to the Provisional Constitution. While in Beijing, the Kuomintang (KMT) was shaped on August 25, 1912.

The KMT won the majority seats after the election. Song Jiaoren was elected as premier. Though, Song was assassinated in Shanghai on March 20, 1913, under the secret order of Yuan Shikai.

Legacy

Social Power

After the revolution, there was a vast outpouring of anti-Manchu literature. One instance is Wang Xiuchu's graphical explanation of the ten-day Chinese massacre in Yangzhou. Others are *A Short History of Slaves* and *The Biographies of Avaricious Officials and Corrupt Personnel* through Laoli. Several other books were written in relation to the era. Throughout the abdication of the last emperor, Empress Longyu, Yuan Shikai and Sun Yat-sen both tried to adopt the concept of "Manchu and Han as one family". People started exploring and debating with themselves on the root cause of their national weakness. This new search of identity was the New Culture Movement. Manchu culture and language, on the contrary, has become virtually extinct through 2007.

Unlike revolutions in the West, the Xinhai Revolution did not restructure society. The participants of the Xinhai Revolution were mostly military personnel, old-kind bureaucrats, and local gentries. These people still held local power after the Xinhai Revolution. Some became warlords. There were no major improvements in the average of livelihood. Writer Lu Xun commented in 1921 throughout the publishing of *The True Story of Ah Q*, ten years after the Xinhai Revolution, that basically nothing changed except "the Manchus have left the kitchen". The economic troubles were not addressed until the governance of Chiang Ching-kuo in Taiwan and Deng Xiaoping on the mainland.

The Xinhai Revolution mainly got rid of feudalism (fengjian) from Late Imperial China. In the usual view of historians, there are two restorations of feudal power after the revolution: the first was Yuan Shikai; the second was Zhang Xun. Both were unsuccessful, but the "feudal remnants" returned to China with the Cultural Revolution in a concept described guanxi, where

people relied not on feudal relationships, but personal relationships, for survival. While guanxi is helpful in Taiwan, on the mainland, guanxi is necessary to get anything done.

Historical Significance

The Xinhai Revolution overthrew the Qing government and two thousand years of monarchy. Throughout Chinese history, old dynasties had always been replaced through new dynasties. The Xinhai Revolution, though, was the first to overthrow a monarchy totally and effort to set up a republic to spread democratic thoughts throughout China. Though in 1911 at the provisional government welcome ceremony, Sun Yat-sen said, "The revolution is not yet successful, the comrades still need to strive for the future."

Both sides recognize Sun Yat-sen as the Father of the Nation, but in Taiwan, they mean "Father of the Republic of China". The father of New China is seen as Mao Zedong. On the mainland, Sun Yat-sen was seen as the man who helped bring down the Qing, a pre-condition for the Communist state founded in 1949. The PRC views Sun's work as the first step towards the real revolution in 1949, when the communists set up a truly self-governing state that expelled foreigners and built a military and industrial power. In 1954, Liu Shaoqi was quoted as saying that the "Xinhai Revolution inserted the concept of a republic into general people". Zhou Enlai pointed out that the "Xinhai Revolution overthrew the Qing rule, ended 2000 years of monarchy, and liberated the mind of people to a great extent, and opened up the path for the development of future revolution. This is a great victory."

Contemporary Evaluation

A change in the belief that the revolution had been a usually positive change began in late 1980s and 1990s, but Zhang Shizhao was quoted as arguing that "When talking in relation to the Xinhai Revolution, the theorist these days tends to overemphasize. The word 'success' was method overused."

The success of the democracy gained from the revolution can vary depending on one's view. Even after the death of Sun Yat-sen in 1925, for

sixty years, the KMT controlled all five branches of the government; none were self-governing. Yan Jiaqi, founder of the Federation for a Democratic China, has said that Sun Yat-sen is to be credited as founding China's first republic in 1912, and the second republic is the people of Taiwan and the political parties there now democratizing the area.

Meanwhile, the ideals of democracy are distant from realised on the mainland. For instance, the Chinese premier Wen Jiabao once said in a speech that without real democracy, there is no guarantee of economic and political rights; but he led a 2011 crackdown against the peaceful Chinese jasmine protests. Liu Xiaobo, a pro-democracy activist who received the global 2010 Nobel Peace Prize, is in prison. Others, such as Qin Yongmin of the Democracy Party of China, who was only released from prison after twelve years, do not praise the Xinhai Revolution. Qin Yongmin said the revolution only replaced one dictator with another, that Mao Zedong was not an emperor, but he is worse than the emperor.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

- Discuss the presence of Westerners contributed to the miseries of the people in South China.
- What was the attitude of Taipings towards women?
- Discuss the socioeconomic conditions of China in late 19th century.
- Discuss how during and after the Sino-Japanese war imperialism made inroads into China.
- Discuss why Okuma's proposal of the British Model for parliamentary government failed.
- Discuss what were the aims and objectives of administrative and institutional reforms introduced by the Ch'ing in early 20th century.

CHAPTER 5

Foreign Relations

STRUCTURE

- Learning objectives
- Meiji Japan I
- Meiji Japan-II
- Japan and world war I
- China and world war I
- Review questions

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this chapter, you should be able to:

- Attempts made by Japan to remove Chinese dominance over Korea
- Understand the causes, course and effects of the Sino-Japanese War,
- Understand the factors that led to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance,
- Understand the role and attitude of Japan during the World War.
- Understand the political situation in China on the eve of the World War-I.

MEIJI JAPAN-I

Territorial Issues

Kurile Islands

The Treaty of Shimoda, concluded with Russia in February 1855, went beyond the Treaty concluded with USA, in that it contained sure territorial clauses. These conceded all of the Kurile islands south of Uruppu to Japan and islands north of it to Russia. Sakhalin was to remain unpartitioned. Though, this treaty did not settle the boundary question. In 1859 a demand was made through Count Muravieff, who sailed with a fleet to Shinagawa that La Perouse strait should be made the boundary flanked by Japan and Russia. In 1861, the strategic island of Tsushima was seized through Russia. But Britain

made Russia renounce all her claims to the island. Hence a proper delineation of frontiers with Russia became one of the main foreign policy troubles of the new Meiji Government.

In the years after the Restoration opinion was divided in the middle of the leaders in relation to the northern boundary:

- One group felt that Japan should stake her claim on all the Northern islands including the whole of Kuriles and Sakhalin. The US Secretary of State, William H. Seward, who visited Tokyo in 1870 suggested that Japan could offer to purchase the northern half of Sakhalin. He urged Japan to follow a policy of expansion. This advice was given on the foundation of his own negotiations with Russia and the purchase of Alaska in 1867.
- Another group headed through Kuroda Kiyotaka, the Head of the Hokkaido Colonisation Office realised that while Japan's hold in excess of Hokkaido had still not been strengthened, it would not be prudent to antagonize Russia through creation big claims. The militia in Hokkaido could not defend the island from an attack from the north. The first priority should be the consolidation of Japan's location in Hokkaido rather than expansion. He advocated Japan's abandonment of any claim on Sakhalin. Ultimately it was Kuroda's views that prevailed.

Admiral Enomoto Takeaki was sent to St. Petersburg in 1874 with instructions to negotiate and settle the Russo-Japanese boundary questions amicably. After lengthy negotiations, the treaty of Petersburg was signed in 1875. Russia ceded the Kurile chain of islands to Japan. In return Japan gave up all her claims to Sakhalin. This was the first international treaty concluded on the foundation of equality of Japan. Kuriles were significant to Japan strategically because of their geographical location and economically because of the abundant fish in the waters approximately the islands.

Kuriles were incorporated into Hokkaido and administered as part of Hokkaido prefecture. The conclusion of this treaty proved beneficial to Japan as it settled the vexed boundary issue amicably. Moreover, it was also a valuable experience for the Japanese leaders in international negotiations. Though, Japan's amity with Russia was soon broken in excess of the issue of Korea and the Russian ambitions to get an ice free port in the east.

Ryukyu Islands

The Ryukyu islands extend for 570 miles in southerly direction below Kyushu. The language and customs of the Ryukyus shared similarities both with the Chinese and Japanese but were closer to the Japanese. Till the seventeenth century, these islands were predominantly under Chinese power. But after the seventeenth century, they were conquered through the Kaimyo of Satsuma han. This only led to the King of Ryukyus paying tributes and carrying on an active trade with both China and Japan. Yet the King measured himself self-governing and signed treaties on his own behalf with the Western powers. Once the han in Japan had been abolished (through 1872) the location of Ryukyus had to be made clear. The Japanese took steps to see that the Chinese claims on Ryukyus were not accepted. The King was forcibly taken to Tokyo and in 1872, the USA was officially informed that Ryukyus had been incorporated into Japan but the treaties signed through the King would be honored through Japan.

In 1873, the Japanese Government reaffirmed the location of Ryukyus as Japanese subjects through getting the acceptance of China that Japan had a right to redress for the killing of some Ryukyus through an aboriginal tribe in South Formosa (Taiwan). This was also taken through Japan as China's renunciation of her claims on Ryukyus. De Extensive, the American Minister in Tokyo, also accepted this interpretation. Hence when Japan sent an expedition to Formosa it was not challenged militarily through China. In information in October with the mediation of British Minister Thomas Wade in Peking, the Chinese of Foreign Affairs signed a convention

at Peking which admitted the rightful purpose of the expedition therefore recognizing the Ryukyans as Japanese subjects. Further China also promised to pay an indemnity of 50,000 taels, one fifth of which was paid immediately for the families of ship-wrecked Japanese (i.e. Ryukyans) who were killed. The British Minister, Thomas Wade counter-signed the agreement guaranteeing the payment of the money through China. There was no reference in the agreement to Ryukyans but only as —people from Japan. China, in signing the agreement did not realize that she was accepting the sovereignty of Japan in excess of these islands. In 1879, China protested against the incorporation of these islands into Okinawa prefecture but her location was weak under the international law. China sought US mediation in the problem. President Grant suggested direct negotiations flanked by China and Japan on this issue and to accept a compromise solution. Japan offered that the southern mainly group of Ryukyus, i.e. the Sakishima group, be ceded to China. In return, Japan asked for a revision of the treaty of 1871 to contain the mainly favoured nation clause which would provide Japan the similar privileges as granted to Western powers in China. The Chinese vacillated, accepting Japan's offer at one time and rejecting it later or stating that the whole matter had been transferred from the Foreign Ministry to the Northern and Southern Superintendents of Trade. It was apparent that the Chinese did not want to sign an agreement which would sign off the sovereignty in excess of those islands to Japan. In 1881, the US Minister in Peking was informed that at mainly they would sign a treaty where both China and Japan guaranteed the independence of Ryukyus. Though, through keeping the issue in abeyance, China could not prevent the actual manage of these islands through Japan who now refused to reopen negotiations. Japan acquired the islands without open hostilities but earned China's animosity in the bargain. China was also resentful of the arrogance of the Japanese officials and their insistence on following Western procedures in international law. China was now also getting apprehensive of the Japanese military machine.

The Bonin Islands (Ogasawara)

These islands situated 500 miles to the southeast from Tokyo had been a part of Japan but were mainly used for exiled political criminals. The islands were claimed through the British in 1827 and the United States in 1853. Though, neither of them pressed the claim and Japan went ahead in settling Japanese in these islands. In 1873 the US Secretary of State Hamilton Fish ruled that the islands had never been recognized as US territory and also persuaded other Western powers to recognize them as Japanese territory. The Bonins were incorporated into Tokyo prefecture in 1880.

The Korean Question

Korea's geographical location creates it a land bridge flanked by Japan and the Asiatic mainland. In the nineteenth century, Korea was an self-governing country with her own King and separate government. Her payment of tribute to both China and Japan, though, made both these nations claim a special interest in Korea to the exclusion of the other. But for several centuries Korea had maintained closer dealings with China than with Japan. In early 1872, Japan tried to put her dealings with Korea on par with that of China but was rebuffed. Subsequently many Japanese subjects in Korea were assaulted. Saigo Takamori wanted to send an expedition to Korea to uphold Japan's honor and pride and also to create Korea pay for her insulating conduct towards Japanese envoys. Saigo was confident that the newly recruited army would be successful in the expedition. Saigo also looked upon the expedition as an opportunity for Japan to extend its frontiers. The dispossessed samurai class could also be given new territories for exploration. Saigo was fully aware that an expedition might result in hostilities with Russia but he was prepared to take the risk. Though Saigo was able to get approval for the expedition under his leadership, the expedition was not sent. The Iwakura Mission, which had gone to Europe and America, was able to get the decision reversed. This was because the members of the Mission were influenced on the foundation of what they saw abroad that priority should be given to internal reconstruction

and no foreign adventures should be taken up at that time. They also realised that Japan would not be able to bear the financial burden of the war. Moreover, they felt that Japan's Korean adventure would invite the intervention of Western powers which would be to the disadvantage of Japan. The reversal of the decision led to the resignation of Saigo and other leaders. This also led to other repercussions.

Iwakura himself was attacked and wounded as he left the Imperial palace grounds. The attackers were recognized as those who were dissatisfied with the government decision against sending an expedition to Korea. There was an open insurrection in Saga under the leadership of Eto Shimpei who had left the government. Though the rebellion was suppressed quickly the specter of samurai discontent alarmed the government. In information it was to partially satisfy the disgruntled samurai that the chastisement expedition was sent to set up Japanese dominance in Formosa. It was Saigo Takamori's younger brother Saigo Tsugumichi who organized and commanded the Formosa expeditionary force. The successful results of the Formosan expedition revealed to the leaders that a —well-timed, cautiously calculated and judiciously limited foreign adventure, which is capable of justification in Western international formula is not unduly risky and can render domestic affairs more manageable. But it was still too early and risky to effort an adventure in Korea.

In 1875, Japan followed the similar procedure with Korea as the Western Powers had done with her, viz. demand a treaty through the illustrate of naval force beside the Korean coast and also through diplomatic negotiations. The mission though failed that year. The after that year, China, which had agreed to concessions in Ryukyus as a result of Japan's illustrate of military force, advised Korea to negotiate diplomatically with Japan. The Treaty of Kanghai of 1876 concluded flanked by Japan and Korea opened two ports to Japan and granted her partial extra territorial rights. In return, Japan recognized Korea as an self-governing sovereign state having the similar rights as Japan. Though, China did not interpret the treaty as creation

Korea self-governing of Chinese sovereignty. Neither did Korea herself accept that she could carry an self-governing foreign policy. This was revealed when USA tried to open dealings with Korea. The Shufeldt Treaty signed in 1882 through Korea with USA accepted in every aspect conditions of equality but the letter which accompanied the treaty clearly characterized Korea as a dependency of China. Hence the issue of Korea's status in relation to China was dissimilar from that with Japan. This was not the intention of Japan while concluding the Treaty of Kanghwa.

Domestic intrigues in Korea further complicated Korea's dealings with China and Japan. There were two contending factions:

- The one headed through Taewonkun, the father and Regent of the young king, who was conservative, anti-foreign and supported China.
- After 1873 when the King came of age, he was controlled through the Queen and the Ming family. The location of this group was progressive, pro-foreign and pro-Japanese.

In July, 1882 an anti-Japanese riot was instigated through Taewonkun. In the disturbances, the King and Queen escaped assassination. But the Japanese Minister had to flee to Japan with the help of the British. Japan sent reinforcements to guard the legation. China also did the similar. Taewonkun was captured through the Chinese and taken absent on the ground that he had revolted against the Chinese Emperor. When order was resorted and the King could regain temporary manage, he apologised to Japan for the revolt, gave an indemnity for the losses incurred through Japan and permitted the augment of guards in the legation. Though, two years later, Japan cancelled the remaining indemnity payments.

The situation in Korea had only exacerbated, as both Chinese and Japanese forces were in location, with the possibility of a disagreement in excess of the manage of the King. China was still not willing to accept the

concept of Korea being an self-governing and sovereign state. Intrigues within the court sustained as one group sustained to co-operate with China.

The Japanese liberals sustained to involve themselves in the Korean problem. This was partly out of sympathy for the budding progressive movement in Korea and its Korean leaders and partly in the hope that through contributing to it, they would contribute to the attainment of liberal goals in Japan.

There was no clear cleavage flanked by the liberals and the Japanese government on the Korean issue. The later was also urging the Korean Government to initiate reforms and to assert her independence. Yet, the Japanese government was not interested in these as an extension into practice of liberal principles. It only saw them as an antidote to backward, unsettled, unfriendly and unpredictable circumstances in Korea, which might pose a danger to the security of Japan.

From in relation to the 1881 Fukuzawa Yukichi and other Japanese liberals were in secure touch with Korean reformers. Their behaviors were on the augment until they reached a sort of crescendos with the Seoul uprising. In 1884 the leaders of the Independence Party in Korea, Kin-ok-kium and Pak Young-hyo, who had been supported through the Liberals in Japan as well as the Japanese Legation in Seoul staged a coup d'etat. Many of the King's ministers were killed. In retaliation the attempts through Koreans to capture the Japanese Legation made the Minister and civilian Japanese flee from Seoul to Inchon The Korean King took refuge in the Chinese camp and the revolutionary leaders escaped to Japan. Once again, Japan demanded an apology and an indemnity through separate negotiations with Korea and refused to release the revolutionary leaders. At, this time Yuan Shi Kai, who was appointed the Chinese resident in Korea, befriended the King and helped the Koreans to oppose Japan. The deteriorating situation could only be settled through negotiations flanked by Japan and China or through a war. Both opted for negotiations, Ito Hirobumi went to China and had talks with the Viceroy,

Li-Hung Chang. The result was the Li-Ito Convention signed at Tientsin in March 1885. The main points of agreement were as follows:

- Both China and Japan would withdraw troops from Korea within four months.
- If disturbances in Korea demanded dispatch of troops through any country, it would be done only after giving notice of doing so to the other.
- Neither Chinese nor Japanese would be employed in the organization or training of Korean army.

The implementation of this agreement through the withdrawal of Japanese troops defused the tensions flanked by China and Japan in excess of Korea. The question whether China or Japan would control Korea was not settled but had only been temporarily shelved. Though, Russia which was interested in the future of Korea, was watching the situation closely and waiting for an opportunity to set up her own power. The Russian move to offer Russian officers to train the Koreans and in return receive the use of a warm water port in Wonson, was stopped through protests from both China and Japan. The British occupied some South Korean islets in retaliation to Russian intentions, but withdrew in 1887. Japan was so, on the one hand successful in neutralizing the Chinese power in Korea, and on the other in preventing the Russian intrusion into Korea. But at the similar time Japan failed to achieve the recognition of Korea as an self-governing nation through China. A crisis was, though, averted till 1893.

Revision of Unequal Treaties

The treaties which granted the rights of commercial dealings to the Western powers had also granted extraterritorial rights, i.e. the rights to the foreign nationals to be tried through their own courts and according to their own laws for crimes committed through them on Japanese soil which might involve Japanese lives and property. Japan's freedom to determine her own

tariffs on imports and exports had also been curbed through a uniform duty of 5 per cent. Debates concerning treaty revision started in official and private circles soon after the Meiji Restoration.

The Iwakura Mission had though realised that civil and criminal codes had to be revised before the Western Powers could be persuaded to abolish extra-territoriality. There was, though, continuous clamor through the public asking for its abolition as it went against the prestige of Japan. As early as 1873, Okuma Shigenobu, who was then the Finance Minister, realised that the Government should have the self-governing right to fix the import and export duties.

In information while opposing the Korean Expedition plan in 1873, Okubo Toshimichi clearly stated: —The first thing is to revise the treaties, the Korean business after that.¶ If they are not revised, he felt that England and France will send armies on the pretext of an internally insecure situation. The Japanese tried intermittently for many years, to get the treaties revised through negotiations but failed. Though, they gained experience in the techniques of negotiations with foreign powers. In 1880, Foreign Minister Inoue Kaoru proposed the partial amendment of extraterritorial rights as well as tariffs and presented it to the foreign countries. There was no favorable response but the Dutch Minister in Tokyo leaked this secret proposal to the newspaper Japan Herald and it evoked a widespread anti-government reaction from the public. The British Foreign Minister described the Japanese Minister Mori Arinori in London, and refused to accept the revised proposals as the foundation for negotiations. In information Britain adopted the mainly rigid attitude in the middle of the foreign countries. In 1884, the British Government clearly stated that revision of the treaties was contingent upon the adoption of Western legal codes. Already Japan had made efforts to speed up the procedure of revision. The assistance of a French adviser Gustave Boissonade was taken to revise the penal code and the code of criminal procedure. A commercial code was intended with the aid of the German legal expert Herman Roesler. The United States was impressed with these efforts and was favorable towards the revision

of unequal treaties but other governments claimed that the efforts were still insufficient

Formal negotiations for abolition of unequal treaties were started with the Western powers on 1 May 1886. The common outline of the conclusion reached was as follows:

- Japan would set up organs to enforce judicial power. It would also set up a criminal code, a criminal procedure code, a civil code, a commercial code and a commercial procedure code in accordance with European principles.
- In civil cases in which foreigners were involved, the majority of judges would be foreigners.
- Preliminary investigation in criminal cases would be handled through foreign judges.
- A foreigner sentenced to death through a Japanese court should be surrendered to his nation and should be tried in accordance with the laws of that nation.

In effect these essentially meant the continuation of extraterritoriality. Once the contents of the treaty revision leaked out to the public, there was opposition to it both from within the government as well as from in the middle of the common public. The concept of mixed courts with foreign and Japanese judges was not at all acceptable. The extension of land ownership and mining rights to foreigners, it was felt, would bring Japan's natural possessions under the manage of foreigners. Unrestricted residence of foreigners in any part of Japan and freedom to travel all in excess of Japan was also opposed. Within the government itself, there was a view that it was better to postpone treaty revision until after the establishment of the National Diet in 1890. Others thought the treaty revision bill should be cancelled rather than suspended. Even the French Adviser Biossonade strongly opposed the Bill. He said that it would be better to uphold the earlier treaties rather than to revise them in such a form. He felt that since foreigners received distant better protection than

Japanese, popular dissatisfaction of the people might erupt into serious disturbances if the bill was enforced.

The opposition within the government and the public was so strong that the government on 20 July 1887 finally informed the ministers of foreign countries to postpone indefinitely the conference on treaty revision. Another outcome of this issue was that Foreign Minister Inoue had to resign.

The Government sustained to deliberate on the proposals and also took strong events against those who embarrassed the Government in the treaty negotiations through creating trouble. Though, in 1889, a bomb was thrown at Okuma Shigenobu, who was the then Foreign Minister, when he was returning from one of the meetings and he lost one leg. This contributed to postponing the resolution of the problem for a few more years. Though, the Government was criticized very severely in the Diet for the inability to discover a solution to this problem. Prime Minister Ito Hirobumi used this attitude of the Diet as an excuse for the dissolution of the Diet. The Government took stern events against those who disturbed law and order. Though, public opinion made the Government realize that it had to aim at total abolition and not a phased abolition of the unequal treaties. Finally, in 1893 negotiations with Britain on the issue started creation some progress. In 1894, Foreign Minister Aoki Shuzo went to London and signed a treaty on 16 July 1894. This treaty abolished extra-territoriality, subject to the implementation of the new codes. Therefore, the special rights to foreign settlements came to an end. The changes were to take effect from 1899. The manage in excess of tariffs was though, to continue for a further twelve years thereafter meaning that Japan regained full tariff autonomy only in 1911. Similar treaties with other powers also followed. This procedure helped Japan move one step forward towards her goal of achieving an equality with the Western powers.

MEIJI JAPAN-II

Sino-Japanese War

The Li-Ito Tientsin Agreement of 1885 was only a temporary truce flanked by Japan and China in excess of Korea. Yuan Shi Kai the Chinese Resident in Seoul, influenced Korea to develop trade with China. No doubt. Korean imports consisted mainly of Western manufactured goods re-exported through Chinese merchants from the treaty ports but they rose from 19 per cent of total Korean imports in 1885 to 45 per cent in 1892. Therefore the rivalry flanked by Japan and China now extended to the sphere of trade after Japan's success in developing a contemporary textile industry. Japan was slowly rising its export of textile products to Korea. In 1892 these had considerably replaced Western products re-exported to Korea and the cotton textile manufacturers appealed to the Government to help stay up their competitiveness in Korea vis-à-vis China. Though, even when in 1893 Japan's exports to Korea were only 1.7 million yen, (Japan's total exports averaged 85.4 million yen) economic interests did not constitute a enough cause for hostilities. The awareness of the Russian threat was based on the new concept of defence taught through German advisers who were in Japan since 1885. Japanese strategies, particularly Yamagata Aritomo, former Chief of Common Staff and Prime Minister in 1890, started talking in relation to the —row of sovereignty which comprised the Japanese islands. Yamagata stated that beyond this, Japan necessity also hold the —row of advantage which comprised Korea. He measured that events to guarantee the independence of Korea were crucial to Japan's —row of advantage. As early as 1887 in a —Common Staff discussion document, contingency plans were also made in case there was attack through a Western power on China. It stated that in such a case, Japan's counter moves could be an advance on Peking from the north and another landing on Shanghai. The peace resolution should make an self-governing Manchuria ruled through the Manchu dynasty, transfer of much of North China and Taiwan to Japan and establishment of a Japanese Protectorate in excess of South China. This document designates the type of ambitions which Japanese military had and how they held that peace and independence

in China and Korea should be maintained without allowing any interference from other Western powers in order to secure Japan's independence.

The inability of Korea to suppress the anti-foreign behaviors of Tonghaks, who were armed insurgents, and their asking for military assistance from China led to a crisis in the summer of 1894. Invoking the 1885 agreement, Japan immediately sent her own troops to Korea. Though, no further step was taken before resorting to hostilities, as the Japanese Foreign Minister Mutsu Munemitsu realised that the Western powers would not accept that a enough pretext lived. So, a set of proposals for a joint Chinese and Japanese action to secure reforms in Korea was drafted as it was felt that it were the —deep rooted abuses|| in the Korean system which led to instability in Korea. Japan also wanted that all exclusive privileges given to the Chinese in Korea should be extended to Japanese also. Talented young Koreans should be sent to Japan for studies —to bring civilization to Koreall. These proposals were rejected. Hostilities followed in July 1894.

Did Japan bring up these reforms only as a pretext for war? It may not be correct to say so. Japan really wanted Korea to follow the instance of Japan's modernization than follow the path of China. Through the time Japan declared war on China on 1 August 1894, Japanese forces were already entrenched in and approximately Seoul. Through 16 September 1894, Pyongyang was captured and the after that day a naval victory gave them manage in excess of the Yellow sea. In October, Japanese armies crossed the Yalu river into Manchuria and also landed in the Liaotung peninsula. Japan was therefore in full possession of all of Korea and the rich Liaotung peninsula within six months of the war. At that stage, Japan was willing to negotiate for peace. The Treaty of Shimonoseki was signed on 17 April 1895. The conditions of the treaty were:

- China —recognized definitely the full and complete independence and autonomy of Koreall
- Formosa, the adjacent Pescadore Islands and the Liaotung peninsula would be ceded to Japan in perpetuity and full sovereignty.

- An indemnity of 200 million taels (350 million yen) would be paid through China to Japan to defray the cost of the war.
- Four additional Chinese municipalities would be opened for commercial and industrial purpose
- Ports of Weihaiwei on the northern shore of Shantung peninsula would be sustained to be occupied through Japanese troops until the indemnity was paid and a treaty of commerce to be negotiated in flanked by China and Japan.

The conditions were greatly favorable to Japan. With the removal of the Chinese attendance in Korea, Japan could freely rule Korea. Though, this did not happen immediately as Japan had to contend with another competitor, Russia. The other fruits of victory could also not be tasted through Japan on explanation of the intervention of Russia, Germany and France on behalf of China. This is recognized as the Triple Intervention. The dire need for a warm water port through Russia made her seem upon Liaotung peninsula as her sphere of power. The Sino-Japanese war had decreased her chance for a warm water port in Korea. France and Germany were quick to agree with Russia that Port Arthur and the Liaotung peninsula in the hands of Japan would be a threat to peace in the Distant East. Great Britain was fearful of Russian advance and preferred to see Japan having advantages in Korea and South Manchuria. Hence she refused to join Russia in the intervention.

Japan had anticipated some adverse reactions from European powers but when they came, she establish them hard to accept. Though, finally Japan was forced to provide up Liaotung peninsula but got an additional indemnity of 30 million taels. Japan's capitulation to international pressure not only led to criticism of the government but also stimulated a virulent nationalism which supported an aggressive foreign policy. The indemnity acquired was used to augment Army divisions from 7 to 13 and the Navy also tripled its tonnage.

The sense of humiliation deepened and turned into open animosity when Russia acquired from China the Liaotung peninsula under a 25 years lease. Russia also acquired rights from China to build the Chinese Eastern Railway linking Vladivostok with the Trans-Siberian row plus a spur running south to terminate at the Liaotung peninsula (Port Arthur). Britain took in excess of Weihaiwei, held through the Japanese troops earlier to balance Russia's possession of Port Arthur. Germany got special rights in Shantung. France got concessions in Yunan, Kwangsi and Kwangtung. All these rights and concessions were granted exclusively to these powers and China could not grant comparable privileges to other powers in the similar area.

Japan's Behaviors in China after 1894

Open Door Policy

Monopoly investment rights had therefore been recognized in the several spheres of power. But USA tried to see that this did not extend to trade as well. Secretary of State John Hay proclaimed the Open Door Policy in 1899 which was accepted through the other powers. Japan failed to secure spheres of power in China, but in order to prepare herself for demanding Russia in the future, she needed the support of Britain and America. Hence Japan also decided to accept the Open Door Policy.

Demand for Concessions

The acquisition of Taiwan after the Sino-Japanese war was looked upon through several influential Japanese as the method for an —advance to the South" especially through the Chinese province of Fukien. Japan tried to secure special rights in Fukien in the scramble for concessions in China but could only get a promise from China in 1898 that Fukien would not be alienated to any other power. China would also not agree to grant any railway concessions in Fukien to Japan. The Boxer rebellion in 1900 in China seemed to present another opportunity for Japan to extract from China concessions in

Fukien. Though, Japan restrained herself as she feared the repercussions which might harm her dealings with Britain as well as lead to a possible dispute with Russia. In the Boxer uprising and the subsequent declaration of war against Allied Powers through China, Japan supplied in relation to the half of the total Allied Army and contributed to the victory of Allies. As a part of the final resolution, China offered an indemnity of 450 million taels (\$334 million) and Japan also had a share. Special privileges granted as guarantees for the safety of diplomatic representatives and their nationals were also to be enjoyed through Japan. China's internal disintegration and inability to suppress rebels left her at the mercy of foreign powers which incorporated Japan. Japan could now vicariously enjoy an equal status with other Western powers in China on explanation of the privileges she shared with them.

Anglo-Japanese Alliance

At the time of the Boxer's attack on Russian railway installations in Manchuria, Russia sent in a big number of troops to protect her interests. This was measured as a danger signal as Russia would not stop with Manchuria, but extend to Korea also. To face the Russian threat Japan needed support from Britain. An alliance with Britain would serve as a warning to Russia. The commercial advantages which could be derived from the alliance were opening of British colonies to Japanese trade, improve Japan's commercial credit and provide access to Britain's financial possessions. In the middle of the leaders, Ito Hirobumi whispered that Japan's interests in Korea could be best preserved through an alliance with Russia rather than with Britain. Though, Ito's cabinet had fallen in June 1901 and the new Prime Minister was Katsura Taro, a protege of Yamagata Aritomo. Katsura after coming to power set out a broad political programme for his cabinet. This incorporated:

- Strengthening of the financial foundations of Japan and ensure industrial and commercial progress.
- Conclude an agreement with one European country since it was hard for Japan to take charge of the distant eastern situation single handed.

- To create Korea a territory protected through Japan.
- Augment the navy to the stage of 80,000 tons.

In the middle of the Japanese statesmen there were two groups; those who favoured friendship with Britain and those who favoured friendship with Russia. These groups were not exclusive, i.e. those who were pro-British were not necessarily hostile to Russia and vice-versa. The Army and Navy had traditionally recognized Russia as a natural enemy and favoured an alliance with Britain. The Military was able to power policy. In the middle of the civilizations shaped through the people, the Peoples Alliance Society (Kokumin Domei Kai) opposed the conciliatory diplomacy towards Russia because it favoured the establishment of Japan's power in Korea and China. As a means to this end, Alliance Society (Domei Kai) supported friendship with Britain. Opinion leaders like Fukusawa Yukichi or Kato Takaaki sponsored articles favoring the alliance in newspapers. Though it was the government which had to take effective steps towards the alliance.

It was Foreign Minister, Komura Jutaro, in the Katsura Cabinet since September 1901, who followed up the alliance negotiations with single minded devotion. Another person who pursued the alliance proposals doggedly was Hayashi Tadasu, Minister in the Embassy in London from 1900 to 1906. He played the role of —a persuasive intermediary—. Usually, the Foreign Ministry officials were also anti-Russian and were favorable towards the alliance.

In November 1901, Britain presented the text of the agreement which contained the seeds of an alliance. Though, the Japanese were not sure as to how Russia would seem at such an alliance. But the Japanese wanted to move on those rows which were mainly favorable for their own country. As stated earlier, the mainly prominent members of the pro-Russian group were Katsura Taro and Yamagata Aritomo. Katsura and Yamagata felt that the offer of friendship through Russia would only be temporary, as she was determined to

advance into Manchuria and improve her location in Korea, but it was in Britain's extensive-term interest to remain friendly towards the Japanese. Ito, on the other hand, felt that a link with Britain would be of minor benefit to Japan. Ito left on a foreign tour on 18 September 1901 which would take him to USA, Europe and Russia but before leaving Japan he made it clear that he planned to explore the possibilities of a Russo-Japanese understanding. The Ito group felt that an alliance with Britain might induce Russia, France and Germany to join against Japan, as in the case of the Triple Intervention. The pro-British group on the other hand felt that an alliance with Russia would only bring temporary peace to the area, give only minor advantages or Japan, go against Japan's extensive-term interest as it would destroy China's goodwill, and also force Japan to stay her naval strength on par with Britain. In other languages, this group feared the repercussions a Russian alliance would have on dealings with Britain. The treaty with Britain would enable Japan to put pressure on Russia and serve her interests best. Ito was informed of the draft treaty while on tour but he still felt that:

- A treaty should be postponed till it was recognized whether an understanding with Russia was possible and
- It was unwise to leave Germany out of the treaty. Though, he did not denounce the treaty.

The other Genro (Yamagata Aritomo, Matsukata Masayoshi, Inoue Kooru and Saigo Tsugimichi) who had already agreed on the treaty with Britain also discussed Ito's views. They concluded that it was not possible to foresee a Russo-Japanese alliance materializing and further delays would only create Britain withdraw her proposals and Japan might lose the sympathy of both Britain and Russia and discover herself in separation. Hence they recommended that steps should be taken to conclude the alliance with Britain.

The Emperor, who had withheld his approval for the final negotiations, as he wanted to know Ito's views, now decided that Japan should proceed with the alliance. Katsura informed Ito on 11 December 1901 that the decision was

taken through the emperor only after his views had been placed before the Emperor. The course of events therefore —illustrates the effect which the bold genro could have on the formulation of policy and the extent to which the final decision vested with the Emperor

The negotiations proceeded towards an alliance as the general adversary of Britain and Japan was Russia Both countries had taken the initiative at dissimilar times in 1901 for an alliance, but Britain had usually assumed the leadership in the discussion.

The Anglo-Japanese Alliance signed on 30 January 1902 recognized the special interests of Japan in Korea and Britain in China. It was agreed that either of them would take necessary events to safeguard those interests if threatened through a third power or through disturbances within Korea and China. Both countries agreed to remain neutral if either of them should become involved in a war to protect her interests. Though, if a third power should join in such a war, they would at once come to each other's assistance. The agreement would remain in force for 5 years. There was a secret naval agreement which made accessible docking and other facilities in times of war for each country in the ports of the others. It also provided that each of the signatories uphold, as distant as possible, a naval force superior in strength to that of any other power in Distant Eastern waters. Under the conditions of the Treaty as well as in the diplomatic notes exchanged, Britain was under no obligation to be involved in a war flanked by Russia and Japan; but the Japanese could rely on British naval support in the event of an effort being made through Russia to invade Japan.

It cannot be concluded that through opting for a British alliance Japan showed preference for war with Russia to settle her differences. The British alliance did not prevent Japan from approaching Russia for the resolution of outstanding differences.

The alliance increased Japan's prestige. It also secured British recognition of Japan's special interests in Korea and ensured that France would not come to Russia's help in the case of a Russo-Japanese war. Britain had prevented a Japanese-Russian Alliance. Russia took the hint and withdrew her troops from Manchuria, which had been left in Manchuria since the Boxer uprising. China was able to resist Russian plans for special privileges in connection with railways in Manchuria.

Russo-Japanese War

The support from Britain made Japan take an aggressive attitude towards Russia without fear of another Triple Intervention of 1894. Japan had increased her concessions in Korea including structure of railways and acquisition of property approximately significant harbors. Special whaling, fishing and mining rights had also been obtained. Though, Japan was not prepared to accept the possible grant of timber concessions in North-west Korea to Russia. While China had resisted grant of further concessions in Manchuria, which would have made Manchuria a Russian protectorate, Russian designs were clear.

There was an effort through Russia through negotiations to get Japan's acceptance that Manchuria and all its littoral region would be exclusive sphere of power of Russia, which would provide Russia an unimpeded row of communication through sea from Dairen and Port Arthur to Vladivostok. In return, Russia would accept Japan's special rights in Korea including the right to advise Korea on reforms but Korea's independence should be preserved and no Korean ports were to be used for strategic purposes and no coastal defenses should be built in Korea. Korea north of the 39th parallel should be a neutral zone. Japan made a counter proposal of 50 Kilometers buffer zone on each face of North Korea but did not create any commitment of not by Korea for strategic purposes.

The talks were dead locked. Japan had two options either:

- To accept a restricted hegemony in excess of Korea; exclusion from Manchuria and accept the menace of Russian naval bases on both flanks of Korea, Port Arthur on the West and Vladivostok in the North-east, or
- To go to war with Russia with the hope that it would drive Russia out from North-east Asia.

Japan chose the second option and in February 1904 Japanese land and sea forces launched attacks on Russian positions in Manchuria with Korea as the launching pad. Japan's naval forces very quickly recognized their superiority in the naval approaches to Port Arthur and Vladivostok. The Russian Baltic fleet sent from Europe, arrived in Tsushima Straits but was effectively defeated through Admiral Togo Heihachiro. This defeat was decisive in persuading Russia to sue for peace. Japan suffered heavy casualties in the war and, even before the Tsushima engagement, had seriously measured an armistice but Russia showed no signs of wanting to negotiate.

After the Tsushima victory, President Theodore Roosevelt accepted their request to provide his good offices to settle the peace conditions. Even before the Peace Conference at Portsmouth in USA, which began on 10 August 1905, President Roosevelt had warned France and Germany that if any moves were made against Japan, he would support Japan. Again, in order to safeguard American interests in Philippines, the Taft-Katsura Agreement, signed in July 1905, gave assurances to Japan of US support for Japan's suzerainty in excess of Korea, in return for Japan's assurance not to harbor any aggressive designs against the Philippines. Japan had another diplomatic victory. The Anglo- Japanese Alliance was revised in 1905 to contain the areas of East Asia and India and also a new provision if one of the signatories was attacked through a third power in these territories, the other would automatically come to its assistance. Great Britain recognized Japan's

paramount interests in Korea and her right to take appropriate events to protect her interests.

Therefore even before the Treaty of Portsmouth was signed, Japan secured recognition both from the USA and Britain that Korea was her sphere of power. Japan demanded the whole of Sakhalin and an indemnity, but Russia was adamant in relation to the ceding any territory to Japan or paying an indemnity. Japan was facing an economic and financial crisis at home on explanation of the war and could not afford the breakdown of negotiations and go back to war. So, she could not insist on her demands and compromised. The conditions of the Treaty of Portsmouth, which were as follows, had no provisions for an indemnity.

- Recognition of Korean independence and Japan's paramount political, economic and military interests.
- Transfer to Japan of Russia's rights and bases in Liaotung and of the South Manchurian Railway.
- Withdrawal of all foreign troops from Manchuria except Japanese railway guards.
- Cession of south Sakhalin and special fishing rights in adjacent waters to Japan.
- Non-interference through Russia and Japan in events which China might take for commercial and industrial development of Manchuria.

The people of Japan were not satisfied with these conditions. They expected an indemnity which would ease the economic situation in Japan and create good the sacrifices they had made for the war. Riots broke out in Tokyo. There were heavy casualties and martial law had to be declared.

Aftermath of the Russo-Japanese War

As an aftermath of the Russo-Japanese war as suggested, read in relation to the how Japan annexed Korea and how it increased its power in Manchuria.

Annexation of Korea

The conditions of the Treaty of Portsmouth relating to Liaotung peninsula had to be confirmed through a separate agreement flanked by China and Japan to create the transfer legal. This was signed in December 1905. Korea's appeals to USA to avoid the rising manage through Japan in excess of Korea were of no avail. In November 1905, USA ordered the closure of the American Legation in Seoul. The USA measured Korea a Japanese protectorate. Ito Hirobumi became the Resident Common of Korea in November 1905 and under the convention of 25 July 1907, Korea was made a protectorate under the manage of the Resident Common.

The Korean King appealed to the Hague in 1907 and the New York Tribune commented that Japan's right to act as it did in Korea was —at least as good as that of Russia, France, England or any other Power to deal as they have with subject nations|. Russia signed a secret convention with Japan in July 1907 which gave specific recognition of Japan's specific desire to achieve —political solidarity| with Korea. Japan, so, secured —international understanding| for her future annexation. Of course the only remaining obstacle was the resistance through the Koreans.

The Koreans were not willing to accept that the Japanese sponsored reforms and the appointment of Japanese advisers and officials in the executive departments were in the interests of Korea's development. Ito had hoped to avoid annexation and carry out the reforms with the co-operation of the Korean Court and Korean Executives. Though, his paternalistic attitude towards Korea, rather his contempt for Koreans as well as their traditions and

culture and his effort to force the reforms on the ground that they had led Japan towards modernization made him a hated figure. A conscious policy of obstructionism was followed. When Ito resigned his office in June 1909, he realised that his policies had failed.

In October 1909 when Ito was in Harbin on an inspection trip, he was assassinated through a Korean. Ito's death served as an adequate pretext to annex Korea. An effort was immediately made to mobilize pro-Japanese sentiments in Korea as a preliminary to annexation. A Korean organization described Ilchinhoe was persuaded through a Japanese nationalist organization Kokuryukai to present a petition to both Korean and Japanese authorities in December 1909 calling for a merger of Japan and Korea to protect Korea. No doubt the Japanese government was more concerned in relation to the first putting down the Korean opposition. Common Terauchi Masatake, War Minister in the Katsura cabinet who was appointed concurrently the Resident Common in Seoul, was able to force Korea to —request for annexation. On 22 August 1910 Terauchi and the Korean King signed the Treaty of Annexation. Terauchi became the first Governor Common in Korea and held his post till he became Prime Minister in 1916. Korea ceased to exist as a country. Beside with Taiwan, Korea also became a colony and Japanese iron rule in Korea suppressing all demands for independence earned for her the everlasting hatred of Koreans.

Japan's Sphere of Power in Manchuria

Annexation of Korea had —international understanding. But Japan had to proceed more cautiously with regard to Manchuria. Manchuria was a part of China. In January 1905 Theodore Roosevelt had mooted the thought that Manchuria —be returned to China to be made into a neutral region under the guarantee of the Powers. Japan then had hastened to provide assurances that the principle of equal opportunity would be upheld in Manchuria and the management would remain —in substancel in the hands of China. Though, Japan had tried to qualify the recognition of China's territorial integrity stating

that it was conditional on reform and good management to secure peace and order and lives and property. Hence in the negotiations for December 1905 agreement with China, Japan tried to contain as a desirable condition reforms in Manchuria to safeguard lives and property. Japan also attempted to get China's agreement for a number of municipalities in Manchuria for foreign trade, permission to extend railway network flanked by Changchun and Kirin, Japanese management of coal mines as well as a guarantee that China would not alienate Manchuria to any other power. Though China resisted and finally agreed only to:

- Opening of several spaces in Manchuria for trade,
- Build Changchun-Kirin railway with Japanese loan, and
- Reforms.

Japan had to withdraw the demand for non-alienation. Japan's demand that China should consult Japan before structure any railways which may compete with those of Japan in Southern Manchuria, did not finally become part of the treaty text though it was part of Conference minutes.

It is clear from the trend of the negotiations that Japan was determined to promote her economic interests in Manchuria and also to ward-off competition from other powers. The Japanese military in Manchuria tried to achieve this objective. Britain and USA protested that the Japanese military was by military reasons to exclude foreign trade. Britain reminded Japan that her war with Russia had been financed through USA and Britain on the separate understanding of acceptance of the Open Door Policy through Japan. The military might justify her actions as guarding against —Russian war or revenge^{ll} but if there was such a war, Japan would once again have the support of her friends, provided Japan respected the Open Door Policy.

The debates within the Japanese government circles revealed that there were two schools of thought which sustained to recur in later years also. One, usually represented through the Foreign Minister, gave priority to co-operation

with Britain and USA for protection of Japan's economic interests. Business circles also usually agreed with this. This meant that Japan should not press her claims in Manchuria more than what Britain and USA would tolerate. Army and its political allies maintained that Japan's interests in Manchuria were strategic. Hence Japan should be in a location to manage transport and communications, stay civil order and protect the Korean boundary. This in the US view, would create Manchuria only a —nominal sovereign of the territory as all material advantages would be appropriated through the —temporary occupant (Japan).

In September 1909, Japan obtained from China mining rights in the coal meadows in Manchuria jointly with a number of railway concessions. In July 1910 a secret agreement flanked by Russia and Japan laid down a division of spheres, Russia in North Manchuria and Japan in South Manchuria. This agreement also recognized each nation's right to intervene in the defence of her interests in her region. It also provided for mutual co-operation if they were challenged through a third power. This agreement was made in response to American attempts to internationalize South Manchuria and Chinese Eastern Railways.

How did Britain and USA react to this? Britain could only thwart Japan's attempts to create her recognize Japan's rights in Manchuria through including this in the Anglo-Japanese Alliance which came for renewal in 1911. Japan wanted to equate her location in Manchuria with that of Britain in India. Neither Manchuria nor India were mentioned in the final treaty. Though, it was clear that Britain had no expectation of being able to check Japan's course in North-east Asia. What in relation to the Washington? Did she also provide up so easily? Japan was blocking the growth of both US trade and investments in Manchuria, particularly in railways. Japanese and Russian monopolies as well as prevention of structure of railway rows through China that might compete with them closed the door to USA. Though, USA was not prepared to have a confrontation with Japan on this issue. She had a superior economic stake in Japan than in China. USA was not impressed through

China's attempts to help herself. Moreover USA's prime objective was to stay the Japanese absent from the Pacific. Therefore in the era flanked by 1905 and 1910 Japan's attempts to exclude Manchuria from the Open Door Policy (Exclusion of Korea had already been blessed through the Western Powers) did damage her dealings with Britain and USA. But starting from the Chinese Revolution of 1911, the whole edifice of rights created through Western powers in China was endangered as there was no stable central government which would protect these rights. Japan and Russia did not face any further challenge from the powers in relation to the Manchuria being their sphere of power.

JAPAN AND WORLD WAR I

Japan participated in World War I from 1914 to 1918 in an alliance with the Entente Powers and played an significant role in securing the sea lanes in the South Pacific and Indian Oceans against the German Kaiserliche Marine. Politically, Japan seized the opportunity to expand its sphere of power in China, and to gain recognition as a great power in postwar geopolitics.

Japan's military seized German possessions in the Pacific and East Asia, but there was no big-level mobilization of the economy. Foreign Minister Kato Takaaki and Prime Minister Okuma Shigenobu wanted to use the opportunity to expand Japanese power in China. They enlisted Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925), then in exile in Japan, but they had little success. The Imperial Japanese Navy, a almost autonomous bureaucratic institution, made its own decision to undertake expansion in the Pacific. It captured Germany's Micronesian territories north of the equator, and ruled the islands until 1921. The operation gave the Navy a rationale for enlarging its budget to double the Army budget and expanding the fleet. The Navy therefore gained important political power in excess of national and international affairs.

Events of 1914

In the first week of World War I Japan proposed to the United Kingdom, its ally since 1902, that Japan would enter the war if it could take

Germany's Pacific territories. On August 7, 1914, the British government officially asked Japan for assistance in destroying the German raiders of the Kaiserliche Marine in and approximately Chinese waters. Japan sent Germany an ultimatum on August 14, 1914, which went unanswered; Japan then formally declared war on Germany on August 23, 1914. As Vienna refused to withdraw the Austro-Hungarian cruiser „Kaiserin Elisabeth— from Tsingtao, Japan declared war on Austria-Hungary too.

Japanese forces quickly occupied German-leased territories in the Distant East. On September 2, 1914, Japanese forces landed on China's Shandong Province and bounded the German resolution at Tsingtao (Kiautschou). Throughout October, acting virtually independently of the civil government, the Japanese navy seized many of Germany's island colonies in the Pacific - the Mariana, Caroline, and Marshall Islands - with virtually no resistance. The Japanese Navy mannered the world's first naval-launched air raids against German-held land targets in Shandong province and ships in Qiaozhou Bay from the seaplane-carrier Wakamiya. On 6 September 1914 a seaplane launched through Wakamiya unsuccessfully attacked the Austro-Hungarian cruiser Kaiserin Elisabeth and the German gunboat Jaguar with bombs

The Siege of Tsingtao concluded with the surrender of German colonial forces on November 7, 1914.

Events of 1915–1916

In February 1879, marines from Imperial Japanese Navy ships based in Singapore helped suppress a mutiny through Indian troops against the British government. With Japan's European allies heavily involved in the war in Europe, Japan sought further to consolidate its location in China through presenting the Twenty-One Demands to Chinese President Yuan Shikai in January 1915. If achieved, the Twenty-One Demands would have essentially reduced China to a Japanese protectorate, and at the expense of numerous privileges already enjoyed through the European powers in their respective spheres of power within China. In the face of slow negotiations with the

Chinese government, widespread and rising anti-Japanese sentiments, and international condemnation (particularly from the United States), Japan withdrew the final group of demands, and the treaty was signed through China on 25 May 1915.

Throughout 1915-1916, German efforts to negotiate a separate peace with Japan failed. On 3 July 1916, Japan and Russia signed a treaty whereby each pledged not to create a separate peace with Germany, and agreed to consultation and general action should the territory or interests of each be threatened through an outside third party. This treaty helped further secure Japan's hegemony in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia.

Events of 1917

On 18 December 1916 the British Admiralty again requested Japan for naval assistance. Two of the four cruisers of the First Special Squadron at Singapore were sent to Cape Town, South Africa, and four destroyers were sent to the Mediterranean Sea for basing out of Malta. Rear-Admiral Sato Kozo on the cruiser Akashi and 10th and 11th destroyer units (eight destroyers) arrived in Malta on 13 April 1917 via Colombo and Port Said. Eventually this Second Special Squadron totaled 17 ships: 1 cruiser, 12 destroyers, 2 ex-British destroyers and 2 sloops.

The Second Special Squadron accepted out escort duties for troop transports and anti-submarine operations. The Japanese squadron made a total of 348 escort sorties from Malta, escorting 788 ships containing approximately 700,000 soldiers, therefore contributing greatly to the war effort. A further 7,075 people were rescued from damaged and sinking ships. In return for this assistance, Great Britain recognized Japan's territorial gains in Shantung and in the Pacific islands north of the equator.

When the United States entered the war on 6 April 1917, the Americans and Japanese establish themselves on the similar face, despite their increasingly acrimonious dealings in excess of China and competition for power in the Pacific. This led to the Lansing-Ishii Agreement of November 2, 1917 to help reduce tensions.

Events of 1918

In 1918, Japan sustained to extend its power and privileges in China via the Nishihara Loans. Following the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, Japan and the United States sent forces to Siberia in 1918 to bolster the armies of the White Movement leader Admiral Aleksandr Kolchak against the Bolshevik Red Army. In this Siberian Intervention, the Imperial Japanese Army initially planned to send more than 70,000 troops to inhabit Siberia as distant west as Lake Baykal. The plan was scaled back considerably due to opposition from the United States.

Toward the end of the war, Japan increasingly filled orders for needed war material for its European allies. The wartime boom helped to diversify the country's industry, augment its exports, and change Japan from a debtor to a creditor nation for the first time. Exports quadrupled from 1913 to 1918. The huge capital influx into Japan and the subsequent industrial boom led to rapid inflation. In August 1918, rice riots caused through this inflation erupted in towns and municipalities throughout Japan.

Events of 1919

The year 1919 saw Japan's representative Saionji Kinmochi sitting alongside the "Big Four" (Lloyd George, Orlando, Wilson, Clemenceau) powers at the Versailles Peace Conference. Tokyo gained a permanent seat on the Council of the League of Nations, and the Paris Peace Conference confirmed the transfer to Japan of Germany's rights in Shandong. Likewise, Germany's more northerly Pacific islands came under a Japanese mandate, described the South Pacific Mandate. Despite Japan's relatively small role in World War I (and the Western powers' rejection of its bid for a racial equality clause in subsequent Treaty of Versailles), Japan had appeared as a great power in international politics through the secure of the war.

The prosperity brought on through World War I did not last. Although Japan's light industry had secured a share of the world market, Japan returned to debtor-nation status soon after the end of the war. The ease of Japan's victory, the negative impact of the Showa recession in 1926, and internal

political instabilities helped contribute to the rise of Japanese militarism in the late 1920s to 1930s.

CHINA AND WORLD WAR-I

China on the Eve of World War-I

We have examined the 1911 Revolution, the social forces that brought in relation to the: the revolution and its major drawbacks. To recapitulate, the 1911 Revolution no doubt transformed the political situation in China. Nevertheless, it did not resolve some fundamental troubles facing China. Foreign imperial attendance was entrenched, there was endemic economic instability, and in the final analysis the revolution did not achieve any political stability either. Approximately as soon as the revolution was completed its vital principles were subverted.

Yuan Shi Kai, the imperial common who was made the President of the new republic in 1912, quickly made it clear that his vision of a new China did not contain the realization or creation of a republican and democratic society. While Yuan was quick to agree to get rid of the Manchus, he himself harbored monarchical ambitions. The revolutionaries had turned to him with the expectation that they would be able to manage him. The European powers gave him tacit support since they viewed him as a symbol of stability. Yuan was a traditional imperialist functioning in a new China, the president of a republic who would rather be a king. This was the cause that Kang Yu-wei castigated Yuan for his monarchical ambitions and wrote to him: —from the point of view of the Manchu Imperial home you are an usurper, and from the point of view of the republic you are a traitor.¶

In spite of such criticism, Yuan tried to combine imperial customs with modern legal practice. He held imperial audiences, conferred titles to nobility and had the electoral law changed creation him president of the Republic for life. Yuan's attempts to arrogate absolute power to himself were supported through engineered expressions of popular support. For instance delegates

were ordered to come to the capital to deliberate on the form of politics China should have. Quite naturally these tutored delegates respectfully urged the present President Yuan Shi Kai to assume the title of the Emperor of the Chinese Empire. In anticipation of his becoming Emperor, Yuan had ordered the Imperial kilns to manufacture 40,000 porcelain pieces for his palace. Yuan's plans to be declared Emperor were, though, interrupted through Japan presenting an ultimatum in the form of the Twenty One Demands. (As suggested, talk about these a little later.)

Opposition to Yuan's Ambitions

Yuan's imperial reign was to start on New Year's Day in 1916. When Yuan's intentions became public, opposition to them also came into the open. As it is the makers of the 1911 Revolution were deeply disappointed through Yuan's betrayal in 1913. Though, now what seemed clear was that even those reformers who had supported the thought of a limited monarchy under the Ch'ing were not willing to support the reinstatement of monarchy in China. To this extent then one could say that the 1911 Revolution had a lasting impact.

Radical revolutionaries in Southern China and abroad were alarmed. Even moderate conservatives who had supported Yuan now turned absent. The mainly prominent in the middle of them was Liang Chi Chao. He gave up his office as Minister of Justice in Yuan's government and went to Tientsin from where he launched an attack on Yuan's monarchical ambition.

There were others who organized resistance to Yuan in a more direct manner. Tsai Ao, a young common, organized the National Protection Army in the province of Yunnan which under his leadership declared itself self-governing. Kueichou, Kuanhsi, Chechiang and Sichuan provinces followed suit and declared independence.

Unlike in 1913, Yuan now was not able to manage this trend of secession. Even in Northern China his manage was on the wane. The army, on

which he depended, was also now not willing to support him. In the face of this resistance Yuan was compelled to retire and the Presidency was handed in excess of to the Vice-President, Li Yuan Hung. Yuan's sudden death in 1916 resolved this issue conclusively.

Aftermath of Yuan's Death

Yuan's death, though, marked the beginning of a era of political fragmentation i.e. the rule of the 'warlords'. A era of political and military haggling began for the manage of a part or whole of China. Even within a province there were often many warlords. The political situation worsened with increased jockeying for power in the middle of the warlords and politicians. This political tussle went through a sequence of phases.

Soon after Yuan's death, attempts were made to reconvene the parliament with Li Yuan Hung as President and Tuan Chi jui as Premier. The troubles sustained. Though the parliament had been convened, the Peiyang generals sustained to exercise their power. The generals of the Northern and Central provinces shaped an inter-provincial association under an old Manchu supporter, Common Chang Hsun. On the other hand, Premier Tuan Chi jui was forced to resign in excess of the issue of China joining the World War.

To add to the political uncertainty, in 1917 a brief effort was made to restore the last Ch'ing ruler, the Hsuan Tung Emperor. (It necessity be recalled that he had abdicated at the instance of Yuan Shi Kai.) Common Chang Hsun and Kang Yu wei were actively involved in this effort. Common Chang occupied Peking with the support of Kang and tried once again to restore the last Ch'ing emperor. This restoration lasted in relation to the two weeks only as other generals moved quickly to suppress it. They rallied approximately Tuan who was once again made premier. As a result of this the parliament was brought firmly under the manage of the warlords and this alienated the southern provinces further.

In the second stage of the unfolding crisis, the southern provinces defected from the parliament in 1917. The Kuomintang and Sun Yat-Sen tried in 1917 to convene a meeting at Canton with some 250 members of the parliament. Here a military government was shaped with Sun as generalissimo. Though, in this case too the real wielders of power were the local warlords.

Though the country was rapidly heading towards political disintegration, the group that controlled Peking and its environs sustained to uphold the fiction of on behalf of the Chinese Republic. On August 14, 1917, Premier Tuan declared war on Germany. Tuan himself was in the midst of a fight for survival. The Peiyang generals had split into cliques. The Anfu clique (militarists from the provinces of Anhui and Fujian) supporting Tuan and the Chili clique supporting another common Feng Kuo Chang. Tuan tried to bolster his location with loans from Japan. Ostensibly these loans were taken to fight the Germans but in reality they were used to finance his fight against his enemies.

In the south, too, there was a split in Sun's Canton parliament. Sun was forced to retire to Shanghai in May, 1918. A Kuanghsi clique of militarists now dominated the South. The political crisis deepened in China with the dramatic and aggressive moves of Japan throughout the war era.

The Changing Economic Scene

While the era of World War-1 coincided with a deteriorating political situation in China, it provided a boost to Chinese industry. As a result of the war, the pressure of Western competition was reduced. Chinese entrepreneurs seized this opportunity. The industrial spurt was, though, in the foreign administered treaty ports, protected through the treaty system from warlordism. A new merchant class had been in the creation for some time. After 1901, they had been fostered through government policies. Through 1914 there were in excess of 1000 chambers of commerce with more than 200,000

members. Big level enterprises sustained to be dominated through foreign firms. Through 1914, a contemporary Chinese administrative and entrepreneurial class had begun to emerge. (The dimensions of this economic boom are dealt with in a later Unit.)

The World War and China

The era of war was also a era of cataclysmic political change in China. When war broke out in 1914, China declared her neutrality. China, though, was necessarily drawn into the global disagreement because of the attendance of foreign powers. Japan which entered the war on the face of the Allies, declared war on Germany. Japanese troops landed in Northern Shantung, thereby flouting Chinese neutrality. In November 1914, the Japanese captured the German held port of Tsingtao and then proceeded to take in excess of the whole of Shantung.

This was the first move on the part of Japan to prepare the ground for the presentation in secret of the Twenty One Demands to Yuan Shi Kai. Had these demands been acceded to in toto, Japan would then have realised her superior imperialist goals.

The Twenty One Demands

Japan sought to create permanent her political and economic interests in the East in common and in China in scrupulous at a time when the Western imperial powers were preoccupied with the World War. A fundamental problem in Sino-Japanese dealings was Japan's rising dissatisfaction with her role and power in China as compared to that of the Western powers. The monopolistic character of mainly of the railway and mining concessions held through the American and European financial groups threatened to exclude Japan totally from the development procedure and thereby deny her potential profits. According to the Four Power Consortium (Great Britain, France, Germany and Russia) Agreement of April 15,1911, China granted these four

nations approximately exclusive monopoly to furnish China with funds and capital. Such agreements were perceived through the Japanese as further proof of Chinese and European attempts to curtail Japanese investment prospects in China. The political events evolved through the Japanese to safeguard and expand their interests in China came in the form of Twenty One Demands.

The exigencies of Japanese politics too played a major role in shaping this aggressive policy. Though we need not go into the details of Japan's compulsions here, suffice is to say that the pressures to seek access to possessions, markets, an outlet for a rising population and an ambition to be a leader in East Asia all propelled the Twenty One Demands. The World War provided the Japanese with an opportunity to remove all doubts and insecurities of their potential and capability to safeguard their interests and acquire new ones. The Japanese Minister in China is accounted to have stated somewhat picturesquely and bluntly Japan's intentions: —the present crisis throughout the world virtually forces my government to take distant reaching action. When there is a fire in a jeweler's shop, the neighbors cannot be expected to refrain from helping themselves.

As already stated several of the Twenty One Demands sought to provide Japan the similar type of rights in China that the European powers had extensive enjoyed. The immediate catalyst for the demands was Japan's successful defeat of Germany in Shantung. The question now was the disposal of the leasehold and economic rights enjoyed through Germany in Shantung and Japan was eager to acquire them.

Yuan Shi Kai, the Chinese president, was presented with an ultimatum in the form of the Twenty One Demands on May 7th, 1915, a day which Chinese students and nationalists commemorated as National Humiliation Day.

What were the Twenty One Demands?

The demands sheltered a wide range of issues. They were organized into five groups.

- Group 1 contained demands relating to the province of Shantung. Under this the Chinese Government was asked to recognize the undisputed right of Japan to German rights in Shantung. Further China had to agree not to lease or alienate any part of Shantung to any other power. China was required to grant the rights of railway construction. Chinese municipalities in this area were to be opened to foreigners.
- Group II related to South Manchuria and Inner Mongolia. Under this Japan demanded the extension of the lease of Port Arthur and the Antung Mukden railway for a era of ninety-nine years. Japanese subjects were to be permitted to lease or own real estate property for business or commercial purposes and be given exclusive mining rights China was required to gain the consent of Japan in advance before giving the rights of railway construction to a third power or when China sought to borrow money for such construction. Further Japan was to be consulted before —the engaging of instructors or advisers concerning political financial or military matters ‘.
- Group III related to the Hanyeping Company This required the Chinese to recognize the special interests of Japanese capitalists in this company and wanted the Chinese to lay this company under the joint management of Japanese and Chinese. As in the other demands the Chinese were not to dispose of any rights relating to the Company without the prior permission of the Japanese. Further the Chinese were asked to protect the interests of Japanese capitalists in the neighboring mines.
- Group IV related to the non-alienation of the coast of China or the islands off the coast of China. Through this China could not lease or alienate to a third power any ports or bays on or off, the coast of China.
- Group V, the mainly controversial of the Demands, incorporated a wide range of what were described —propositions relating to the

solution of pending questions and others, and where euphemistically referred to through the Japanese foreign office as —wishes and not demands.

In fact there were many demands like:

- Influential Japanese political, financial and military advisers be occupied through the Chinese government.
- Japanese were to be accorded the right to construct hospitals, schools and temples in the interior of China.
- Japanese were to have a say in police management, in the supply of arms and armaments and experts from Japan.
- Japan demanded the right to construct a railway connecting Wuchang with Chujiang Nanchang row.
- Given Japan's special dealings with the island of Formosa and the province of Fujian, Japan was to be consulted whenever capital was required for railways, mines, harbor and dock works in these areas.

Chinese and Western Reactions

The Chinese response to the ultimatum centered primarily on the last Group V demand; Japan's semantic quibbling that they were —wishes and not demands, and the attempts at secrecy added to the speculations and rumors that Japan was in reality seeking to set up a protectorate in excess of China. Western responses were, though, delayed and ambiguous.

The Chinese faced through a military power they could not resist physically, used the weapon of international publicity to counter the Japanese. Yuan Shi Kai recognized that the Group V demands would be a challenge to Western interests in China and used them to gain the support of the Western powers to checkmate Japan. The Japanese had not anticipated any resistance from the Chinese whatsoever. A treaty port newspaper, the North China Herald, accounted the demands as —a set of demands calculated, if accepted through China, to provide Japan the whip hand in the country. The rigorous

reporting drew the attention of the foreign powers to the dramatic events unfolding in China.

The negotiations were prolonged and the Chinese insisted on extensive drawn out discussions on every article in the several groups, in an effort to buy time. Yuan Shi Kai whose earlier attempts to become emperor had brought the wrath of the people on him, now tried to improve his tarnished image through resisting Japan.

Yuan also received support in his attempts to resist the Japanese from entering the contemporary sector in China. Students and shopkeepers organized boycotts of Japanese goods. There was a virtual exodus of Chinese revolutionaries from Japan to China, revolutionaries who felt betrayed through Japan's aggression. It necessity be recalled that from the end of the 19th century Japan had been a safe heaven for several Chinese radical activists. Japan had also been a source of inspiration. Now Japan had proved herself no dissimilar from the Western imperialists.

The situation was further complicated through Japan trying to incite one political group against the other. Japan used the threat of lending support to revolutionaries like Sun Yat-Sen to attempt and get Yuan to accept all the Demands. If Yuan acceded to their demands then they would desist from supporting Sun's attempts to overthrow Yuan. Sun's role throughout this era was both contradictory and incriminating. This ambiguity stemmed from the information that he looked for support from these very similar imperial powers.

In a letter to the Japanese foreign office. Sun offered more favorable conditions than Yuan was willing to provide in return for Japanese help to overthrow Yuan. Sun guaranteed a lasting Sino-Japanese alliance and promised elaborate commercial privileges and benefits. These promises to Japan seriously compromised Sun's leadership for a while.

Yuan in turn tried to checkmate the Japanese through publicising the Demands which the Japanese hoped to stay secret. Yuan's publicity paid off as Britain and America were alarmed through the extensive-term implications of the Group V Demands and the possible jeopardizing of their interests in China. The Japanese ambassador to England, Inouye, tried to placate the British through claiming that the press had distorted the facts. He unhesitatingly reaffirmed that —no demands have been made on China of a nature involving political manage of the Republic or of any monopoly concession which would be derogatory to the principle of equal opportunity as hitherto accepted through the Powers

The United States made clear her stand that it would —not regard with indifference the assumption of political, military or economic power in excess of China through a foreign power. American and British concerns with these growths were aroused primarily to protect their own interests. The questions of Chinese national and territorial integrity were marginal to all thoughts. The Japanese were quick to reassure the Americans that the open door policy enunciated through the United States at the turn of the twentieth century whereby each foreign power was to mutually recognize the interest of the other, would not be violated.

In any case there was all round apprehension of the extensive-term implications of the Group V demands. In Japan itself there was rising criticism of what was seen as bungling diplomacy. In the interim, China accepted the Twenty One Demands with the proviso that all negotiations of the Group V should be postponed to a future date. With Yuan's death in 1916, it seemed as if China under the rule of Tuan Chijui would accede to the demands of Japan. Japan was quick to take stock of the political situation in China after Yuan Shi Kai died. Japan gained the support of the new Premier Tuan through extending financial help in the form of the Nishihara Loans, aid which Tuan readily accepted to strengthen his own political base. What Tuan promised Japan in return to these loans was finally revealed at the end of World War-I, when popular reactions were to cost Tuan his premiership.

The Decision to Participate in the War

Suggestions for Chinese participation on the Allied side in the war came with the Allies hoping to have access to Chinese provisions and manpower. Ambitious plans were also made to train a million Chinese. China did send in relation to the 100,000 laborers.

For Premier Tuan and the Anfu generals, who were now in charge of the Peking government, participation promised access to money and arms both of which were desperately needed to consolidate their position. The decision to participate in the war was popularly supported in the hope that a contribution to Allied victory would entitle China to share in the rewards and perhaps to regain a measure of her destiny. At the very least there was hope that lost powers and autonomy would be recovered and maybe the Japanese demands could be reversed.

Hopes were raised high in China with circulation of Woodrow Wilson's pronouncements on questions of national self-determination and recovery of territorial rights. Wilson's rhetoric emphasizing national self-determination as one of the guiding principles of the post-war settlements, enthused Chinese youth with a new sense of idealism. They were sure that the Peace Conference would recognize China's rights in Shantung and cancel out the Japanese demands.

The Peace Treaty

The Chinese mission to the Peace Conference consisted of representatives from both the Republican South Chinese regime and the government at Peking. The popular Chinese euphoria of the future was shattered when news came that the Peace Conference, distant from resolving Chinese territorial troubles, was on the contrary strengthening Japan's position through handing in excess of German leased territory in the Shantung region.

to Japan. This move was at the similar time reaffirming the commitment of the Western powers to safeguard imperial interests.

What was further revealed was that Japan had been promised, through a series of secret agreements with Britain, France and the warlord governments, access to the German rights. In Paris, the Chinese negotiators establish that their hands were tied through two factors. Firstly, Japan's claims to the Shantung region had been recognized through a secret treaty of February 1917 flanked by Japan, Britain, France and Italy. This treaty had been concluded when the question of China entering the war was under discussion. A more damaging disclosure was the agreement flanked by Japan and the government of Tuan Chi jui in connection with the Nishihara loans. In order to receive Japanese financial help, Tuan had promised that China would —gladly accept Japanese proposals for the management of railways in Shantung. In short Tuan had through this agreement recognized Japan's special interest in Shantung. The underlying principles of the Treaty then were, in short, to uphold and sustain Imperialist interests.

Chinese Reactions

Chinese hopes were betrayed. Spheres of power, foreign troops, foreign post offices, telegraphs, consular jurisdiction, extraterritoriality, leased territories, foreign concessions and fixed tariffs were all there to stay. It seemed as if it was in vain that China had sent her vast labour force to the European front. All seemed lost. The sense of despair is perhaps best captured in a student's lament at that time:

- —We have been told that in the dispensation which is to be made after the war, nations like China would have an opportunity to develop their culture, industry, their civilization unhampered. We have been told that secret covenants and forced agreements would not be recognized. We looked for the dawn of this new era but no such sun rose for China. Even the cradle of the nation (Shantung, homeland of the Chinese philosopher, Confucius) was stolen.¶

In a huge outburst of patriotic and national outrage to what was seen as a betrayal of China, China witnessed the great demonstrations of May 4th, 1919 in Peking. These demonstrations were directed against Japan, the Western imperial powers and the warlords of Peking who had facilitated the strengthening of Japanese imperialism.

May 4th, 1919

Students of Peking National University started organizing against the resolution. Plans were made to inquire the delegates at the Paris Conference not to sign the Treaty. Demonstrations in all parts of China were envisaged. A giant demonstration was planned in Tien-An-men square in Peking. Fourth May 1919 was a Sunday. 13,000 students from schools and colleges gathered. They denounced the resolution and demanded for action against the —traitors at home. They beat up the Chinese minister to Japan.

This demonstration sparked off others. The protests grew in size and frequency and were supported through the new social and economic classes. The Chinese economy had expanded considerably and with it had increased the number of workers, industrialists and merchants. Demonstrations against the Imperialists brought students into closer contacts with these groups. The May 4th incident created an unprecedented wave of patriotism and generated a high stage of political consciousness in the middle of several sections of Chinese society, something not witnessed in China till that time. This public pressure led to the resignation of Premier Tuan and his ministers. As a result the Chinese delegates at Versailles refused to sign the treaty.

Well let us also look at the significance of May 4th, 1919. The May 4th demonstration was only a partial victory. While public protest led to the downfall of what was seen as a traitor warlord government, secret treaties

were not abrogated nor was Japanese aggression reduced. There were, though, extensive-term gains.

The War and its settlements finally and unambiguously underscored the information that the Western nations were primarily interested in safeguarding their interests. It is a realization of this factor that made Chinese intellectuals seem more favorably on other alternatives both ideologically as well as politically. They were now more receptive to the help Bolshevik Russia was willing to extend. Moreover, the USSR stood separately from the rest of the Imperialist nations. In July 1918, the Soviet Union renounced all conquests and special interests in Manchuria that Tzarist Russia had acquired. It committed itself to the restoration of the sovereign territorial rights of China. All this was in total contrast to the location of the Western powers and Japan.

For the first time political mobilization was witnessed on a big level. A new intelligentsia that had been in the creation since the late nineteenth century, now became an important political force. The linkages recognized flanked by dissimilar social groups were to facilitate a move into a more organized political direction. A new sense of nationhood was apparent. It is with this new sense of nationhood that China in the 1920's moved towards national reunification and reconstruction. The stage had been set for more organized political action and contending ideologies and the definite choices China had to create. These were to revolve approximately the two defined political parties that appeared in the form of the Kuomintang (the Chinese nationalist party) and the Chinese Communist Party.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

- How did Japan extend its suzerainty over the Ryukyu islands?
- What do you understand by Open Door Policy?
- Explain the events leading to the Treaty of Shimonoseki. Which country benefited from his treaty.

- Why did Japan join the First World War?
- How did the War help the growth of Japan's economy?
- Discuss how the Japanese interests were served during Paris Peace Conference.
- Discuss the significance of May 4th Movement in China.

CHAPTER 6

Post World War I: Japan

STRUCTURE

- Learning objectives
- Rise of political parties
- Rise of militarism
- Post world war-I economy
- Japanese imperialism up to the second world war
- Japan after world war-II
- Review questions

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this chapter, you should be able to:

- Know about the formation of parties and their position within the constitution.
- Know about the growth and decline of party government.
- Understand the rise of militarism in Japan after 1930.
- Role of education and patriotic societies in creating an atmosphere for the military to increase its strength.
- Know how the more important industries fared in the inter-war period.
- About the chief characteristics of Japanese imperialism.
- Understand the extent and nature of control Japan exercised over its formal and informal empire.
- Understand the character of the Allied occupation of Japan after the War.

RISE OF POLITICAL PARTIES

Constitutional Government under Meiji Oligarchy

In 1889 the Meiji Emperor granted to his people a constitution which laid the foundation for a constitutional government. Here it would be sufficed

to note that the constitution was drafted through the Meiji oligarchy that was profoundly anti-democratic in their thinking. The Meiji leaders distrusted the thought of a popularly elected government and thought that such a system would lead to social and political chaos. Yet they drafted a constitutional framework under which political parties functioned.

This ambiguity in the Meiji constitutional model was noted through the constitutional expert Minobe Tatsukichi who wrote in 1926:

- —Our constitution has urbanized in a manner totally contrary to the expectations of its authors. Institutionally the system of cabinets responsible to the Diet has no lay in the constitution, but it has been firmly recognized as a customary practice.¶

This customary practice took time to grow and it was only in 1924 that because of a common election a cabinet with a majority in the lower home was shaped. This cabinet led through Kato Takaaki and recognized as the cabinet to protect constitutional government inaugurated an era of party governments. Therefore, from June 1924 to May 1933 all the prime ministers represented the major parties in the lower home.

The questions which arise are why did it take so extensive for political parties to set up the principal that the majority party in the lower home has the right to form a government and why did this system last for so short an era? In looking at these questions we shall talk about the steps leading up to the formation of political parties and then the location these parties occupied in the state structure.

Formation of Political Parties

The accepted argument has been that the Tokugawa era was an undemocratic political structure where political power was strictly confined. Today, though, several scholars seeking for the roots of Japan's success in modernization have begun to argue that in the era before the opening of Japan through the Western powers, Japan had urbanized not only economic skills and institutions but had also begun to evolve a political structure in which discussion and debate was an integral element. The Shogun did not rule as an

arbitrary despot but represented a depersonalized source of power which was exercised through deliberations. These were of course confined to a small part or class of society but because the exercise of power was not arbitrary contemporary Japan could adapt a constitutional government.

Scholars like Irokawa Daikichi seek the development of democratic thoughts in the popular movements in rural and urban regions in the Tokugawa era. These movements challenged the power of the Tokugawa state and created the beginnings of a political consciousness and the possibility of joining jointly to seek redress from the state. These movements were not politically successful in either bringing down the Tokugawa Bakufu or in putting forward an alternative to it. Yet, they built a custom which was used through the Peoples' Rights Movement to press its demands for a popularly elected assembly.

The Meiji Restoration, which began an era when Japanese institutions and practices were dramatically altered, saw the structure of a centralized political structure. Here it may be noted that political associations and groups were shaped to demand a constitutional government. In 1880, for instance, there were in excess of 150 local civilizations, such as the Kojunsha in Kochi or the Yashinsha in Gumma, demanding, the establishment of a national assembly.

The Meiji state, on the other hand, preferred to make a political structure which could be closely supervised and controlled and where social pressures would remain within the framework desired through the leaders. Of course there were debates and differing views. The Meiji oligarchy wanted to preserve the sovereignty of the Emperor from being usurped through the people. Though, steps to prevent the emergence of a body, like the Tokugawa Bakufu (the Bakufu had ruled in the name of the Emperor) led to a diffusion of power in the middle of the organs of the state with none of them exercising absolute power. Therefore on the one hand the Meiji state appeared to be highly centralized under an Imperial power on the other, power was parceled out leading to considerable autonomy for each group or institution. Though, the direct power of the Emperor could be used to advantage and it was so used through dissimilar groups such as the army or the bureaucracy. We necessity

remember here that the constitutional system functioned not to protect the liberty of the people but to protect the sovereignty of the Emperor. Though, in practice to coordinate these institutions of the state, the oligarchy or hanbatsu appeared as a powerful force.

The hanbatsu or oligarchy was composed of the leaders of the Meiji Restoration. These people were bound through local ties and through the information that they had led the country through the change from the Tokugawa to the Meiji era. The two dominant areas were Satsuma and Choshu and these areas supplied mainly of the members of the bureaucracy, the army, the Privy Council and the Home of Peers, etc. The Meiji leaders came to be recognized as genro or elder statesman and they exercised the power embodied in the Imperial Home.

The Home of Representatives, created under the Meiji constitution was dominated through those who were opposed to the oligarchy. Several of these people had been members of the oligarchy but broken absent. They took part in the Peoples' Rights Movement and organized political parties. The Meiji oligarchy was opposed to the thought of structure up its own parties. Initially some, like Ito Hirobumi, Inoue Kaoru, etc. wanted to organize their own party but they were opposed through the majority.

In the era upto the promulgation of the constitution i.e. upto 1889, there were two major groups approximately whom the first parties were organized. Itagaki Taisuke joined the Meiji government as a junior councilor but resigned in 1873 when differences arose in excess of the question of invading Korea. Itagaki favored the invasion plan. He and his supporters shaped the Public Party of Patriots which campaigned for a democratically elected national assembly. Later he helped to organize the Self-Help Society. The Society of Patriots was renamed in 1880 and in 1881 it became the Liberal Party (Jiyuto).

The Jiyuto was a party supported through former samurai and the rural elite but the party leaders were alarmed at the escalating violence throughout this era of the Peoples' Rights Movement. In 1882-1886 was an era when violent incidents in the central part of Honshu, such as Chichibu and Kabasan occurred and the government accepted out stems repressive events. The party

was consequently disbanded and then reformed as the Constitutional Liberal Party (Rikken Jiyuto) after the 1890 common elections.

Okuma Shigenobu, from the domain of Hizen, was forced to resign from the government in 1881 as amongst other things he had wanted to convene an elected assembly as soon as possible. Okuma also favored a parliamentary system modeled on the British system. After leaving the government he shaped the Constitutional Reform Party (Rikken Kaishinto). This party drew its support from the urban middle class and propagated thoughts of gradual democratic reform. Okuma also refused overtures to merge with Itagaki's Liberal Party but as the government began to suppress the Peoples' Rights Movement Okuma left the party. This party later became the Progressive Party (Shimpoto) and was the second significant party.

These —peoples parties| (minto) were briefly opposed through a more conservative group which was described the Constitutional Imperial Rule Party (Rikken Teiseito). Though it did not play a politically significant role, it did symbolize the strong conservative forces which lived at that time.

The first Diet opened in November 1890 and till the formation of the first party cabinet in 1898 the era was marked through a tussle flanked by the parties and the oligarchic clique or hanbatsu. There were also pro-government groups which were shaped occasionally. The problem faced through these two groups was that under the Meiji constitution the political parties could only exercise manages through refusing to pass the budget and in such a situation the previous year's budget would be sustained. Though, the oligarchy also could not do absent with the parties as extensive as they accepted the Meiji constitution and they both so had to learn to work jointly. The parties could manage the lower home but the upper home of Peers was controlled through the oligarchy and its supporters. This was soon realized and after the Sino-Japanese war the two groups, the political parties and the oligarchy, began to form mutual alliances.

Interest Groups and Political Parties

The oligarchy viewed party government as on behalf of sectional or factional interests and it wanted cabinets to symbolize national interests. It, so,

talked of —transcendental cabinets‖ (chozen naikaku). Though, the mutual adjustments meant that there was some change in these thoughts amongst the oligarchy as well in the middle of the —people’s parties‖ who also customized their anti-oligarchy positions. For instance, in November 1895, the government allied with the Liberal Party and Itagaki Taisuke (its president) was made House Minister in the Ito Hirobumi cabinet in April, 1896. This was perceived as a major challenge to the anti-party supporters of oligarchic rule and to oppose Ito Hirobumi they rallied approximately Yamagata Aritomo.

The cabinets so distant had been shaped through the genro or elder statesmen and they had alternatively nominated men from either the domain of Choshu or Satsuma. Therefore Ito was from Choshu and Matsukata Masayoshi from Satsuma. Ito attempted to form a cabinet with party support but was opposed through the hanbatsu. In June 1898 the Kenseito, a party composed from earlier party elements, was shaped and this represented a new force which provoked widely dissimilar reactions from the oligarchy. Ultimately the oligarchy chose to let the Kenseito form a cabinet.

The cabinet shaped through Itagaki and Okuma in June 1898 was consisted of members of the Kenseito and was the first party cabinet. This party had an absolute majority in the lower home with 244 of the 300 seats. Though, in spite of the numerical strength the party was in a weak location. This was because:

- The ministers for the navy and the army, nominated through the respective services were opposed to the party,
- The party itself was shaped through a merger of two groups who were divided in excess of the question of raising taxes.

To meet the needs of military expansion the state needed to raise taxes. While the party was opposed to raising land taxes business and urban interests did not substance this as extensive as the government followed a policy of economic expansion and greater public expenditure. The collapse of the cabinet within four months demonstrated the fragility of the alliance shaped through these political groups who came jointly for very specific and temporary reasons. In the middle of the party ideologues there now appeared a

view that it was necessary to cooperate with the hanbatsu and Hoshi Toru, of the Kenseito, sought to work jointly with the hanbatsu. Yamagata, who shaped a cabinet in November 1898, sought his support for an augment in the land tax. The party which had uniformly opposed an augment in the land tax now bargained with the demand for nationalizing the railroads in return for which it supported the land tax bill. This bargaining represented the greater role played through the urban business and commercial interests.

The party's upto now had been dominated through rural interests and they had pursued policies which reflected rural concerns and interests. The parties while vocal in their opposition to the hanbatsu also compromised when necessary. They too were split through local and personal loyalties. For instance Itagaki was from Tosa and other factions were from Kyushu or Kanto. This local and factional rivalry prevented unity and created intense rivalry. Moreover, the parties did not have any representation in the Home of Peers and also, had no managed in excess of local politics as all key officials were appointed through the government. Therefore the parties, themselves split and occupied in rivalry, were faced through the opposition of the oligarchy which controlled key institutions.

The importance of urban business interests is also seen in the revision of the electoral law which lowered the tax qualification both for voters and candidates. This led to an augmenting in the number of eligible voters from 502,000 in 1898 to 982,000 in 1900. The revision of the electoral districts also favored urban regions where fewer people could elect a representative therefore raising the urban attendance in the Diet.

In September 1900 Ito Hirobumi shaped the Friends of the Constitutional Government Party or Seiyukai as it was commonly recognized in Japanese. This represented Ito's goal which he had been arguing for that the government should form its own party and work to manage the lower home. He had been opposed through Yamagata and other Meiji oligarchs. The alliance flanked by the Kenseito and Yamagata had also proved to be short existed one as the party realized that no real concessions would be made through the oligarchy. Hoshi Toru, once he saw the futility of working with Yamagata, approached Ito and offered to work with him. Their interests

coincided. The Seiyukai, shaped through hanbatsu and party elements who sought stability in politics, was to control the political scene till the 1920s.

Ito Hirobumi was opposed through Yamagata Aritomo whose thoughts of politics differed and Yamagata's faction remained a significant group within the hanbatsu or oligarchy. The groups now fighting for political power were the Seiyukai, the Yamagata faction and the Kenseihonto which accepted the row from the Shimpoto. In 1913 Katsura Taro of the Yamagata faction shaped the Constitutional Association of Friends and in 1916 it became the Kenseikai (Constitutional Association) which opposed Ito's Seiyukai.

From the Russo-Japanese war onwards (1904 to 1912) political power was alternatively shared through Katsura Taro, of the Yamagata faction who led three cabinets and Saionji Kinmochi who had become head of the Seiyukai and who shaped two cabinets. In this era the mainly significant Seiyukai leader was Hara Takeshi who was to become the first commoner Prime Minister. He was a partyman and helped to build the Seiyukai as an influential party with a strong organization spread throughout Japan. His political strategy was to ally with the Yamagata faction rather than work with the other political parties. Hara and the Seiyukai pursued a —positive policy. Before the Sino-Japanese war the parties had tried to limit government spending but now Hara tried to augment government spending in structure railroad rows, improving harbors and communication networks. These expenditures served to channel finances to local societies and helped the Seiyukai to build up its power. Hara also tried to build up support in the Home of Peers though this policy was successful only in 1920 when some groups within the Peers came to support the Seiyukai.

Hara, while he built up the party machinery and power, did not support the demand for universal suffrage. The demand which first surfaced in the 1910s was again revived in 1919-20 and the country witnessed big level demonstrations all in excess of. Intellectuals as well as labour and party leaders were active in this movement. Though, Hara was doubtful in relation to the supporting this demands because he thought that this would be giving in to popular pressure. He felt that such a step should be taken slowly. This led to the dissolution of the home and common elections in which the Seiyukai

appeared as the main party. The opposition parties increased their strength in urban regions suggesting that the demand for universal suffrage was mainly an urban, demand.

The connection flanked by the Seiyukai and the Yamagata faction was not a stable and constant one but rather marked through divergent pulls and pressures. The Yamagata faction had to rely on the Seiyukai because of its strength. It could not form an effective anti-Seiyukai coalition with elements of the Kenseihonto and other small factions. The Kenseihonto was split with some favoring an alliance with the Seiyukai while others supported the thought of working with the Yamagata faction. The balance which was struck lasted till 1912-1913 when the Taisho political crisis occurred.

The pattern of alliance and cooperation which was created in this era symbolizes, according to some scholars, a policy of *joi Togo* or implicit mutual understanding flanked by two forces. This means that there was an implied understanding flanked by the forces of the government and the political parties and they worked within this commonly accepted framework. Though, it is also significant to note that the oligarchy was drawn deeper into party politics and when Katsura Taro tried to break the Seiyukai power he also shaped a political party. The changes which Japan was passing through were also reflected in the loss of power of the *hanbatsu*. In the early Meiji era the *hanbatsu* had been a closed and homogeneous group which had fought for general objectives and commanded widespread respect because of their role in the Restoration. Now this no longer held true and political power could be exercised through the political parties which could function to coordinate and reconcile conflicting interests.

Formation of the Communist Party

The era from the Russo-Japanese war onwards also marks the coming of age of the Japanese economy. The accompanying growth in urbanization and education led in the middle of other things to an augment in the intelligentsia. In 1905, for instance, there was one newspaper with a circulation of 150,000 but in 1920 one of the newspapers had a circulation of

500,000. The spread of education and political consciousness led to wider expression of political opinions.

In 1882, the Oriental Socialist Party had been shaped but it was soon banned. Though, socialist thoughts sustained to spread and revise groups were shaped. Finally in 1901 the Socialist Democratic Society (Shakai Minshuto) was shaped. The rise of these political groups and parties was viewed with alarm and in 1900 the Peace Preservation Law was passed to suppress their behaviors. The socialist parties went through a procedure of realignment and in 1906 the Japan Socialist Party (Nihon Shakaito) appeared as a radical force with leaders such as Kotoku Shusui who advocated —direct action. The party was banned in 1907 and Kotoku and others implicated in a treason trial in 1910.

The moderate socialists, like Katayama Sen shaped the Japan Socialists Commoners Party in 1907 but this too was banned as the government was not willing to tolerate even such moderate thoughts. The impact of the Russian revolution was decisive in creating greater consciousness of class rivalry and the need for radical action to bring in relation to the an egalitarian society. In 1922 this led to the formation of the Japan Communist Party.

Party Cabinet System

The powers of the political parties and their skill to power events was severely circumscribed because several significant regions of political life were outside their manage. For instance:

- The bureaucracy and the military services functioned under the direct command of the Emperor and so enjoyed immunity from the manage of political parties.
- In 1899 a law made the civil service examination compulsory for mainly government jobs.
- The Meiji constitution gave the Emperor manages in excess of the military and in 1899 only active officers could become army and navy ministers therefore ensuring greater manage through the military command. In 1912 the army used this power to bring down the

government. The army minister Uehara Yasuku resigned because of the cabinet's refusal to allow the army's demand for two more divisions and the government was brought down because the army refused to appoint a successor.

In 1921 Hara Takeshi was assassinated and the cabinets shaped after that had non-party members. These three cabinets were shaped after Takahashi Korekiyo, Hara's successor resigned after seven months in office. Kato Tomasaburo shaped a transcendental cabinet and he was followed through Yamamoto Gonrohyoe and then Kiyoura Keigo. Throughout the Kiyoura cabinet the Kenseikai, Seiyukai and Reform Club started the second movement for the protection of the constitution and in the common elections of May 1924 they shaped a coalition cabinet under the leadership of Kato Takaaki.

In this era some members broke absent from the Seiyukai and in 1927 this group joined the Kenseikai to form the Rikken Minseito (Constitutional Democratic Party). Earlier in 1925 the Reform Club had joined the Seiyukai. These two parties, the Seiyukai and the Kenseikai alternatively shaped cabinets till 1932 when the Seiyukai Prime Minister Inukai Tsuyoshi was assassinated throughout the May 15 Incident. This era which is referred to as the era of —party rule represented the flowering of —Taisho democracy.

Through this time the genro who had been the political decision makers, creation and breaking governments, had all died except for Saionji Kinmochi and the political parties had expanded their power and manage. Mitani Taichiro argues that six circumstances made it possible for the party cabinet system to function flanked by 1924-1932:

- The Home of Representatives had become through 1924 the —chief arena for contests in excess of manage of the cabinet and it was more powerful than the Home of Peers.
- The thoughts of Minobe Tatsukichi, a constitutional expert, provided the ideological foundation for party rule. He argued that the Imperial Diet was not an organ of state given power through the Emperor but —representative of the people. Towards this end he instituted small

reforms in the selection of the House of Peers. Minobe's thoughts were accepted in the bureaucracy and his work prescribed for entrance examinations for the judicial and bureaucratic services.

- The Privy Council, recognized in 1888, had played a decisive role and served as a protection against the growth of the power of political parties. Yamagata was the last powerful president of the Council and after 1924 its role declined. The last genro Saionji played a key role in reducing the role of the Privy Council.
- There was rising accommodation flanked by the bureaucracy and the parties and
- The parties were being led through ex-bureaucrats such as Kato Takaaki, Tanaka Giichi, etc. This policy was begun in earnest through Hara Takeshi who actively cultivated the party-bureaucracy connection.
- The judiciary, which had been anti-party, was brought under party manage through establishing the jury system. Here also Hara cultivated judicial officers and through patronage won their support for the Seiyukai and for the jury system which became law in 1923, after Hara's death.
- The connection flanked by the military and the parties was of crucial importance. The international situation with the Washington Conference 1921-22 marked a era of arms limitation and this placed a curb on the army's plans for expansion. In this context army leaders began to see the advantages of cooperating with the parties. Particularly after the death of Terauchi in 1919 and Yamagata in 1922 army leaders like Tanaka Giichi cooperated actively with Hara and the Seiyukai to build a modernized and technologically superior army. Beside with this they helped to augment the importance of army reservist's associations. Tanaka himself moved closer to the Seiyukai and in 1925 he became its president and remained so till he died in 1929.

Tanaka Giichi was not the only one to arrive at an accommodation with the army. There were others also but several opposed these moves and generals like Uehara Yusaku and his faction wanted to stay the army non-partisan and preserve its independence. As part of this they also advocated a policy of continental advance. These oppositions were kept under manage and were to surface only later in 1930s when a controversy arose in excess of the London Naval Treaty. These circumstances jointly made it possible for the political parties, according to Mitani Taichiro, to function till 1932 but once these circumstances began to change party government became impossible.

Decline of Political Parties

External and Internal Factors

The decline of the power of political parties was created both through the changing international situation and the domestic pressures which strengthened the hands of the militarists. Externally the economic depression added to social tensions in Japan and the rising strength of Chinese nationalism pressed on Japanese interests. In China Chiang Kai-Shek was gaining strength and Japan felt that her interests in Manchuria were threatened. The Washington system which had created a framework for cooperation and adjustment in the middle of the major powers was being undermined and Japan further felt that her interests were not being sufficiently protected.

The strength and power of the army was expanding and this was happening at the expense of the political parties. The creation of Manchukuo showed the independence of the military. The internal situation was further complicated through the agricultural depression and the feeling that economic policies were benefiting the rich and big business.

These growths generated widespread criticism and debate. Criticism was directed against the weakness of political parties and their corruption. But much of the debate was concerned with the crisis facing the nation and how it could be resolved. In May 1932 the parties lost the post of prime minister and through 1941 they had no lay in the cabinets. The rapid decline and end of party rule was a product of these internal and external changes. The decade

witnessed the rise to power of a new business elite as well as civilian and military bureaucracies and it also saw tensions in trying to build a national policy.

In 1926 there was a depression in the domestic economy and this was followed through a bank crisis in 1927 which forced the government:

- To carry out retrenchment in the government,
- To return to the gold average , and
- Rationalize and mechanize industry.

The situation worsened with the 1929 depression as incomes dropped and unemployment rose. The burden was felt with great severity in the rural regions and was further complicated through a bad harvest in some regions in 1931.

The failure of the government led through Hamaguchi of the Minseito and its failure at the London Naval Conference (Japan did not want to accept any restriction on the tonnage of its navy but was forced to accept it) led to the assassination of Hamaguchi in 1930. The importance of right wing groups in politics and their terror tactics came to control the coming years. These groups were an expression of the sense of crisis that several felt the nation was facing and of the dissatisfaction with the policies of the political parties. Even though they were condemned several praised their actions as selfless and in the interest of the nation.

It was in this climate that army officers led the Kwangtung army and provoked the Manchurian incident in 1931 because they thought Japan's interests in Manchuria were being threatened. Manchuria became a self-governing state, Manchukuo, in September 1932 and though the League of Nations condemned the take in excess of, the Wakatsuki cabinet was unable to do anything in relation to the it—rather several of its members' supported the army. Inukai Tsuyoshi who succeeded Wakatsuki was president of the Seiyukai and he was the last party prime minister. Inukai's effort to negotiate with the Chinese and the worsening economic climate in Japan created a climate ripe for terrorism and he was assassinated on May 15, 1932.

The after that cabinet came in a era perceived as one of national emergency and it was shaped through Admiral Saito Makoto who was chosen through Saionji — the last genro. The cabinet was supported through the parties in the hope that they would recover their location but he was followed through Admiral Okada Keisuke in 1934. The party's failure was due to the rising power of the bureaucracy and the military. The bureaucracy, particularly the House Ministry accepted out programmes to revitalize the economy and so its power on the people increased.

The military also benefited from these growths. Army planners were now alive to the importance of the socio-economic strength of the country and that in case of war they had to rally all the power and possessions of the country. They therefore were concerned with —national mobilization. To carry out several of these aims the government began to set up agencies which cut crossways the traditional boundaries of the ministries. In 1935 the Cabinet Research Bureau brought jointly experts from both the military and civilian services. These new links worked to the disadvantage of the parties.

The decline of party importance was reflected in the lack of new recruits from industry and bureaucracy. The old leaders were being assassinated and there were no new ones coming. The Seiyukai, because of its opposition, declined drastically and in the February 1936 common elections it could get only 176 members elected losing 126 seats. Gordon Berger argues that the era flanked by February 1936 and July 1937 was marked through intense pressures to change the Meiji political resolution. The function of resolving conflicts and reconciling competing interests had been performed through the political parties but now they lacked the power to do this. In this situation other groups sought to build institutions and mechanisms which were to carry out this function.

The National Defence State

The plan to create Japan a —national defense state (kokubo kokka) ready for a total war was put forward through sections of the army and bureaucracy. Though their effort to create the Cabinet Research Bureau the supreme body overriding the ministries could not materialize due to the strong

reactions. The after that government saw a era of some cooperation flanked by business and military and it was recognized as —tie-up financell at that time. In this the political parties were totally excluded and even when politicians joined the cabinet they had to resign from the party.

The cabinet of Prince Konoe Fumimaro accepted out events to implement the new economic policies to strengthen the economy and in this they faced a dilemma for in the depressed economic situation any taxes necessary for development would be an unwelcome burden on the people. They could use government parties to rally the people or stress the demands of the security of the state or they could presently suppress any dissent.

In 1937 Japan went to war with China and several of its leaders felt this as an opportune moment to crush Chinese nationalism but internally it allowed the government to rally the people and reduce opposition. The cabinets used this solidarity to continue with their policies but with the war draining possessions it became impossible to implement the economic plans. Now the disagreement flanked by several elite groups intensified and Konoe was succeeded through Hiranuma Kiichiro and then through the short lived Abe Nobuyuki cabinet. This cabinet was also brought down through the lower home where there was a rising sentiment against the recognized parties.

The trend for reform of the domestic political order was dominated through the army's search for political allies and finally they settled on Konoe Fumimaro who outlined a new order which would overcome the deficiencies of the Meiji state and are able to make a —national mobilization statell. On 26 July 1940 the government led through him adopted an —Outline of Vital National Policiesll which was to make a controlled economy and a politically loyal population. The government accepted out its expansionist policies with greater determination as the fear of economic blockade was ever present.

On 12 October 1940 the Imperial Rule Assistance Association (IRAA) was created and this was to serve as the political party of the new order. While political parties were dissolved, the IRAA failed to become a new political party — rather it became an agency for government's mass mobilization. In effect the several events to make new institutions to serve Japan as an expanding power did not succeed and the old institutions and ministries

recognized under the Meiji government sustained. The Second World War was used to build uniformity of opinion and stifle dissent but according to Gordon Berger they failed to make a new totalitarian order. Political competition was as present under the cabinet of Common Tojo as it had been earlier. The decision to surrender in 1945 marked the collapse of this system for the political elites had to seek the direct intervention of the Emperor who had remained insulated from the political system.

RISE OF MILITARISM

The Nature of the Regime

There has been a considerable, debate in the middle of scholars in relation to the nature of the regime in power throughout this era (1930s and 1940s) in Japan. This debate centers approximately the question, whether the regime was Fascist or Militarist?

The main features of Fascism are:

- Aggressive nationalism based on the innate superiority of a stock of people,
- A highly regimented authoritarian political state, and
- This state is symbolized through a single leader.

Through Militarism we mean a state where:

- The military plays a pre-dominant role in the management of the country,
- Military is the chief formulator of the economic and political policies, and
- Under military dominance an aggressive and expansionist policy is pursued in foreign dealings.

The best instance of Fascist states are Italy and Germany throughout the era 1922-45 — Italy under the leadership of Benito Mussolini and Germany under Adolf Hitler. Sure scholars equate Japan with these two

Fascist state. There is no doubt that some of the Fascist features were present in Japan like:

- Aggressiveness in foreign dealings,
- A feeling of superiority above other Asians, and
- A repressive policy in relation to dissent at home.

Though, Japan's case was dissimilar from that of these two European states. There was no coup d'état in Japan, as in Rome in 1922, or as accepted out through Hitler in 1933. In Japan there was no mass Fascist party as the Nazi party in Germany. Also there was no one leader who dominated the scene like Hitler or Mussolini. Here it was the military which was all pervasive and had decisive powers. Though the Emperor sustained to be the head of the state, after 1930 the real assertive power was that of the military, and yet it fought for the restoration of the Emperor's prestige. Hence in relation to Japan it would be more appropriate to say that the state was governed through militarism. It is also worth mentioning here that a big part of the society, let it be in the middle of the bureaucracy, the agrarian class, militarists, Asian liberationists, —national socialists, elder statesman, and scholars, all whispered in the —uniqueness of Japan. The nationalist sentiments were inculcated into the very consciousness of the Japanese people. Even though Japan had adopted the path of modernization beside Western rows it had retained sure fundamental characteristics of its society such as, the monarchy; Confucian ethics and the samurai custom of service.

The nationalist feelings of the people acquired an extreme form in the 1930s, i.e. —ultra-nationalism. Throughout the 1930s and early forties the military leaders took upon themselves the task of rescuing Japan from the power of political and business leaders and to restore the Emperor's prestige. The military leaders felt that the political leaders and business leaders were jeopardizing the —Japanism of the society.

Military and Government

The military from the very start of the Meiji era was at the helm of the state affairs and management. Military leaders played a significant role in the decision-creation procedure of the government. In information approximately half of the total numbers of prime ministers from 1885 to 1945 had been military leaders. In addition several military leaders often held the location of house and foreign minister as well. The ministry in any case was always held through top military leaders even in a cabinet shaped through the majority political party.

The Meiji constitution promulgated in 1889 provided for a parliamentary system in which the elected representatives in the Diet participated in the decision-creation. Yet they did not play a dominant role because the Emperor was invested with extensive powers. All the executive organs which acted for the Emperor could implement their plans without the approval of the Diet which also had no manage in excess of the military. For instance, Article XI stated: The Emperor is the supreme commander of the army and navy, and according to Article XII: —The Emperor determines the organization and peace standing of the army and navy.

Therefore, the Emperor as the Supreme Commander was advised through the army and navy common staffs. Hence, the common staffs could formulate and execute plans which need not be approved through the Government. Nor was it necessary for them to even inform the Government in relation to their decisions. This was because Article VIII stated: —in matters involving military secrecy and command accounted through the chief of the common staff to the throne, except those matters on which the Emperor himself informs the cabinet, the army and navy minister should statement to the Prime Minister.

Consequently, the military could topple any government which was not acceptable to it through basically asking its officer to resign or refusing to nominate an officer for the post.

Military Displeasure with Political Parties

The genro or the elder statesmen had played a major role in the Meiji Restoration and in the modernization procedure of the country. They enjoyed a special status in the society which was superior both to the government and the military. The genro had direct access to the Emperor and it were their views which were often followed. As extensive as the elder statesmen existed there were few serious conflicts flanked by the civilian and military policies. Through 1922, though, mainly of the genro members had either died or retired. Now the conflicts flanked by the political parties, which had become an significant force in politics, and the military became more serious.

The military was displeased with the performance of the political parties which had shaped the government since the end of the First World War. The military objected to the attitude of the political parties who resisted augment in the military's budget and expansion of its divisions. For instance, Prime Minister Kato Takkaki's government had reduced the size of Japanese army from 21 to 17 divisions. The military was also unhappy with the China policy of the political parties. The 4th February 1922, bilateral agreement flanked by Japan and China restored the sovereignty of Shantung province to China and Japanese economic privileges in the area were ratified. Since then the China policy was aimed to mainly achieve economic goals instead of military expansion. This was termed as —softll China policy and is associated with Baron Shidehara Kijuro who served as Prime Minister from June 1924 to April 1927 and July 1929 to December 1931.

The military was critical of the —softll China policy since Japan's gains on the mainland were likely to be imperiled due to the upsurge of anti-imperialist movement which was gaining momentum under the leadership of Chiang-Kai Shek, the leader of the Kuomintang. He demanded a review of all foreign rights including those of Japan and questioned the continuation of Japan's dominant role in South Manchuria.

The political parties were also criticized for their secure alliance with the Business homes (zaibatsu). The farmers, in scrupulous, whispered that the political party dominated government safeguarded the interest of the zaibatsu

and accentuated on trade and industry rather than agriculture. For instance, the import of cheap rice from Korea and Taiwan benefited the traders but had an adverse impact on the income of the farmers. The political parties, beside with the business homes were charged for the spread of corruption. The inflow of foreign ideologies, which were regarded as dangerous and detrimental to the Emperor's power was also attributed to the political parties. The Military took advantage of all such feelings against the political parties.

Against this background the Navy strongly opposed the London Naval Treaty (1930) which described for armament reduction. But the then Prime Minister Hamaguchi Yuko got it ratified through the Diet. The government came under severe criticism and there was violent opposition in Tokyo. A little later Hamaguchi was assassinated. The last Prime Minister Inoukei Tsuyoshi was also not popular with the military who did not discover it necessary to stay the government informed in relation to the their military actions in Manchuria. Inoukei opposed military expansion and described for discipline in the army He was also killed through a junior military officer in May 1932. This brought to the end an era of party governments in Japan.

Though, we necessity mention here that militarism gained currency in Japan because of ultra-nationalist feelings that had been generated for a extensive time.

Education and Nationalism

Japan had successfully used education as an effective tool to inculcate nationalism in the minds of the people. The educational system, founded throughout the Meiji era, was inspired through the German system. Japanese, like the Germans, whispered that —battles can be won in the classroomsl

The primary schools were measured to be the mainly fertile ground for sowing the seeds of nationalism. Moru Arinovi, who contributed enormously to the shaping of the Japanese education policy in early Meiji era, once said:

- —In the management of all schools, it necessity be borne in mind (that) what is to be done is not for the sake of the pupils but for the sake of the country.l

On another occasion he said:

- —Our country necessity move from the third location to the second to the first and then to the leading location in the middle of all the countries of the world.¶

As a result of such feelings moral studies were given top priority in the school curriculum. The curriculum of the normal school opened for the training of teachers was also so planned that it would prepare them to be an ideal instance to the students in obedience, devotion, and love for the country, loyalty, and reverence for the Emperor. A retired military officer was also employed to instill in them discipline of both mind and body.

The twin aims of education throughout the Meiji era were to promote —loyalty and patriotism and to make a new class of engineers, managers, financiers, etc.¶

Education was also used as an instrument to further intensify the nationalist sentiments of the people. After the second war with China in 1937, the whole country was placed on a war footing. Consequently, changes in the educational system were suggested through the Education Council to suit the needs of a country at war. The primary schools were renamed —national schools¶. The purpose was to train people —in conventionality with the moral principles of the Japanese Empire which meant being loyal subjects of the Emperor.

The nationalist content of education was stepped up as Japan was drawn deeper into the War. The educational reform of 1941 and the policy of instruction issued through the Ministry of Education in 1943 accentuated upon the need of training the youth in —consonance with the method of the empire¶, the importance of faithfulness, loyalty, guarding and maintaining the prosperity of the Imperial throne; reverence to the deities and ancestors. It also stressed the necessity of apprising the students of Japan's mission in East Asia and the world. Studies of Japanese literature, understanding the traditions of the empire and the Japanese method of life and culture were to be encouraged.

In order to enable the Japanese to understand and appreciate the significance of the policy of greater East Asia Co-prosperity sphere and Japan's mission, it was necessary to educate them in relation to the East Asian countries and in relation to their plight under the rule of the European countries. Therefore, the government could quite easily mould public opinion in the manner in which it wanted since the nationalist fervor was very well cultivated through education. In imparting all such views the military had played a definite role. This also created such an atmosphere of nationalist feelings that helped the military in furthering its own ends.

Freedom of Thought and Expression Curbed

Fostering the spirit of nationalism was also necessary to suppress discontent created through the changes in the political and economic structures of the country. Industrialization brought with it population which disturbed the family system in Japan. New Western values also crept into Japanese society, which tended to erode the social system based on Confucian principles.

Many internal security laws and publishing regulations were implemented through the Meiji Government to curb the freedom of thought and expression. These laws only allowed the publication of such literature which favored the Government.

Throughout 1870s and 1880s there was widespread Peoples' Rights Movement in Japan. In addition to methods like imprisonment, buying off leaders and harassment, the Government enacted regulations which prohibited assembly of people (1880) and prevented the newspapers from publishing anything without the prior approval of the Government power (1883) to crush the movements. Even plays and movies before opening to the public had to seek the approval of the government.

Nevertheless, the Peoples' Rights Movement was successful to the extent that in 1889 a parliamentary form of government was recognized in Japan. The constitution, though, guaranteed only limited freedom to the people—within the limits of law, which was further limited through successive laws adopted in excess of the years.

Opposition to Military

There was at home a strong opposition to rising militarism throughout and after World War-1. The mainly organized and systematic anti-war movement was led through the socialists and communists. Many anti-war writings showed the military in a bad light. For instance, Kobayashi Takiji's *Kani Kosen* (Cannary boat, 1929) described how the troops crushed a strike. The miseries and sufferings of the soldiers throughout the Siberian expedition were depicted in *Buso Seru Shigai* (Municipality under Arms) through Kuroshima Denji. Literary works of this type were banned. The Communist Party too, which was mainly vocal against the expansionist policies of the military was banned. Several of its leaders were imprisoned and others went underground.

The military used the nationalist sentiment to make such a working class that was hardworking, disciplined, and undemanding. This was beneficial to both the military and the capitalists.

Post 1930 Regulations

As Japan's involvement in the War increased in the late 1930s and 1940s, manage in excess of freedom of thought and expression also tightened. Existing regulations were amended to widen the scope of their application. The Peace Preservation Law passed in 1925 was amended through an extraordinary Imperial Ordinance in 1928 and further amended in 1941 to allow preventive detention of political activists and indefinite detention of political prisoners.

The new restrictive legislation incorporated the National Defence Security Law of 1941, according to which all the discussions in the Liaison Conference and Cabinet meetings were —state secrets. Anyone revealing or attempting to obtain this classified information was liable to rigorous punishment. Special laws on wartime crimes enacted in 1942 were later on revised to contain interference with government management.

Under the prevalent laws public debate and dialogue on the issues relating to war became impossible. It was also not possible for the public to know the real facts of the war since the newspapers conveyed to the public

only what the government wanted it to know. It is hence not surprising if the public tended to support the Military government policies. In information the task of the military had been facilitated through the subsistence and propaganda of the several patriotic civilizations and organizations that had lived since the beginning of the Meiji era. These civilizations and organizations brought out ‘ultra-nationalist’ literature and gave strength to the military. Several military officers were not presently only members of these civilizations, they firmly whispered in their ideology and were ever ready to carry it out. Mainly of these were young officers. A big number of the younger officers belonged to the ordinary middle class families; sons of small businessmen and clerks in the offices. A big number also came from the rural regions where the impact of the economic crisis was felt more. Several of these officers resented the affluence of the rich in the municipalities.

Inspired through the nationalist ideology, the young officers either joined leaders like Kita Ikki or shaped organizations consisting of members belonging only to the army and navy. Kita Ikki, beside with Okawa Shumei had shaped the Yuzonsha (Society for Preservation of the National Essence). Okawa was a lecturer at the Colonization Academy and jointly they advocated military expansion abroad and military takeover at house. Another well-known society was Sakurakai (Cherry Blossom) founded in 1930 through Lt. Colonel Hashimoto Kingoro.

The Meirinkai (Higher Ethic Society) was also composed of reserve or retired army and navy officers. The Kodokai (Imperial Method Society) founded in 1933, aimed at the abolition of the capitalist economic structure, political parties and favored the establishment of a state controlled economy. Those civilizations which were dominated through military men became popular especially after the 1931 Manchurian crisis.

The numerous plots which took lay throughout the 1930s revealed that the High Command was unable to manage their own officers. The first major proof was the Manchurian Army which controlled affairs in this area, planned, and executed the operations behind the backs of the senior officers in Tokyo. The army leaders in the capital were unable to manage their subsequent moves, but had to defend their actions. Junior officers broke military

regulations; units posted abroad did not abide through the policies made in Tokyo. At times the military had disregarded even the wishes of the Supreme Commander, the Emperor.

Division within the Army

At the highest stage the army was divided as to the course of action that was to be adopted to deal with the situation created through the economic and political crisis. The two main groups were:

- The Kodoha (Imperial method faction) which had generals like Araki Sadao and Mazaki Jinzaburo.
- The Tosei (Manage faction) which incorporated grade officers of the common staff like Nagata Tetsuzan, Tojo Hideki, and Ishiwara Kanji.

The Kodo faction accentuated loyalty and morale and underplayed structural changes. The Tosei was not opposed to capitalism and a parliamentary system. Its emphasis was on the establishment and enforcement of state controls so that Japan could be prepared for war. The Tosei group received support from the businessmen, bureaucrats and some intellectuals.

The thrash about for power within the military was also quite severe. The Kodo faction was in a dominant location when Araki became War Minister in 1931 and Mazaki vice Chief of Staff. But it was the Tosei group which exercised greater power in Manchuria.

In 1934 Araki resigned and was succeeded through Hayashi Senjuro, who slowly came under the power of Nagata Tetsuzan. Mazaki had assumed the post of Director Common of Military Education after having served as the Vice Chief of Staff. Nagata, though, supervised to get him dismissed in July 1935. In retaliation Mazaki's supporters, a little later, murdered Nagata. Throughout this era all those Kodoha members who were regarded as trouble makers were dispatched to Manchuria. Though, Kodoha members were determined to reclaim power. An effort was made on 26th February, 1936 when young officers of this group took in excess of the centre of Tokyo and killed top leaders like the Finance Minister, Lord of the Privy Council and

Inspector Common of Military Education. The young officers demanded the establishment of a new order under Mazaki. Ultimately, under pressure the officers had to surrender. In relation to the thirteen of these officers were tried and executed. Kita Ikki, though not directly involved, was also executed in 1937. Araki and Mazaki were placed on the reserve rolls. The Kodo group, as an organization, was further weakened through dispersing the officers. Some of them were transferred to distant off provinces or sent to Manchuria. Flanked by the conflicting groups it was the Tosei group which appeared victorious. But this internal thrash about in the military in no method weakened the military.

Military Authoritarianism

The army's authoritarianism was reflected in the manner it interfered in the formation of the cabinet. If the Prime Minister or a leader appointed as member of the cabinet was not acceptable to the military then it refused to appoint an officer to a service post. This made it impossible to form a cabinet. As the army's intervention increased the political leaders had no option but to bow before the military.

After the 26 February 1930 incident when Okada Keisuke's cabinet fell, Hirota Koki was invited to form a cabinet. He could not finalize the list of the members to be incorporated in the cabinet till it was approved through the military.

The Hirota cabinet also was compelled to resign when the military objected to a question asked through Hamada Kunimatsu in the Diet which was interpreted as anti-military. The military asked for his expulsion or forego its cooperation.

The military also was not in favor of Ugaki Kazushige, who was now described upon to form the cabinet, and refused to give a minister to the cabinet. In information Ugaki was prevented from accepting the prime minister ship in a very unscrupulous method. While Ugaki was going to Tokyo he was intercepted at the Kanagawai prefecture and Tokyo border through the Military Police Commander. The Commander got into the car and

informed Ugaki that since the young officers were upset the Army Minister had asked him to convey that he should decline the offer of forming a cabinet. The cause for young officers' disapproval of Ugaki's candidature was that he had participated in the 1931 Manchurian plot.

In May 1936 regulations were revised and only active duty officers could be appointed as army and navy ministers. The prime ministers could no more appoint retired officers.

The importance of the political parties lay in the information that they represented the masses in the lower house of the Diet and their consent to the policies meant approval of the public.

In October 1940 the parties were replaced through Taisei Yokusan Kai (Imperial Rule Assistance Association). The parties joined this association and pledged to build up public opinion favorable to the national policies. The role of the political parties in the decision-creation had now reached to the lowest stage.

The War and Economic Policies

After the outbreak of war with China in 1937 Japan's involvement in that country grew deeper. Hostilities spread in several parts of China and Japan had to incur enormous losses both in conditions of men and money. The growths on the continent had an impact on the policies at home. For instance, the military further geared to push forward events which would prepare the country for a much better war. Likewise government manages in excess of the economy also increased further. Now there was more emphasis on the armament and heavy industries.

Soon after Kono Fumimaro became Prime Minister in June 1937 steps were taken to bring under government manage civil aviation and sharing of fuel. A cabinet Scheduling Board was recognized to coordinate the economic policies. It was also decided that Liaison Conferences to be held flanked by the Prime Ministers, Foreign Ministers and War and Navy Ministers would take all the significant decisions. Since the other cabinet

ministers were not participant in these deliberations they remained ignorant in relation to the decisions.

In 1938 an Asia Development Board was created which was entrusted with the task of conducting matters related with China. This Board in 1942 was absorbed in the greater East Asia Ministry created in the similar year. The Mobilization Law passed through the Diet in 1938 strengthened the military's power in excess of labour, raw materials etc. Industries which contributed to the expansion of the war machinery were encouraged. In Manchukuo too, where the military was in full manage, all efforts were directed towards the development of coal, iron, and steel industries and into automobile and aircraft plants.

The War and Military Behaviour

As the war progressed Japan from mid 1942 to mid 1944 tried to develop and expand its empire and use it economically. Japan, in November 1941, envisaged a plan of turning the whole of East Asia into a greater East Asia Co-prosperity sphere with Japan, China, and Manchukuo as its industrial bases.

Though the thought of the co-prosperity sphere was to —liberate the Asia from the manage of the Western countries, Japan's main aim was to replace the Europeans in the area. The Imperial Rule Assistance Association in March, 1941 published the —Vital Concepts of the greater East Asia Co-prosperity sphere which clearly stated: —Although we use the expression Asian Cooperation this through no means ignores the information that Japan was created through the gods or posits an automatic racial equality. Through this was meant that some Asians were more equal than others.

On 7 December 1941 Japan attacked Pearl Harbor and achieved a quick victory in excess of the United States. After this Japan rapidly recognized its rule in South East Asia and the Pacific.

The behaviour of the military towards the countries which Japan occupied in the course of war was distant from benevolent. Atrocities

committed through the Japanese soldiers in these regions have gone down in recent history as a horrifying instance in brutality, loot, rape, and murder.

Throughout its extensive rule in excess of Korea and Taiwan, Japan treated the people of these countries as second rate citizens. A strict assimilation policy was enforced compelling people to learn Japanese and adopt Japanese names. As the war progressed and Japan needed a superior fighting force and labour, Koreans were brought to Japan for working in factories. Special laws were promulgated which permitted them to join the Japanese military.

Other South East Asian countries like Malaya, Philippines, Burma, Indonesia, and French Indo-China resented Japanese rule more than the European rulers. This resentment appeared because of:

- The Japanese feeling of racial superiority and disregard for local customs and people,
- Curtailment of political rights, and
- Destruction of their economy which was changed in accordance to the necessities of Japan.

Some countries like Indonesia, Burma, and French Indo-China had initially welcomed the Japanese as their —liberators|. They looked up to Japan for it was the only Asian country to defeat a European power as the memories of 1904-1905 Russo-Japanese war were still there. Though, it was not extensive before they started hating the Japanese and the military rule imposed on them. Soon there appeared widespread and organized opposition to Japan in these countries.

POST WORLD WAR-I ECONOMY

The War Boom

Let us once again briefly recapitulate the main characteristics related to Japanese economy throughout the World War-I as they are interlinked with the industrial growth throughout the inter-war era. Initially, World War-I

posed some troubles for Japan. For instance there was disruption of foreign trade and debt operations were also affected as these were financed in London. The British money market also went into disarray leading to a crisis. Though, very rapidly things changed for the better as distant as Japan was concerned. There appeared an economic boom which lasted till the spring of 1920. Japan had sided with the allies in the War. But there was not much fighting in Asia and Japan did not invest much in military expenses.

Because of the war, Japan suddenly establishes that she could extend her exports. The European industries were involved in war time productions and with little direct involvement in war; Japan took advantage of the several export opportunities. For instance Japan became a prime supplier of munitions. The demand for Japanese shipping also rose strongly. This was also the time when Japanese textiles won a firm foothold in India. In information there was a limitless expansion of foreign markets. Exports shot up, but manufacture could not stay pace with the demand. Even when all labour and productive capability was mobilized, the manufacture was not enough to meet the export demand.

Japan's booming exports and industrial expansion led to a big material and equipment import demand. But due to the wartime restrictions of the supplying countries imports did not grow at the pace of exports. This resulted in a big export surplus. For instance, flanked by the years 1911 and 1914 imports were exceeding exports on an average through 65 million yen every year. But with soaring exports, Japan registered on an average, an excess of exports in excess of imports to the tune of 352 million yen every year. In conditions of value exports in 1918 had gone upto thrice the 1913 figure.

The unlimited demand for the Japanese shipping at this time, when freight rates were rapidly rising, was another beneficial factor. Japan's steam ship tonnage doubled from 1.5 million tons in 1914 to 3 million tons in 1918. In the similar era, the net income from freight rose from 40 million yen to in excess of 450 million yen. Though, with the war in excess of this boom declined through approximately March 1920.

Industrial Growth in the Inter-War Era

In spite of the end to the industrial boom there were sure industries in Japan which sustained to grow.

Electrical Industry

Substantial growth in the productive capability of Japanese industry was realized only when import of equipment became more feasible after the World War ended. The electrical industry itself played an significant part in the industrialization procedure throughout the inter-war era. The generation and extensive range transmission of electricity was going on since 1907. The cost of power produced by electricity was only half of steam-generated power. Hence there was a strong industrial demand for electrical power. A number of firms were involved in electricity manufacture and the electric power industry was well recognized before the outbreak of World War-I. The electric power industry grew because of technological progress and the rising power demand which rose throughout the war.

Table-6.1 provides the figures for electric power generated from 1914 to 1940. We discover that electric power generation grew through leaps and bounds. The second column in the table 6.1 provides the relative price of electricity. We get the relative price of electricity when we divide the electric power price through the coal price. Motive power in industry can be produced by coal or electricity. We also see from the table 6.1 that the relative price of electricity fell in excess of the years.

Table 6.1 Electricity Production and Price in Inter-war Japan

Year	Power generated (million Kilowatts)	Relative Price
		$\frac{\text{Electric power price}}{\text{Coal price}}$
1914	1,791	2.58
1915	2,217	2.23
1920	4,669	1.58
1925	7,093	1.81
1935	15,773	1.43
1935	24,698	0.95
1940	34,566	0.83

Through the end of the inter-war era ninety per cent of Japanese houses had electrical lighting to some degree. But the real impact was to be seen in industry. In excess of two thirds of the total electricity produced in this era was consumed through the mining and manufacturing industries. Electricity consumed through industry increased three-fold flanked by 1926 and 1936. The main customer of electricity was the chemical industry followed through metallurgy, mining, and textiles industries.

The spread and easy availability of electricity had a number of effects on industry. The price of electricity was coming down as extensive aloofness power transmission techniques were improving. Electricity was no more presently a mere source of light; it was used in prime movers which are machines that change several sources of power into mechanical power for use through several industries. The spread of electricity was facilitated both through a fall in electric power rates as well as the rising reliance on domestically produced motors. The use of electricity in prime movers rapidly spread. Through 1929, electricity motors were being used in 87 per cent of the factories. The introduction of electricity afforded opportunities for changing the traditional methods of manufacture which could no longer meet the rising demand for several goods. Examples of these changes were the change from the hand operated to the power driven looms, and power lathes taking in excess of operations that were earlier hand-turned. Cheap electricity and the diffusion of electric motor facilitated the introduction of foreign machinery. In the advanced nations of that day industrial revolution had been caused through the invention of machinery to produce consumer goods. In the case of Japan it

was the spread of electricity that led to new methods of consumer goods manufacture and therefore to an industrial transformation.

The second effect of the spread of electrification was that industries that used electricity as a primary input came up in big numbers. Electro-chemical industries and electric-based refining industries are examples of such industries. Often it used to be the case that wherever hydro-electric stations were built, there would be excess power. Hence, industries that consume big amounts of electricity were built to utilize such excess power. Throughout World War-I, the import of a number of chemical industry products became impossible. Hence, several chemical industries utilizing electric power were set up like Soda, Carbide and Ammonium sulphate industries, etc.

Heavy and Chemical Industry

Heavy industry refers to steel, non-ferrous metals and machinery industries. Heavy and chemical industry output as a share of total manufacturing output was 29 per cent in 1915 and it increased to 33 per cent in 1920. After falling to 24 per cent in 1925, this rose again to 33 per cent in 1930. This rising trend sustained; in 1935 it was 44 per cent and through 1940 this share rose to approximately 59 per cent (See Table 6.2).

Table 6.2 Heavy and Chemical Industry Output in the Total Manufacturing Output (in million)

Year	Total Manufacturing Output	Heavy and Chemical Industry output	Share of Heavy and Chemical industry in total manufacturing output (per cent)
1915	2,880	840.5	29.2
1920	9,579	3,202.7	33.4
1925	10,100	2,390.5	23.7
1930	8,838	2,896.0	32.8
1935	14,968	6,516.0	43.5
1940	33,252	19,569.0	58.8

For the heavy and chemical industries, the major markets were for fertilizers, cement, and steel products used in construction. The domestic manufacture of steel products increased fourfold in the 1920s. With the onset

of the world depression the imports of steel product began falling rapidly but steel manufacture sustained to rise. This led to the establishment of the steel sector as the provider of a vital construction input. Further dependence on imported steel also lessened. Big construction works and laying of rail roads contributed in keeping the demand for steel going up whereas the case was not the similar in the machinery industry.

The investment which Japan made in heavy and chemical industry throughout World War-I bore fruit after the war. The disruption of imports throughout the war had encouraged the starting of new heavy and chemical industries. Huge investments were made in this region and through the 1920s heavy and chemical industries were firmly recognized.

In this connection, we discover that there was a secure link flanked by the growths of the electric power industry and chemical and lighting equipment industries. The excess electricity produced was accessible at low rates and this facilitated the development of electro-chemical and steel industries.

Industrial growth in Japan throughout this time was not confined to predetermined regions alone. Metals and machinery industries which were vital to support other industries also came up in sure sites. Other industries, that came up later were situated secure to them. Hence we discover the formation of industrial belts in Japan throughout the 1920s. Tokyo-Yokohama and Osaka-Kobe regions are some of the examples of such industrial belts.

Heavy and chemical industries sustained to register a big growth in 1930s also. Since the plants had been expanded throughout the 1920s there was lots of excess capability even throughout the depression era. Till 1935 manufacture increases were met with existing capability itself. But the demand for heavy and chemical industry products kept rising. Their demand kept coming from civil engineering, construction and other industries like machinery, ship structure, etc. This led to further plant expansion in heavy and chemical industries. These industries also got a boost because:

- Flanked by 1932 and 1937 ships that were in excess of 25 years old were scrapped. The structure of new ships resulted in a fresh demand for their products.

- Till 1936 the Military demand accounted for only 10 per cent of the total demand made on this industry. But subsequently it increased when manufacture of other items related to military necessities like aircrafts, etc. grew.

Cotton Textiles Industry

Cotton textiles industry, though significant even before World War-I, further increased its significance after the war. In the years following the war, the typical mill and firm became big. The increased capability is indicated through the augment in the number of mills and firms and there was a tendency towards consolidation. Through 1929 in excess of 50 per cent of the spindles were owned through presently seven big firms. Spinning firms started weaving sheds to weave the Yarn Spun in their mills where as earlier they used to be given to weavers. The combined spinning-weaving mill became a typical characteristic of the cotton textile industry. One significant development was the appearance of big specialist sheds (with in excess of fifty looms) equipped with wide power looms for producing cloth for the foreign market.

Agriculture in the Inter-War Era

Throughout the inter-war era there was stagnation in Japanese agriculture. Agricultural growth rate and agricultural productivity did not augment appreciably. Income stages of rural population were stagnant; so were their livelihood standards. On the positive face, there was a slow build up of new potential in agricultural technology. This though bore fruit only in 1950s after the conclusion of World War-II.

Background

In the 25 years preceding World War-I, agriculture in Japan registered rapid growth. Several advances in agricultural technology that were local in character spread all in excess of the country. Under state patronage, farmers, agricultural scientists, and firms that supplied several agricultural inputs interacted and put to full use the already recognized technologies.

Though this state of affairs changed in the 1910s. Landlords so distant had been playing a dynamic role in agricultural progress. With rapid growth of industry, several of them gave up their interest in agriculture. So distant several of them had been re-investing their land rent incomes in agriculture itself. Now they establish that there were chances of creation superior profits through investing the rent incomes in several industries which were rapidly rising at this time. This resulted in a setback to agricultural improvements. Earlier the landlords took interest in several agricultural improvements and contributed towards them. But this innovative role was now taken in excess of through a parasitic one. They seemed to be only interested in the collection of rents without contributing anything in agricultural improvement. The capital therefore composed through agriculture was being invested elsewhere.

The technology that had been urbanized in the past two hundred years before this era had been utilized to the extent that it reached a stage of exhaustion and the output could not be raised beyond a point. An upgradation of technology was needed to raise the output. But the government agricultural experiment stations had not urbanized to the point where they could do research at advanced stages. This inability to produce new technology coupled with the decreasing interest of landlords to invest in agriculture resulted in serious troubles for Japanese agriculture in the 1910s itself.

The Rice Riot of 1918 and Aftermath

As a result of rising industrialization the demand for labour force also increased in the urban regions. This was because mainly of the industries were recognized close to urban regions due to better transportation and communication facilities. As industrial wages were higher than the agricultural wages lots of people left rural regions to work in industries. In the boom circumstances of World War-I, the demand for food through industrial laborers, which had been raised earlier, took an motivating form. This was a time when agricultural output was slowing down in Japan. The supply of foodstuff presently could not cope with the rising demand. The rise in food prices was higher than the augment in wages. This resulted in social unrest which erupted in the form of Rice Riot of 1918. This riot started in a small

method to protest against the high price of rice. But once it began it spread all in excess of Japan rapidly.

Big crowds went on breaking store homes and pawn shops of rich merchants. In information it was the popular sense of social justice that had activated the riots. Oyama Ikuo characterized them as acts of —retaliatory confiscation|. Since there seemed to be no other remedy, riots were regarded as a method out for redressing social grievances.

Voices had been raised in Japan in relation to the disparity in incomes. For instance Kawakami Haijune, a liberal intellectual, had posed the question that why inspite of growths in industry and technology, the country still had so several poor people? It was felt that the sharp rise in prices of rice had occurred because of the insensitivity of the rulers towards the day to day and livelihood troubles of the commoners. The Government was criticized for sheltering the interests of property owners. The newspaper Toyo. Keizai Shimpo rented the views of communists in its editorial:

- There are those who see the riots rather than the labour problem as the signal that marks class disagreement flanked by the propertied and property less classes.

Such thinking had been there. For instance when the news of Rice Riot reached New York the Japanese expatriates there whispered that revolution was on the cards in Japan. But no such thing occurred and the Government was able to manage the situation. The riots remained confined as a protest against economic hardships and deprivation. They did not challenge the political system that was responsible for this. Though, the liberal intellectuals did demand the broadening of popular participation in the constitutional procedure. Yet the Government had to change its policy. Now the Ministry of Agriculture alone was to deal with the farmers with no favors involved. Efforts were also initiated to help the working class in urban regions in order to prevent labour unions and socialism.

As a response to the Rice Riot the Government started importing rice from its colonies, Korea and Taiwan. This was done through forcing Koreans and Taiwanese to eat foodstuffs inferior to rice and export their rice to Japan.

In order to get more rice, the Japanese high-yielding diversity was introduced in these colonies and investments were made in irrigation and water manages. This programme acquiesced results. Flanked by 1915 and 1935, rice imports from Korea to Japan rose from 170 to 1,212 thousand metric tons. These colonial imports of rice which were presently 5 per cent of the domestic manufacture in 1915 rose to 20 per cent in 1935.

Though these colonial imports of rice which came to the rescue of Japan at that time were to make troubles later. After the World War-I boom ended, demand for foodstuff tended to ease. But colonial rice was flooding the Japanese market. This led to a fall in the price of domestically produced rice. Hence farm incomes fell. Finally the world wide depression added to the woes leading to a crisis in Japanese agriculture. The main issue was falling incomes in agriculture. The government initiated a number of events to cope with the situation:

- Firstly, it instituted support prices for farm products. Namely the government guaranteed a minimum price for specified products below which the price will not be allowed to fall.
- Second, it started construction of physical infrastructure in the rural regions so that the opportunities for additional jobs become accessible to the rural population.
- Thirdly, it extended credit to those peasants who were already in debt. The interest that the government charged was low compared to what the village moneylenders charged. This meant the interest and loan repayment burden of those in debt was considerably reduced.
- Fourthly, it supported the formation of agricultural cooperatives so that farmers were not exploited through several middlemen.

Despite all these efforts of the government the income stages of the farm population did not improve considerably. In the village, the poorest were those farmers who rented land from the landowner. These tenant farmers cultivated the land they had borrowed but had to pay high rents in type. At this time of falling or stagnant income stages, they establish it very hard to create

both ends meet. Hence they demanded a reduction in the rents charged through landlords. The earlier paternalistic attitude of the landlords was nowhere to be established. They refused to accede to the demands for rent reduction. As a consequence the tenants started getting jointly to form unions, so that they could bargain from a stronger location. To this the landlord's response came in the form of forcible evictions. At times there was violence and tenancy disputes became widespread.

The attempts of the government to rescue tenants through helping them buy land with the help of low-interest loans were inadequate to solve the problem.

Throughout the inter-war era, the number of farming families stayed more or less constant at five and a half million. Size sharing of the farms also remained more or less constant. The numbers of very small farms and very big farms slightly came down. Throughout this era, like the earlier periods, rice remained the main crop. The growth trends of rice reflected those of Japanese agriculture as in excess of half the cultivated region was under rice.

The diversities of products in agriculture increased in this era. More diversities of vegetables were introduced. Fruit farming and poultry farming also increased. This reflected the rising income stages of the urban population as mainly they were the ones who invested in these regions. The use of the manures also increased. Several kinds of fertilizers were imported. For instance Ammonium Sulphate was imported from the West.

Sericulture

After that to rice, the second mainly significant product of agriculture throughout this era was raw silk. Sericulture manufacture in a vast majority of the cases urbanized as a secondary action to the main cereal manufacture. Sericulture industry grew rapidly owing to the rising world demand for silk and flanked by 1914 and 1929 raw silk manufacture increased threefold.

Cocoon manufacture used to be done in spring which is April to June in Japan. But this coincided with the manufacture of rice and other crops. Hence due to the dual labour demand not much time could be allotted for

producing cocoons. Innovations were accepted out in summer-fall culture (i.e. a diversity of silkworms that produce silk in summer and autumn periods):

- A new method was devised in which the usual silkworms hatching were deliberately postponed.
- A method of artificial hatching was also urbanized, and
- Hybrid diversities of worms with low death rates were introduced.

All these came to collectively symbolize the summer-fall technology that greatly increased the output. This new technology offered a number of advantages to the farmers. The mainly significant one was that labour which was usually idle throughout summer and autumn was now usefully utilized, the equipment could also be used twice in a year. That this, technology came to play an significant part is seen from the information that in relation to the half the manufacture of cocoon in 1920 was done through this technology.

Through 1929 approximately forty per cent of all fanning families were occupied in cocoon manufacture as a secondary employment. Reeling Mills created a demand for women labour. This was met basically through women of the peasant families. The earnings through the sale of cocoon and the wages earned through the women folk of the household in the reeling mills became an significant part of the farmer's cash income. Cocoon rising did not entail much money investment. The income raised through this secondary action was what prevented farmers and tenants from falling into abject poverty. As a result there was now great emphasis on Sericulture.

As distant as the silk prices were concerned they had remained high throughout the war; fell in the post-war slump for sometime and then recovered again. Through 1930 the American market for Japanese exports collapsed. Unluckily for the Japanese farmer at a time of fall in rice prices the price of silk also dropped. The net result was that the cash incomes dropped rather steeply. The farmers attributed their hard times to the politicians and the zaibatsu. The army mainly recruited from the rural regions also whispered the similar. Hence, such feelings also contributed towards the growth of militarism and overthrow of those politicians the army did not favour.

Formation of the Dual Structure

Dual structure refers to the simultaneous subsistence of both the modern and traditional sectors in an economy. Modern sector refers to industries by lots of capital compared to labour in the manufacture of goods with usually modern technology. The traditional sector refers to industries that are comparatively smaller and use manufacture methods in which more of labour than capital is used. The wages in the traditional sector are typically low compared to the contemporary sector. This dual structure is established in countries that have recently industrialized or what we describe today as developing countries. In the modern sector the new technologies that are introduced are capital rigorous i.e., they require more capital compared to labour. It is not possible to change the fixed combination of capital and labour even if for instance the country has more labour compared to capital.

We have seen earlier how Japan's programme of industrialization was shaped on the foundation of modern technology. But at the similar time in the Japanese experience of development traditional sector also played a vital role. For instance, silk was the mainly significant thing in foreign swap earnings till the early 1930s. Afterwards till 1960s small-level labour rigorous industrial products were the major foreign swap earners. The dual structure was shaped in the Japanese economy throughout the inter-war years.

As we saw earlier farm incomes had stagnated after World War-I. While they rose slightly in the mid-1920s, they fell again through 1927-28. Then they rapidly declined. If we see the industrial wage rates for both male and female workers, there was a big variation. Women used to work in industry only for a short span of time after which, they would quit. Their wages tended to be low and they mostly came from the farms. There was a steady stream of female labour coming to industry and replacing those who left back to their farms. Industry could pay them little and yet be assured that there would be no shortage of labour. -Women's income remained supplementary to farm incomes.

The case of the male labour was dissimilar. Their stay in the industry was much longer. They severed their ties with farms and planned to create a

livelihood as industrial labour. Their wages were higher. But as agricultural stagnation sustained there was excess unemployed male labour in the farms. Neither agriculture nor big industry could employ them. The small and traditional industries rapidly expanded as they were able to get enough labour easily. So after World War-I the employment opportunities in the contemporary sector did not stay pace with the rising labour force. This led to rising employment in the traditional sector. In the 1920s this had two results:

- The first was the expansion of traditional meadows such as wholesale, retail, and service sectors. We discover that in these meadows the number of hired workers, proprietors, and family employees went up. Since people did not have any regular employment, they turned to the traditional sector. It was true that the wages were low but still preferable to unemployment.
- The second result was that transport, communications, and public utilities expanded. This was because big firms like electric power and railways registered sizeable growth in this era. Additionally we discover that workers in commerce and service industries increased in big numbers. Specific regions of employment were commodity sales, peddling and vending, inns, public baths, laundry, household services, education, medicine, and nursing.

This led to a dual structure in the labour market. There was wide variation in wages received through workers in modern and traditional sectors. The wage differential was not particularly observed in Japan before World War-I. After World War-I they appeared and the gap flanked by wages in modern and traditional industries rapidly widened after 1924.

Industrial Concentration and the Zaibatsu

Oligopoly refers to the situation when presently a very few producers are involved in the manufacture of a scrupulous commodity. Throughout the inter-war years, industrial monopoly in Japan increased. In the absence of

competition the product usually has a high price. The role of zaibatsu throughout these years has a bearing on industrial concentration. Zaibatsu refers to sure big business homes with very diverse operations and interests. There were four major zaibatsu throughout this era namely Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo, and Yasuda.

Because of the financial difficulties in the 1920s, the government instituted sure events. The result was that the number of banks declined from 2,285 in 1918 to 913 in 1930. Through 1928, the —big five— banks, Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Dai-ichi, Sumitomo and Yasuda held 34 per cent of all deposits of the ordinary banks. Four of the five greatest banks were in manage of zaibatsu. The financial power of the zaibatsu increased a lot in the procedure of consolidation. Banking and finance had become strategically significant bases for industrial manage through the zaibatsu.

The concentration of deposits in the five big banks resulted in a totally new situation of funds supply:

- These big banks rarely lent to small or medium firms. They lent only to specific big firms in specific industries. With the concentration of banks, these policies were reinforced; weak firms could not avail loans and faced hardships. The big banks, because of their immense financial power, could target scrupulous firms to be taken into their hold. More importantly they took care of the zaibatsu related firms and gave them preferential treatment.
- Secondly, the bank funds could be used through a scrupulous zaibatsu to widen the group's network of manages. Therefore bank concentration led to idle funds to be use for extension of zaibatsu power. The zaibatsu created a big number of firms in diverse meadows.
- Thirdly, zaibatsu related firms possessed powers of manage which were much greater than their share of finance capital. Zaibatsu power achieved its peak in the 1920s and early 1930s but declined afterwards.

Zaibatsu power was not confined to the economic field. It had lots of power in politics also. These business families had been powerful even fifty

years back. The government of Japan had relied on them for financing sure operations. The zaibatsu had recognized secure links with statesmen who were carrying out significant policies. They would give possessions and assist in the execution of the policy. The state rewarded them through giving valuable contracts and selling state properties at low prices. The zaibatsu, being secured to politicians, had an significant say on policy matters and this came to a point where they could impose their views on the government.

But this did not last extensive. Peasantry and small producers had suffered a lot in the world depression. They held the zaibatsu responsible for their woes. The military, which did not like the method the government acted in the sphere of foreign dealings and in budget allocation for the military, also detested the zaibatsu. Hence the zaibatsu came under heavy criticism. The zaibatsu retreated and adopted a low profile. Though they made several contributions as proof of their loyalty to the nation, from this time onwards their power declined rapidly.

Foreign Trade in the Inter-War Era

We have already seen how Japan's exports rose rapidly throughout and immediately after World War-I Flanked by 1913 and 1929 foreign trade increased three fold in value. If we were to contain the trade flanked by Japan and her colonies, the trade was even superior. Before 1914 colonial trade was not of much significance. Through the time World War-I ended, it accounted for 12 per cent of Japan's overseas trade, and through 1929 approximately 20 per cent. Japan's trade with her colonies, Korea and Taiwan was presently like that flanked by England and colonial India. Japan exported manufactured goods to her colonies and imported only foodstuffs and raw materials.

Japan's trade with the outside World was indicative of the information that it was rapidly industrializing. The percentage of manufactured goods in Japan's exports raised from 29 per cent in 1913 to 44 per cent in 1929. Through 1913 there was a sizeable share of textiles in the exports. Cotton yarn and cloth, raw silk and silk manufactures jointly came to 53 per cent of

exports in 1913. In 1929 the figure was 65 per cent. Of this raw silk's share was 30 per cent in 1913 and this increased to 37 per cent in 1929?

Region wise China and U.S. accounted for 64 per cent of exports in 1913 and through 1929 this rose to 67 per cent. British India took 9 per cent of exports in 1929. Japan's exports which were 2,149 million yen in 1929 fell to 1,147 million yen in 1933 but recovered to 2,693 in 1936. Imports showed a similar trend. The preparation of finished manufactures in exports raised from 44 per cent of the total in 1929 to 59 per cent in 1936. Semi-manufactured articles throughout the similar era fell from 43 to 27 per cent. This was because raw silk exports fell from 37 per cent of exports in 1929 to only 15 per cent in 1936. Cotton goods presently supervised to uphold their share in exports. But textiles other than cotton rose from 13 to 18 per cent. Exports of small-level industry also rose. The U.S. which took 43 per cent of exports in 1929 took only 22 per cent in 1936, basically due to fall in raw silk exports. China took 25 per cent in 1929 and 27 per cent in 1936. Though, the metals and machinery exports increased due to Japan's strategic plans.

This augment in Japan's exports was met with an outcry from other countries in 1930s. In 1929 a big share of Japan's exports did not compete with the products of other urbanized countries. In the 30s, she replaced raw silk through finished manufactured goods. Some like cotton piece-goods displaced exports of other urbanized nations. For instance British cotton industry throughout the inter-war years had been going down continuously mainly due to the rising capability of India to produce its own needs. In such a situation of dwindling world trade when Japan's exports of cotton piece-goods took lay, the British cotton industry was adversely affected.

Overall, we can say that Japan adjusted her foreign trade quite successfully to the violent changes in world trade in early and mid 1930s. She establishes new customers and alternative commodities to compensate for the decline in some of her markets and earlier commodities. To Japanese interests, a liberal free trade kind of situation would have been beneficial. She could have exported manufactured goods and imported raw materials that she wanted in rising qualities now. But the world was moving towards a situation that in effect parceled out markets in the middle of the recognized suppliers.

This was not suiting Japan's expansionist economic policies. This led to a situation where some political groups in Japan advocated territorial expansion so that they might have monopolistic advantages. The barriers to the commercial expansion that Japan faced were also a cause for the expansionist view gaining strength in the political sphere.

In the 1930s the pressure of militarists increased and so did the demands of the military. Sections of the military indulged in terror-tactics to force government officials to concede to the demands. Prominent officials whose thinking was at variance with that of the course advocated through the military were assassinated. This led to a situation where those who were in high rank either remained silent or agreed to the demands. Vast investments were made in armament industry or in its related branches.

Throughout the 1930s the agricultural depression sustained. There was mass migration of labour from agriculture to industry leading to a further fall in wages. The whole economy was being geared towards war and the cost of livelihood went up. When war broke out with China in 1937 industries were forced to produce mostly material related to war efforts. People were expected to work extra hours to help the country fight the war. Food was in short supply. The sufferings sustained till the end of the World War-II in 1945.

JAPANESE IMPERIALISM UPTO THE SECOND WORLD WAR

Imperialism: Definitions and Debates

The nature of imperialism has been examined through several scholars and it would be useful to indicate very briefly some of these arguments before considering the location of Japan. The mainly influential argument on the reasons for imperialist expansion was advanced through J. Hobson in 1902. He argued that countries such as Great Britain had an excess manufacturing capability and the surplus capital which could not be invested in the country was forced to seek new regions. This need of bankers and financiers was behind the political policies to expand managing and set up an empire. V. Lenin further elaborated this argument and showed that imperialism was a

product of monopoly capitalism when surplus capital could not be absorbed through the domestic market and capitalists sought higher profits in colonies or spheres of power which were politically protected markets.

These arguments have been debated and customized. The 1953 article of Gallagher and Robinson, —The Imperialism of Free Trade put forward three stages of development. In the first stage of mercantilist imperialism the home country used its political power to secure economic benefits from colonies. The third stage was the similar as recognized through Hobson but the second was the imperialism of free trade where the security to trade was of the greatest importance and Great Britain, which best represented this stage, was willing to limit its formal empire. That is why in China and Latin America protectorates and spheres of power could be recognized. It was throughout this era that the greatest expansion of the empire took place.

Joseph Schumpeter and other scholars have focused on factors other than economic to explain the reasons for expansion and imperialism. Carlton Hayes has argued that nations expand because they desire to augment their national prestige. Schumpeter argued that capitalism was a rational economic system and so, expansion had nothing to do with capitalism but rather represented pre-capitalist forces. Expansion was supported through a militarist; landowning aristocracy and so showed that capitalism was still undeveloped. Schumpeter was of course arguing with the instance of Germany in mind.

The case of Japanese expansion has been examined through scholars from dissimilar perspectives. The mainly influential early Marxist work was through O. Tanin and E. Yohan who argued that Japan first expanded her territories after 1894 because of the samurai desire to set up manage on the Chinese mainland and fight —white imperialism. Japan lacked the strength to push a course of self-governing expansion and so, entered into an unequal alliance with Great Britain. Till the Russo-Japanese war Japan was attempting —primitive capitalist accumulation to augment her economic power and her expansion was not the product of —finance capitalism. After the Russo-Japanese war Japan became more of a capitalist society but the social foundation of her expansionist policies sustained to be the alliance of the

military and the rising bourgeoisie under the Emperor. This alliance was forged with the Meiji Restoration which was a partial bourgeois revolution. The persistence of feudal dealings, particularly in agriculture, acted as a constraint on the domestic economy, where the purchasing power was low, forcing industry to seek markets outside. Japanese imperialism was therefore primarily concerned with trade and raw materials rather than with the export of capital.

Japanese historians within the Marxist custom have mainly followed this analysis. Scholars like Inoue Kiyoshi have stressed that the Meiji government was —absolutist, that is no single class was able to control the political order and so, an alliance of the bureaucracy, the landowners and the rising bourgeoisie exercised management in excess of the masses through the Emperor System ideology. This structure of power within the country was also responsible for extending this power outside. The Russo-Japanese war marked a crucial turning point when Japan entered a modern capitalist stage. From that point Japan was not merely reacting to Western pressure but had appeared as a partner of the other imperialist powers. The Russo-Japanese war was fought through Japan partially in the interests of the Western powers for it opened up Asia to further use. The expansionist policies were supported through the military and enabled it to augment its power. The business houses or zaibatsu benefited from this but not always. As W.G. Beasely writes that through this argument —Japanese imperialism becomes the illegitimate child of Western imperialism, with international rivalry as midwife.¶

Marius Jansen has argued that in the nineteenth century imperialism was the social norm and not something to be criticized. The Japanese accepted the Darwinist thoughts that a constant thrash about for survival was an inevitable procedure and Japan necessarily strive to expand her borders to ensure her survival. Akira Iriye has recognized a number of factors at work behind this. He argues that economic and military compulsions were inextricably connected in the early stage of Japanese imperialism. After World War-I Japanese industry competed with Western firms and economic reasons became significant factors in Japan's expansion. Though, the international framework was accepted and it was only in 1929-30, with the disruption in

trade and economy, that Japan rejected the thought of co-operating with the Western powers. Japan began to fear that it would be excluded from markets and sources of raw materials and it would have no region for its surplus population. This fear pushed Japan to build a Co-prosperity Sphere which inevitably led her to war.

The Co-prosperity Sphere was studied through F.C. Jones and he argued that its formation was caused as much through imperialist policies as through the desire for Asian solidarity. The military which had seemed to be losing its importance in formulating policy in the 1920s asserted itself and it was helped through the prevalence of feudal attitudes as well as an institutional framework which allowed the military to function without a check through the Diet. The social turmoil caused through industrialization, particularly in the rural regions was also crucial in generating discontent and a desire for a —Showa restoration. These desires enabled the young officers and patriotic civilizations to extend and deepen their power to push Japan towards expansion and war.

The Framework of Japanese Expansion

The roots of Japan's expansionist policies have been traced through some scholars to the sixteenth century when Hideyoshi tried to conquer Korea but it would be realistic to consider modern Japan's search for wealth and security to appreciate the creation of its formal and informal empire. The procedure of transformation under Western pressure enabled the Meiji oligarchy to argue for a policy based on —rich country strong army (fukoku Kyohei). This was the paramount objective and other demands were either suppressed or neglected. In scrupulous, political democracy was seen as a threat to social order and with the objective of containing dissent a highly restrictive parliamentary system was erected. The real pillars of the political order were the military and bureaucracy which functioned under the Emperor and were mainly insulated from political pressure. The education system was used to inculcate and spread thoughts which would work in random with this institutional structure. Above all loyalty to the nation and Emperor and

obedience to the Meiji political structure were stressed. Political patriotic civilizations to extend and deepen interests and so were measured divisive through the militarists and ultra-nationalists.

The threat of Western imperialism had also created and reinforced an —Asian consciousness. This stream of thought represented the thoughts of people from diverse backgrounds but broadly they argued that the only method Japan could defend itself from Western depredation was to unite with Asian countries which were part of a general cultural custom. This alliance meant that Japan necessity help to modernize and develop these countries.

The Initial Stage

The initial thrust for Japanese expansion was allied with the People's Rights Movement which was demanding a democratic political structure in Japan. Some of its advocates and supporters had begun to support the demands of Korean nationalists and others were in favour of the demand to invade Korea. The seikan Ron or the debate on whether to invade Korea was motivated through several factors. An significant cause advanced for supporting the invasion was that it would provide jobs to unemployed samurai who had been deprived of their traditional monopoly in excess of military functions with the universal conscription law. Though, equally significant was the perception that Japan had the right to help Korea to enter the contemporary world Japan would do this as an ally. This location slowly deteriorated to Japan acting as a leader and finally a colonizer. The procedure through which these pan-Asian thoughts were transformed from dreams of Asian solidarity to the reality of Japanese power is hotly debated but Japanese scholars would agree that till the 1900s pan-Asian thoughts were non-expansionist but subsequently they became an ideology to justify the demands of groups like the military to expand Japan's territorial holdings in the interests of wealth and security

Japan's Formal Empire

The formal Japanese empire incorporated Taiwan, Korea, Sakhalin, the Kwantung Territory and the Pacific Islands. Taiwan was the first colony

acquired through the Japanese in 1895 after the Sino-Japanese war. Taiwan provided Japan not only with the experience to manage colonies but was also an significant source of sugar and rice. Taiwan was highly profitable and the colony became financially self-sufficient within five years of its annexation. Karafuto, acquired in 1905, after the Russo-Japanese war was populated mostly through Japanese and the native Ainu, with the Koreans forming a small and declining part of the population. The management was more closely integrated with the Japanese management. Military rule ended in 1907 and in 1943 it became part of Japan proper.

Korea was the mainly significant colony (gaichi) and was annexed in 1910 through a treaty which promised equal treatment for the Koreans. The Koreans, who had been subject to Japanese pressure and attendance, possessed a strong and vibrant cultural custom. They adamantly resisted Japanese attempts to integrate them into Japan. Therefore on the one hand, there were big number of Koreans employed in the civil and police management and on the other there was a strong movement for independence.

The Kwantung territory on the Liaotung Peninsula was first ceded to Japan in 1895 but because of the Triple Intervention it reverted to China and subsequently it was leased through the Chinese to Russia. After the Russian defeat in 1905 Japan acquired the territory as well as manage in excess of the South Manchurian Railway. This was leased territory but, because the Japanese had the right to administer the territory approximately the South Manchurian Railway as well, the Kwantung army of Japan used this to extend its manage into Manchuria and through 1934 the Japanese Governor-Common of Kwantung was also appointed as the Ambassador to the Japanese puppet state of Manchukuo.

Japan also acquired manages in excess of a big number of tiny islands in Micronesia. The islands had been controlled through Spain and then Germany purchased them. After World War-I they were taken through the Japanese navy. The League of Nations termed them as C-class territories and allowed the Japanese to administer them. Japan withdrew from the League in 1933 but retained manage in excess of these islands. The native population

was ruled through its chiefs and the Japanese management functioned in excess of them.

Colonial Management

The colonial management differed in detail from colony to colony with the officials in Korea enjoying the highest status. The Governor-General of Korea (sotoku) was either a common or an admiral and till 1919 accounted directly to the Emperor and after that to the Prime Minister. All other colonial governors accounted to cabinet stage colonial officers. After 1919 all governors were civilians. This was in accordance with the rising importance of democratic thoughts in Japan and because of this there was a separation of —civil and —military functions. Though, Korea sustained to be the exception and military officers sustained to be appointed as governors there.

In Japan colonial affairs were handled from 1895-1929 through a bureau attached to the Prime Minister's office or to the Home Ministry. In 1929 a Ministry of Colonial Affairs was created so that there could be some uniformity in the management of the colonies. Though, the colonial governors retained considerable powers. When Manchukuo was created in 1934 a special bureau to handle its affairs was also recognized in the prime minister's office and this bureau also looked after the Kwantung territory.

In November 1942 the Greater East Asia Ministry was recognized to replace both the Manchurian Bureau and the Ministry of Colonial Affairs. This Ministry looked after the Kwantung Territory, Manchukuo, the Pacific Islands and other occupied territories. The Home Ministry was responsible for Korea, Taiwan and Karafuto. The other ministries were allowed to involve themselves in their respective regions in the colonies as well so that these regions could be more closely integrated with Japan proper.

Economic Dealings with the Colonies

The foreign trade of Japan has been dealt with in Units 20 and 24. Here it may be pertinent to indicate the Japanese colonial trade as this will point to the importance the colonies had for Japan. Manchuria was not really a colony and Korea till 1910 was also not a colony but Manchurian trade is shown

separately from Chinese trade in Japanese records after 1907. Taiwan, Korea and Kwantung-Manchuria flanked by 1910-1914 provided from one-seventh to a quarter of Japan's imports. Manchuria exported soybeans and millet, Korea rice and Taiwan rice and sugar. In turn they absorbed Japanese cotton textiles and consumer goods. These regions played a key role in providing cheap food for Japan's urban population.

In the field of foreign investment Japan's location reflected the changing character of its economy. The Anglo-Japanese alliance enabled Japan to borrow overseas to invest in railway development in China and Korea. Though till 1914 Japan's economy was not in a location to invest in any big method in China. Even when political participation in bank consortiums in China put it in a location to play a role it could not invest much. Therefore through 1914, as a member of the bank consortium it had advanced only 1.8 per cent of the total loans.

The South Manchurian Railway (Mantetsu) is a good instance of how the Japanese government guaranteed investment so that banks could channel funds from abroad to build up the railways. The railways, which shaped 55 per cent of Japanese investments in China in 1914, had a turnover of 81 million yen. In the rest of China the financial homes individually accepted out investment projects with government backing. Sometimes they collaborated as was the case in 1908 when Mitsui, Mitsubishi and Okura shaped an affiliate described the Taiping Company for overseas arms sales. The Hanyehping Coal and Iron Company was also a major region of Japanese investment and Japan was a source of credit and loans in return for which coal and iron was supplied at fixed prices. Hanyehping supplied 60 per cent of the iron ore and pig iron to Yawata, the major steel producer in Japan. In other regions Japanese capital played a small role compared to Western capital and mainly of it was in commerce and small industry rather than in finance.

In the era from 1914-1930 Japan had greater capital to invest and its lending to the Chinese government increased. Companies such as Mitsui and Okura recognized big projects and there was an expansion of cotton textile manufacture. Japanese investment was now comparable to that of other Western countries and consequently rivalries also increased. Japan's interests

were conditioned through this character of their economic interests as well as through the information that through 1930 there were 2, 70,000 Japanese residents in China.

Ideologies of Expansion

Japanese imperialism was inspired, justified and molded through ideologies which have been described as —ultra-nationalistic and —fascist. General to these thoughts was a belief that Japan needed to defend her traditions and culture jointly with the countries of Asia in scrupulous, the East Asian countries. These thoughts had appeared in excess of the years. Several political civilizations had at dissimilar times propagated such views. For instance:

- The supporters of Saigo Takamori (who had led the Satsuma rebellion of 1877) shaped the Genyosha (Dark Ocean Society). This society advocated an expansionist policy which was supported through several leaders within the government as well.
- Kokuryukai (Black Dragon Society), shaped in 1901 through Uchida Ryohei, was another ultra-nationalist society. It propagated the liberation of Asian countries from European rule under Japanese leadership. Internally it emphasized on strengthening morality and traditions.
- In the middle of the post World War-I civilizations were Koku Suikai (Japan National Essence Society shaped in 1919) and Kokuhonsha (National Base Society shaped in 1924). One of the main objectives of these civilizations was to save Japan from socialism. They had several military officers as members. Kita Ikki and Okawa Shumei had shaped the Yuzonsha which espoused military expansion abroad and military takeover at home.

Kita Ikki (1883-1937) an early socialist later became the inspiration for several patriotic army officers to effort a —Showa restoration and brings in relation to the direct Imperial rule. In 1919 he wrote a book entitled An

Outline Plan for the Reconstruction of Japan. This book presented plans related to external dealings as well as internal policies. Kita argued for Japan to lead Asia against Britain and Russia, who flanked by them dominated a big part of the globe. Japan, after reforming itself, could take the leadership in a federation of China and other Asian countries, including India. Kita Ikki's domestic reforms were based on developing an industrialized Japan but one in which the power of rich capitalists would be controlled. He also advocated a military coup d'état to achieve the true objectives of Meiji Restoration.

There were other expansionists who had a more agrarian vision of Japan and who drew their inspiration from Japan's agrarian past. Both trends were increasingly critical of the corruption of party politics and the economic troubles faced particularly in rural Japan. Through the beginning of the 1930s there was a prevailing mood against the Diet, the bureaucracy and business leaders and a demand that the system be overhauled. Presently as the Meiji Restoration had given Japan a new direction and a revolutionary programme of transformation, the expansionists felt that now Japan needed a —Showa restoration to meet the demanding times.

Konoe Fumimaro, who in 1938 proclaimed the New Order and one time Prime Minister had through 1918 become disillusioned with the Western nations and was advocating that Japan seek to change an unequal situation where she was denied equal access. He wrote that Japan would be —forced to destroy the status quo for the sake of self-preservation. In the army patriotic civilizations also debated these questions and planned methods to change the situation. The main groups were recognized as the Imperial Method faction (Kodo ha) and the Manage faction (Tosei ha).

The Imperial Method faction was led through Araki Sadao and stressed the importance of the Emperor, cooperation with China and war against Russia. Cooperation, of course meant under Japan's direction. The Imperial Method argued within the framework of pan-Asian doctrines. The Manage faction,' which had Nagata Tetsuzan and Tojo Hideki and came to control after 1936 argued that Japan needed to be mobilized for the coming war. This would mean gearing up the economy and the people and expanded its

territories to be able to meet the challenge. Ishiwara Kanji played a crucial role in the formulation of its plans and thoughts.

Ishiwara Kanji argued that Japan necessity prepare to fight a series of wars against Russia, then Britain and then the United States. Japan would be the champion of Asia. To be able to carryout this role effectively presently unity was not enough but Japan necessity is totally geared for the war. He said that political, economic and social policies should be fully integrated for the defense of Japan and for him the army was the prime mover of national policy.

Colonial Policy: Assumptions and Premises

Japanese colonial policy was grounded in assumptions which had points of parallel as well as differences with European colonial thoughts. Japan did not start with a fully articulated view of what approach should be adopted for its colonies. These views, in information, urbanized in excess of time. One assumption which they shared with European views was that dissimilar people had dissimilar capabilities and these were inherent qualities. European powers controlled very dissimilar cultural areas and hence such views urbanized to justify their rule. The Japanese too saw their colonization procedure as a mission in which they would civilize their neighbors who were not as urbanized. This national, conservative and paternalist view was widely accepted and propounded through intellectuals and officers like Nitobe Inazo and Goto Shimpei.

Though, Japan's colonial empire extended in excess of people who shared cultural and racial affinities and this was particularly so with Taiwan and Korea. Therefore there grew a view that these areas would be assimilated (doka) into the home country, Japan. The assimilations view saw these countries as sharing a general cultural heritage specifically composed of Confucian values. The mythical link flanked by the Japanese people and the Imperial family was also extended to contain other people who therefore became —imperial peoples. Such thoughts were often vague and ambiguous and so could be used to justify a range of positions. At their best they promoted policies which sought to integrate the colonized closely to Japan

through the extension of laws and institutions. Japanese policy tried to Japanese the people and forced them to learn Japanese and live and dress like Japanese. The liberal face of Japanese colonial policy was represented through Hara Takeshi who as Prime Minister advocated assimilation through education and the spread of civil liberties. He said that mainly Koreans did not desire independence but wanted equality with the Japanese.

Though, in the 1930s this very gradual assimilation was transformed into a strict policy which sought to regiment the people under Japanese power. The stress was on the obligations that these people owed to Japan. Even the language reflected this for Japan and its possessions were classed into an —inner territory‖ and an —outer territory‖. National identities had little meaning within this classification and Japan asserted its rights as a master race in excess of a subject people.

Japan: Expansionist Policy since 1931

Since the beginning of the 1930s and till the end of the Second World War the militarists played a predominant role in the decision-creation procedure of the country. The military was influenced that the —soft‖ China policy pursued through the government was to endanger Japan's economic interest in the country. Japan increasingly felt that the Western powers effort was to —contain‖ Japan's progress in China and not to co-operate with it. In information Japan was disillusioned with the United States which adopted the 1924 Exclusion Act and the high tariff policy after the Great Depression. Britain also opposed Japan's —special interests‖ in China. It was clear to the Japanese leaders that more could be gained through consolidating and expanding its location on the mainland than through cooperating with the Western powers.

The environment of discontent at home resulting from both economic and political crisis, it was felt, could be smoothed through offering those expectations of prosperity through foreign expansion. Here as suggested, talk about briefly sure characteristics of Japan's expansionist policies since 1931.

Establishment of Manchukuo

Japan's economic interests in China particularly in Manchuria were rising and Japan's Kwantung army stationed here to protect Japanese interests and railroads felt that pursuance of an aggressive policy was essential to obtain a guarantee for Japan's special location in Manchuria. This view was shared through other sections as well and the variation was one of approach only. On 18 September 1931, officers of the Kwantung Army in Manchuria overran Southern Manchuria. The pretext for this action was provided through an explosion close to Mukden which slightly damaged the Japanese railway. The Kwantung army had been trying to seem out for or, even make such an —opportunity‖ since a extensive time but was dissuaded through the government in Tokyo. Manchuria was made ‘_self-governing’ of China and a puppet government was installed and Pu Yi the last of China's former Manchu emperors was made head of the new state now described Manchukuo. The Japanese government was faced with a fait accompli and ultimately the cabinet had to approve the establishment of the puppet government in Manchuria.

Sustained Aggression in China

Japan which came under severe criticism for its behaviors in Manchuria from the world society withdrew from the League of Nations. This act symbolized Japan's parting of methods from the Western countries. Though, the Western powers did not come to the support of China against Japan's advancement. Japan after quick victory in Manchuria in 1933 resumed her operations in the Northern provinces of China and Jehol was soon added to Manchukuo.

Japan sustained with its advances in China on a small level and in intervals. It also intervened in the politics of the provinces especially those in the north and supported those political movements which might be willing to accept —autonomy‖ under the patronage of Japan.

The Chinese opposition to Japanese expansion in their country increased and was further strengthened when Chiang Kai Shek reached an agreement with the communists in 1936 to join hands against Japan.

Japanese military leaders were influenced that to have a total power of China, a big level disagreement was inevitable. The army was also dominated through men who whispered in the Japanese expansionism on the mainland. Besides it had become necessary to ease the political tensions at home which was possible to some extent if the Japanese army made extra ordinary gains in China which was expected of them through the public.

On 7 July, 1937, fighting broke out flanked by Chinese and Japanese troops at Marco Polo Bridge and shortly this incident turned into a major war flanked by the two countries. Through August Peking and Tientsin were occupied. Hostilities spread further and Japanese captured Chiang Kai Shek's capital Nanking, in December 1937. The Japanese army indulged in full level murder, loot and rape and in relation to the 12,000 Chinese civilians was killed.

Through 1938 Japan had captured Hankow (after Nanking, Chiang had moved his capital to Hankow) and Canton. After the fall of Hankow Chiang again moved his capital to Chungking.

Japan controlled many of the major municipalities and railways through 1938 but still its political manages was not well consolidated. Japanese sustained to face tough resistance from the Chinese guerrillas. Economically, maintaining its gains in China and fighting the guerrillas put a great strain on Japan.

Slowly, Japan was caught in the vortex of international events leading it to ultra-nationalism at home, world separation and war with the United States.

Japan Joins the Axis Powers

In 1939 war broke out in Europe. With the fall of France and Netherlands in 1940 Japan was influenced that the Axis powers (Germany and Italy) were sure to win the war. In 1940 Japan entered into a Tripartite Pact with Germany and Italy declaring its opposition to the other Western powers. In 1941 Japan signed a non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union. Japan, now sure of the security of its northern frontiers in China, could freely move southward towards in French, Dutch and English colonies.

The US was highly agitated with Japan's expansionist policies. In 1940 the Japan-US trade treaty was allowed to expire. After the Tripartite Pact was concluded, and Japan moved into South Indo-China in 1941 US, Britain and Holland placed a total embargo on exports to Japan. Japan suffered a severe setback for oil and rubber supplies were to be affected through this step. US had also restricted the sale of strategic goods to Japan whereas Japan's war industry was heavily dependant on the import of iron and oil.

For the military it was necessary to overcome the barriers placed through the Western powers. Talks were held flanked by the US and Japan in 1941 but there was a deadlock since both the sides were determined not to compromise. The US demanded that Japan withdraw not only from Indo-China but also from China. Japan was determined that the US lift its oil embargo, recognize Japanese hegemony in the Distant East and refrain from extending support to Chiang Kai Shek.

Japanese military officers were influenced that ultimately a war with the US was inevitable and that scheduling in this direction had to be made. It was in anticipation of war that Tojo Hideki was made Premier in October 1941. For Japan a war was more preferable than withdrawing from China. It was now a question of not only demonstrating that Japan was a power to reckon with but it was also an economic necessity.

Through this time Japan had also drawn up a plan of turning the whole region into a Greater East Asia Co-prosperity sphere, which contains South and South East Asia. After joining the Axis powers Japan was in high spirits to carry on its plans.

World War-II

One last effort, though, was made to avoid war. Japan in return for halting its advancement elsewhere proposed that the US withdraw from China and grant extensive economic concessions to Japan. US rejected the proposal and on 1 December 1941 the Japanese imperial conference of civilian and services leaders decided to declare war on the US. On 7 December 1941 Japan made a surprise attack on Pearl Harbor and was victorious. Japan overran the Philippines, and captured Hong Kong, Singapore and Indonesia. Japanese

troops landed in Burma and occupied it and were also preparing to take in excess of India. Through mid 1942 the area from Rangoon to the mid-Pacific and from Timor to the Mongolian steppe was under Japanese manage. It is not possible to provide all the details of the war.

The Pacific war lasted till 1945 and Japan suffered untold losses in conditions of material, men and money. The US after Pearl Harbor was determined to crush Japan. Soon Japanese victories were turned into defeats. In January 1943 the allied leaders met at Casablanca and agreed to further strengthen their efforts in the war against Japan. Soon Japan lost many strategic islands in the Gilbert and Marshall islands. The Allies directed two huge commands towards Japan. One captured Saipan in the Marianas in June 1943, and Jima in March 1945. The other captured Philippines in February 1945. From here the two commands were able to act in unison and their target was Okinawa which they won in June 1945.

The Allied forces now had landed on the very footsteps of Japan and were within the bombing range. Since late 1944 Allied forces constantly bombed Japanese municipalities killing thousands and thousands of civilians and destroying property. On 26 July 1945 the Potsdam Declaration was issued to Japan calling for its* unconditional surrender, to be followed through its military job, demilitarization and loss of territory. On 6 and 9 August atom bombs were dropped at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Japan accepted defeat and surrendered on 15 August 1945.

JAPAN AFTER WORLD WAR-II

The Allied Job

Japan was occupied through the Allied forces under the provisions of the Potsdam Declaration of 26 July 1945. Though, in effect the job was accepted out through the United States. There was a small contingent of British and other Commonwealth forces. Common Douglas MacArthur was appointed the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers (SCAP) through the U.S. President Harry Truman and MacArthur virtually ruled Japan though this

was done through the Japanese government which was not disbanded. The Japanese Foreign Ministry set up a Central Liaison Office which handled and processed SCAP directives. This made it possible for the Japanese to vary and alter or even delay the implementation of SCAP policy.

The vital framework of SCAP policy was laid down in the United States Initial Post-Surrender Policy for Japan declared on 29, August 1945. The policy had two major objectives:

- One, it wanted to ensure that Japan would never again become a menace to the security of the United States or the world.
- Two, to set up a democratic and responsible government.

To carry out these objectives the United States wanted to dismantle the structure of militarism and expansionism which had led Japan to war and to suppressing its own people at home. The United States felt that the big business houses and the military exercised excessive management in excess of the system and they, through government management spread an Emperor based ideology which created a pliant and submissive citizenry. So, the people who accepted out these policies would have to be purged and the system opened and made more democratic and less centralized.

To lay the foundation of change the Job forces set in relation to the clearing the decks and they purged officials from the earlier government and abolished several offices. Ministries like that of Greater East Asian Affairs were abolished. The first SCAP directive ordered the demobilization of all Japanese troops and through October 1945 the Special Political Police and the Public Peace Maintenance Law were abolished. The International Military Tribunal of the Distant East set up to attempt war criminals, as in Nuremberg, tried almost six thousand and sentenced 920. In excess of 200,000 were purged because of their complicity with the previous government. It is motivating to note that for the top twenty-eight leaders tried, Hirohito's birthday 29 April, 1946 was chosen as the day for indictment, and 23 December the birthday of his son (and today the Emperor) Akihito, for the day when the death sentences were accepted out.

Political Implications

The first problem was the location of the Emperor. There was a debate in relation to the whether he should be made responsible for the war. While several of the Japanese leaders were tried and executed the Emperor was never brought to trial. Several organizations in the middle of the Allied powers wanted Hirohito, the Emperor to be tried and hold him responsible for the death and maltreatment of thousands of Allied troops. In Japan the left wing also wanted the Emperor system, which had led Japan into fascism, to be abolished.

Common MacArthur, as well as conservative opinion in Japan, supported the continuation of the Emperor as any action against him would lead to social disorder. Though, the Emperor was forced to renounce his divinity. In Japan the myth of the direct descent of the Emperor from the Sun Goddess had been spread through the educational system and made the foundation for Japan's uniqueness. Hirohito, in a radio broadcast, renounced his divinity on New Years Day 1946 when he said that the bonds which bound him to his people were based on —mutual trust, love and respect and do not rest on mere legends and superstition.¶

The after that step the Job authorities took was drafting the new constitution. This procedure involved producing several drafts. The first was produced through a Japanese government committee headed through Shidehara Kijuro, a diplomat but MacArthur thought the draft was too careful and had his own members produce a draft which would satisfy the circumstances for establishing a democratic system. The draft produced through the Common headquarters Government Part (GS) in early 1946 was promulgated in November 1946.

The new constitution transferred sovereignty from the Emperor to the people. The Emperor became —a symbol of state and unity of the people¶. This was a distant reaching change from the principles of the Meiji constitution. The Diet sustained to have two homes but the earlier Home of Peers' was changed into an elected Home of Councilors and the main legislative power

was with the lower House of Representatives. The cabinet was collectively responsible to the Diet. The judiciary became constitutionally self-governing. The other major departures from the Meiji constitution were:

- Women were given the power to vote and legal equality with men.
- The principle of local autonomy was also written into the constitution.
- The mainly radical departure was Article 9 which renounced Japan's right to wage war.

The article states that the —Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes. It goes on to say that war potential, that is land, sea and air forces will never be maintained and the right of belligerency of the State will not be recognized. This article had distant reaching consequences even though it was customized in practice as the demands of United States policy required Japan to develop her military capability. In the new political structure the House Ministry and police which had exercised secure manage in excess of the people were broken into smaller units and their power reduced. Labour laws guaranteed the workers right to organize and take communal actions and the communists and other progressives who had been jailed before the war because of their opposition to the government's policies were set free. The first post-war common election was held in April 1946. Till then the cabinets had been constituted through appointments and not elections. The common elections served to confirm the peoples' acceptance of the new constitution. Though, no party appeared with a clear majority and Yoshida Shigeru, who became prime minister, headed an unstable government.

The elitist education system, which was seen through the Job Powers as having inculcated blind obedience and submission to power, was sought to be overhauled. It was argued that the thoughts of reverence for the Emperor and of the uniqueness of the Japanese were spread through the highly controlled education system. The Job reduced the power of the Ministry of Education and a system based on the United States system was adopted. In this there were six years of compulsory primary education and then three years

secondary and three years of high school followed through four years university. Co education was introduced. The decentralization of education and the creation of local boards were crucial in democratizing the system.

Economic Implications

The Job powers also accepted out significant changes in the economy. When Japan surrendered it had lost an estimated one-fifth of its possessions. Even though there were vast losses in industrial equipment and several factories had been dismantled much of the productive capability of the heavy and chemical industry remained intact. There was a serious shortage of civilian goods as the economy had been diverted to producing for the war effort? Inflation and lack of food in the municipalities made life hard though there was not the type of starvation that lived in China or the Philippines which had suffered under Japanese rule.

The SCAP initially played a punitive role. It was whispered that Japan's industrial capability was responsible for its aggression and so this capability, which had made it the leading industrialized country in Asia, be reduced. To this end the zaibatsu were dissolved and extensive land reforms accepted out with the aim of introducing decentralization and democracy.

The zaibatsu were immense conglomerates which dealt in a wide range of businesses creation everything from pins to planes. The major groups were Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo and Yasuda. Each group was organized approximately a holding company and much of the manage still rested with family members. The SCAP confiscated their holdings and dissolved the holding companies. The land reforms helped to avert a crisis in rural Japan where the population had risen because of the returning soldiers and consequent hardship was felt through the small farmers who shaped 70 per cent of the rural population. Land ceilings and confiscation of land from big holders jointly with the setting up of agricultural cooperatives helped to stabilize the rural regions.

SCAP policy began to change when in 1946 food aid was provided to Japan. Through the middle of 1948 the goal clearly became one of rebuilding a strong and self-reliant Japan. Several U.S. planners, even before the war had

ended, had seen in Japan an ally against the rising power of communism in China which they feared would form a monolithic ally with the Soviet Union. In Japan also several leaders were fearful of a socialist revolution caused through the defeat in war and in part the speed with which they surrendered was motivated through this fear.

This change of direction is often described the —reverse course and it became clear once the Korean War broke out in 1953. In August 1950 a National Police Reserve had been set up and through 1954 a Self-Defence Agency and Defence Forces was set up. In the San Francisco Treaty of September 1951 a bilateral mutual security treaty was concluded in which it was made clear that Japan would increasingly assume responsibility for its own defense. Likewise several other changes were accepted out both through the Job powers and after Japan became self-governing through the new government so the reverse course spans the job era and the initial years of the new government's rule. Because of the changed objectives Japan benefited from access to U.S. capital, technology and market.

Japanese reactions to the Job were not highly ideological but motivated through practical necessity. The U.S. forces had expected to meet resistance when they entered Japan but they were surprised at the common welcome they received. This was because of the information that mainly of the Japanese were tired of war. Moreover, SCAP controlled the mass media and could spread its views and thoughts without any controversy. Finally, the reforms that the SCAP accepted out benefited big sections of Japanese society introducing such rights which had till then been denied to them. For instance, the new rights given to women were not the product of a movement; in information according to surveys mainly women were not interested in these rights.

The U.S. Job has so been looked upon through some scholars as the beginning of democracy in Japan. To them it marks a break in the flow of Japanese history when very new thoughts and practices were forcibly introduced into Japanese society. Today, several Japanese scholars have been re-looking at pre-war growths to argue that the foundation for Job reforms was already being laid and that the search for the roots of Japanese democracy

should go back to the popular movements in the Meiji era. In spite of these differing views the Job era marks an significant interlude throughout which internal changes were initiated. Japan was connected closely to United States foreign policy objectives and a firm ally. Finally it necessity be mentioned that the Job saw two very strong figures emerge on the political scene in Japan. One was Common Douglas MacArthur, who played a decisive role in molding and directing Job policies and the other was Yoshida Shigeru who became the first Prime Minister of post-war Japan under the new constitution. He laid the foundation for the post-war structure of Japan. Yoshida, sixty years old when he became prime minister, had been Ambassador to England in the 1930s and though he had supported Japan's actions in China he had opposed joining the alliance with Germany. A conservative, Yoshida saw that Japan's future lay in an alliance with the United States and in concentrating on economic development—the two pillars on which Japan's development was accepted out.

The Era of High Growth (1952-1973)

Political Growths

The era from when Japan regained its political independence witnessed the single minded pursuit of economic growth. The initial years were really a continuation of the earlier era but through 1955 the vital outlines of the post-war system were laid out. In 1955 the two wings of the socialist party merged in October to form the Japan Socialist Party and in November the two conservative parties merged to form the Liberal Democratic Party which was to control the politics of post-war Japan.

These two became part of a system referred to as the one and a half party system because the socialists though the main opposition, were not significantly big enough to power policy. The Liberal Democratic Party dominated the electoral procedure and in the sixth Home of Representatives common elections it was voted into power. The Socialists were in the opposition and the two groups, the right and the left which had united were

often in disagreement and they split in 1959 with the right wing forming the Democratic Socialist Party.

In the years following the end of the war there was a rise in new religious sects. Several of these sects had been founded in the pre-war years but they began to enjoy widespread popularity in the hard years of the post-war when people sought solace and comfort in their teachings. One of these sects described the Sökkagakkai or Value Creating Society traced its origins to the Buddhist priest of the thirteenth century, Nichiren. Nichiren had founded a nationalist Buddhist sect and was well-known for having destroyed the invading Mongol Armada through his prayers which resulted in a typhoon. This divine wind or kamikaze was also the word used for the suicide bombers throughout the war. . The party described the Komeito or Clean Government Party became a major force for a while though its strength was confined to the urban regions.

The Japan Communist Party had been banned through the pre-war government but was allowed to function through the U.S. Job and throughout this era it occupied a minority status in the Diet. Though, its party newspaper The Red Flag (Akahata), a daily, sold well. Politically it should be noticed that the early era was marked through changing alignments and controversies which often resulted in disorder in the Diet and demonstrations outside. The government sought to expand its power and extend it's manage. The Ministry of Education increased its supervisory rights in excess of school teachers and textbooks. The powers of the police were expanded and the Self-Defence Forces were also steadily rising. The major controversy was in excess of the United States-Japan Mutual Security Treaty of 1951. The treaty was due for revision in 1960 and a huge agitation built up against the ratification.

The treaty had been signed through Yoshida in 1951 and gave the United States extensive privileges in Japan. They had bases in Japan and occupied Okinawa. The socialists and other groups opposed what they perceived as an —unequal treaty|. The split in the Socialist Party was in excess of the question of supporting the treaty. The socialists argued that in effect the Japanese would function as frontline troops and if the United States were to fight another war, as it had done in Korea, then Japan would be involved.

The ratification of the treaty was preceded through huge demonstrations. On 19 May 1960 opposition Diet members seized the Speaker of the house and held him in the basement of the Diet structure leading to fights and the ratification was accepted out without opposition members being present. This outraged the public and there were further demonstrations led through militant student organizations like the Zengakuren, an umbrella organization of student unions. The major demonstration was on June 15 when the Diet was bounded and in the conflict a young girl student of Tokyo University was killed. The treaty became effective on 23 June and the Prime Minister Kishi Nobusuke resigned the following month in July.

The anti-Security treaty demonstrations and their failure was an significant landmark in the post-war era. Several scholars see them as the high water spot of participatory democracy. The demonstrations were provoked as much through the contents of the treaty as through Kishi's handling of the situation. Several felt the high handedness of the ruling LDP was uncalled for and millions signed a petition calling for common elections. Though, it necessity also be remembered that in 1962 the SDF acquired surface to air missiles (SAM) and subsequently the U.S. statement that a nuclear ship would visit Japan did not lead to any demonstrations. Japan was settling into the era of high growth and concentrating her energies on development.

Economic Growth

Japan grew at the rate of ten per cent per year from 1954 to 1971 and this came to be referred to as the —miracle—. Throughout this era industrial facilities expanded to 36 per cent of GNP and Japan was transformed rapidly much as it had been transformed in the years after the Meiji Restoration. The question which comes uppermost in several minds is how did Japan achieve this? Was this miraculous growth a part of well conceived and executed policies or was it the result of fortunate circumstances? Several scholars have argued that Japan achieved these results through deliberate policies. Chalmers Johnson, for instance has written on the role of the powerful MITI which played a crucial role in directing and guiding Japanese economic development. The central focus of several works is the secure links flanked by movement-

business-industry and the argument is that this secure working made it possible to make a consensus or agreement on the economic goals and the policies necessary to pursue these goals. The economic boom of post-war Japan had started before Prime Minister Ikeda announced his —income doubling plan which came to symbolize the creation of prosperity. Through 1960 Japan's GNP had become the fifth main in the world and through 1968 it was second only to the United States. The Japanese economy was subjected to controls and guidance through the government but competition was not discouraged, rather it was fierce and there was flexibility in the government's approach.

In the 1950's the steel industry received special attention with loans and funds for expansion so that through the mid-1970s Japan had overtaken the Western steel firms in productivity. MITI had initially exercised secure manage and set targets but as the steel firms grew it allowed them to plan for themselves though it sustained to exercise —administrative guidance. This guidance had no legal sanction but it was very hard, if not impossible, for the companies not to follow this guidance. Similar steps were taken in industries like shipbuilding.

Japan's initial success created troubles for its trading partners who complained of closed markets and cheap exports. Japanese textiles, shoes, etc. were creation inroads into the European and US markets. The Japanese allowed some entry of foreign firms but restricted foreign ownership of Japanese companies to 25 per cent In essence the policy was highly restrictive and even in the 1980s foreign ownership remained below 2 per cent.

The general view argued through several Japanese scholars was that it was not closed markets but the Japanese system which enabled Japan to grow. Central to this system was life time employment, promotion through seniority and enterprise unions. In Japanese companies workers were employed for their working life with the company looking after several of their needs, from housing to medical benefits to holidays. The employee was paid according to the number of years he worked and was accordingly promoted. This meant that there was no need to change jobs and rather than —merit loyalty and dedication were values that were stressed. Unions were not shaped crossways

industries but at the stage of the firm or enterprise which meant that there was no outside interference and the company and union could work jointly to augment productivity.

Though, this ideal system was mainly practiced in big firms while mainly workers were in small firms. In Japan there was a dual structure. There were a few big firms which guaranteed benefits and gave high wages and their productivity was also high but in excess of 53 per cent of the workers worked in firms employing less than a hundred employees in 1965. The gap flanked by these workers was reflected in wages and working circumstances though these began to narrow in the 1970s. Moreover workers' in small firms were rarely organized. Finally, women workers were discriminated against in conditions of wages and kinds of jobs so that few were permanent employees within the lifetime system. The male-female wage gap narrowed in the seventies but the number of women in the middle of the lowest paid increased considerably.

The economic growth of the 1960's altered the social landscape rising mobility and leading to higher concentration of population in the urban centers, particularly the Osaka-Tokyo belt. Industry and population were concentrated in this area leading to cramped livelihood and industrial pollution. Citizen's groups and residents associations began to protest against the degradation of the environment and demand better livelihood circumstances. The benefits of economic growth were creation the country rich but the people still did not have the similar access to social benefits as their counterparts in the Western countries. Television, washing machines and refrigerators transformed the lives of people and these symbols of success rapidly spread throughout Japan.

In 1953 the Minamata disease was first noticed and its effect was that the victims lost manage in excess of their bodily movements. This was caused through industrial pollution a information recognized in 1959 but it took till 1973 for the victims to get court compensation. Other diseases reflected the lack of understanding of the dangers of unchecked industrial development. In 1967 a law to check pollution was passed and in the 1970s the government took events to seriously check pollution.

The Oil Shock and After

The 1973 —oil shock— when the OPEC countries threatened to cut oil supplies to unfriendly countries, threw Japan into a panic. Japan depended on the import of oil and cuts would make a shamble of its economy. But the events that were taken up illustrate the resilience and strengths of the economy. Oil accounted for seventy per cent of its power necessities and Japan's policy makers set in relation to the to reduce power consumption. It was so successful that while the rest of the advanced economies grew at 2 per cent annually from 1973 to 1980 Japan's economy grew at 3.2 in 1975, 5.9 per cent in 1976 and then at 6 per cent. The economy soared, as Prime Minister Fukuda Takeo said as —high as Mount Fujii.

Politically Tanaka Kakue who had become prime minister after Sato Eisaku in 1972 set in relation to the altering the face of Japanese political practices. There had been corruption earlier and scandals had surfaced to embarrass political leaders and destroy careers. Tanaka, unlike mainly Japanese Premiers and politicians had not gone to Tokyo University or been a high powered civil servant but rather he was a self made man who cut a wide swath through the body politic. He recognized what came to be recognized as kinken seiji or money politics. Tanaka cultivated friends and constituencies and through extensive patronage built up a powerful political machine.

The ruling Liberal Democratic party was a conglomeration of factions which operated independently, as distant as raising money and fighting elections went. So they were in perpetual competition but custom and cooperation also influenced their behaviour. They operated within an accepted framework. Tanaka's practice of buying support and questionable deals was revealed in a magazine article and the controversy which this generated brought down his government but Tanaka, aside from his corrupt practices had also exerted the power of the party in excess of the bureaucracy.

The bureaucracy had functioned with reasonable independence from the political parties and often provided the dedicated expertise for politicians but Tanaka built up his own experts and shaped his special committees. Tanaka was followed through Miki Takeo who had a reputation for being Mr.

Clean but he failed in his declared objective of ending factionalism and reducing the role of money in politics.

In 1976 Japan was submerged through the Lockheed scandal. The Lockheed Company had apparently paid money to several Japanese, including the then Prime Minister Tanaka Kakue to sell its planes. Tanaka was arrested in 1976 and subsequently tried in a extensive drawn case. But inspite of these charges Tanaka sustained to exercise power from behind the scenes and because of his factional strength he was the real kingmaker in Japanese politics. Tanaka controlled 120 out of the 400 Diet men in both Homes and his —army, as they were described, controlled the formation of cabinets and policy and dominated key cabinet posts. In 1983 he was establish guilty and he appealed but that still has not been settled.

In 1971 the MITI published a plan described —Vital Direction of the New International Trade Industrial Policy: A Vision for the 1970s which argued that Japan necessity move from the manufacture of industrial goods to knowledge industries and to this end the government accepted out a host of events to actualize this goal. Japan updated its manufacture of TV tubes and VCR's and in 1978 sought to bring its computer industry on par with the United States. The emphasis on —knowledge-rigorous industries was first on consumer electronics and expanded into robots. In the automobile industry Japan which in 1950 had made a total of 1,600 cars was through' 1980 producing 11 million more than the United States.

Japan achieved this growth with the help of selective protection and subsidies. Initially there were tariffs for foreign cars and when there were objections it allowed big cars and three-wheelers which were not in demand while at the similar time expanding the definition of —small car to 2,000 c.c. The tariffs were only removed in the 1970s and upto 1980 the share of foreign cars in the market was only 1 per cent.

In 1982 Nakasone Yasuhiro became Prime Minister and in the subsequent years he set a new approach of functioning. The fundamental foundation for Nakasone's politics lay in his vision of settling what he described post-war accounts. Japan had regained manage in excess of Okinawa under the Premiership of Sato and had opened dealings with China

throughout Prime Minister Tanaka's cabinet and Nakasone wanted to create Japan a firm and active member of the Western alliance. His active diplomacy was very much a part of this vision. He re-built dealings with South Korea on a firmer foundation through judicious use of economic aid and business contracts. He also recognized a personal friendship with US President Ronald Reagan.

Internally Nakasone set in relation to the implementing administrative reform and to formulate policies, he recognized a host of expert committees which critics argued subverted the democratic procedure as they ignored the Diet. In the middle of the several steps which he initiated the official visit to Yasukuni Shrine in 1985 generated controversy both within Japan as well as outside in China and other neighbours? Yasukuni Shrine was where the Japan's war dead were enshrined since the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-95 and this visit was seen as a revival of militarism as it violated the separation of the state and religion. Though, several groups also saw this as the assertion of a very natural patriotism.

In education as well Nakasone went on to stress not only the —fostering of creativity| but the structure up of a spirit of patriotism. This emphasis on patriotism was attacked through liberals who saw this as a revival of the pre-war ideals of national loyalty which had led Japan to war and expansion.

In international trade the rising imbalances with her trading partners made Japan the focus of trenchant criticism. In 1986 the Maekawa Statement, as the committee was headed through a former Governor of the Bank of Japan set down events to liberalize the economy. It also suggested that greater emphasis should be placed on structure up social capital to improve the livelihood circumstances of the people. Japan's trade surplus was becoming a problem as with the increased strength of the yen in 1987 the trade surplus reached \$96 billion and this provoked reactions from the United States.

The reaction from the US was based on the argument that Japan had taken a —free ride|. In other languages Japan had not spent any money to protect itself and this saving had been channeled into economic growth and trade. US critics argued that Japan should open its markets and remove non-tariff barriers, such as the cumbersome sharing system which made it hard for

foreign companies to sell in Japan, and also assume a fair share of its defense burden.

Nakasone also took events to de-nationalize government monopolies such as the Japan National Railways and in telecommunications. The railways were split into six local groups and the domestic telephone company, NTT was privatized. Nakasone, because of his strong impact, supervised to secure an extra year after his two conditions as LDP president in 1986 but in his last year the popularity of the party fell because of unpopular tax events. But Nakasone himself sustained to play a major role in selecting his successor Takeshita Noboru. The Nakasone cabinet presided in excess of a era when Japan began to play a more visible role in international affairs. Internally Nakasone opened issues and set agendas which are still part of the political agenda. Though, electoral reform and the regulation of political funds were not accepted out with any great success and these troubles continue to plague Japanese politics.

Japan's foreign dealings have been mannered within the framework of the alliance with the United States which guaranteed Japan's security. This has meant that till the 1970s Japan took few steps to rebuild its dealings with its neighbours. At the end of the war the question of repatriation to countries which had suffered from Japan throughout the war was settled but no peace treaty was concluded with the USSR. Japan normalized dealings with China only after US President Richard Nixon went to China.

Japan overcome its war time legacy and normalized dealings with South Korea in 1965 but the problem of Koreans who had been forcibly brought to Japan sustained to pose a problem. Because of riding with the U.S.; territorial dispute in excess of the possession of the islands to the north of Hokkaido Japan's dealings with USSR remained strained.

Japanese foreign policy is now attempting to play a greater role as it has achieved economic power and to this end it is stepping up its aid flows to the developing world. Japan also faces rising trade and economic tensions with the United States and the European Society and criticism in relation to the its closed market and practices which unfairly exclude foreign competitors has

led it to invest in the developing world to reduce the risk of being excluded from their markets.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

- Discuss the attitude of Meiji oligarchy towards political parties.
- Account for the growth of socialist ideas in Japan.
- Discuss the reasons for military's hostility to political parties.
- How did education contribute in the development of militarist nationalist ideas?
- Explain the impact of World War-I on Japan's industrialization.
- How the growth in power generation did helped industrialization?
- Write a note on Japan's formal empire.
- What were the prominent features of colonial administration?
- Discuss the Japan's economic relations with the Colonies.
- Write a note on the Japanese reactions to the Occupation.
- What steps did Japan take to ensure rapid economic growth?

CHAPTER 7

Post-Revolutionary China: 1911-21

STRUCTURE

- Learning objectives
- Post-revolutionary developments, 1911-19
- Cultural movement
- Foreign investment and rise of the new class
- Rise of nationalism
- Review questions

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this chapter, you should be able to:

- Know the reasons behind the emergence of militarism in China.
- Know about the emergence of Kuomintang as a political force and its failure to become a mass based party.
- Understand Confucian philosophy on China.
- Understand the reasons behind the advent of "new culture" after 1911.
- Explain the significance of foreign capital in China.
- Know about the role of the bourgeoisie in the 1911 Revolution.
- Understand the components of early twentieth century Chinese nationalism.

POST-REVOLUTIONARY DEVELOPMENTS, 1911-19

Political Instability

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 maneuvered 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-yi as 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 necessity remember that Yuan Shi Kai's ambitions were in direct disagreement with the constitutional system where power is shared flanked by many individuals.

Yuan's supporters comprised of Mandarins of the Manchu Court, reformists of the earlier era and his own military and civilian henchmen. He had full backing of the army commanders' of the New Army which he had created. Tang Shao-yi had a relatively thinner base of support. Approximately immediately after the formation of the cabinet, Yuan began to disagree with him in excess of matters of appointments and policies. Yuan's uncooperative attitude went so distant that within three months Tang quit the cabinet in disgust. Cabinets made after this were mainly of Yuan's followers and

bureaucrats. The Legislative Assembly which right absent did not want a showdown with Yuan grudgingly gave its support to the cabinet.

In the winter of 1912-13 elections were held for parliament. This was an opportunity for the revolutionaries, now reorganized as the Kuomintang, to peacefully eliminate Yuan's power. As expected they won a majority in both homes of the Parliament and their parliamentary leader, Sung Chiao-jen, was all set to head a cabinet. On March 10, 1913 while boarding a train for Peking at the Shanghai railway station, he was assassinated. It produced shocks all in excess of the country. Yuan, in a routine form, ordered an enquiry into the assassination. In relation to the similar time Yuan had been trying to get a loan from foreign bankers which were crucial for China's collapsing economy. The day the findings of the enquiry were made public directly implicating President Yuan in the assassination, he announced the agreement of foreign bankers to grant the much-needed loan. This may have diverted the attention of some but flanked by the Kuomintang and Yuan Shi Kai it meant permanent parting of methods. The latter started to act arbitrarily, often overriding the parliament. Even the negotiations for the foreign loan (described the Reorganization loan) were done without its consent. For Yuan, though, the sanctioning of the Reorganization loan meant final recognition of his government through foreign powers. His crime went unpunished. The imperialist powers also preferred a dictator and manipulator to a popular leader for very obvious reasons.

Prior to Sung's assassination, the KMT leaders were not united in their attitude towards Yuan but this heinous crime united them all in condemning him. In July 1913 KMT governors who controlled some southern provinces revolted. Emboldened through foreign recognition Yuan took on the KMT, dismissed the military governors allied to it, suppressed their rebellion, dissolved the KMT as a political organization, suspended the Parliament and then abolished provincial assemblies and local councils. He declared himself president for life and also announced that he would restore monarchy and start his own dynasty. Yuan got a new Provisional constitution enacted in 1914 which made his rule supreme, unchecked through law. The ultimate aim of this constitution was to restore monarchy in China with Yuan as the new

emperor. While all this was going on Japan made on China the notorious Twenty One Demands and Yuan had, on principle, acceded to them. It is, so, whispered that there was Japanese compliance in the moves made through Yuan.

His scheme, though, united the Revolutionaries and the Moderate Progressives (under Liang Chi-Chao). A campaign against him, raising the slogan —Protection of the Republic was launched all in excess of the country. Provinces started declaring their independence from the Peking regime and anti-monarchical expeditions led through KMT generals and the progressives began. The movement was so intense that Yuan Shi Kai had to annul all his monarchical decrees through March 1916. He sustained to form his presidential duties as though nothing had happened. The Yuan Shi Kai chapter in Chinese history ended with his death (due to natural causes) in June 1916.

Post-Yuan Events

At Yuan's death, the Vice-President Li Yuanhung was made President and attempts were made to revive the Provisional constitution of 1912. In the years 1916 and 1917 the Parliament was a sharply divided group. On the one hand were those allied to the KMT and the progressives opposed to one another and on the other hand, President Li and Premier Tuan Chi-ji had serious differences of opinion. The issues in excess of which opinions were divided centered approximately the type of constitution China should adopt and if it should join the Allied powers to declare war against Germany. The controversy reached such a point that President Li dismissed Premier Tuan as the majority in the Parliament was opposed to him. Tuan too was a product of the New Army and a top leader of the Northern military. As a retaliatory measure against his dismissal, he incited the Northern militarists to denounce the President and the Parliament. This brought a virtual breakdown of the government. Unable to handle the situation, Li Yuanhung, a military man belonging to the overthrown Manchu dynasty, described Chang Hsun to intercede. Chang's troops marched into Peking and they advised the dissolution of Parliament. On July 1, 1917 Chang restored the Manchu

dynasty with a coup d'état. He was, though, not strong militarily and Tuan Chi-jui confronted him picking up a Republican banner. With considerable support from military forces in and approximately Peking, Tuan was able to wipe out the restored dynasty. He marched into Peking victoriously and President Li had no choice but to reappoint him Premier. Tuan did not allow Li to stay President and Feng Kuo-Chang the Vice-President took in excess of. In the rest while New Army, Tuan and Feng were only after that to Yuan Shi Kai and had been arch rivals. As President and Premier their confrontation became sharper. Therefore began the mainly unfortunate phenomenon in contemporary Chinese history i.e. Warlordism. Internecine warfare flanked by Northern militarists sustained for many years, ravaging China and threatening its unity.

Warlords and Warlordism

In Peking, the Republican government of Tuan and Feng got a new Parliament elected under new laws and it met in August 1918. This came to be recognized as the Anfu Parliament because of the power through Anfu group of political mercenaries. In order to be committed to constitutional form of government the Anfu Parliament, which lived for one year i.e. 1918-19, took some events. It appointed a constitutional commission which adopted a new Draft Constitution on August 12, 1919.

In Canton (i.e. South China) a separate government lived since the south had revolted against Yuan Shi Kai. This government too was unstable; sometimes under Sun Yat-Sen's manage while at other times under military leaders. On the whole, discord, strife and chaos were general to both in the north as well as south. After Sun Yat-Sen left Canton disgusted with the political situation, peace negotiations began flanked by the north and south from late 1919. This went on for quite sometime but neither peace nor unity was achieved up to 1928 when Chiang Kai-Shek's KMT army was able to unite China militarily. Though, political struggles flanked by dissimilar warlord factions and internecine warfare flanked by several military power centers sustained intermittently.

The experience of this era proved that the military leaders like Yuan Shi Kai and others lacked innovative imagination. Attempts at maintaining a sham republic met with repeated failures and to the people of China it meant nothing. For them it neither provided political stability nor material well-being. Unscrupulous military politicians took advantage of the situation and only promoted their personal interests which were contrary to the nation's interest.

Yuan Shi Kai, the real founder of Warlordism, appeared powerful since the early years of the 20th century when he was responsible to unite the army for the Manchu government. Earlier too, the weakening empire allowed private armies to be built to fight the enemies of the empire. Finally this proved to be self defeating for the empire as Yuan's New Army turned against it. This also resulted in the deep involvement of military in Chinese politics and this trend sustained in the later era too. Both the KMT and the Communist Party would not achieve political power in the absence of a strong military backing.

A few warlords, though, after winning power tried to become reformers. They tried to bring in relation to the some economic benefits to people but before they could create a dent they were caught in the power thrash about. Describing the big warlords John Fairbank has commented that:

- —In one sense the big warlords were symbols of the profound disintegration of the political order. They tried to sit on top of a thoroughly fragmented society in which local bullies, bandits, chieftains and petty warlords all represented a situation of rising political chaos.¶

The unfortunate phenomenon of Warlordism and its politics can be viewed from two angles:

- From the provinces point of view its a revise of local militaries,
- The view from the centre calls for an examination of current political and military struggles in Peking.

These two views help us appraise the lay of Warlordism in Chinese history. In easy conditions a warlord is defined as one who commanded a personal army, controlled or sought to manage territory and acted more or less independently. The Chinese term for warlord —Chun-Fall means a selfish commander with little social consciousness or national spirit. Some argue that ‘local militarist’ is a more neutral term for the diverse personalities established in the middle of the military leaders of the time. Others argue that ‘warlord’ is more appropriate in its connotations of violence and usurpations of civil power. In any event, it was the type of power he exercised and not his goals that distinguished the warlord. Since several warlords held the location of military governor of a province, the term ‘fu-chun’ is used as a rough synonym for Warlord or local militarist.

The warlords were a diverse lot, and mainly generalizations in relation to their character and policies suffer from limitations. Those prominent in the first two or three years after Yuan Shi Kai’s death had been senior officers in the Ch’ing military establishments and their thinking and values were set in a Confucianist mould. Tuan Chi-jui, Feng Kuo-chung and Chung Shue belonged to this category. Through early 1920s a second generation of warlords began to emerge several from very ordinary backgrounds.

In the middle of the hundreds of warlords, information of a very few is accessible to us to create an in-depth review of their features but they all commanded personal armies and controlled or tried to manage territory.

Armies, Cliques and Polity

Warlord armies had an organizational autonomy that permitted them to be inherited intact through other commanders. They were not inextricably bound to a single individual through personal loyalty. Indeed a commander’s closest supporters might abandon him when personal political advantage dictated so. Nevertheless, the phrase ‘personal army’ is an appropriate one for two related reasons:

- First, it was the commander himself, not his superiors, whose decision determined the use to which his army was put. The Brigade Commander who dutifully led his Brigade where his superiors ordered

was not usually a warlord; the Brigade leader who personally decided that what he would or would not do with his Brigade was a warlord. The row was not always clear but the differences were real. Therefore, in the sense that troops were employed independently through their Commander and were at his personal disposal to be used even against his superiors, they shaped a personal army.

- Secondly, a Commander was more likely to have such self-governing power where personal dealings of affection, loyalty or obligation flanked by him and some of his key officers overlapped their organizational dealings.

Military discipline did characterize the Chinese army in the early era. But later in face of the omnipresent threat of disagreement with other militarists, and in the context of weak government institutions and the questionable legitimacy of their own actions, warlords sought to strengthen their power in excess of their armies through exploiting the types of personal ties extensive hallowed through Chinese custom. These incorporated teacher-student ties, family ties, graduation from the similar school - especially in the similar class, and also recognized bonds flanked by individuals, which were used through warlords. While warlords used such personal ties to cultivate the loyalty of their officers their subordinates often had similar relationships with their own subordinates. Some commanders tried to minimize these secondary loyalties and focus all allegiance directly on them, but it was hard to eliminate them. Patterns of secondary loyalty constituted a weakness in army organization, for it allowed a defecting subordinate to take his followers and their men with him. So invitations to defect became an significant tactic in Warlord politics.

The rank and file of Warlord armies was made up mainly of peasants who had suffered abject poverty. In 1916, these armies comprised of in relation to the half a million people and through 1928 expanded to more than two million. To several the army was basically a refuge which could stay their soul and body jointly. To others it was a chance for a poor uneducated man to go up. In some cases where commanders could not pay their army regularly,

the troops hoped to get remunerated through plunder and loot. Warfare was also a form of recruitment as often the victorious warlord incorporated the defeated army into his own. These armies gave the Chinese military, an very bad reputation. They were looked upon as a plague, evil, destructive and merciless.

It was hard to uphold an self-governing army without territorial manages. Territory provided a secure base beside with revenue, material and men. A commander without territorial power inevitably was an insecure guest in someone else's domain. He had to fight to get territory or the manage with a subordinate status. Territorial manage provided a type of legitimacy to even the mainly arbitrary warlord. It also involved responsibility for government and management. The character and efficiency of warlord governments Varied a great deal. Some showed progressive inclinations, others were conservative to the core. Given the pre-eminence of the military in all cases the civilian authorities were subordinated to the military governor.

Warlord governments were intensely concerned to obtain funds for the personal aggrandizement of the warlord and his chief subordinates, and to give the army with its weaponry, supplies and salaries. Because the government at all stages was so often disrupted through wars and rapid changes of personnel, and several warlords viewed their territorial ascendancy as almost certainly transitory, they could not always rely on recognized revenue producing procedures. They aggressively and imaginatively sought money and possessions in any method they could. The vital source of revenue was the land tax which Post-RevointioiKiry. 1911.21 were composed flouting all customs and conventions. They also set up government monopolies of significant commodities. They seized and operated railways, ordered supplementary taxes on salt and taxed goods in transit. In the name of suppression of, opium sales, big taxes were extracted. Businessmen were milched in a diversity of methods, in addition to normal taxation. Despite these efforts for collection of funds, provincial governments were often on the brink of bankruptcy. There was little money for government expenditure. The cause was easy: much of the money was used for structure up the personal fortunes of military leaders or spent on maintaining the army.

The leading warlords commonly belonged to factions or cliques, groups held jointly through a personal identity of interests, much as the political factors were held jointly. But cohesion in the middle of warlord groups varied from loose affiliations to tightly structured unity. The looser cliques were essentially alliances concluded for the advantage envisaged through each participant. But bonds of personal association and obligation also played a role, particularly in stronger cliques. The key connection was that flanked by each clique member and the clique leader. Personal or natural ties in the middle of clique members could be weak or non-existent. The personal bonds flanked by the members and the leader were exactly those already mentioned as supplementary to the cohesion of warlord armies: family ties, teacher-student and patron-protigee dealings, general provincial or local origins, friendship, academy or school ties.

Factions grew up within the warlord cliques also. For instance the Chihli clique split into two factions, one under Wu Pe i-fu and one under Ts'ao Kun. Ts'ao's faction, in turn, was divided into two. These factions wrangled in excess of who should hold what office and manage what revenues. Factions also lived in the Fengtieun clique which came to be recognized as the new and old factions as the clique had clear-cut differences flanked by the young officers who had contemporary military training and those who had served the Ch'ing army.

The Wars

There were literally hundreds of armed conflicts, short and extensive, on local, local and national levels. Several wars were waged for manage of an administrative region, such as province or country. Others were fought in excess of manage of local or local economic networks that transcended administrative regions. The wars flanked by major cliques attracted more attention because they determined who controlled the national government in Peking, the symbol of legitimacy. When one clique gave promise of becoming as powerful as to refrain the other militarists and make a genuine centralized manage, the other leading warlords temporarily combined their strength to bring it down. Therefore, in 1920 the Chihli and Fengtieun cliques cooperated

to eliminate the power of the Answei clique in the Peking Government, and transferred mainly of the provinces to the victors

Although each of the wars produced a clear victory, in a more profound sense they were inconclusive because none of the cliques had extensive range plans for developing governmental political power. Each warlord's primary goal was individual and personal i.e. the maximization of his power. Each man was a member of a clique not in order to contribute to the goals of the group but rather to contribute to a situation which would be to his personal advantage. The leader of a clique might hope to unite the country, but he stood alone on quicksand. Not only did each clique leader have a simplistic notion of unity, but the attainment of his goal threatened his supporters as much their enemies. This was because the fulfillment of his power dreams would affect the loss of their independence, the very essence of their location as warlords. The temporary and short-range character of clique goals was a major cause for the high instability of the era. As military encounters some major wars were very short, but the trend though the Warlord era was for superior number of troops to be involved in superior, longer and bloodier wars.

Warlords and Foreign Powers

The chaos of Warlordism-and the constant weakness of the Peking government, rendered China particularly vulnerable to foreign pressures and encroachments. But at the similar time, widespread disorder limited foreign behaviors and interfered with the economic use of the country through foreign enterprises. Warlords, on occasions, arbitrarily increased taxation on foreign firms. Soldiers and bandits took a toll of foreign wealth and lives. For instance in a era of seven years, in one district 153 American individuals or firms were looted. Banditry and war disrupted normal trade and business behaviors.

Foreigners responded to these circumstances with fulmination and frustration. Foreign representatives delivered a steady stream of protests to the Chinese government in Peking, although the weakness of the central authorities precluded their taking effective action. Foreign powers were often

reduced to dealing with local or local military leaders in relation to the specific local matters.

Foreigners made their own contribution to the disorder of which they complained. Foreign soldiers of fortune did play a role in Chinese wars. For instance an Englishman ran one warlord's arsenal and three American pilots flew aircraft bombers for another for a few months. Much more significant was the information that foreigners responded to the insatiable Chinese demand for guns through importing weapons in spite of legal restrictions. Arms merchants sold weapons to anybody willing to buy without caring for its political ramifications. Though, some foreign governments virtually sponsored some selected warlords. Japan, for instance, was conspicuously involved with Chinese militarists throughout the Warlord era.

In 1916 the Japanese government launched a policy of full support to the government of Tuan Chi-jui, head of the Anhwei clique. This was done in order to set up secure ties of political and economic co-operation, and financial obligation flanked by China and Japan. Throughout the following two years Japan supplied in excess of 150 million yen to Yuan, ostensibly for the purpose of national development but actually used through Yuan mainly for his own political and military purposes. The two governments also concluded a military agreement whereby Japan would provide aid and advisers to help China raise a War Participation Army to support the Allied cause in the First World War. This army never went to Europe but served to expand Yuan's military strength. This greatly helped Japan to encroach, politically as well as economically into China.

View from Peking

As described earlier the national government in Peking was bewilderingly unstable throughout the 12 years of Warlord era. Seven individuals served as president or head of state. One of them twice, creation in effect eight heads of state. Scholars have counted twenty-four cabinets, five parliaments or national assemblies and at least four constitutions or vital laws. This plethora of individuals, officers and legal and political changes creates it very hard to describe Peking politics in a clear and readable fashion. After

Yuan's death Tuan had appeared as the mainly powerful man (he had been Prime Minister in Yuan's government too). He had no support from the Republicans who turned to other militarists to counter him. Tuan in turn made his military base more powerful to stay himself in a strong location. The tension came to a head in 1917 in excess of the issue of China's participation in the War on the face of the Allies. Flanked by 1917 to 1920 military cliques appeared one after the other thereby taking Chinese society to the brink of collapse.

Warlordism and Chinese Society

The warlords who divided China in the middle of themselves differed greatly in abilities and social attitudes. The circumstances they fostered so also varied from lay to lay and through time as one commander followed another in local or local office. No statement in relation to the specific shapes of warlord use or the lordships warlords created, applies to all of China at any one time. But it is nonetheless correct to say that the warlords brought terror and use, directly and indirectly, to millions of Chinese.

Warlords desire for money was insatiable and the militarists imposed an astonishing - range of taxes on the populace. They also printed worthless currency notes on a big- level and forced people to accept it, therefore creation commercial transactions merely a form of expropriation. Enormous drain of wealth to military and other unproductive purposes inhibited orderly economic action and scheduling which surely retorted China's economic development.

Warlordism nurtured famine also. In some province warlords forced the farming of opium as a cash crop, therefore reducing the acreage devoted to food crops. They diminished government funds meant for irrigation and flood manages facilities which caused many disastrous floods. Troops seized draught animals from peasants, not only imposing a direct economic loss but reducing the productivity of peasant farming. Devastating famines in North China throughout the warlord era were clearly the product of Warlord misgovernment.

In several regions, where the actions of organized armies were less serious, hordes of uncontrolled and indisciplined soldiers roamed the countryside preying on the peasantry. Thousands of bandits and troops existed off the countryside. Banditry, robbery and violence were general. Victorious troops as well as retreating troops looted whenever they could. Wars often destroyed civilians' lives and property, government services were neglected or non-existent and corruption, disorder and chaos became the order of the day. The turmoil of the times drove thousands of individuals to leave their homes and travel to other parts of the country. Warlordism is said to have caused —one of the main internal migrations of this century in China.

Warlordism influenced the form of Chinese nationalism, the mainly powerful political movement in early twentieth century. Nationalism was partly a response to the disunity and international vulnerability fostered through Warlordism. Moreover, several warlords disseminated patriotic or nationalist slogans as a means to legitimize their actions. Whatever their actual motives, in this method warlords nurtured the thought that Chinese should be concerned in relation to the national circumstances, seeking national goals.

But Warlord action also helped produce a strong military dimension in Chinese nationalism. Although the warlords proved unable to make a national political power, they prevented non-military groups from doing so. In this method they contributed to the further militarization of Chinese politics. The KMT had to develop a powerful military in order to compete with the warlords and in the procedure the military came to control the party. The Communists too, within years of their subsistence realized the need to make a strong military in order to compete with the KMT and other opposition. In the final analysis, though, this militarization was neither profound nor permanent. Warlordism brought forth two seemingly contradictory facts:

- Political power cannot be divorced from military power in contemporary China, and
- That military power alone is an inadequate foundation for political power as demonstrated through the failure of warlords.

Nationalism was accentuated through all. No warlord ever proclaimed a new state or even indicated that his secession was permanent. Warlords also acknowledged the strong custom of civilian rule in their public statements.

At the similar time they saw to it that the civilian rule was not to be superior to military rule. James Sheridan, a historian has noted that:

- Despite the temporary militarization of Chinese politics to which the Warlords contributed, the ultimate victor in the thrash about for power in China, the Communist Party held to a vital principle that the party should manage the gun.

Likewise the local power of landlords did little to strengthen local divisions in China. The very information that the areas had a normal subsistence within a unified China meant that Warlord regionalism was a less destructive force than it might otherwise had been. It was not regionalism that had to be destroyed to restore national unity, but the self-governing military power that fed on regionalism.

Mainly warlords were conservative men, strongly attached to traditional values. Paradoxically the disunity and disorder they fortuneed provided rich opportunity for intellectual diversity to flourish. Neither the central government nor the provincial warlords were capable of efficiently controlling the universities, periodically publishing industries and other agencies of China's intellectual life. Chinese intellectuals in those years, partly in response to the evils of Warlordism, were occupied in the mainly intense discussion of methods in which China might be modernized and strengthened. The founding of the Communist Party in 1921 and the reorganization of the KMT in 1924 stemmed partly from this intellectual flowering. Therefore on the one hand, the Warlord years represented the low point of political unity in the twentieth century; on the other hand, they also represented the peak of intellectual and literary attainment. Out of that tumultuous and bloody era, partly in response to the warlords, flowed the intellectual and social movements that culminated in the reunification and rejuvenation of China.

Emergence of the Kuomintang

Right from its birth, the Kuomintang history has been an interplay of the personalities of its leaders, first Sun Yat-Sen and Huang Hsing and then Chiang Kai-Shek. The first two started their careers as leaders of secret civilizations which merged to become the Tung Meng Hui in 1905. Since then Sun Yat-Sen became the unquestioned leader of the organisation until his death in 1925. As the anti-Manchu movement led through Tung Meng Hui progressed, several opportunities and self-seeking men joined it. Likewise several mandarins and traditional scholars who realised that it was fruitless to remain loyal to the Manchus also decided to join the winning face.

This made it hard for the Tung Meng Hui to have a general policy for progress and development. Also Sun Yat-Sen's giving up the presidency in favour of Yuan Shi Kai and ceasing to be politically active for a while adversely affected the organization of the KMT. Huang Hsing too was inactive; he disbanded his army hoping that other military leaders would do the similar. Unluckily, for China this exemplary conduct was not emulated.

Sung Jiaoren, whose political thoughts were dissimilar from Sun and Huang, was determined to introduce in China a cabinet form of government and create the KMT play a crucial role in its accomplishments. Sung was not a self-seeking person but was enthusiastic, idealistic and brilliant. He whispered in parliamentary democracy, cabinet government and party system. His hope was that only through such a system could China achieve progress and stability and that was the best method to get military men out of civilian politics. To enable the party to become an effective tool in the constitutional system Sun, in August 1912, reoriented the organization. It was organized with the Tung Meng Hui as its core and other newly risen minor parties amalgamated with it. Elections of 1912-13 were a success for the KMT as well as Sung Jiaoren personally. He was all set to form a government. Yuan Shi Kai fearing Sung's success had him assassinated before the Parliament was convened.

KMT leaders realized that Sung's murder and the Reorganization loan would be used to strengthen Yuan's power. Their political future seemed bleak

and it was felt that the Revolution of 1911 was not finished till Yuan stayed in power. It was in this situation that the —second revolution of 1913 took lay. But through now the KMT had in accessible itself from the broad mass of the people. Yuan Shi Kai was backed through the imperialists. In November that year Yuan dissolved and outlawed the KMT. All its dedicated members went underground.

As an underground organization it renamed itself the Chinese Revolutionary Party (Kuomintang). The political philosophy of Sun Yat-Sen, the leader of the organization was the ideology of the party. Sun accentuated the three people's principles and three stages of government. The Three People's Principles incorporated:

- People's nationalism
- People's democracy, and
- People's livelihood.

His concept of government through stages implied that China should progress from one form of government to another higher form in stages:

- The first form would be a military government,
- In the second stage China would be under the political tutelage of the KMT, and ® finally it would have a constitutional government.

These views, first expressed through Sun in 1905, became the official ideology of the Chinese Revolutionary Party. From the members of this party, Sun required an oath of loyalty and fingerprints. The members were divided into three categories:

- The founding members,
- Active members, and
- Ordinary members.

Huang Hsing, Sun's closest comrade apparently objected to this type of stratification of members and their fingerprinting. The differences increased and they parted company. In his lay Chen Chi-mei, a military governor with

revolutionary credentials was appointed Sun's chief lieutenant. Though, this party could not become a mass-based organization as several people saw it no dissimilar from a secret society. Some intellectuals, who had earlier thrown in their lot with Sun now refused to join this party. Instead they shaped the European Affairs Research Society. This was supposedly a discussion group but it actually acted like a political party.

The Chinese Revolutionary Party had very little accomplishment to its credit. Except for one or two unsuccessful uprisings, the only other important role it played was in the campaign against Yuan Shi Kai. Through and big, this party failed to capture the leadership of the masses and was in no location to lead a mass movement against the emerging military elite.

After Yuan Shi Kai's disappearance from the scene, the Kuomintang elements were divided into several groups and factions. In 1916-17, the former KMT members were grouped from right to left as follows: Political Revise Society, Good Friends Society, Political Club and Friends of the People Society. The Political Revise Society wanted to bargain with the Northern militarists whereas the Friends of the People, mainly of who were followers of Sun and members of the Revolutionary Party were fiercely opposed to Tuan Chi-jui. Throughout these years the Southern government in Canton insisted on restoration of the old constitution and old Parliament. The Political Revise Group while remaining allied to the Southern militarists also had links with the Northern militarists. This caused Sun Yat-Sen endless difficulties.

In late 1917 after Feng Kuchang assumed the post of President in Peking, the KMT groups of the Parliament began a special session in Canton and elected Sun as Generalissimo. The Political Revise Group and Good Friends groups who were keen to have peace with the Peking government abolished the generalissimo ship and made him a location that did not have much power. Sun resigned in August, 1919. This experience of Sun Yat-Sen made him develop a contempt not only for some of his former followers but also towards party politics and the parliamentary system. He began to think differently. He was, on the one hand, determined to set up a firm revolutionary base in Canton which led him to enter into alliance with other military groups and on the other hand he began contemplating the thought of a rejuvenated

KMT, an organization to meet the new challenges of a dissimilar era. He began consultations with emissaries of the new Soviet Government. The end result of this change in his thinking brought in relation to the reorganization of the KMT beside the rows of the Soviet Communist Party, in 1924.

The May Fourth Incident

While Yuan Shi Kai's outrageous ambitions, the emergence of warlords and political stratification marked the unpleasant consequences of the 1911 Revolution, throughout this era one also witnesses a great change that engulfed China in the realm of culture, philosophy, education and politics. Recognized as the May Fourth Movement, it is also described differently as China's —Cultural Revolution, —Literary Revolution, —China's Renaissance, —Enlightenment, —Resurgence and so forth. This was not a uniform or well-organized movement but a combination of several behaviors. There were divergent thoughts at work but all appeared to be parts of a consolidated phenomenon. In information, mainly historians accept that the Chinese Revolution begins with the May Fourth Movement.

We necessity distinguish flanked by the May Fourth Incident of 1919 and what is termed as the May Fourth Movement. The Movement which began approximately 1915 was retrospectively named so after the incident in 1919.

The May Fourth Incident was a huge demonstration organized through students of Peking University and a few other institutes of higher education at Tien An men - (Gate of Heavenly Peace) square on that date in 1919. They protested against the prospective Treaty of Versailles which was being negotiated in Paris at the conclusion of World War I. Reports were reaching China that Japan had demanded the automatic transfer of extraterritorial rights in excess of Shantung which Germany had taken possession of under the unequal treaties system. These reports also indicated the willingness of other imperialist powers like Britain and France to acquiesce to the Japanese demand. Once again, nationalist sentiments in China were hurt. Whereas the Warlord regime in Peking was prepared to sign the treaty in excess of

Shantung, anti-imperialist public sentiments were openly expressed and students took the mainly active part in the movement. Before we come to the detailed account of the May Fourth Incident where student political activism reached a zenith, it is significant to stay in mind the background against which such an unprecedented huge student movement, for nationalism and against imperialism, could emerge.

The 1911 Revolution in China failed to evolve a stable and clean political system. Chaotic and corrupt internal politics beside with sustained imperialist encroachment on China's sovereignty led to the coming jointly of patriotic forces once again. Though, the social and ideological environment in China remained the similar as it was in the pre-1911 era. A well-recognized information was that the Warlord government in Peking had pro-Japanese elements. This was a cause for alarm in view of the Japanese Twenty-one Demands in 1915. Several groups protested against the secret diplomacy that was going on flanked by the powers at the Paris Peace Conference. In 1918, a students and merchants petition was handed in excess of to the government expressing grave concern on the issue of transferring Germany's erstwhile hold in excess of Shantung to Japan. When news came to China that China's proposals at the Paris Conference had been rejected, it aroused strong anti-imperialist sentiments. The Chinese became suspicious of all powers. In a few days time many associations sprang up. Flanked by May 1 to 3, 1919, students at Peking University held meetings on the campus which were emotionally charged. They felt that they have to act or else China's subjugation would never end. On the afternoon of May 4th, a huge demonstration of unprecedented level was held at Tian An men square.

Tens of thousands of students on behalf of Peking University and thirteen other colleges paraded on the streets for many hours. This demonstration was through and big, peaceful. One group of militant students, though, attacked some civilian and military officials who were whispered to have pro-Japanese sentiments. As a response to this public outcry and popular appeal, the Chinese delegation walked out of the negotiations at Paris and then resigned. This was, though, not until June 28.

Flanked by May Fourth to June 28, 1919, mass meetings and discussions in big numbers took place. Students were rallying and organizing the new intellectuals and trying to form coalitions with other groups. Demonstrations on streets sustained for, another month. The government wanted to secure down the Peking University and dismiss Tsai Yu pei for instigating students. It had miscalculated the public support for the student demonstrations which spread to other municipalities. A Peking Students Union was recognized and later a common strike with full working class participation was organized in big municipalities. Students shaped alliances with merchants, industrialists and workers. Agitations, strikes and demonstrations took place leading to mass arrests and crackdown through the government. The refusal of the Chinese delegation to be a part to the Treaty of Versailles was the first success of the mass protests.

In the following era we see closer contacts flanked by several social groups and emergence of the new intellectual, social and political organizations. The May Fourth Movement hence was a combined expression of nationalist and class interests. After the 1919 events too, the cultural transformation of the nation sustained with greater vigor and intensity. The era until the early 1930s is described the May Fourth era in Chinese history as until then new thoughts, views and beliefs were being constantly, expressed and tested.

The victory of socialism in the Soviet Union beside with the overthrowing of the despotic Czarist regime inspired several young intellectuals in China. Debates and discussions were immediately accepted out to reach a conclusion whether socialism was a solution to China's troubles. Approximately that time the English philosopher Bertrand Russell was on a lecture-tour of China. He advocated a liberal political system for the country as he thought that Bolshevism was irrelevant for the Chinese. This sparked off further debates. Marxian writings which had hardly been accessible to the Chinese earlier were getting popular. Translations of a diversity of writings also started becoming accessible. Amongst the leading intellectuals Li Ta-chao and Chen Tu-hsin slowly moved towards Marxism, where as Hu Shih and others upheld liberalism. The Marxian group eventually went on to form the

Chinese Communist Party in 1921. It is, so, correct to say that communism in China was directly the result of the May Fourth Movement.

CULTURAL MOVEMENT

The New Setting

The end of a dynasty and the subsequent tyranny and disruptions were no new experiences for the Chinese people. Their ancestors had faced periods of huge anarchy at several intervals. They had not only come out of such situations but, at times, had also flourished. For the Chinese, the dynastic cycle was an accepted characteristic of history. The downfall of the Ch'ing dynasty in 1911 was, though, dissimilar. It brought to an end the Emperor system. According to the Chinese, the Emperor as son Of Heaven' was the Supreme ruler and remained so till he lost the _Mandate of Heaven! When that happens, a new ruler and dynasty takes in excess of. With the decline of monarchy, other institutional structures of China which had made the society an enduring and self-governing entity — the family, the gentry, the clan, the guild, the village — were irreparably weakening. The thrash about to emancipate women, the growth of municipalities with their factories, the development of business enterprises, and a new system of education were, on the one hand, destroying traditional Chinese society and, on the other, remaking it into a contemporary one. While the political revolution lay stagnant, as militarists snatched power and curbed every effort to make representative constitution, the cultural revolution was on the augment. This cultural transformation of China was inevitable as the forces of change and progress had been unleashed. They had to create an impact somewhere - if not in the realm of politics and economy, then on the realm of society and culture. The cultural transformation which began since the closing years of the 19th century took a dramatic and exciting form in the 1911-1919 era. The mainly crucial aspect of this Cultural Revolution was the challenge it posed to Confucianism - the reigning ideology of China for more than two thousand years. Once the ideological foundation

on which a society rests is eroded, all of its super structural institutions tend to fall separately.

Confucian philosophy had remained secure and intact even though the monarchical-dynastic emperor system, which had been there extensive before Confucianism, had ended. The Confucian norm and harmony in society is achieved through maintaining a hierarchy and only through superior-subordinate relationships. This was antithetical to any thoughts of progress. The Reformers of the Manchu court throughout the nineteenth as well as in the early years of the twentieth century tried to change China within the Confucian framework. Changes, so, were of not much consequence to Chinese society - they were mainly superficial. Hence, revolutionary change was basically not possible without demanding Confucian orthodoxy.

Confucianism and Traditional Chinese Society

The Confucian philosophy had maintained its hold on practically every sphere of life in China even throughout what we term as the contemporary era.

In Confucianism, the preference of age in excess of youth, past in excess of present, power in excess of subject and society in excess of individual is the norm. In other languages, society is based on a hierarchy of relationships. It is on the foundation of this hierarchy that society maintains harmony and order. Once the hierarchy is disturbed, society can degenerate and order and stability will be replaced through chaos, therefore threatening the very subsistence of society. Confucianism, so, upheld status quo and was against any change. It was, through definition, conservative and orthodox. Although it was never as such described a religion, yet some of its tenets were more rigid than that of any religion. And because it was not a religion, so it could coexist with Buddhism, Christianity and the folk religion of China.

In the region of politics and government, Confucianism upheld ‘rule through the virtuous’. If the ruler himself did not follow ethical principles, how could he set things right in his kingdom? The political system was part of the cosmic system and provided for enlightened rule through a moral, ethical

ruler - the emperor, son of Heaven. The subject was bound in obedience to the ruler, who was morally bound to rule in excess of him and his other subjects.

In the Confucian pattern of thinking women were totally subordinated to men and youth to the older generation. Age and gender discrimination was so rampant in every strata of society that it was hardly noticeable. Woman had no role in society and at home she was merely a wife or mother. Her role of child-bearing and child-rearing was seen as society's natural claim on her. Excluded from formal education, owning property or having access to productive possessions, Chinese women, for centuries, suffered repression and oppression. Even in South China, where women performed agricultural tasks, their location in society or within the family was only marginally better than women of the conservative north. What added more to the oppression of Chinese women were social evils like foot binding, bride-price and child marriage.

The youth were too in the category of an oppressed strata. The custom of filial piety demanded complete subordination of the younger generation to the older. According to Confucian teachings, the son's gratitude to the father continues even after, the latter's death in the form of rituals and ceremonies done periodically. This to an extent had kept China's young men submissive, timid and weak. It hampered personal development and advancement. Even the family system had sure internalized shapes of oppression which prevented an individual's free development.

A vast portion of the Chinese population was illiterate. For millions, education and learning remained the privilege of a tiny elite. The mainly significant purpose that education served was in the creation of scholar-officials necessary for the imperial court to stay the Chinese nation under its constant manage. The content of education was also very limited. It was confined to classics written in the earlier periods. Committing the classics to memory was all that was expected of an educated person. The more one could cram, the more his intellectual capabilities were recognized. The civil service examination through which officials were recruited also measured memory as an indication of knowledge. The mainly unfortunate aspect of the traditional

Chinese system of education was that the written language was in literary or classical Chinese (Wen Yan), very dissimilar from the spoken language (Bai Hua). Mastering this language took many years of full-time revise. This was a great hindrance to the spread of literacy and for the labouring people it was after that to impossible to devote that much time to education. Only the wealthy could afford it. Confucian philosophy based on hierarchy and inequality implicitly supported this form of educational system.

Though, the survival of Confucianism, as the reigning philosophy of China, had been possible because it had been successfully imposed on the weaker sections of society, whereas the powerful sections often violated it. The philosophy, in other languages, was used expeditiously through the ruling classes. Yet this order of things did not prevent social convulsions. It could no more stay China absent from strife and violence.

The 1911 Revolution and the „New Culture“

Towards the end of the Manchu rule, as part of one of its reforms, the court had abolished the civil service exams (in 1905). No new effective system of recruitment had been evolved to fill the vacuum. Administratively, China got weakened even more. As imperialist powers encroached further, the government in Peking was involved in political bickerings, manipulation and power thrash about. China remained economically, socially and politically backward. Though, it is a information of history that no nation or people remain passive, subdued and oppressed for too extensive a era. Forces of change are bound to emerge and they did in China in the form of youth and intellectuals, students and teachers who created a new awareness which eventually changed the Chinese nation for good. It was an intellectual revolution in the first lay: Thoughts of nationalism, democracy, liberalism, science, socialism and communism slowly started dominating the intellectual environment.

The Chinese Revolution of 1911 has often been measured superficial for it produced no social transformation, leave aside, a social revolution. Yet the information remnants that it brought in relation to the following changes:

- The end of the universal kingship and the collapse of the whole cosmology which legitimized it,
- The fragmentation and militarization of power and power throughout the society often down to the local stage,
- The loss of moral power on several stages of that society,
- The conclusive insecurity of local holders of power and wealth — both old and new, and
- The failure of the new republic to set up its own bases of legitimacy.

Several of these trends had been underway much before 1911. The end of the examination system for the civil service had itself had an enormous effect on the social role of the literate. The cosmology of kingship had already been undermined through the evolutionary doctrines of K'ang Yu-wei, Yen Fu, Liang Chi-Ch'ao and others. An objective revise of Chinese society, undoubtedly, will reveal a diversity of circumstances and even some positive growths. Yet in the perception of mainly of the Chinese intellectuals the total scene was of deterioration, fragmentation, corruption and brutality.

Philosophers and Thoughts

Reformer-philosophers like Yen Fu and K'ang Yu-wei now felt confirmed in their conviction that development cannot be forced on a society, and that a republican revolution at this stage of China's development was an enormous mistake. Liang Chi-Ch'ao accepted the revolution and the irreversibility of the demise of monarchy as the decree of history. He was at first, on thoroughly constant grounds, in favour of Yuan Shi Kai's efforts to a republican dictatorship which would be able to carry through the tasks of modernization. K'ang, again on thoroughly constant evolutionary grounds, sustained to consider that at this point only the symbols of monarchy could restore the centre that had collapsed. A general tendency in the middle of all the three thinkers throughout this era was of a greater inclination to accept the premises of cultural nationalism. K'ang had of course extensive advocated the need for his own version of a Confucian religion. Yen and Liang, in an environment of rising disintegration, were now increasingly influenced that

China required minimal elements of a stabilizing general faith. It was in such circumstances that Yen Fu signed the petition of the 'Society for Confucianism' that Confucianism be recognized as a state religion. China, he argued, was still in a era of transition from a 'patriarchal' to a 'military' stage of society and it still required a patriarchal faith.

The responses of the active revolutionaries were diverse. They too demonstrated that their ideological commitments had not really been profound. Soon they got involved in the politics of the unsavoury warlord era. Sun Yat-Sen tried to actively seek a base for political power. Those whose nationalism was primarily based on anti-Manchuism, or the adherents of the belief in 'national essence', soon establish that the Han race did not automatically achieve full restoration once the corrupt Manchus had been thrown out. Even those who were preoccupied with the preservation of national cultural identity could no longer hope that it might be preserved through political means. Its concept of culture tended a focus on literature and traditional scholarship, leading it to become a vehement source of opposition to both the linguistic and literary revolutions of the May fourth era.

The Students

Since the early years of the twentieth century the number of students who had existed and studied abroad increased. Several had acquired education in the West and in Japan. Several young intellectuals were impressed through the Meiji Restoration in Japan-Western science and technology had been accepted through several as the panacea for China's illness. All in all, there appeared on the Chinese scene a group of people who were young, educated, politically conscious, socially aware and progressive in their approach. The Twenty-one Demands hurt the pride and dignity of these people who reacted through vociferous expression of nationalist sentiments. Yuan Shi Kai's attempts to restore monarchy had also worried them. Though small in numbers but powerful in articulation, this strata led the May Fourth Movement creation anti-imperialism as its vital plank on which rested the pillars of science, democracy and socialism.

Students maintained get in touch with several Chinese students' associations abroad. Patriotic zeal was the greatest unifying factor. Mainly students who returned home became active in the anti-imperialist movement. In the middle of other social groups, the small working class (as China's industry was very limited) was a natural ally of the student patriots. The bourgeoisie (also small in number) too felt the negative impact of imperialism, particularly after the war broke out, and supported the anti-imperialist thrash about. In more concrete conditions, the forces of change were given a boost with the reforms at Peking University and other shapes of literary and intellectual behaviors.

Recognized in 1895, the University started with a negative reputation. The faculty comprised of senior civil servants, and students were from wealthy families, whose primary aim was to get into the civil service. Meaningful academic pursuit was of secondary importance. Faculty member's hierarchy was not dependent on their scholarship or teaching abilities but on their location in the Manchu court. The university was recognized more for its notoriety than its academics.

The reform of Beida was essentially the work of one man, Ts'ei Yuanpei. He had been educated in France and Germany and also at a very early age he passed the civil service examination. He was a man having the experience of two cultures. He quit the civil service and joined the Revolutionaries in the government of Sun Yat-Sen in 1912 but resigned this post when Yuan Shi Kai became President. A few years later the Peking government offered him the post of Chancellor of Peking University which he accepted. Ts'ei was essentially an educationist and his accomplishments as head of this institution earned him the distinction of being described the Father of the Chinese Renaissance. He appointed the best accessible scholars for faculty positions, defended academic freedom from government pressure and made the university a forum for free and open debate where students and professors were equal participants. Amongst the men he appointed to the several faculties were Chei Tu-hsim, Hu shih and Li Ta Chao. Two of them later became founder members of the Chinese Communist Party. With Ts'ei's reforms, Beida not only flourished academically but also became the centre for debates

and discussions flanked by traditional literate and contemporary intellectuals. A group of new thinkers appeared. It won the students support and jointly, demanding the conservatism of China, they described for modernization. As Lucien Bianco stated:

- —The May Fourth Movement was a youth movement, in which professors in their thirties and their student followers sought with young men's passion to impose young men's values on their society.¶

In addition to Peking University, the New Culture movement was further urbanized and spread through the journal *New Youth*.

The New Youth

Another characteristic of the intellectual and literary revolution was the publication of *Hsin Ching-nein* or *New Youth*. The mainly spectacular and mainly often noted aspect of this intellectual transformation, the —literary Revolution¶, was at first presently the work of writers and publicists. In January 1917, Hu shih proposed that all writings henceforth would be in the spoken language and not in classical Chinese'. This was indeed a revolution in education as it made learning and knowledge accessible to more people. The livelihood language was the only medium through which the general people could communicate. Hu shih's proposal, which establish favour in the middle of several intellectuals, had a social goal. With literature becoming more accessible to people. Hu shih also urged that it should be more directly concerned with people's lives. This literary revolution he felt, need not remain limited to linguistic reform that make new literature, new cares and new styles. It meant rejection of outworn literary traditions and promotion of popular literature, one that was easy, clear and meaningful. Despite some opposition Hu shih's thoughts accepted the day as they were in perfect consonance with the intellectual environment of that time. Through 1920 mainly writers had adopted the vernacular language.

It was *New Youth* which first published Hu shih's viewpoint- This was formally endorsed through its editor Chei-Tu-hsmi who had founded the magazine in 1915, in Shanghai. Chei had got several leading anti-establishment intellectuals join its editorial committee. The journal played a

very crucial role in clearing the social vision of several educated Chinese. It was being published at a time when freedom of the press was often severely curtailed through harsh laws. This factor as well as paucity of funds sometimes led to the journal's suspension of publication. Nevertheless, the New Youth had a devoted following in the middle of students who took its every editorial pronouncement as an article of faith. In every sense the journal was a revolutionary one. One instance of its prescriptive tone is apparent from Chei's six principles to be observed through the youth. He said: —Be self-governing, not submissive, progressive, not conservative; outspoken not reserved; cosmopolitan, not parochial, practical not formalist; and Scientific not imaginative;||

As reflected in its name this influential magazine was all set to make a new youth. It described on all Chinese youth to be everything their parents were not- to be progressive, scientific and self-governing. It addressed itself to the young men and women educated in the new schools and in the new thought. Several of them had studied in Japan, in Europe or in the United States. They had been exposed to the free swap of thoughts, Eastern and Western, old and new. They knew that 1911 had rid China only symbolically of the old officialdom or power, and China was still an easy spot for imperialist powers. They whispered that they had come upon a working, acceptable substitute for the enfeebled and enfeebling orthodoxy. They felt that, as stated basically through Chei, the salvation of China lay in a new culture based on Science and Democracy: —Republican government in politics and science in the domain of thoughts, these appear to be the treasure of contemporary civilization.|| It was through the pages of New Youth that Chei began his attack on Confucianism and in the early years of the journal it advocated liberty, equality and fraternity - the ideals of the French Revolution. (Chei later switched to Marxist-Leninist ideology and became the first secretary-common of the Chinese Communist Party in 1921).

The impact New Youth had on the educated younger generation of China is demonstrated through the very information that students and young intellectuals waited for every issue anxiously and read it word through word as if it was a gospel. Debates and discussions on a diversity of issues took lay

through the columns of this journal. Lively swap of thoughts characterized this journal which became a mouthpiece for China's young, patriotic and socially aware generation.

Attack on Custom: Intellectual Efforts

Characterizing the New Culture movement as a whole, what we see on the other face is a much more radical and more totalistic attack on the whole cultural heritage. Chei's exhortations to the Chinese youth like —be self-governing not servile, progressive not conservative, aggressive not passive' were not attacks directed basically against the whole custom with all its —three teachings of Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism (not to speak of the superstitious culture of the masses).

Although the language of social Darwinist evolutionism was being invoked but in some sense the 'old society' and 'old culture' began to be treated as if they had paralyzed the soul of the nation. The revolution had proved that one could, after all, remove the whole traditional political structure without affecting the rot which permeated the whole society. Indeed, not only did the dead weight of the past had the power to persist but it also had the power to reconstitute itself, as was apparent from Yuan Shi Kai's attempts to restore monarchy. The task which lay ahead was therefore nothing less than to change the whole conscious life of a nation. The 'new cultural' leaders felt that this task was an absolutely necessary precondition of any political action or institutional reform. The resolve expressed through the young Hu shih in 1917 upon his return from the United States 'not to talk in relation to the politics for twenty years' seemed to express the general viewpoint of the whole New Culture group. As the title of their main organ indicated, they regarded their first and primary audience to be the educated youth who had not yet been entirely corrupted through 'the old and the rotten'.

Here too there appears to be only a variation of degree flanked by the New Youth outlook and that of the pioneer thinkers. In confronting their dilemma, the pioneers had come to stress the role of conscious thoughts in changing the society. Yet their educational approach was supported through the sense that changes were actually taking lay or in relation to the to take lay

in the institutional infrastructure of society throughout the course of the Manchu Reform movement. The diagnosis of the New Culture group before 1919 led them to feel that nothing but a change of consciousness could move the society.

One aspect of the New Culture movement before 1919, which was to have continuing implications for the future, was the sharp row it drew flanked by politicians and intellectuals. The dissociation had been pre-figured in the abolition of the examination system in 1905. It is also clear that in the past, in spite of the scholar-official clique", there had always been literate who were primarily intellectuals and others who were primarily politicians. Also, in the era after 1919, several intellectuals were to immerse themselves once more in political life. Yet the self-perception of the intellectuals (particularly the academic and literary intellectuals) as a separate structure was to persist even after 1949 and was even to carry with itself a sure ongoing notion of the right to autonomy in intellectual life.

Another vital and crucial aspect of the New Culture movement was the emergence of the 'New literature'. Here also we see the emergence of literature as a major autonomous region of human experience. Although poetry and belles-lettres had extensive been an organic part of the high culture of the literate, ideally they had never been separated from the whole programme of self-cultivation. There have been examples of people who had been very 'literary' in orientation, but the notion of literature (in the sense of belle's letters) as a high autonomous vocation had never prevailed. The writing of fiction as a department of literature had not been respected as a high cultural action. There, as in so several other regions, Liang Chi-Ch'ao had been a pioneer in his advocacy of the employment of fiction as a powerful emotional medium for promoting his socio-political thoughts. Lu Hsun and his younger brother had been young pioneers throughout their days in Japan before 1911 in their aspiration to use literature as a means of curing the deep spiritual ailments of the Chinese people. It was, though, the New Culture movement which effectively launched the new vernacular 'high Culture' literature. Yet if the new culture elevated the genre of fiction to a high cultural,

status, it did so for the mainly part through associating it to the view that fiction necessity first serve life‘.

To this extent the new literature in China was in the main oriented from the outset to the view that literature necessity serves social ethical goals. This common orientation does not, of course, preclude on absorption of some of the greater writers in purely literary concerns, but the common goals were to retain their hold.

Even the romantic creation‘ group of Kuo Mo-jo, Yu Ta-fu and others which had ostensibly adopted the slogan art for arts sake was deeply moved through concerns which were not strictly artistic. Romanticism as a release from the repressive structures of traditional life had appeared before 1911 and even then had been as much related to the search for individual meaning in life as to the romance of revolution. In the years after 1911 when the promise of political salvation dramatically receded the concern of the younger intellectuals with the meaning of their own personal lives, in a world where faith in traditional values both public and private had sharply declined, was to become an significant dimension of the new culture. In a sense, individualism‘ in both its liberal and romantic senses now appears to have a direct impact on personal life to a degree which was certainly not true for the pioneer generation, who still existed quite comfortably within the confines of conventional Confucian family values. For a time at least, the concern with individualism as such seemed not to be entirely instrumental to socio-political goals. The translation of Ibsen’s *A Doll’s Home* (a Norwegian play supporting women’s liberation within the family and society) in the Ibsen issue of *New Youth* sponsored through Hu shih is symbolic of this concern. Likewise the rapt absorption of the romantic creation society‘ authors in their own unfulfilled emotional yearnings were anything but a concern for art for arts sake‘. In the languages of Leo Lee, —Distant from French symbolist notion that art not only restructures life but also constructs a new edifice into which the artist can escape life (their) arguments point in the other direction, towards an overriding concern with —life.

Another development clearly associated with the New Culture movement is what might be described the higher criticism‘ of the traditional

heritage represented, in the middle of others, through the Shih. Conflicts concerning the validity and authenticity of several traditions and scriptures had been a characteristic of Chinese thought for ages. The great philological scholars of the empirical research school of the Ch'ing dynasty had also fostered the critical treatment of the great texts. Although it is much to be doubted that their work had skeptical-iconoclastic connotations ascribed to it through their twentieth century admirers. Key Yu-wei, who was through no means a critical scholar, had attempted at the beginning of the century to use a systematic attack on the orthodoxy of sure Old. Text scriptures in order to support his own New Text version of Confucianism.

The movement to —reorganize the national heritagel, as it was described through Hu shih, had a deep ideological motive. The methods of —sciencel could, in the languages of Lawrence Schneider, be used —to undermine the credibility of orthodox histories and the historical foundations of scriptures. One of the mainly effective methods of removing the dead hard of custom was to dissolve the factual claims of the myths which supported that custom. In the end this critical liberation of historical studies from the burden of sure fundamentalist and conventional methods of viewing the past was to be taken up through several other scholars of —national studiesl - even through _neo-traditionalist' scholars who did not necessarily have the iconoclastic preoccupations of Hu shih.

Even in the case of the iconoclastic —new culturall scholars, their intentions were not entirely destructive. Although they committed themselves to a future whose model was to be establishing in the modern West, as Chinese nationalists they were through no means entirely free of the desire to discover, what Shih described, —congenial stocksll in the Chinese past from which a contemporary culture might grow. The view of science advocated through Hu shih's American teacher John Dewey, with its notion of graded, incremental development, encouraged the thought that the present necessity somehow grow out of the past. Hu and others were able to discover, to their own satisfaction, strands of Chinese thought which pointed towards modernity. There was the presumed —scientificl method of Ch'ing scholarship, the beginning of logic in China's ancient thought, and in the case of Hu shih,

the vital vernacular literature of the past which was in such striking contrast to the decadent, formalistic classical literature of the elite. This populist theme which contrasted the discredited and oppressive —high culturell of the elite with the vital power of the folk was eventually to lead some new thinkers to their extensive studies of folklore. Hu shih, who was equally concerned with both the new literature and the new scholarship, was later able to combine both interests in his scholarly investigations of the vernacular fiction of the past. All these endeavors, whether literary, —scholarly or basically publicisticll, were thoroughly infused with the general premises of the New Culture movement.

Despite the shared premises of the movement, when we juxtapose the names of some of its protagonists Hu shih, Chei-tu-shim and Lu Hsun, we become acutely conscious of the profound differences in the middle of them. As a young student before 1911, Hu shih had already been profoundly interested in and influenced through social Darwinist thoughts of Yen Fu and Liang Chi-Ch'ao. His happy experiences as a student in the United States and his contacts with the philosophy of John Dewey then appear to have led him through a type of smooth development to his own version of Chei-tu-shim's well-known formula 'Mr Science' and 'Mr Democracy', a formula which once it had been set forth was to remain essentially unchanged. Yen Fu's conception of science as a type of easy inductionism was to give a bridge to Dewey's experimentalist concept, and Hu shih's only life experience in early twentieth-century America was to give him with a happy image of democracy in operation even though he also enthusiastically accepted Dewey's more advanced, critical view of true democracy.

In John Dewey's philosophy, science and democracy were inseparable values. The experimental method of science in its reliance on tentative hypothesis applied to the revision of 'Problematic situations'; represented a rejection of all spiritual power and all pre-recognized dogma - whether religious, political or metaphysical. Therefore, it was the very foundation for the assertion of freedom. If men would co-operate jointly to apply the methods of science, which had been so successfully applied to nature, to the revision of human and cultural troubles - and regions still subjugated to the empire of

dogma - the ends of liberty and equality would be brought secure to realization. The spread of scientific intelligence, therefore conceived, through the whole society through education, would lead men to analyze and deal effectively with their communal troubles and even to reconcile their interests. In spite of Dewey's sharp criticism of mere formal 'political democracy' and constitutionalism there appears little doubt that his whole outlook presupposed general acceptance of constitutional democracy as —the rules of the game. While Shih appears to have accepted Dewey's view of science and methodology, the subtle epistemological issues raised through Dewey as a philosopher appear to have escaped him entirely and he establish it quite possible to combine Dewey's pragmatism with a easy dogmatic, mechanistic and naturalistic metaphysics. In this region he remained very much in the custom of Yen Fu and Liang, even though his naturalism is absent from Taoist-Buddhist overtones. Again, Dewey's emphasis on scientific enquiry and education in dealing with socio-political troubles and his deprecation of "mere politics", appears to have reinforced a pre-existent tendency in Hu shih to regard the disorderly and irrational political conflicts of China as irrelevant to China's true progress.

Dewey's emphasis on scientific intelligence and education was entirely in keeping with the whole new cultural emphasis on the transformation of conscious life. It was therefore entirely appropriate that when Hu shih returned to China in 1917 he should have become closely associated with the movement. His deep interest in language reform was entirely in keeping with the broad educational goals of the movement. His interest in the New Literature reflected with a deep pensioned fondness for literature and a conviction that the effective power of literature provided a mainly powerful vehicle for communicating new thoughts. When one surveys his life in retrospect, one cannot but feel that Shih's pronounced literary and scholarly concerns reflected personal inclinations as well as the sincere belief that —reorganizing the national heritage was a crucial cultural task. This does not mean that he did not devote a good deal of attention to social and political questions in his writings in excess of the years, but, unable as he was for the mainly part to affect the actual course of political affairs, he establish that it

was much more feasible to apply —scientific intelligencell to the critique of the cultural heritage.

When we turn to Chei-tu-shim we discover that while he actually created the formula —Mr Science and Mr Democracyll, his view of both these categories was dissimilar in subtle methods from that of Hu shih. His temperament, unlike that of Hu, was passionate and impatient. The information that the Western power which had been predominant in his case had been French rather than Anglo-American was not insignificant. His view of science was that of a crude Darwinian metaphysics. Science was a corrosive which could be used to undermine traditional values. The information that the forces of development seemed to have totally bogged down in China led him to moments of deep depression, yet like Hu shih, he was basically able to combine ‘scientific’ determinism with a strong faith in the powers of an intellectual elite. Unlike Hu shih the positive doctrine of science as a piece-meal experimental methodology did not penetrate the centre of Chi’s consciousness that he was later able to transfer the use of the word science from Darwinism to Marxism without losing any sense of its certainty.

Likewise Hu shih’s conception of scientific method appears to have rendered him impervious to the appeal of the nation of total revolutionary transformation, while Chei, who greatly admired the French Revolution as a fountainhead of contemporary democracy, was almost certainly inherently more vulnerable to the appeal of revolutionary transformation in spite of his thoroughly anti-political ‘cultural’ approach throughout the era before 1919. Yet throughout the era of secure collaboration flanked by the two (1917-19) there was nevertheless a great resemblance in their views on the individual and on the ingredients of democracy.

Lu Hsun, who was to become contemporary China’s mainly distinguished literary giant, was a man of quite dissimilar sensibilities. Throughout his life he appears to have a peculiar sensitivity to the —powers of darknessll. In his youth, he was easily converted to the evolutionary creed and yet his doubts began to emerge even before 1911. His own personal family experiences, his deep sense of the corruption and the —slave mentalityll of the Chinese people, appear even before 1911 to have diminished his faith in the

effectiveness of the forces of development in China. His contacts with the writings of Nietzsche did not turn him into a Nietzschean but provided him with the vivid image of the free, heroic, defiant spirit who sets himself against the —slave mentality of the mass of mankind. For a time, he indulged in the youthful dream of the Nietzschean - Byronic poetic hero who would be able to rouse mankind out of its spiritual slumbers culture of Western Europe and America- In spite of Yen Fu's power, Lu Hsun was to remain cool to the Western Technocratic strain of thought as well as to the detached —realism of such Western literature and its in excess of-complicated view of man's moral life.

The post-1911 events were to lead Lu Hsun to a blank wall of despair. His vision of the capability of Nietzschean literary heroes to mould society seemed to have faded rapidly. His —totalistic' image of China's bad past and present was if anything more somber than that of his —new cultural' colleagues. The cruelty, corruption and hypocrisy of modern China did not symbolize a decline of traditional values, but in some sense were actually a manifestation of those destructive values. In his story, —Diary of a madman' he creates it clear that it is not only the actuality of Chinese society which creates it —man-eating'. Its ideals are also —man-eating' ideals. Even the young revolutionaries of the pre-1911 era had speedily succumbed to the poisonous power of this incubus. Lu Hsun's decision to take up writing once more was a response to the aims of the New Culture movement but it appears to have been a highly skeptical response.

FMt-RcraMiaMiy in spite of his —totalistic rejection it is nevertheless significant to point out that on the stage of his literary imagination, Lu Hsun sustained to be fascinated through sure —counter-traditionall characteristics of the Chinese past. The past to which he looked was, though, entirely dissimilar from the past into which Hu shih saw. It was the past of neo-Taoist bohemians of the southern dynasties, of popular fantasy and fable and even the past of sure intimate personal values. Yet none of these attractions appear to have wrenched Lu Hsun from his rejection of the heritage as a whole.

Consequences of the May Fourth Incident

Mainly importantly, the New Culture movement which culminated in the May Fourth Movement or rather merged with it brought in relation to the a multiplicity of doctrines which were to discover expression in a myriad of new periodicals. May Fourth basically marked an explosive stage in the expansion (already under method) of the audience for the themes of the New Culture — particularly its —totalistic rejection of the cultural heritage.

One of the main consequences of these events here is their implications for the purely cultural diagnosis of China's ill. The May Fourth Incident was a political act, a seemingly effective act of political protest against foreign imperialism. For a time it was also a type of a mass movement (albeit of students and urban strata only). The new cultural leaders had in the past been mainly concerned with China's domestic ills. Their thought had not, on the whole, led them to moralistic judgments of the behaviour of the imperialist powers or to attribute China's ills primarily to foreign causes. Yet the nationalistic impatience and sense of urgency of the students forced some of their ineffectual elders to turn their affection absent for the moment from their extensive-time cultural effort in order to face the sad state of modern politics in China.

Even the apolitical Hu shih was forced through the events of May Fourth to reassess his posture. The immediate effect was to raise his hopes that the cultural transformation which, to his delight, already seemed to have taken lay in the middle of intellectuals, would flow not into politics but into a social movement. John Dewey, who was himself in China in 1919, encouraged this hope through his own observation that the student's organizations have gone into popular education, social and philanthropic service and vigorous intellectual discussion. Hu shih spoke of —masses to educate, women to emancipate, schools to reform. The assumption appears to have been at the outset that all these goals might be pursued while through-passing the intractable facts of political military power as they lived in China of 1919. Yet through 1922, Hu shih, himself founded the journal, whose English name was Endeavour, which was openly dedicated to political action. Meanwhile Hu

shih had also become painfully aware of the power of political forces to interfere with the intellectuals' rights of freedom of speech and action. He had also become aware of the rise of new —issues prepared to pre-empt the arena of political action. Hence one aspect of his political action was the liberal call for —civil rights against the arbitrary acts of the government.

The other sides of Hu shih's political proposals were his calls for a government of —good men and a —government with a plan. Already pointed to the grave problem of how to relate 'science' to 'democracy' in China given China's situation, he could only hope that men of scientific enlightenment (who were 'good' through definition and also few in number) might bring their power to bear on recognized censurers of power. No less than the communists and nationalists Hu felt himself forced to consider in an enlightened elite. The hope of being able to work with the Warlord government (of Wu Pei fu) was of course to be short-lived, and Hu shih was soon to return to his cultural view of China's troubles.

Sun Yat-Sen and his estrange were one of the groups better able to take advantage of the nationalist political fervor which pervaded the young throughout May Fourth. (This fervor overrode all ideological differences.) Throughout the whole bleak era from 1911 to 1919 he had not been diverted from his political goal of establishing a strong central government. Though in effecting his method, he did not provide into the 'new cultural' involvement with China's culture. On the contrary, even before 1911 he was influenced that national pride in the achievements of the past necessity is fostered and he had even urbanized definite thoughts of what was to be prized. Throughout the years of rising bitterness after 1911, he had devoted a good deal of attention to the problem of how to make a disciplined, unified vanguard party in China. In common his faith in constitutional democracy of the Western kind slowly declined. It is, so, not surprising that Sun and some of his closest disciples expressed an immediate and keen interest after the October Revolution in Lenin's views on party organization as well as in the Soviet formula for dealing with military power. Some of his younger followers proved extraordinarily receptive to the Leninist theory of imperialism as an analysis of Western behaviour.

The Russian Revolution and its doctrine was one of the newer additions to the doctrinal and philosophical storehouse of the May Fourth era. Leninist theory became slowly popular in China. A new breed in the middle of the intellectuals appeared as communists. Spreading a new, scientific culture through mass mobilization became their aim. This mass mobilization was to be a source of political and military power too. It need not be added that the —new cultural perspective of the era before 1919 was hardly oriented to mass political mobilization, though sincere its ultimate commitment to mass education might have been.

FOREIGN INVESTMENT AND RISE OF THE NEW CLASS

Some Observations

Traditional Chinese society comprised mainly of peasants and gentry. In addition there were members of the nobility and a tiny group of merchants. Merchants were not necessarily a part of the ruling group. The power of the ruling group rested on land ownership, civil service examination qualifications and location in the administrative set up. The merchant's jobs comprised mainly of trading behaviors. Industrialization did not come in relation to the in China the method it did in Europe and Japan. The land ownership pattern was such that the agriculturist did not need to invest his surplus in industrial growth to create further profit. China, remained industrially backward and so the demand for contemporary technology also remained limited. With the direct involvement of foreign powers since the second half of the 19th century, the scenario changed slightly. Taking into explanation the size and population of China, foreign trade and investment played a relatively small role in the Chinese economy. Its political fallout was, though, quite consequential. In his essay —Analyses of classes in Chinese society, Mao Tse-tung had recognized the two separate social group's viz., the comprador bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie, in the middle of other classes. In his view, the two groups were distinguished through their role in the revolutionary thrash about that China underwent in the first half of the 20th century. The national

bourgeoisie was a patriotic force on the face of the revolution and anti-imperialist to the core. The comprador class was through definition a collaborator of imperialism and so unpatriotic and counter-revolutionary. Some scholars have established this distinction, made through Mao, rather superficial as they see the whole bourgeoisie totally dependent on foreign investment and trade. It would be closer to the truth if one assumes that these two were not separate class-formations but were two political categories, the nationalists and the reactionaries. The important point, though, is that this was a politically conspicuous group and did play a meaningful role in the revolutionary thrash about.

Foreign Capital in China

Though in sure sectors of the Chinese economy Japanese and Western impact was noticeable, usually speaking, mainly of the Chinese economy remained beyond the reach of the foreigner. According to reliable estimates, foreign investments in China in 1914 amounted to 1,610 million US Dollars where as they were 733 million in the year 1902. On a per capita foundation, taking the Chinese population in 1914 to be 430 million, the figure is almost 3.75 US Dollars. This was extraordinarily smaller compared to foreign investment in other colonies throughout the similar era. Even in the 1930s, private foreign investment in China was less than one per cent of its gross national product. Foreign investments grew in excess of the years partly due to upward movement of prices and partly because foreigners reinvested their profits in China itself. The growth of Jardine Matheson and Company in excess of the course of one century from a tiny agency home to the main foreign company in China with several industrial and financial interests in many of the Treaty Ports, was the result of reinvestments done many times in excess of.

Direct investment of foreign capital had gone into the following regions:

- Import and export,
- Trade,

- Railways,
- Manufacturing,
- Property,
- Banking and finance,
- Shipping,
- Mining, and
- Communication.

This illustrates the information that unlike several other countries very little foreign capital had gone into the export-oriented industries like plantation agriculture. Foreign capital was mainly heavily invested in the Treaty Ports - Shanghai in scrupulous. Hence it was in and approximately these spaces, that the new class of urban bourgeoisie originated. It is true that due to foreign-owned enterprises and foreign investment in Chinese enterprises, Chinese native industrial development was obstructed. This was so because the Chinese firms Basically could not compete successfully with foreign firms. The Foreign firms enjoyed superior revenues, better technology and management and more importantly the privileges of extraterritoriality, exemption from Chinese taxes and were not affected through the whims of the Chinese bureaucracy.

Emergence of the Chinese Bourgeoisie

Here the term bourgeoisie has been used in the more restricted sense. We take it as a group comprising of entrepreneurs, contemporary approach businessmen, financiers and industrialists. The common ‘middle-class’ which comprises professionals, intellectuals and landowners have not been incorporated.

The upheaval of 1911 marked the establishment of the bourgeoisie as a major force in the economic and social life of China. Since the 18th century, due to demographic changes, the pace of urbanization in China was accelerated. This also increased the number of traders and merchants who bought commodities including food grains from the villages and sold them in

towns and municipalities. With the intervention of the West in a more aggressive form since the Opium Wars, tremendous economic changes were visible in the coastal regions of China, several of which were "Treaty Ports. The dominant urban classes—merchants as well as scholar officials saw—this as an opportunity for profit. The merchants had wealth, entrepreneurial ability and willingness to attempt out innovations. For instance in a era of three (1895-98) years the merchants had invested more than 12 million yuan in relation to the 50 enterprises. This was more than the capital invested in the last twenty years. The mandarins had access to the management and to the public treasury with a sense of responsibility. From an unusual collaboration and political amalgamation of these two classes of gentry and merchants, appeared the Chinese bourgeoisie.

The 1911 Revolution had weakened the location of the mandarins. Obviously, commercial ventures became a good alternative to achieve economic status if not political power. The outbreak of the First World War in 1914 was, though, a watershed in the development of the native Chinese bourgeoisie. The new class now sprung into action as the temporary withdrawal of foreign competition opened new markets for it, both within China and outside. Expansion and diversification of business opened up new business avenues. We discover that the bankers and industrialists became the leading players in the Chinese urban economic scene. The war time and early post-war years are termed as the golden age of the Chinese bourgeoisie. The year 1927 was another turning point for this class when a bureaucratic - military manage of north of China hindered the development of a free capitalist system.

The Chinese Bourgeoisie and the 1911 Revolution

Taking our definition of the bourgeoisie - the class tied to contemporary business, it is clear that it had only a secondary role in the 1911 Revolution. After the success of this Revolution the bourgeoisie did attempt to use the situation to their own advantage. Though they succeeded in getting

their essential interests respected, they could not seize political power except at the local stages.

The Wuchang uprising, which bought in relation to the 1911 downfall of the Chinese monarchy, although a military endeavour, had been supported through the merchants? The Chamber of Commerce granted the insurgents a huge loan in return for the protection from looters and arsonists. Merchants also organized a militia to hunt down the anti-socials. In Shanghai, the municipality which witnessed the emergence of a very strong bourgeoisie class, the cooperation flanked by this class and the revolutionaries was a critical factor in the success of the revolution. The business society recognized contacts with the Tung Meng Hui (Revolutionary Alliance) which later became the Kuomintang. Shanghai's experience in military-merchant cooperation was exceptional. Nevertheless, in mainly parts of China the emerging business class opted for republicanism and opposed monarchy. Although the bourgeoisie did not take initiative in the uprisings, yet they welcomed the revolution sympathetically and confidently.

This significant role of the bourgeoisie can be explained as a phenomenon of, what is described, —ideological super determination. The emergence of this new class in China coincided with the thoughts of democracy, liberation and nationalism - thoughts that had come from the West. In the 18th and 19th centuries when these thoughts appeared in Europe, they were espoused through the rising bourgeoisie. The thoughts of democracy, constitutionalism and nationalism preached through the leaders of the anti-Ch'ing opposition coincided with the aspirations of the bourgeoisie, who supported the opposition parties and organizations.

Immediately, after the revolution the lack of central power and the decay of public power led the urban elite regularly to a situation where they had to run the day-to-day management of municipalities. They devoted themselves to the service of the urban population collectively, moved through a Confucian sense of civic responsibility. The aim of the merchants was not to seek power for them but to uphold social order and contending With pirates, brigands, indiscipline soldiers and secret civilizations. The Chambers of Commerce paid the soldiers, bribed the bandits to deport, disbanded troops

and mediated in disputes flanked by rival generals. The political role which the merchant class played was of a limited nature. They did not attempt to change the system but tried to become a part of it, attempting to remedy its faulty functioning. They were not prepared to assume directly the political responsibilities from which custom had always excluded them. Their involvement hence, could only be short-term. Their limited political role and indirect manage brought them several risks. Local power holders often turned against the merchants, taxing them, threatening them and also kidnapping them. Despite the financial powers that rested with them, they became the first victims of the authorities whose establishment they had facilitated.

Usually speaking, in Chinese provinces the power of the merchants could not take the lay of the bureaucratic power of the central and provincial governments. All it could do was to limit the destructive anarchy which seemed to be the only alternative to the imperial system.

The Shanghai bourgeoisie - mainly cosmopolitan and modernized - asserted to become a dominant political force. They longed to expand their business with the interiors of China and not remain only coast-oriented. They, so, desired national unity. The bourgeoisie of Shanghai adopted Sun Yat-Sen's republican programme and joined him in his drive for modernization. Through their huge loans, the merchants of Shanghai helped Sun set up the Chinese Republic in Nanking on January 1, 1912. In his manifesto, announced five days later, Sun promised: —As suggested, revise our commercial and mining codes, abolish restrictions to trade and commerce. Within these, quite a few events beneficial to the merchants were announced. The Nanking government, though, remained in office only for three months and so could not implement anything. The bourgeoisie neither could directly grab power nor it could prevent its representative, Sun and his KMT, from losing it' Of course it was able to create its strength felt. In the provinces it had helped business to continue normally and uphold a sure degree of law and order.

Their support to the Nanking government prevented the mainly undesirable - the return of the Manchu dynasty. They failed in setting up political structures which were necessary for their own development. In the provinces, they had too poor a social base to be recognized separately from the

gentry. They did not succeed in reaching out to rural Chinese society which had for centuries been accustomed to a bureaucratic authoritarian custom.

Bourgeoisie in the Era of Yuan Shi Kai

With Yuan Shi Kai's accession to the presidency of the Chinese Republic, a era of political recession ushered in for the Chinese bourgeoisie. After many months of disorder business circles were anxious for a return to calm and security. Their somewhat hesitant rallying with Yuan Shi Kai marked the beginning of this political re-orientation. Their bonds with the revolutionary republicans grew looser. In Shanghai the 'dare-to-die' troops accused the Common Chamber of Commerce of treason when their Commander was arrested in April, 1912 in the International resolution. The bourgeoisie became attracted to new and moderate political parties, which in May 1912 reorganized them to become the Republican Party. In the national elections of 1912-13, the moderates supported this party in Shanghai. Yuan Shi Kai took pains to provide compensation and assurances to merchants through recognizing the contractual obligations of the Nanking government to the business circles of Shanghai, and promising indemnification to the merchants of Hankow whose shops had been destroyed in the upheaval of October, 1911. In April, 1912, Yuan also announced a series of reforms intended to win the support of the bourgeoisie. These incorporated: suppression of the transit tax (likin); reduction in export taxes; unification of the currency; and a policy of industrial development.

After the stagnation of the first few months of 1912, the resumption of business diverted the bourgeoisie from political action. Because of an abundant crop and rise in the value of silver in the world market, foreign trade figures showed a relative improvement. This prosperity spread to the industry. In Shanghai, in 1912, it became necessary to augment through four times the supply of industrial electric current to meet the demands of new plants especially those of the rice-mills, which were being built in important numbers, and of the textile mills which were developing their capability. Throughout this era the milling trade experienced rapid growth. Machine

shops increased in number. Blast furnaces in Hanyang, which had been abandoned throughout the 1911 uprising, were brought back into operation through exclusively Chinese teams. In the mining industry prospecting and mine work were expanding. Construction of the tramway system of the municipality of Shanghai was planned and completed within a few months without any outside help. This overall effort was sustained and coordinated through a dozen or so provincial or national organizations for the encouragement of industry, shaped throughout 1912.

In this improving situation what business circles feared mainly was a re-occurrence of military and political disorder. Sung Chiaojen's assassination on March 22, 1913 caused deep uneasiness in the minds of Shanghai merchants. Though, they were less disturbed through Yuan Shi Kai's treason (as it was well-recognized that he had masterminded the assassination) than through Sun Yat-Sen's hostile reactions. At a time when the whole political situation was fluid, the bourgeoisie feared the advent of a new crisis which could upset the improved atmosphere. Disappointment with the revolutionary experiment, the attractions of an orderly regime and the new hopes aroused through the economic expansion, all combined to push them towards a collusive neutrality. They were forced to create up their minds with the crisis of summer 1913.

Military leaders in the southern provinces declared their independence when disagreement broke out flanked by Yuan and Sun Yat-Sen. Shanghai too was drawn into the movement as the rebel troops came out into the streets. The merchants hesitated flanked by open hostility towards the rebels and the opportunism necessary for the preservation of their interests. The Common Chamber of Commerce refused to approve the independence declaration or to supply the rebel commander with funds he demanded. They declared that Shanghai will not be converted into a battle field.

At Canton, the governor who had declared the municipality's independence on July 21, established the merchants either hostile or passive. In all the principal ports of the Yangtze river, merchants showed the similar cautiousness, the similar veiled hostility. With varying degrees of success, the local chambers of commerce devoted their energies to preserving their

municipality, bribing the rebel soldiers to leave and preparing the method for the peaceful return of the northerners. At Nanking these efforts failed, here merchants had supplied a great amount of money to the Southerners; now they saw themselves ruined through the entry of the northern troops and the pillaging that followed flanked by September 1 to 3, 1913. The bourgeoisie's hostility to this 'Second Revolution' of 1913 was manifested only in the mainly circumspect fashion, particularly in those provinces that had declared independence. Chambers of commerce showed no overt opposition; they merely refused their financial cooperation as extensive as the pressure was not too great. In any case, the outcome of the thrash about depended mainly on the military leaders, and on the excellence and number of their troops. Here Yuan Shi Kai's superiority was clear approximately from the start. This opposition or aloofness of the bourgeoisie, as one may like to call it, did not carry any decisive weight in 1913. For all practical purposes the bourgeoisie remained only a secondary force.

Failure of the 1913 uprising brought in relation to the heavy taxes and destroyed shops. This forced the bourgeoisie to defend their short-term interests. Yuan Shi Kai encouraged the merchants to their traditional social separation and political absention. Once victorious, he eliminated the revolutionary opposition through forcing its leaders into exile and ordering the dissolution, first of the KMT in November, 1913 and then of the Parliament in December of the similar year. He also attacked all the representative bodies at the lower stages set up for the benefit of local elites before and after 1911. In February, 1914 he suppressed the provincial and local assemblies, which had presently been resuscitated throughout the winter of 1912-13 on the foundation of a much enlarged electorate i.e., in relation to the 25 per cent of the male adult population. Since the revolution these local assemblies had taken in excess of several of the administrative, fiscal and military functions normally reserved for the state bureaucracy.

In addition, they served as forums and mouthpieces for the new associations of industrialists, educators, artisans and women, which were rising in big numbers at that time. Through these associations a whole stratum of society including the gentry, intellectuals and small merchants, establish

them integrated into the political life of the nation. The assemblies represented an iota of liberation in the Chinese political custom. For the first time one saw the defense of local interests and social groups which were shut out or neglected through the earlier ruling classes. Therefore, from Yuan's point of view they represented a threat both to his own personal power and to the maintenance of national unity, which he equated with a vigorous administrative centralization.

For the merchants of Shanghai this was the end of an exceptional experience. In the municipality of this Chinese municipality; the urban gentry had been able to provide proof of its capability for management, its attitude for modernization, its compensation of democratic procedures and its interest in major national troubles. Business circles in Shanghai never again recovered this local management and political autonomy. The bureaus of public works, police and taxes which Yuan had substituted for the former municipality remained strictly subordinated to the local officials. A law passed in 1914. strengthened government manages in excess of the Chambers of Commerce thereby succeeding in depriving the business society of their means of political expression. Deprived of initiative, the merchants began to lose interest in the great ideals which had inspired them since the beginning of the century. Unable to achieve a countrywide acceptance of the modernity drive which they had themselves pioneered in China, they became absorbed in the defense of their short-term interests. Faced with a military-bureaucratic regime they strove to strengthen the autonomy of their geographic and social base, in the shadow of foreign attendance. At the International resolution, for instance, they often asked for protection through the foreign police.

Yuan Shi Kai's presidency was characterized through a new element: a determination to further economic development through completing commercial legislation, stabilizing the fiscal and monetary system, and encouraging private enterprise. The minister for agriculture and trade had laws passed on the registration of commercial enterprise and corporations, and on corporation establishments; he set up model stations for rising cotton and sugarcane and he planned to standardize the system of weights and events. In February, 1914 the Yuan Shi Kai's dollar was recognized which was the first

step towards monetary unification. This willingness to encourage and promote business contrasted rather strangely with the refusal to grant any power at all to the bourgeoisie. Here Yuan returned to the custom of a modernizing bureaucracy, of which he had himself been a strong supporter and representative in the last years of the Ch'ing dynasty. Yuan was now a dictator, his power base was in the army and in the mandarin elite. What for would he need to woo the merchants? Hence it would be incorrect to see in his economic policies any pledge to support the bourgeoisie. It would also be wrong to attribute to it the prosperity enjoyed through the Treaty Port areas throughout the four years or so of Yuan's regime. In information, it was the transformation of the international situation brought in relation to the through the First World War which was the decisive impulse that propelled the Chinese rising new class into what is described its 'golden age'.

The Bourgeoisie, 1916-1919

At the beginning of the 1920s, national capitalism was in full swing in China with a new generation of businessmen who had appeared on the scene. They were directly connected to industrial manufacture and the use of a salaried Work force. This upswing in the urban economy and society resulted not from a revolution which had been taken in excess of through militarists but from an economic miracle caused through World War I.

The war restored to the Chinese market part of the protection of which the unequal treaties of the nineteenth century had deprived it. Too involved in their own strife, the belligerent powers turned absent from China. European departure from Chinese business did favour the development of national industries in replacement but it also encouraged the expansion of Japanese and American interests, which in turn became sources of major conflicts in later years.

The war caused a marked augment in the world demand for elementary products and new materials like non-ferrous metals and vegetable oils. As a major supplier of primary products, China was well-placed to meet this demand. Also, the augment in purchases made through the Western power in

countries with a silver based currency, China and India, stimulated the rise in the international price of silver. The teal therefore became a strong currency. Within a few years its purchasing power in the world market tripled. External debt charges were reduced bringing some relief to the overstrained Chinese economy but imports and particularly imports of industrial equipments were not facilitated. The cause was easy: for if the war offered the Chinese economy opportunities for development, these opportunities could be grasped and exploited only within the restrictive framework of an underdeveloped economy, dependent on the dynamism of a semi-colonial system suffering deeply from sure handicaps.

The requisition of merchant fleets through the belligerent states, the reduction in world commercial tonnage, and the consequent rise in freight rates hampered international trade. Swap controls and the embargoes on silk and tea imposed through France and Great Britain in 1917, denied traditional outlets to Chinese products. In the end, the priority given to war industries through the European powers adversely affected the supply of equipment to China. At the time when lessening of foreign competition was stimulating the upsurge of national industries, it became very hard for these very industries to acquire the machinery they heeded. Up to World War I China had not attained the stage of development which would allow it to reap the full benefit of the relative withdrawal of foreign attendance. The difficulties caused through the war involved a lack of profit rather than actual losses. For the contemporary sector of the Chinese economy the years of warfare were a time of prosperity. It was only after the return of peace that the golden age dawned for the business concerns.

Since 1919 the contemporary sector of the Chinese economy began to reap the benefits offered through the World War and the Regained peace. The demand for primary products intensified. The needs of war were being replaced through those of reconstruction. In Shanghai, in 1919, the value of exports was 30 per cent higher than the preceding year. The upsurge in exports was all the more extra ordinary in that the price of silver sustained to rise, and with it the swap rate of the teal. The urgency of their needs was such that European buyers were willing to pay high prices. The greater availability of

sea-freight and the recon version of war industries allowed Chinese industrialists to return to Western markets for their supplies. In presently one year, from 1918 to 1919, their purchases of textile material, for instance rose from 1.8 million teals to 3.9 million.

After a moderate expansion up to 1917 the value of foreign trade rose from 1,040 million teals in 1918 to 1,670 million in 1923. Progress was measured through the growth and diversification of exports. Imports increased less rapidly, but underwent considerable restructuring. For instance, consumer products, and in scrupulous cotton goods, the manufacture of which was developing in China, declined in favour of hard goods. This inequality of growth in imports and exports contributed to restoring the balance of trade. In 1919 the deficit was no more than 16 million teals. The composition of Chinese foreign trade remained that of an underdeveloped economy but this trade was no longer that of a dependent economy: it corresponded, rather, to the first stage of growth of a contemporary national economy stimulated through the demands of the market, where both domestic and foreign manufacture increased. Both the traditional sector and the contemporary sector sustained to satisfy the new needs. The scarcity of ocean freight and of equipment, which had hampered the upsurge of contemporary industries until 1919, had not affected the handicraft sector. From 1915-16 onwards weaving looms had been rising in number in the northern and central provinces. Manufacture was directed towards the domestic market. Urban workshops were urbanized and commercial capitalism spread throughout the countryside close to the major urban centers. The progress made in weaving, ready-made garments, hosiery, glassware, matches and oil manufacture did not consist merely of a resurrection of the former methods of manufacture. Often by improved techniques and raw materials of industrial origin (yarn, chemical products), this handicraft action represented, on the contrary an effort to adopt what we may call a transitory modernization.

The upsurge of contemporary business in coastal municipalities symbolizes only one aspect of a more common expansion although it is undoubtedly the mainly striking aspect. From 1912 to 1920 the growth rate of contemporary industries reached 13.8 per cent. The leading instance was

cotton yarn. There was an upsurge in the food industries as is apparent from the opening of many flour mills and through the re-purchase of foreign-owned oil mills. Considerable progress was also made in the tobacco and cigarette industry. But this growth and development hardly spread to heavy industries. The unexpected prosperity of the use of non-ferrous metals (in scrupulous antimony and tin) in the southern provinces was strictly determined through international speculations, and disappeared with them. Contemporary coal and iron mines remained 75 to 100 per cent controlled through foreign interests. The mainly notable progress was made in the machine-structure industry. Shanghai and its surroundings were the main beneficiaries of this expansion which also affected Tientsin and to a lesser degree Canton and Wuhan.

Throughout the whole of the boom era the growth of trade and of manufacture was sustained through the development of credit and stimulated through the rise in prices and profits. The decline of foreign banks, which hampered the operation of foreign trade, did not affect the domestic market, the financing of which had never passed from Chinese manage. On the contrary, this domestic market made significant possessions accessible to national business, and as the capital funds of notables or compradors, which for reasons of security or interest had until then chiefly funded foreign behaviors. The rise of contemporary Chinese banks dates from the First World War. In the year 1918 and 1919 alone 96 new banks were opened. Mainly of these banks, though, maintained secure ties with the public authorities. This was the case with the official Bank of China and Bank of Communication, some dozen provincial banks, and numerous other political banks, founders of which belonged to government circles or maintained a secure relation with high officials. The action of all these establishments was limited to handling of state funds and loans.

A dozen contemporary banks, mostly in Shanghai, were run on a purely commercial foundation. Their involvement in the financing of national business remained hampered through the archaic structures of the market. In order to finance business, the contemporary banks were therefore obliged to resort to direct loans presently like the old-approach banks. Though, contemporary banks demanded guarantees from their clients in the form of

property mortgages or deposit of goods. This put them at a disadvantage vis-à-vis the old-approach banks, which operated under customary rules on a PM-Revoimionary china, 1911-21 foundation of personal dealings and granted loans —on trustl. As a result, despite the spectacular size of the contemporary banking sector, the real business banks remained the old-approach ones.

Throughout the First World War wholesale prices rose from 20 per cent to 44 per cent. There was stability in agricultural prices in contrast with the soaring industrial costs. In a traditional rural economy this stability indicated the relative equilibrium of the rural world. The stability of agricultural prices and the rise in industrial prices were to be seen as complementary signs of prosperity. From this prosperity the business world profited the mainly. The mainly significant companies increased their profits twenty-fold, some even fifty-fold. Dividends reached 30 to 40 per cent, and in some cases even 90 per cent. The gains of the business people are all the mainly important because they hardly shared it with their employees. The salaries of artisans and wages of laborers rose only through 6.9 per cent in Canton, and through 10 to 20 per cent in Shanghai. This material prosperity helped in the hew social formation in the coastal regions of China - in urban, upper-middle class, very open to Western powers.

Rise of Urban Society

The economic boom brought in relation to the an accelerated urbanization. The annual growth rate of the urban population seemed to be considerably greater than that of the population as a whole. The phenomenon was particularly visible in Shanghai, where the Chinese population tripled in ten years but the other Treaty Ports like Tientsin and Tsingtao also saw a growth of population.

A rapid, though less marked, expansion was experienced through municipalities of the interior. For instance, Tsinan experienced a growth rate of 3 per cent per annum flanked by 1914-19 while the rate for the population of the province as a whole was only 1 per cent. This urban thrust was not due to either a great famine or any worsening of civil unrest, as these did not

happen in this era. It essentially reflected the attraction of rural society towards new centers of development. Poor peasants, unable to bear life in their villages, came to seek a livelihood in towns and municipalities through employment in mills and workshops. They became Dockers in ports, coolies and rickshaw pullers. Several in the middle of the rural rich also moved to municipalities particularly to provincial capitals for a career prospect in local management or self-government organizations. Others preferred municipality life for it ensured contemporary education for their children - a much sought after privilege.

The urban zone expanded territorially. Suburbs came up communicating with the heart of the municipality through monumental gates of the old municipality walls. In several municipalities, including Canton and Changsha, municipality walls were demolished to allow new quarters to be built. (In China, since early times, municipalities were bounded through walls). Mainly of the new construction was residential but commercial structures, impressively constructed, also came up. Several shops, departmental stores and market spaces appeared. Workshops, warehouses, godowns and factories were built to such an extent that the value of construction authorized through the municipality rose from 5 to 11 million teals flanked by 1915 to 1920.

In these rising urban centers population went on rising and social groupings became more intricate and better differentiated. A contemporary bourgeoisie and a working proletariat appeared and in the middle of the urban elite one part was identifiable as the contemporary intelligentsia. From an overall point of view, these transformations in Chinese society remained marginal as they did not create any profound impact on the social, economic and cultural entity that was China. The emerging urban bourgeoisie establish themselves occupied in economic, social and political behaviors very dissimilar from those of the rural gentry but they remained connected with the structures of the Old Regime both through their interest in landed property and their secure dealings with the public authorities. The 1911 Revolution had brought them into prominence and increased their importance. Their leaders were always in the forefront. The economic success of the pioneers of

industrialization was due to exceptional personal qualities, much of which they acquired through their contracts with foreigners in the Treaty Ports, and which had enabled them to grasp the importance of modern technology and management.

Though, the majority of the urban elite were distinguished more through their political orientation and their social role than through their participation in contemporary business. After 1911, bureaucratic institutions were taken in excess of through the new network of authorities created through the organization on behalf of local interests like provincial assemblies, chambers of commerce, education and agricultural civilizations. Of course this clashed with Yuan Shi Kai's unitary centralizing efforts, and at the local stage with the rival ambitions of the militarists. Yet the power of the urban elite increased. This was so because the bureaucracy was being recruited in the vicinity. The urban elite were able to preserve its interests against interference through the public authorities, against encroachment through foreigners, and against claims through the populace. This old regime bourgeoisie therefore appeared as a stable force in the Chinese society.

From this urban elite appeared not only a business society committed to the ideology of industrial growth, free enterprise and economic rationality but also a contemporary intelligentsia which was taking form simultaneously. Men like Tsai Yuan-pei, Hirshih and Chen To-hsiu belonged to this category. They were mostly educated abroad. They, like several of the businessmen, returned to China at the outbreak of the war with new skills and thoughts and above all with a patriotic zeal. They too had moved absent from the old society and cut the bonds through which the state had made officials out of men of letters and had united politics with orthodoxy. At the similar time they had preached a new form of education based on respect for individuality. The attendance of this intellectual group was a comfort to the new bourgeoisie. Solidarity of these two groups strengthened both. Several projects undertaken to facilitate education were funded through the businessmen. In return the intelligentsia imparted technological, managerial and common education to the prospective businessmen. Without education and * technological skills and

a contemporary education the bourgeoisie could not expand and reproduce itself.

So, when the May Fourth Movement spread to all Chinese municipalities since the May Fourth Incident of 1919, the merchant class and the new business society supported the students and intellectuals, who were the torchbearers of this movement. Both were moved through patriotism and came closer in their opposition to Japanese imperialism and its stooges in the Chinese government. Their cooperation was further consolidated as both essentially shared the similar class background.

RISE OF NATIONALISM

Background

The thought of ‘nationalism’ or the concepts of ‘nation-hood’ or ‘nation-state’ entered the thought procedure of the Chinese people much later than it did in Europe. In information, as the familiarity of the Chinese with the West increased these thoughts and concepts became clear and definite. For centuries the perceptions of the Chinese concerning their lay in the world or what is described the Chinese world order, did not correspond with that of the rest of the world. Though, these perceptions remained intact for centuries as the Chinese people existed in separation from the rest of the world. Except for trade, the Chinese did not interact with countries which were geographically distant. With civilizations in its margin the Chinese State had, what is recognized as the tribute connection. Under this arrangement the smaller kingdoms paid tribute to the Chinese Emperor in the form of all types of gifts, in return they were spared subjugation through the Chinese empire. This was, from the Chinese point of view, an expression of superiority of the Chinese empire and Emperor in excess of all others.

The traditional Chinese view of the world comprised of China i.e. Chung-Kuo or the central or middle kingdom and other itinerant civilizations on its margin. In other languages, the Chinese like several other civilized races, whispered that they were central to the earth and human inhabitation.

The Emperor was the 'Son of Heaven', who was superior not only to his Chinese subjects but also to all the people approximately the Chinese inhabited lands. The concept of a nation-state, with a clearly demarcated boundary had never lived for the Chinese until Western notions of international law were suddenly introduced or rather enforced on them. In the middle of the shocks that the Chinese absorbed as a result of Western power was this complete re-orientation of their thoughts of the world order. The European notion of territorially demarcated, self-governing, sovereign states dealing with each other on the foundation of equality, which was often superficial. This was something now the Chinese had to come to conditions with.

China's initial difficulty in accepting the European world order has led several scholars, like John King Fairbank, to label China as a Sino centric nation. This means that the Chinese were victims of the xenophobia and suffered from a deep superiority intricate vis-à-vis other countries and civilization. This viewpoint has, though, been challenged through others who provide proof against it, saying that if the Chinese had been so chauvinistic how they could have adopted and adapted Buddhism - a religion alien to them. Traditional ties flanked by India and China illustrate no striking indication of the Chinese being Sinocentric.

Debates aside, the spirit of Chinese nation-hood engulfed the Chinese nation since their defeat at the hands of great Britain in the Opium War of 1840. Nationalism became a driving force in the Chinese political scene through late 19th century and the early 20th.

Nationalism on the Rise

Nationalism in China meant three dissimilar though interrelated things.

- First, it meant opposing and fighting imperialism.
- Second, it demanded the creation of a strong, contemporary and centralized nation-state which not only would push back imperialism

but forward the country's new aspirations in its political, social, economic and cultural life.

- Thirdly, nationalism meant the overthrow of the Manchu (Ch'ing) dynasty.

Of these three, anti-imperialism was of course to be the mainly prominent characteristic.

Resistance to Imperialism

In the early years of the 20th century, —recovery of Sovereign rights became the watchword for every enlightened Chinese. Through the end of the 19th century Western terminology like —National Sovereignty and —Sovereign rights appeared in official documents. They became an integral part of Chinese vocabulary in a few years time. Since the Opium War, China had been subjected to foreign attacks, each of which ended with an unequal treaty. China had to pay indemnities to the victorious powers and grant privileges, rights and even territorial concessions. The Sino-Japanese war of 1894-95 exposed China's complete weakness; she could not refuse anything to anybody. The immediate aftermath of this war saw the era of 'Scramble for Concessions'. After the eight-nation expedition to crush the Boxer Rebellion, one sees in China uncontrolled pillage through many imperialist powers. Despite China's physical incapability to prevent encroachments, there was a distant greater determination at this time to strengthen the country and reclaim all that had been lost. The sixty years of indignity had to be countered.

Chinese officials, in the first decade of this century reasserted their claims to sovereignty and not presently suzerainty in excess of Tibet in order to contain the British: Russia had occupied Manchuria but after its defeat through Japan in 1905 its power weakened. The Chinese did not waste time. They increased the pace of emigration to Manchuria and restructured the administrative tools there, with the aim to block Japan's expansion. As Russia had now turned its attention on Mongolia, the Chinese reacted through asserting full sovereignty in excess of her dependency. This was done through:

- Encouraging the flow of Chinese into Mongolia,

- Instructing local officials to counter Russian power,
- Setting up a Chinese kind management under able and contemporary minded officials, and
- Through sending out Chinese garrison troops.

These events taken through the Chinese government were prompted through a widespread and intense fear that China might be partitioned. The common public also reacted sharply to Western and Japanese intimidation. The local and national press discussed the issues. Demonstrations and meetings were held in several regions including foreign bastions of Shanghai to denounce the intentions of foreign powers. Songs and theatrical shows depicting the atrocities of the British in India and the French in Indo-China, were general in South China. Posters and other types of publicity material were used to spread the message of Chinese nationalism.

The more tribulant protests were the anti-American boycott of 1905 in excess of the 'Exclusion Act' and the anti-Japanese boycott in excess of the Tatsu Maru case in 1908. These boycotts showed that Chinese merchants and workers were prepared to create material sacrifices in order to achieve their nationalist objectives. Cancellation of special foreign rights and abolition of extraterritoriality were the general demands of the revolutionaries, the reformers as well as the Manchu government.

Nationalism and Nation-structure

Nationalism was not only anti-imperialist but it also implied a triumph in excess of provincialism and regionalism. As part of the reforms attempted through the decaying Manchu rule, provincial assemblies were set up all in excess of China except in Sukiang. These assemblies became a forum for debate and discussion and brought jointly the patriotic people. This provincialism, as one noted author says, —facilitated the rise of nationalism, discussion of several local issues led to national issues concerned with resistance to imperialism. For instance, when the Self-government Association of Kwantung province objected to the visit of a British river patrol, it led to the challenge of the whole treaty system. Likewise, local merchants' desire to

expand their trade led, to a demand for a uniform national monetary system. Nationalist fervor led to a need for nation-structure, demanding that China become a unified, strong nation.

Anti-Manchu Sentiments

The Ch'ing dynasty which ruled China from 1644 was racially dissimilar from the Han Chinese who comprised 94 per cent of the nation's population. They belonged to the numerically small race of Manchus hailing from the province of Manchuria. As the dynasty began to weaken, anti-dynasty feelings came to be expressed in ethnic conditions. When revolutionary nationalism engulfed China, one of its components was Chinese ethnic opposition to alien Manchu rule as reactionary in domestic policies and cowardly in foreign affairs. Several Han Chinese whispered that because a non-Han dynasty was ruling the country it did not have the will and passion of the Han people and so meekly gave into subjugation.

This is not to say that the Manchu rulers stayed totally alienated from others. On the contrary, the Ch'ing court comprised of vast numbers of Han Chinese and the civil service of the country which connected the empire to the remotest regions, was predominantly Han. What is recognized as the Sino-Manchu elite, ruled China. This group had both reactionaries and reformers in it and also fiery anti-imperialists and compromisers. There was, though, also a general belief that the emperor-system itself was inadequate and so one necessity not in excess of emphasize the ethnic issue. A easy anti-Manchu feeling did exist but it was more prominent in sure small geographic regions and in those wings of the revolutionary organizations which did not demand social upheaval. Likewise, some secret civilizations and overseas Chinese societies raised the slogan: —overthrow the Manchus, restore the Chinese.¶

The intensity of anti-Manchu feelings varied crossways time and lay. In several instances this negative notion appeared first to be transformed into a more positive spirit of nationhood. One thing is sure that anti-Manchuism did not unite the Chinese as much as did anti-imperialism.

Nationalism in the Early Post-Revolutionary Era

With the downfall of the Ch'ing dynasty in 1911, the anti-Manchu component of Chinese nationalism obviously became redundant. Though, the other two factors namely anti-imperialism and an urge for nation-structure became even more pronounced. In the early years of post-Ch'ing China, there were two major political forces on the scene:

- One were the militarists, Yuan Shi Kai being the leading militaryman in politics, and
- The other was the secret society turned political party i.e., Kuomintang (KMT).

Separately from these two organized political groups were a host of revolutionary organizations with not much say in the national politics and numerous contemporary intellectuals. Though influenced through western education, they were ardent nationalists. This nationalist upsurge could not be ignored through those in power particularly since 1916 i.e. the era after Yuan Shi Kai's death. Through 1917 China had entered the World War and had been given indications of high hopes for offering major national benefits if she appeared as one of the victors in the war. In the early bargaining era with German Minister Reinsch, not only loans but matters related to the Boxer Indemnities were also discussed. With Japan too, negotiations were so intended to advance the Chinese location! This incorporated China's desire to reassert her power in Manchuria and outer Mongolia. The other aim perhaps was to bring in relation to the a relaxation of pressures from Japan, who, in the war, was an ally. China clearly desired that it wanted to be treated as an equal member in the society of nations.

The Shantung Question and the May Fourth Movement

After the War China's first and foremost expectation was to recover all rights and privileges formerly granted under the —unequal treaties‖ to Germany and Austria. Particularly, it desired restoration of complete sovereignty in excess of Germany's —sphere of power‖, Shantung. German rights in Shantung

as stipulated in the 1898 lease were for ninety-nine years. Sovereignty, though given up temporarily in favour of Germany, was expressly reserved to China. Logically so no successor power could enjoy greater rights than Germany. The original agreement, moreover, mentioned that Germany may not transfer its leasehold to any other power, abandonment through Germany should legally lead to reversal of all rights to the sovereign power, i.e. China.

Japan's imposition of the Twenty-one Demands on Yuan Shi Kai's government introduced a new element into this legal location: through formal treaty China had committed itself to accept any disposition of German rights in Shantung that might be agreed upon through Germany and Japan. The Chinese protested that the agreement was forcibly imposed on China and so not binding. In International law, this agreement had no validity even though in 1915 US Secretary of State Bryan had implicitly said that US stood on China's face against Japan. President Woodrow Wilson too had stated in his speeches that in the territorial settlements throughout the peace negotiations, the interests of the populations should be taken into explanation and it should not be a mere adjustment or compromise flanked by rival powers. Naturally, China hoped that at the peace conference the United States would support its claim for restoration of the Shantung peninsula. Though, when the Peace Conference began in Paris in January 1919, which eventually resulted in the Treaty of Versailles, the Japanese became confident of having Shantung's sovereignty transferred to them. They held that Shantung's location had been confirmed not only through the Sino-Japanese agreement of 1915 but also through the British, French and Italian agreement in 1917.

In late January the Shantung question came up, with the Japanese demanding the peninsula and the Chinese rejecting it. The Japanese delegation produced at the Conference, secret commitments of France, Britain and Italy to Japan and more crucially documents showing the Chinese government's secret assurances to Japan. A secret agreement signed through the Peking government confirmed the Chinese acceptance of Japanese proposals for the financing, construction, and joint operations of two new railways in the province of Shantung. These revelations, consequently, made the Chinese case weak and prejudiced right from the beginning.

In April, as the negotiations were going on; China presented two memoranda to the conference. One demanded the abrogation of the May, 1915 treaty and related agreements with Japan. The other proposed the following:

- Renunciation of spheres of power or interest,
- Withdrawal of foreign troops and police,
- Withdrawal of foreign post offices and telegraphic agencies,
- Abolition of extra territorial jurisdiction,
- Relinquishment of leased territories,
- Restoration to China of foreign concessions and settlements, and
- Restoration to China of tariff autonomy.

In other languages, China was demanding from the international society a dilution, if not a complete annulment of the unequal treaties. Both the memoranda were rejected through the conference as being outside its conditions of reference. Nevertheless, these demands reflected the Chinese concern for its dignity, propped up through a strong wave of nationalism.

On April 30, 1919 when the Shantung question was brought before the Council of Foreign Ministers (of USA, Britain, France, Italy and Japan) the American delegation proposed that rights on Shantung first be transferred to all five powers, which would eventually restore it back to China. Japan rejected this while Britain, France and Italy were committed to support Japan. The United States too failed to hold on to its location strongly, partly because it did not want to confront its European allies and partly because of its involvement in Siberia beside with Britain and Italy. The final decision was that all German rights in Shantung should be transferred to Japan. This, on the one hand was a humiliation for China, but on the other strengthened nationalist feelings.

Intellectual Response and Public Outcry

The intellectual climate had changed in China significantly since the Twenty-one Demands. The new intellectual atmosphere created the setting for a major event. Ever since the Shantung issue had been raised at Paris in January, the articulate and politically aware public followed the matter with

secure and rising interest. The Shantung deal violated the spirit of a presently peace resolution; it also outraged the new spirit of nationalism in the middle of China's youth. The decision of Paris on April 30, 1919 caused an explosion in China which came to be recognized as the May Fourth Movement (discussed in Units 27 and 28) which was led through students and intellectuals.

On May 4, a little after noon, in relation to the three thousand students of thirteen institutions assembled at the Tien An Men Square. From there they began to march, despite warnings from local police, to the Legation Quarter. Guards refused their admission into the Quarter, students then turned towards another direction. Their slogan was, "To the home of the traitor". They recognized the "traitors" as Premier Tan Chi-jui and his corrupt and unprincipled associates. They attacked the residences of several of them. They set fire to one of their homes and mercilessly beat up another. A third one who had fled to the safety of the Legation Quarter submitted his resignation that very day.

This event acted as the catalyst for a nation-wide movement of protest that had been extensive in the creation. Immediately after several students began to organize demonstrations, strikes, business stoppages, and an anti-Japanese boycott movement. In this the merchants, business people and lower middle class sections of Chinese society supported them. They demanded jointly that the Chinese delegation at Paris be instructed not to sign the peace treaty. The government banned the parades, speeches and dissemination of literature but it could not prevent the upsurge. On June 3, a new huge demonstration took place in Peking, when a thousand students were arrested. On June 5, the students demanded the dismissal of three officials, alleged to be pro-Japanese. The day after that all arrested students were released. The regime also dismissed the three offending officials and on June 12, the whole cabinet resigned.

As the day for signing the peace treaty at Paris drew nearer, the Chinese delegation was without any precise or clear instructions. The conference rejected its proposal to sign it with reservations. Finally, when the Treaty of Versailles was signed on June 28, the Chinese delegation, still without any official directive, stayed absent. It was only on July 10, after the

Chinese government had assessed world sympathy for China's location and the strength of domestic resentment did it issue orders to its delegation not to sign the treaty.

The turbulent events of June, 1919 gave birth to a number of organizations all in excess of China with Peking University providing much of the inspiration. A Chinese Students' Union was recognized in mid-June at Shanghai. Another group was the New Youth Society with members of the Peking academic society. The spirit of nationalism that was prominent since the early years of the century received a strong impetus with the May Fourth Movement. Hence, to this movement is attributed the emergence of contemporary Chinese nationalism.

Nationalism since the May Fourth Movement constituted a break with old approach foreignism centered on —sea-devils‡ and the —hairy-ones‡. Now was the beginning of a new impulse i.e. contemporary nationalism—from anti-foreigner to anti-imperialism. In mainly of the Asian countries there were voices for the abandonment through Europe and America of discrimination against the —non-white‡ people and acceptance of the principle of equality of nations and equal treatment for their nationals.

Warlordism and Threat to China's Unity

After Yuan Shi Kai's death instability and political disunity marked the Chinese scene. For quite a few years South China had a separate government. Efforts to unite the government at Peking with that in the south failed. Several warlord factions dominated the Peking government at dissimilar times. Some other provinces and also parts of provinces were under the manage of warlords off and on. This internal strife seriously jeopardized the unity of China. Interestingly, all those who mattered in politics including the militarists always supported the unification of China although none was willing to provide up his personal power to achieve the purpose. Regionalism and provincialism became obstacles to Chinese nationalism. For instance, one warlord governor even raised the slogan —Kwantung for the Kwantungese. ‡ But the currents of nationalism.

Spill-in excess of effects of Chinese Nationalism

The May Fourth incident became the May Fourth Movement, for out of shame, anger and disgust came the motive force and potential for revolution. The movement was a catalyst that united big-level organization - students, labour, merchants, and guilds. In that sense it reflected the integrity of the nation. It brought New Culture to all Chinese intellectuals, and it also promoted revulsion of the West. World War I and its aftermath had made it clear that China no longer had to feel culturally inferior. If a war fought loudly for moral principles was to have an immoral resolution, then the West could explain its own sickness, when it could spare time for diagnosing China's ills. Authors like Liang Chi, through their writings built up China's ancient pride. This was yet another assertion of Chinese nationalism.

In addition, to this renewed sense of pride in their —Chineseness— there were more immediate reasons for turning from the West. Through a coincidence of history the resurgent Chinese revolution was to come into get in touch with the new Russian Revolution. Although Western officials in China had been sympathetic to the May Fourth Movement in some compliments, Western businessmen regarded it as an off-shoot of the new radical Bolshevism. In 1919 the authorities in the International resolution expelled the movement from their region. This action through those who preached democracy and claimed to be the champions of it, further aroused suspicion in Chinese minds and brought them closer to the Soviets. In March 1919, the Soviets had renounced Russian rights and privileges in China. It created a very favorable attitude in the middle of the Chinese towards the new Soviet State. In the beginning several Chinese intellectuals were not interested in Bolshevik theory but they whispered that in communism the Russians had come upon a weapon whereby to combat militarism and imperialism. In Marxism- Leninism, so, some Chinese eventually saw their nationalist aspirations as fulfilled.

From France came not only returning students with the utopian romantic revolution and the rights of man, but also the tens of thousands of labour volunteers who had served in the war. These were not from working

class background but students from not too well to do families. The racial discrimination, language difficulties, harsh treatment, and poor pay they had experienced in France had taught them the value of uniting and organizing. The New Culture Movement itself fell separately but the nationalism it generated strengthened through the day.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

- Discuss the reasons for political instability in China during 1911-1916 period.
- Discuss the factors that contributed in the formation of the Warlord armies.
- Discuss the importance of the slogan "Mr. Science and Mr. Democracy".
- Discuss the attitude of Hu-shih towards political power.
- Discuss the role of merchant class in politics.
- Discuss the urbanization that took place in China.
- How the spirit of modern nationalism emerged in China?

CHAPTER 8

Communist Movement in China 1921-49

STRUCTURE

- Learning objectives
- Formation of the communist party of china (CPC)
- United front
- Kiangsi soviet experience
- CCP and the war with Japan
- The Chinese revolution
- Review questions

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this chapter, you should be able to:

- know about the early ideas of the CPC.
- Know why the idea of United Front was mooted in China.
- Understand the factors that led to the formation of the United Front.
- Understand the policies adopted by Kiangsi Soviet and how these policies were different from those of the Kuomintang.
- Know the strategy adopted by the Communist Party of China (CPC) to lead a countrywide peasant movement.
- Know about the incidents related with the Long March of the Communists.
- Understand the resistance offered by the Communists to Japanese aggression.
- Identify the political forces active in China after the Second World War.
- Learn about the civil war in India.

FORMATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA (CPC)

The Birth of Marxism in China

Marxism did not grow overnight in China. The Chinese intelligentsia traveled a extensive method of intense debate in excess of the issues of nationalism, liberalism, democracy, and the' superior interests of the Chinese working people, before intellectual action and political practice began to be shaped through Marxism. It was only after intense thrash about that the Chinese Marxists were able to set up an inseparable link flanked by their own goals of a Socialist future and the movements of the working people in China.

In 1921 since approximately 90 per cent of China's population was illiterate, the new thoughts that had begun to take root in Chinese society in information had a very narrow social base. The workers and peasants had no access to them. The first revolutionaries were, so, from the more privileged middle classes. In earlier Units we have seen how a diversity of factors had contributed to the growth of nationalist and anti-imperialist sentiments in China.

As part of nationalism there also appeared a scathing critique of the existing religious, social and political system, which was seen as backward and an obstacle to the growth of a contemporary, liberated China. The blueprint or model for these critiques was the Western democracies which were seen as contemporary and powerful, and embodiments of the achievements of science and culture.

The workers and peasants had their own grievances, born out of the terrible circumstances of their lives. Their own experience of struggles was teaching them new things. On the one hand the Chinese intellectuals were creation an effort to educate them politically. On the other hand the movements of the workers and peasants were opening up new perspectives of thrash about for the Chinese intelligentsia. It was a two method procedure that was very crucial, because it bridged the gap flanked by the political struggles of the Chinese intelligentsia and professional sections for democracy, new

culture, science, and a free China, and the thrash about of the working people which was beginning to threaten the vested interests in the society. This represented, in information, the coalescence of the goals of national liberation and social emancipation. In this procedure both were transformed into social forces capable of higher shapes of political action. This led to the projection of socialism as an ideal model for the organization of society.

The new consciousness, which came from this linkage flanked by the progressive, thoughts emerging in the Chinese society of the 1920s and the struggles of the working people, was given an organizational form with the formation of the CPC in 1921. The formation of the CPC was a reflection of this new consciousness. It became the foundation for the emergence of a left stream within the Chinese revolutionary movement. The left was committed to the overthrow of the whole system and the structure of Socialism as its superior goal.

The International Context

The international context, in which the Chinese revolutionary movement urbanized, contributed to the spread and acceptance of Marxist thoughts in China. Discontent that arose from the colonization of Chinese economy had taken several shapes at dissimilar intervals of time. In all such civilizations which sought to overcome their backwardness vis-à-vis the more advanced West, for instance, India, Russia, and later Latin America and the African countries—there was an intense intellectual debate. This was in excess of whether to catch up with the West through rejecting the backward characteristics or through fighting the West which was oppressing them. The West, could be therefore seen as corrupt through a renewal of the best characteristics of their own civilizations. In China too, the debate revolved approximately these two themes. The Marxists in China stood for fighting Western and Japanese imperialism through structure a new contemporary China. They therefore synthesized and accepted what was in the interest of the big sections of the Chinese people from both arguments.

Two international growths contributed to the receptiveness of their arguments in China.

- The Shantung Resolution at the Paris Peace Conference through which Germany's rights and privileges in excess of Shantung were transferred to Japan instead of being restored to China, created a huge disillusionment in China with the West. The 'democracy' of the West began to sound hollow and false. This sentiment clearly took a turn against Western imperialism. Lenin's theory of Imperialism and Revolution seemed valid to the Chinese intelligentsia.
- The success of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia equally attracted the attention of the Chinese intelligentsia. Russia became a prime and concrete instance of a backward country overthrowing their old system as well as defeating Western imperialism. Marxism showed itself successful as a practical guide to political action and provided the Chinese intelligentsia with a philosophy through which it became possible to reject —both the traditions of the Chinese past and the Western power of the present. Marxism, henceforth, became a powerful current in the Chinese national liberation movement.

On July 15, 1919 came the declaration of the new Bolshevik government addressed to the Chinese people and to the government of China, (North and South) through which it gave up all the privileges and interests enjoyed through the old Russian Tsarist government in China without any compensation. This was in striking contrast to the Shantung declaration and the Twenty-one Demands.

In China, as in India and other colonized countries, there, therefore, appeared a sentiment of support for Soviet Russia as opposed to Western Imperialism, and the recognition of an identity of interests flanked by national liberation movements in the East and the Socialist struggles of the West. This

was precisely what Lenin and the Chinese Marxists like Chen Tu-siu had been advocating.

The Political Climate

The May 4th movement of 1919 was an significant landmark in the transformation of the political climate in China in the direction of Marxism. Chen Tu-Hsiu and Li- Chao, the founders of the CPC, were also leaders of the May 4th movement. For in relation to the fifty years the leadership of CPC came from the May 4th generation, mainly notable in the middle of them being Chou en-lai and Mao Tse-tung. A very big number of the rank and file membership also had their first revolutionary political experience in this movement.

Anti-Confucianism, the spread of new education, the tremendous growth of the press and literature in the language of the people, publishing homes, medicine and the modern courts played a important role in becoming the vehicles of contemporary thoughts during the May 4th movement. But it was its fundamental critique of all that was oppressive in the Chinese social system, as well as its positive espousal of science, democracy and anti-imperialism that was totally appropriated through the Marxists in China. This whole heritage was combined with the thoughts of socialism to provide the working people a stake in the movements for these new thoughts. Some translations of the Marxists texts, such as the Communist Manifesto, Engels' Origin of Family, Private Property and State, and Socialism, Utopian and Scientific had already been made prior to 1919. Those who knew either Japanese or some Western language had read much more and there was a vague sympathy for socialism in some intellectual Circles. But it was the incorporation of the reactions to the Western post-war settlements and the Russian Revolution that the May 4th movement itself assumed a direction from which the Marxists could take off and spread their thoughts rapidly in 1919 and 1920.

The secure and active association of the intelligentsia with the workers throughout the May 4th Movement had also contributed to the spread of Marxist power. A number of revise civilizations devoted to the revise of socialism were shaped in the Peking university. New magazines, greatly influenced through the Russian revolution and the Bolshevik critique of imperialism, appeared on the scene. China's first common strike took lay in 1919 throughout the course of the May 4th Movement. In the whole strike wave of the 1919-21 the intelligentsia participated beside with the workers. In May 1920, the New Youth, the leading magazine of the left wing intellectuals devoted an whole issue to the discussion of labour troubles. The May Day celebrations were attended through professors, students and workers. The after that step was to provide this interaction an organizational form. This happened with the formation of the CPC in 1921.

The Social and Political Milieu

The social milieu within which Marxism appeared was the terrible livelihood circumstances that prevailed in the middle of the working people from one end of China to another. In the countryside, poverty, abuse, and early death were the only prospects for half a billion people. It was a society in which people were forced to:

- Sell their children,
- Eat grass and bark in bad times, and
- Pay rent and taxes distant beyond their means.

All this went on while a tiny elite existed a luxurious life. The rapid commercialization of parts of rural China and monetization (emergence of market and money economy) integrated the rural economy into the world capitalist economy. But, it also led to an intensification of the oppression of the peasantry. The grain merchants, moneylenders and administrative officials all came from in the middle of the landlords and dominated the whole rural economy.

A Chinese peasant's subsistence in the early 20th century was distant more precarious than in the eighteenth century as all studies on rural China illustrate. The peasant's average of livelihood declined throughout the contemporary era. Population growth put greater pressure on the land. The fall in grain prices and the rising concentration of land ownership was turning more peasants into rural wage workers, while widespread unemployment was leading to a fall in wages. For the peasant, ravaged through poverty, oppression and wars, there was no method out of the rural crisis except a radical transformation of the existing social order.

The agrarian question or the peasant-land question became an significant social issue in the 1920s. There were rising attacks on landlordism. The upheavals of the early 20th century had begun to undermine the landlord's dominant location. Rural China was becoming an increasingly fertile ground for the growth of revolutionary upheavals. It was the task of the left intelligentsia to integrate the rural revolutionaries into their scheme of revolution. Moreover, the peasantry constituted numerically the major portion of Chinese society. Hence, it was apparent that without a transformation in the lives and consciousness of the peasantry there could be no contemporary development in China. In 1921, though, the political horizon of the peasantry was still very limited. On the other hand, the CPC was also yet to realize the full potential of the peasant upheavals. This it did only after 1925. From then on the communist movement in China drew its major strength from peasants.

The working class, though numerically a very small force in China, became politicized because the big industrial regions where it was concentrated were also the main political centers of China. Its experience, of thrash about for higher wages and other demands related to its daily life also brought house to it the identity of interests flanked by the political authorities and the factory owners. The working class was, so, brought into direct disagreement with the political power.

Their strikes were met with brute force through the police which was the direct arm of the state. A major part of the workers was employed in foreign factories. This brought them into direct opposition to the forces of Imperialism. So, the complexities of the nationalist thrash about against Imperialism and the thrash about for social emancipation of the working people from the Chinese ruling classes were confronted through them even in the early stages of the labour movement in China. The construction of big factories in the early stage of industrialization itself led to a concentration of big numbers of workers in one factory in opposition to a factory owner. This made it possible for the workers to share grievances, have solidarity and led to the emergence of class consciousness at an early stage.

The political milieu in the urban regions, created through the May 4th Movement, the growth of the press, public meetings, the expansion with all this of the audience for new culture thoughts and literature, and above all participation in the events of 1919- 1921 were of immense significance in opening for the workers a whole new world. In May 1919 the Peking teachers, with their salaries unpaid for months and hard hit through prices, went on strike beside with the workers. In 1920 the workers widely participated in the anti-Japanese boycott. There were through 1921, 28,000 literate workers who returned from France after the war. They helped to radicalize the May 4th Movement. The Communist groups and these workers establish themselves as natural allies in the given situation. This alliance culminated in the formation of CPC, a working class party, in China.

The Communist Party: 1921

The revise groups shaped throughout the May 4th Movement were the first attempts to spread Marxist thoughts on an organized foundation in the middle of the Chinese intellectuals. From the summer of 1920 Communist political organizations began to be set up in dissimilar parts of China, the first being establish in Shanghai, Chen Tu-hsih had founded the Shanghai group

and he brought out its official organ, New Youth. It recognized contacts with the Communist International and Gregor Voitinsky, a Russian communist, came as the envoy to China. In April 1921, a Chinese Comintern office was opened in Irkutsk.

In autumn 1920 Communist groups were shaped under the leadership of Li Ta-Chao in Peking and soon they were shaped in other municipalities. From August 1920 the Shanghai group published a weekly described The World of Labour and through January 1921, twenty-three issues had been brought out. From Peking, Li Ta-Chao brought out. The Voice of Laborer and in Canton the group published The workers, and Women at Work. All these papers featured discussions on Marxist theory and troubles of the Chinese working class. Chou-en-lai and Mao Tse Tung organized revise groups in Hunan. A number of Chinese communists were also active in France. All these behaviors helped to bring approximately the communists more and more intellectuals, and students.

A meeting of these groups took place in July 1921 at a girls' boarding school in Shanghai, in hiding from the police. The police, though, got wind of it and the venue was shifted on board a pleasure boat at the tourist centre in Chekiang. This came to be recognized as the First Congress of the CPC.

Twelve delegates were present, on behalf of 57 members of seven dissimilar groups. There, was also a delegate from the Communist International. Here it was decided to form the CPC. Chen Tu-hsun and Li Ta-Chao, who could not create it to the Congress because of strict police repression of communist groups, were declared the co-founders of the party. Chen Tu-hsun was the first Secretary-common of the Party.

Therefore, the international growths, a rising workers movement, the rising radicalization of the political milieu and the development of the thought of a revolution and a revolutionary party to lead it culminated in the formation

of the CPC. This introduced a totally new element in the political scenario of China.

UNITED FRONT

Formation of the United Front

The formation of the United Front in China came in relation to the at the initiative of the Communist International (the international organization of all the Communist Parties of the World led through the Communist Party of the Soviet Union), the CPC and the Kuomintang. The reasons for its formation were partly ideological and had partly to do with practical thoughts. The post-World War I years saw:

- A lot of sympathy generated for Soviet Russia in China,
- A radicalization of the Chinese intelligentsia, and
- The emergence of Marxism and workers, and peasants, movements.

There Was an overall disillusionment with the Western powers. The Communists of USSR had taken the initiative to renounce all privileges and claims to territories, and also in excess of the Manchurian railway in China which the previous Tsarist government controlled. It was natural, so, that the major political groups in China should set up friendly ties with the Soviet Government as well as the Communist Party there.

The Kuomintang also, so, separately from the CPC, had direct and friendly ties with the Soviet Union. On the other hand, it was a firm opinion of the Soviet Government, the CPSU, and the: Communist International that not only the CPC but also the Kuomintang in China was a progressive and revolutionary political formation. This understanding was based on the analysis that all the political and social forces in colonial and semi- colonial countries that were struggling for national liberation had a positive role to play in world politics. They measured all political groups which were against

imperialism to be playing an significant role in the worldwide thrash about against a general enemy of the newly appeared socialist country Russia. These groups incorporated the workers and communist movements in the rest of Europe, as well as of the colonial and semi-colonial countries like India and China. So, there was a strong case, in the opinion of the Soviets and the Communist International, that they should collaborate as and when they could against the general enemy.

The Communist International, which based itself on the thoughts of Marxism, also had a stake in promoting revolutions in other countries, as these revolutions would necessarily symbolize the interests of big sections of the people (in China or India) in opposition to those of the vested interests there. In China they saw that not only the workers and the peasants, but also the bourgeoisie and the middle classes were opposed to warlordism. This opposition to warlordism was there because the warlords were the mainstay of feudalism in China. The social and political hold of the warlords not only represented the interests of the landlords as opposed to the peasants, it also hampered the development of capitalism and modernization in China. Since the class interests of the bourgeoisie lay in the development of a contemporary China, they were opposed to the warlords. Their interests were represented through the Kuomintang which struggled against warlordism. The interests of the Chinese bourgeoisie also lay in opposing imperialism, because imperialism too was an obstacle to the growth of advanced capitalism in China. The Western powers siphoned off all the profits and the Chinese bourgeoisie could not compete with them. So, the Kuomintang opposed the Western powers.

The Communist International also realized this to be the situation and recognized friendly dealings with the Kuomintang, separately from the CPC. This friendly collaboration with both, the Kuomintang and the CPC, enabled the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) to act as an intermediary in initiating the formation of the United Front of the CPC and the Kuomintang.

The CPC

There were some differences within the CPC in excess of the formation of United Front. Though, the emphasis on the world politics as well of the social and political force: in China was through and big accepted through the CPC. The Communist movement had, in information, appeared in China in the context of the growth of nationalism and the movement for democracy, National liberation was, so, a primary goal of the CPC. The leaders of the CPC realized that there could be no democracy and no improvement in the lives of the people without first freeing China from the strangle hold of the imperialist powers. Moreover, at times there was a political understanding flanked by these powers and the warlords. So national liberation was inseparable from a thrash about for social emancipation in China.

The CPC saw that Kuomintang was opposed to both—Imperialism and warlordism. Its leaders also realized that the Kuomintang in 1924 was a much stronger force in China than the CPC was. It had:

- A much superior mass base and support in the middle of the Chinese people,
- More intellectuals and professionals as members,
- More power within the armed forces, and
- Greater finances and military equipment at its disposal.

It could, so, be a useful ally in a thrash about against the general enemy, even if it did not symbolize the everyday demands of the workers and peasants. The CPC leaders had moreover a good opinion of Dr. Sun Yat Sen, the Kuomintang leader. In the context of the immediate political tasks before them, they agreed that there was greater scope for collaboration than differences. They also felt that this collaboration need not mean that the CPC confine its behaviors to the general tasks. So, they decided on the United Front with the express understanding that the CPC would continue with its self-governing demands even as they fought jointly with the Kuomintang for

national liberation and against the warlords. The United Front was, so, the only method to unite big sections of the Chinese people in order to isolate the enemies.

The Kuomintang

The experiment with republicanism in the decade after the 1911 Revolution brought neither economic nor political stability in China. The political ineffectiveness of the Republican government made Sun Yat Sen think in conditions of evolving new methods of fighting the imperialists and the warlords. The rising tide of the left and the workers' movement added new diversions to the thrash about for national liberation. It meant that the nationalist forces could be enlarged in their social base to contain the workers and peasants of China. Sun Yat Sen's own effectiveness coupled with the rising Communist movement and its power in the workers' movement made him realize two things:

- It was imperative that the Kuomintang should be reorganized.
- It was no longer possible to fight the imperialists and warlords alone.

The answer to him seemed to be a reorganized Kuomintang which should incorporate within itself the support of all sections of Chinese people. This could only be achieved through a United Front with the Communists, and the friendly help of the Soviet Russia.

Negotiations

In the spring of 1921, the Dutch agent H. Maring, as representative of the Communist International, met Sun Yat Sen. This proved to be the starting point of the negotiations for the United Front. After that, the problem was measured at a Congress of the Communist Parties in Moscow in January 1922, and then through the Central Committee of the CPC in August 1922. In the similar month another representative from the International, Adolf Joffe, came

to China to work out the foundation of Soviet-Kuomintang CPC co-operation. After lengthy negotiations he persuaded Sun Yat Sen to adopt a policy of alliance with Soviet Russia and admission of the communists into the Kuomintang. This policy, approved through fifty- three nationalist leaders at a conference in Shanghai on September 4, 1922, became the blueprint for the United Front policy as well as for the reorganization of the Kuomintang. On the other hand the Third National Congress of the CPC (held in Canton in June 1923) took a formal decision to form a United Front with the Kuomintang.

In June 1924 the Kuomintang held its First National Congress in Canton. Li Ta- chao, Mao Tse-Tung and other Communist leaders also attended the meeting. This Congress passed a resolution to admit members of the Communist Party in their individual capability into the Kuomintang. A new party programme and constitution were adopted. It also decided on some concrete events concerning the reorganization of the Kuomintang. The Manifesto of the First National Congress of the Kuomintang in China was adopted here. Sun Yat Sen gave a new interpretation to his Three Principles in the Manifesto. The Congress declared its three policies to be:

- Friendly dealings with the Soviet Union,
- The development of the workers and peasants movements in China, and
- Co-operation with the Communist Party of China.

Hence, the United Front for national liberation and democracy came into being in this First National Congress of the Kuomintang in 1924. Maring had played an significant role throughout the negotiations from 1921 to 1924.

Nature of the United Front

The first and mainly significant characteristic of the United Front policy was the emergence of the Kuomintang as a revolutionary organization capable of leading the thrash about for national liberation and against

Warlordism in China. The entry of the Communists into Kuomintang meant that the capabilities and experience of a great number of very dedicated revolutionaries was harnessed in the nationalist thrash about. In the middle of the five members elected to the Presidium of the KMT was also Li Ta-Chao, a Communist. In the middle of the 24 members elected to the Central Committee there were 5 leftists and 3 communists. Although not in a majority, the leftists and communists were more influential in creation policy decisions. As a result there appeared a strong left wing within the Kuomintang. This meant that the Kuomintang as a whole became distant more radical in its politics and support to the workers and peasants movement than it had ever been in the years prior to 1924.

The new interpretation given to the Three principles also suggests the similar:

- Nationalism now had a much stronger anti-imperialist content which laid emphasis on an self-governing thrash about and also advocated full equality for all the nationalists within China.
- The new principle of Democracy stressed on the democratic rights of not only the privileged and the educated, but of all the working people as well as of all the individuals and organizations that opposed feudalism and imperialism. In practice this entailed the right to free speech, to organize and thrash about for a better livelihood.
- In relation to livelihood for all, it incorporated anti-feudal demands such as —equalization of landownership^l, —land to the tillers^l, —manage of capitall^{ll} and improvement of the livelihood circumstances of the workers. This in practice meant opposing the manage of national wealth through a small part of capitalists and landlords.

The United Front led through Kuomintang described for a coalition of the national bourgeoisie and the workers and peasants to work towards the establishment of a democratic coalition government. This, in information, was carrying out precisely the immediate tasks underlined in the CPC programme.

This also meant that the mainly radical programme put forward through any political grouping in China was being implemented within the framework of the United Front policies.

Achievements and Successes

The first success for the United Front policy came even as the negotiations were going on. Supported through the Communist Party, Sun Yat Sen shaped a revolutionary government: in Kwantung in March 1923. The Soviets sent Michael Borodin, an expert diplomat, to help re-organize the KMT and Gen. Galen to help train the army. Beside with them came 40 other advisers. In August 1923, Chiang Kai Shek, a young common, was sent to the Soviet Union to revise the Soviet military system. With the help of the Soviets Sun Yat Sen was also able to set up the Whampoa Military Academy close to Canton. The structure of the nationalist army was a important attainment because it enabled the first major victory against the armies of some warlords. The manage in excess of the Canton base was complete through 1925. The Nationalist government was moved to Wuhan in October 1926 and the KMT troops began a military campaign for the unification of China. This came to be recognized as the Northern Expedition. Within a short span of time the KMT gained manage in excess of half of China. As a result the region of manage through the revolutionary forces rapidly expanded throughout the era of the United Front. The two parties were also able to offer a stiff united resistance to imperialism—particularly that of Japan and Britain.

Another significant characteristic of the United Front was its crucial role in promoting the development of popular movements throughout 1925-26. The May Thirteenth Movement of 1925 particularly led to a series of strikes, boycotts and anti-imperialist demonstrations throughout China. It was precipitated through an incident which led to the killing of ten demonstrators through the police of Shanghai's International Resolution. The workers played a leading role in this movement. According to some scholars, this movement

so radicalized Chinese political life that it can be said to have worked the beginning of a truly revolutionary era. The British business was paralyzed throughout this movement due to the actions of the working class. The KMT government, which controlled the region, backed the striking workers and provided them with funds. The student associations, the Shanghai Chamber of Commerce, associations of street merchants (who represented small business) and the Common Union of Shanghai answered the call of the Communists to come out in protest.

This wide spectrum reflected the political nature of the United Front and the success of the United Front strategy. The merchants and commercial interests which backed the movement financially benefited from stoppage of work in the foreign factories because they were in competition with them.

Separately from Shanghai, there were strikes of solidarity in all the regions controlled through the warlords. There were attacks against foreign companies, boycotts of foreign goods and political agitations. The unity of dissimilar sections of Chinese people was expressed in these regions in the similar manner as in Shanghai.

Mass Movements and the CPC

The advance of the revolutionary movement also led to a reawakening in the middle of the workers. The new Canton government officially supported the workers' struggles. A number of new labour unions came into being. There were mass strikes in big municipalities; political demands became general; Peasant unions too grew in number— particularly in the territories controlled through the Canton government in Hunan, eastern Kwantung and Western Kiangsi. Separately from an economic thrash about against property owners for lower rents, peasants also exerted manage in excess of sharing of grain, refused to pay taxes and challenged the social and political power of the landlords. Armed militias were also organized. The KMT sponsored a Peasant

Movement Training Institute where Mao Tse Tung was the teacher. More than a million members were represented at the First National Congress of the Peasant Movement, held in 1926. The North, which constituted the heartland of the warlords, also saw an advance in the peasant movement. Through June 1927 there was altogether in relation to the members of peasant associations throughout the country.

Since the Communists were the mainly active ones in organizing these popular movements, the era flanked by 1921-27 also saw a tremendous growth in the membership and political strength of the CPC. As a result of the May Thirteenth Movement of 1925 the membership increased tenfold in six months. It became in November 1925, whereas in the early part of the year it had been only 1,000. Through July 1926 the membership grew to 30,000 and through early 1927 to 58,000. The composition of the Young Communist League also changed. Before 1925, 90 per cent of the members had been students. But through November 1926 only 35 percent were students, the superior majority being of workers. The CPCs capability to mobilize masses also increased tremendously. When Chiang Kai Shek's Revolutionary Army launched its offensive it was the CPC which organized 1,200,000 workers and 800,000 peasants to give a solid popular base and political strength to the military offensive.

Following the pattern of the Soviet Red Army, the CPC introduced a system of political work in the Revolutionary Army. This was an significant factor in the ultimate success of the expedition. The Army in its Northern Expedition was actively supported through the workers and peasants all beside its route. When the Army set out, the workers who had taken part in the Canton-Mengkang strike organized transport, propaganda and medical units. This involved a march of thousands of people beside with the army. In Hunan and Hupei too, the workers and peasants gave considerable support in creation possible the manage of these provinces.

The highest point of the revolutionary development throughout the United Front was achieved in the heroic working class uprising in Shanghai. The third in a series of worker uprisings, it began with a call for a common strike on March 21, 1927 under the leadership of the CPC. Through the after that day the municipality was in the hands of the revolutionaries even before Common Chiang Kai Shek's army entered the municipality or fired a single shot. The workers had stopped the trains, cut the water and power supply, occupied the Police Headquarters, the telephone and the telegraph homes. With the support of the whole working people the major commercial and industrial municipality in China was brought to a stand-still. The CPC held a mass rally of Shanghai citizens to elect officials of the Shanghai People's Government. Finally, Nanking was liberated on March 24, 1927.

Break and Repression

This highest point of the revolutionary movement within the framework of the United Front also resulted in a break of the Front on March 24, 1927 itself. The British, U.S, Japanese and French warships shelled Nanking killing and wounding soldiers and civilians. This incident signaled the beginning of a big-level and determined intervention of the imperialist countries to crush the Chinese revolution. On the other hand as the popular movements urbanized, there had already appeared a Right reactionary wing within the Kuomintang opposed to these movements. Sun Yat Sen had died in 1925. After his death Chiang Kai Shek appeared as the mainly significant KMT leader. Since he was also the Commander-in-Chief of the army, his political location assumed great significance. He decided to throw in his lot with those opposed to the popular movements and provided leadership to the Right wing. On April 12, 1927 he unleashed unprecedented repression in China, with a surprise attack on the Shanghai trade unions. The weapons of the workers were seized and they were slaughtered through the thousands. This was followed through similar brutalities in other regions. Strikes were banned and peasant associations liquidated, Communists were hunted down,

the Soviet embassy at Peking was attacked and Soviet advisers expelled. On July 15, 1927 the KMT announced the formal expulsion of the Communists from the KMT. The Communists were forced to go into hiding faced with brutal force. The disarmed revolutionary force could not counter this onslaught. Once again a political and economic nexus was recognized in the middle of the imperialist forces and the feudal and capitalist sections of China. This nexus represented through a —Right Wing‖ within the KMT, proved too strong for the CPC. .

Reasons for the Break

The reasons for the break in the United Front and the defeat of the revolutionary forces at this stage lay in the experiences of and political competition within the front. The KMT, which represented one stream of the United Front had within its ranks not only the small bourgeoisie (lower middle and middle classes), but also sections of the landlords, urban merchants and financiers, who were opposed to the radical programme outlined through the revolutionary forces. This programme implied a change in the existing social order. In information, the partial success of the United Front itself brought to surface the underlying conflicts in the middle of the disparate elements that the programme of national unification had temporarily brought jointly.

One necessity understands that the United Front was not a static coalition. Its dissimilar elements pulled in dissimilar directions on social issues, even as they came jointly against warlordism and imperialism. In this first United Front the left and communist elements were strong and rising but not strong enough to ensure a radical social transformation. For the landlords and the industrialists the workers and peasants were a better threat than the imperialists who did not threaten their privileges. So, as the workers and peasants movements grew in intensity, in the similar proportion the right wing which represented the privileged sections is China was driven into the arms of

the imperialists and the warlords in opposition to the CPC and the workers and peasants.

The big municipalities, which were the principle base of the revolutionary movement, were also the principal base of the system of unequal treaties. The opposition to the revolution was also very strong in the municipalities. The armed forces and the social forces which gave support to Chiang Kai Shek were also concentrated here. The very success of the workers' strikes establishes the Chinese bourgeoisie questioning the alliances they had made in 1924. This was because the nationalist movement, following the 1924 programme, openly attacked the pillars of the social and political system on which the foreign power rested.

A decisive issue leading to the break was also the agrarian question. The thrash about against feudalism in the countryside was a bitter class thrashes about. The landlords were quick to attack the peasant movement and sections of the Officer Corps of the KMT who came from the similar social class soon joined them. They came out openly against agrarian reform. Laws were promulgated restricting the rights of workers and peasants to protest or form associations. The KMT no longer stood for political democracy either. Having made use of the potential strength of the working peoples' movements and the CPC's links with them, the KMT was now in a politically strong location. It had substantial regions under its manage and links with the Western powers self-governing of the warlords. It saw itself in a location of achieving its aims without the CPC and the workers and peasants of China. The direction it wanted to provide to the future course of events did not characteristic a transformation of the social order.

With the attack on democratic forces through the KMT the first United Front came to an end. The Chinese revolution received a major setback, but the experience of the thrash about was valuable. Several political lessons were learnt through the CPC. The reasons for failure were thoroughly debated and analyzed. In information, the failure itself set into motion a procedure for

reorganization of the revolutionary forces as well as the formation of a new strategy for revolution.

KIANGSI SOVIET EXPERIENCE

The Background

The market in the East, particularly in China which was not under the manage of any one foreign power, led to the intensification of conflicts in the middle of the dissimilar powers after 1927. Chinese warlords and the KMT inevitably became involved in these conflicts. Flanked by August 1927 and 1930, six major civil wars were fought. Ching Kai Shek finally appeared as the victor because of his superior military strength and the support of the U.S.

But these political forces which were compromising the natural interests of China were totally in accessible from the people. The contradictions flanked by their rule and the interests of the Chinese people were daily becoming sharper. The realignment of political and social forces which the United Front had brought in relation to the was assuming a new polarization reflected in the acute political disagreement flanked by the KMT and CPC, flanked by the workers and peasants led through the CPC and the forces of imperialism. The communists themselves, hunted down, prosecuted, and as an organization forced to go underground, were in physical conditions cut off from the working class and the municipalities. They were pushed into seeking shelter in the remote and hilly countryside. It is against this background that the CPC recouped its strength, made changes in its methods of thrash about and subsequently recognized the Kiangsi Soviet —redll base.

Development of a New Strategy through the CPC

It has been suggested that after the defeat of the working class uprisings in Shanghai and Canton in 1927, and with the break up of the United

Front, the CPC decided that the work in the middle of the peasants had proved to be the mainly fruitful. Basing themselves on the successes of Hunan and Kwantung the CPC adopted the new strategy of —peasant revolution. It thought that:

- The revolution in China, unlike Russia, would proceed from the countryside to the
- Municipalities and not vice versa.
- That the CPC, unlike other communist parties, would be a peasant party rather than a proletarian one, and
- Peasant nationalism would be the foundation for national liberation and social transformation in China.

In short, the new strategy was one in keeping with the peasantry as the leading social force for revolution in China. Related to this is the argument that the United Front was the —Moscow rowl (because it was at the advice of Soviet leadership and CPSU) and that the new row represented a break with the —Moscow rowl. It was a specific —China Pathl to revolution. Mao Tse Tung's writings on peasantry, particularly his _Statement on the Peasant Movement in Hunan', written through him in 1926, is cited as the foundation of this new policy.

Though, the situation was not so easy. Firstly, every new revolutionary thrash about cannot be a replica of an earlier one and neither the Chinese Communists before 1927 nor the CPSU thought so. Besides, there was no clearly demarcated —Moscow rowl or the —the Chinese pathl. The questions that the Chinese communists debated were also the questions that the Russian communists had debated throughout their thrash about. Some of these questions were based on themes such as the:

- Impact of the international situation and the role and lay of their country in the international set up,
- Class character of the state in their countries,

- Correlation and balance of dissimilar social and political forces in the country,
- Backwardness of their civilizations in relation to Western Europe,
- Consequences of this backwardness for their revolutionary movement in its several stages, and
- The peasant worker alliance being a crucial aspect of their discussion.

When the Chinese communists (or even the CPSU) discussed their programme for revolutionary change in China they noted the differences and similarities with the Russian experience—presently as the Russian communists in creation their revolution earlier had noted the differences and similarities flanked by Russia and the West European countries. Or presently as students of capitalist development in Germany noted the differences and similarities flanked by economic development in England and Germany. Presently as England was the classical model for learning capitalist development, in the similar method Soviet Russia was the first and only country to have made successful socialist revolution. Hence it was a model for all those whose eventual aim was the structure of socialism in their countries.

Even as they noted the common backwardness of their country which resulted in a weak bourgeoisie as in the Russian experience, the Chinese Communists also perceived that they had a vast country like Soviet Union on their face while Russia had been alone, and that while Russia itself before revolution had been an imperialist country, China was a colonized one. These two important factors added new dimensions to their strategy for revolution.

The lessons that the Chinese Communists learnt from their experience of the United Front with the KMT were, though, the mainly crucial factors determining their future course of political action. They realized that even the first, the democratic stage of the revolution, i.e. the thrash about for national unification and democracy, necessity be led through the working class. Mao Tse Tung, in his statement on the Hunan movement talked of the crucial and

absolutely necessary involvement of the peasantry. At the similar time Mao also underlined several social, political, ideological and religious fetters that kept the peasant in ignorance and backwardness. He could also see that the working class, in spite of extreme repression, had easier chances of overcoming its political backwardness because of the greater access in the municipalities to new thoughts and opportunities for organization.

Hence, it is wrong to presume that Mao thought in conditions of only peasantry as the leading force. The Chinese Communists also realised that as distant as their ultimate goal of socialism was concerned, the peasantry could not take a lead in any movement for abolition of private property. It had too much of a stake in hand, and the whole procedure towards collectivizing property will take a much longer time and thrash about than in the case of abolition of private property in industry. This will be because the working class had no claims to property. It had claims only to the full fruits of its labour. So, when the CPC turned its attention to the peasantry it was only correcting its earlier negligence: till the Hunan experiments where the CPC had concentrated only on the working class.

The post-United Front stress on the peasantry was in information based on the recognition, arrived at from the experience of the United Front itself. It was realized:

- That the working class on its own was not strong enough to bring in relation to the democratic revolution, and
- That given the vacillating location of the bourgeoisie a worker-peasant alliance was the only base for democracy and social transformation—much as it had been in Russia.

In information, the anti-feudal tasks in China constituted precisely a thrash about against landlordism and for agrarian reform. Given the co-relation of social and political forces in China, it was only when the peasants were won in excess of as a revolutionary ally that victory could become possible. It was also realized that the revolutionary thrash about had,

henceforth, to be an armed thrash about. The revolutionaries had been defeated in 1927 because they did not have their own armed forces. If the enemy, now comprising not only the old warlords but also the troops of the KMT, had to be beaten, then it was significant that a new peoples' army be created. This could come only from the workers and peasants, but primarily the peasants who constituted numerically the vast majority of China's strength. In information, the dynamics of agrarian reform necessitated a dependence on the peasantry.

Moreover since China was still divided into spheres of power flanked by the dissimilar imperialist powers and the warlords, the thrash about often took on a local character in conditions of geographical regions and separation of the enemies in these regions. Political power could only be exercised in the vicinity and at dissimilar spaces as and when these struggles gamed victories or were defeated. In keeping with the logic of this type of a thrash about, guerilla warfare rather than strike became the principal form of political action.

This resulted in the formation of several —red bases‡, —Soviet bases‡, —liberated regions‡, and —revolutionary bases‡, as they were variously described. The first Red bases were situated in the South, within the borders of two or three provinces in areas that were remote and approximately inaccessible. At first, these bases were merely seen as an expediency, a method of surviving and recouping strength, distant absent from regions of government manage. Subsequently, though, this became a policy that eventually succeeded in bringing the whole of China under the manage of the communists in 1949.

These new methods of thrash about were not agreed upon overnight. They came as a result of systematic analysis of the workers' and peasants' movements throughout the 1924-1927 era, as well as of the reasons for defeat. The communists were forced to create a distant more thorough analysis of

class dealings in the countryside and the municipalities. They also had to learn:

- To distinguish flanked by dissimilar sections of the bourgeoisie,
- Of constituting broader support for their policies,
- Of formulating policies keeping in mind the need for broader support, and so on. They debated thoroughly:
- What form exactly the alliance flanked by the working class and peasantry should take,
- The dissimilar shapes of thrash about to be adopted in the municipalities and the countryside, and
- The relative significance, at dissimilar stages, of the working class and the peasantry.

Their Early Events and Revolutionary Actions

With a depleted army after KMT repression of workers and peasants in 1927, Mao recognized the first revolutionary base region in October 1927 in the Ching Kangshan mountains. The revolutionary army was reorganized into the —First Division of Workers and Peasants. It incorporated some workers who had survived the repression in the municipalities, some young miners and railway men, some local peasants and sections that had deserted the KMT. This was totally a new type of army, dissimilar from the mercenary soldiers who constituted the armies so distant. It was supported through a peasant militia, which helped to retain a link flanked by the soldiers and the civilian population. The principle on which the new army was organized was that civilian population should constitute the backbone, and support of the army. This was to constitute the foundation of the political structure also of the red bases. Much of the work of information, provisions, evacuation and care of the wounded, etc. was taken care of through the local population. The events adopted for land sharing brought the support of peasantry. This experience strengthened the political awareness of the soldiers and the peasants, involved both in social transformation and enlargement of the sphere of power of the

communists, separately from introducing new thoughts and a more advanced vision in the middle of the Chinese people. Moreover, it helped in integrating the armed revolt with the peasant movement. Chu Teh played a important role in bringing this in relation to the.

Four main tasks were seen as crucial for establishing a red base:

- The agrarian revolution,
- Strengthening of the peoples' army,
- The establishment of a workers' and peasants' government, and
- Expansion of the Communist Party.

All this was, to begin With, accomplished in the Ching Kangshan mountains, base. Workers' and peasants' soviets, beside the rows of the Russian model, were shaped. A workers' and peasants' government was elected at a mass meeting, all lands were taken in excess of and totally redistributed,

- An armed force of workers' and peasants' was built up,
- A system of political education devised, and arty organizations shaped.

Therefore a stage of revolutionary retreat was transformed into a era of revolutionary preparedness and attack. Yet the communists were under constant pressure. At the end of the winter of 1928²⁹ revolutionaries were forced to leave the Ching Kangshan mountains. The blockade through the KMT armies created serious problem of food supply, necessitating a retreat from this region. They went beside towards other regions, where the peasant movement was urbanized enough to give them strong social support. Through the summer of 1930 there were in relation to the 15 such bases in Central China. The Chinese government did not discover it easy to intervene against them in these remote regions, distant from the military and financial power of the big powers. The mainly significant of these, the Kiangsi base, became the first Chinese Soviet Republic.

The Kiangsi Soviet Republic

Kiangsi was not chosen as the main region for this type of experiment through accident. The economy of Kiangsi Was chiefly feudal and the armed forces of the landlords were weaker than in any other southern province. It was also comparatively distant absent from imperialist powers, and the peasant uprisings here had been more widespread than elsewhere.

This new Soviet Republic was shaped in November 1931, with Mao Tse Tung as President. It was defined as a —democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry.‡ The fundamental foundation on which it lived was the agrarian revolution.

The agrarian policy in the Kiangsi Soviet was based on the classifications of the peasantry which Mao made in his revise on the Hunan region. His other articles such as —Why is it that Red Political Power Can Exist in China. —The Thrash about in the Chingkang Mountains‡ and —A Single Spark Can Start a Prarie Fire‡ also made an analysis of the Chinese agrarian revolution, its class composition and the strategy to be followed through the CPC in China.

Analyzing the class structure of rural China Mao showed that the landlords were the chief enemies of the revolution as they had a direct stake in the preservation of the feudal system of agriculture and feudal property structure. These were the 10 per cent of the rural families who owned slightly more than half the land, and were approximately the only villagers who did not till the soil.

The peasants could be characterized as rich, middle or poor, separately from the rural workers:

- The rich peasants were those who employed hired labour from outside their family throughout the busy season and had under farming an amount of land greater than the average middle peasant.

- The middle peasants were those who could create ends meet in a normal year with either hiring anyone else or working for anyone else. For peasant families were those who depended on the wages of one or more members for their survival, who had less land of their own than the middle peasants.

The poor peasants were normally heavily in debt, the middle peasants seasonally, and the rich peasants only temporarily and sometimes. These are the distinctions on the foundation of which the communists formulated their agrarian policy throughout the Kiangsi experiment. It is on the foundation of this distinction that they paid more attention to the poor peasants, who were distant more receptive to them, and in information, shaped the backbone of the Chinese Revolution.

The Agrarian law was formulated and approved through the First Congress of the Chinese Soviets in November 1931. It showed a shift from the policies followed throughout the era 1926-28 when Mao had described for an —uncompromising and —thoroughgoing policy of confiscation of the lands of the rich peasants beside with that of the landlords. With the break in the United Front with the KMT, and with sections of the bourgeoisie allied with it, Mao felt that the separation of the communist's necessity be compensated through a policy that would ensure support of a superior part of the peasantry, even as the thrust of the movement would be provided through the poor peasantry. The peasantry as a whole was to play the revolutionary role which the bourgeoisie could not.

The Agrarian law of 1931, so, provided only for the confiscation of the lands belonging to the landlords. This confiscation was without any compensation. The Soviets, which were elected organizations of peasants and soldiers in the region, were to distribute the confiscated lands to the poor and middle peasants.

The land was to be redistributed on the foundation of equal sharing depending on the number of family members and labour in a peasant family. The lands belonging to religious institutions, temples and other organizations were also to be turned in excess of to the peasantry. The rich peasant could be given some land, if he agreed to work on it without hiring labour and did not participate in any action against the revolutionaries. Allowance was to be made for the rich peasants who wanted to buy back their confiscated lands or for middle peasants who wanted to enlarge their holdings. Finally, only if the majority of the peasants accepted it, the new agrarian reform of equal sharing could be implemented.

It was felt that the middle peasant, since he did not use others, was keenly interested in the redistribution procedure, which would bring him some land. Moreover, he was exploited and oppressed through the imperialist forces, the landlords and the capitalists. So, he would, given political education, face with the forces of the democratic revolution. For this cause, to unite with the middle peasant was an significant aspect of the policy of agrarian revolution. Besides, once land redistribution had been accepted out, the middle peasants would form the bulk of the population in the countryside. The poor peasants with redistributed land would fall in the category of middle peasants. In that case agrarian revolution could only be such which would not infringe upon the interests of the middle peasants.

The rich peasant did use the labour of others, but compared to the landlords he held not only much less land, but also much less political and social clout. On the contrary, if he had any strong links and power this was in excess of the rest of the peasantry in the village and not in excess of the state structure. So, the new agrarian policy sought to restrict him, permitting him to exist rather than totally exterminating the rich peasant economy.

We necessity also keep in mind that when the Chinese Communists talked of finishing off the landlords or exterminating the landlord economy, it did not mean that they were to be killed or their lands destroyed and pillaged.

It meant only that the economic foundation of their lands was to be transformed. This was to be done through confiscating them and putting them to productive use on entirely new economic principles through the new owners i.e. the middle and poor peasants who would work them with their own labour. The number of landlords killed ill physical violence was in information incredibly low, and only when they opposed the revolutionary procedure. In information, a much superior number of poor peasants and communists died in this thrash about for social transformation.

In short, the agrarian policy, in conditions of the social relationships in the countryside, aimed at basing itself firmly on the support of the poor peasants and the agricultural laborers, uniting with the middle peasants and restricting the rich peasants from emerging as new exploiters in the absence of the decapitated landlords. Since the whole procedure of the agrarian changes involved a transformation of the ownership pattern in the countryside, it was a form of class thrash about. The poor and the middle peasants, who gained from these changes through getting more land, became significant factors in the countryside. The poor peasants gained the mainly because they had the least before these changes. Now they had the possessions for income generation and manufacture and were no longer the oppressed. They had participated in the whole procedure and now had a considerable say in the political organization and management in the countryside—an entirely new experience for them.

The agrarian revolution aimed also at improving manufacture. In information, the change in the relationships of ownership had a very crucial bearing on the manufacture procedure. It could:

- Release a great amount of land from the backward, feudal methods of organizing manufacture.
- Provide the whole peasantry a stake in working hard and rising manufacture, and

- Enlarge the market in the middle of the peasants, who, with better access to land, would be better off, and so have greater purchasing power.

Of course, the Kiangsi Soviet Republic did not last extensive enough to achieve these aims. But as extensive as it lasted, it ensured that the peasant now received the full fruits of his labour and all debts incurred before the agrarian changes were cancelled.

New Political Set-Up in the Kiangsi Base

Not only in the Kiangsi base but in the whole region of the dissimilar Red bases, an important aspect of the agrarian reform was the formation of unions of agricultural workers and other organizations. These mass organizations and unions took an active part in the implementation of the agrarian reform. They worked with the new communist personnel from the local Soviets and the party cadre in the region. Once confiscated, the lands were arranged into categories and then distributed. The whole procedure was open and public. Peasants and soldiers were elected to the Soviets which shaped the organizational network of the new Workers and Peasants' Government. Middle peasants comprised in relation to the 40 per cent of those working in the local government at the district and community stages. At the community stage, the chief cadres were poor peasants and farm laborers. They also shaped the core of the new government. Therefore the political advantages distant outweighed the economic advantages because they now won political power and the opportunity to determine their own future and to take part in the decision creation procedure.

The Red Army's Role

Crucial to the success of the new land policy and the survival of the Kiangsi and other Red bases, was the adoption of guerilla warfare as a method

of thrash about. As pointed out earlier, this was necessitated through the break of the United Front and the political circumstances that followed. The establishment of these bases was the result of an armed thrash about through the organized peasantry. The Red Army as an instrument of this thrash about helped in the whole procedure of the construction of the Kiangsi Soviet Republic. The army was politicized in order to ensure that it implemented the Party's programme of the agrarian revolution. A system of political work in the army was strengthened. In turn the task of the Red Army was not limited to combat only. It played a crucial role in organizing the masses, implementing the agrarian revolution, separately from political education and propaganda work.

There were some significant rules for the soldiers like:

- Obey orders.,
- Take nothing from the people,
- Return all confiscated goods to the authorities,
- Do not damage harvests, and
- Do not bother women or ill-treat prisoners.

They were made to understand that:

- —The Red Army does not create war for the sake of war, but for the people, to arm the people, to help the people to set up revolutionary power.l
- Therefore, the Peoples' army was very dissimilar from the KMT army. It was not so strong with regard to military technology and weapons, but it was on the face of the poor Chinese people and in secure touch with the masses. Beside with the army the Red Guards drawn from the local population, played a role in co-coordinating the work of the soldiers with that of the local units and the militia network. The guerilla method of warfare could be successful only with local support. So, this role of the Red Army was very significant in dispersing its strength in the middle of the people in order to create them party to the

war against the feudal landlords and the imperialists. To concentrate its strength in attacking the enemy the local population provided the network for the support tasks such as provisions, transportation and care of the wounded. Two doctors from the West, Dr. Agnes Smedley and Dr. Norman Bethune and Dr. Kotnis from India played an important role in creating the medical units which helped the Red Army to carry on its fight against all odds.

This vast organizational network comprising the Red Army, the Soviets, the unions of the agricultural workers, the medical units, and the peasant associations shaped the foundation of the new peoples' government. They constituted the new organs of political power. The political and social location of the landlords, who shaped the support base for the imperialist forces, was smashed and substituted through the power of the peoples' organizations. This very procedure enhanced the confidence and political consciousness of the people. Political revise circles were mannered. People learnt what their society was all in relation to the and felt to participate in creation their own destiny. As in Hunan they:

- Ensured steps against black marketing and increased prices throughout the thrash about. prohibited gambling and banditry,
- Set up consumers marketing and credit co-operatives,
- Opposed other social shapes of oppression such as clan power and that of the religious institutions,
- Made equality of women an issue as women become equal partners in the whole transformation procedure, and
- Opened Night Schools for peasants to learn to read and write.

In Dr. Norman Bethune's medical unit, for the first time, some peasants witnessed blood transfusion and learnt what it meant. Similar new experiences opened new vistas for the breaking of the old mental shackles. The whole effort was a very hard one. Not everything changed overnight and several mistakes were also made. Though, things had begun moving for the masses of

people who until then were left untouched through the new advances in the world.

In this method also, the economic, political, administrative and social tasks were integrated in a method that made the mainly backward sections of the Chinese countryside a party to the whole transformation. The mainly backward areas became the mainly revolutionary and politically advanced in conditions of new shapes of organization and government. The CPC played an important role in leading this thrash about. Mao Tse Tung, particularly, became a popular and the mainly revered leader throughout this time.

The Urban Milieu

In the municipalities not much advance was made throughout this era in conditions of success of working class movement. But the experiments in the countryside were affecting the political morale and thinking of the CPC and the trade unions. Although there were sharp differences and divisions in the CPC, Mao's success in the Red regions was giving a new direction to the CPC. There had been two dominant perceptions:

- Of those who overestimated the revolutionary movement in the municipalities and underestimated the forces of those opposed to the revolutionary forces, and
- Of those who underestimated the gains of the agrarian revolution and overestimated the strength of the counter-revolutionary forces.

Though the correctness of Mao's strategy began to be appreciated and recognized. The Communists won mass support for themselves in Kiangsi and other Red bases. The first instance of a peoples' government was seen through them for what it represented and at the similar time the agrarian revolution was guided through the principles of class thrash about and the ideology of socialism. It is to the credit of the CPC, that even if it based itself on peasantry

at this stage it did not become purely peasant oriented or populist in conditions of economic and political strategies.

On the whole there was a new awakening which establishes expression in a resurgence of nationalism and in the field of literature. The Japanese aggression created a reaction of active opposition on the part of all sections of Chinese society. The CPC, although not able to lead or participate in a big method in these anti-Japanese movements, did recognize their potential. In keeping with its policy of consolidating the widest possible support base against feudalism, imperialism and big capital which now turned to the imperialists for support against the communists, the CPC decided not to antagonize small merchants or industrialists. Hence, it described for the abolition of exorbitant levies and taxes. Their support against big capital and imperialists was therefore ensured.

This era was mainly extra ordinary in the urban milieu for the upsurge in literary behaviors. Creative writings reflected the social realities of the time. The mainly powerful was the league of Chinese Left writers, founded in 1930, at the initiative of the CCP. These writers put forward a progressive view of literature and society, criticized the Nationalist government for its anti-people policies and through its numerous publications played A important role in transforming the intellectual ethos in the municipalities. The foremost of the writers was Lu Hsun (1881-1936). In his works he criticized the decadence and injustice of the old as well as the existing order, and attacked the hypocrisy and cruelty of the traditional life. Several women's organizations also became very active. They were concerned not only with women's issues but with the whole society and procedure of change.

The Defeats

The changes being brought through the CPC were obviously not liked through the ruling classes of China. The KMT pursued totally dissimilar

policies and was relentlessly opposed to the communists. The KMT was supported through landowners. Flanked by 1930 and 1934 the KMT, led through Chiang Kai Shek and supported through landowners mannered five extermination campaigns against the communists. The fifth campaign was directed against the Kiangsi base. The method followed was encirclement and blockade. Month through month, the situation became more desperate for the new Soviet Republic. Finally, in August 1934, the situation became very hard, and the Kiangsi base had to be abandoned. The communists forced their method through the blockade and began the Extensive March.

CCP AND THE WAR WITH JAPAN

The Background: The Extensive March

Thousands of peasants had been killed through the KMT forces in the daily bombing and machine gunning from the air. Whole regions were depopulated through forced mass migrations or mass executions. The Red Army itself suffered in excess of 60,000 casualties. Though, thousands of peasant supporters fought till their last to enable the main part of the army to get absent. The heroism of these Red supporters has been commemorated through the CPC.

The retreating/members of the Extensive March not only had the main army but thousands of poor peasants also went beside. In information, it had old and young men, women, children. Communists and non-communists. Their meager weapons and ammunitions that they could not carry with them in this extensive aloofness had to be buried beside the method. This was done with a hope that someday, in better circumstances, they might be used in the continuing thrash about. Approximately half the men and material belongings were lost on the method.

The March was a extra ordinary feat for the defeated and bedraggled army. They had to fight all extensive the method against the vagaries of nature

as well as armed adversaries of the KMT and the warlords. In the mammoth undertaking they trudged through eleven provinces, in excess of remote areas, crossing eighteen mountain chains and twenty- four big rivers. This great March began on October 16, 1934 and ended only in- 1937 in the arid, steel slopes of Yen-an, covering a aloofness of approximately 8,000 miles. Fewer than 30,000 completed the whole journey. Of the women no more than thirty survived. In the middle of those who perished was Mao's wife. But those who reached Shensi in the Yen-an area constituted the hardcore of reliable and disciplined force that, was supposed to build the future Chinese Soviet Republic. In the middle of them were also Mao, Chu Teh, Lin Piao and Chou en Lai.

The Extensive March shapes one of the great and mainly heroic tasks in Chinese history. It may not appear much of a feat when written in relation to the in a few pages. But you will recognize its immense attainment if you let yourself imagine the sight of thousands of people marching jointly, without much ammunition to defend themselves, with even less food and medicines except those procured through supporters in the remote regions they passed through. As you may visualize, it may not have been at all easy to seem after the needs of thousands of people, hundreds old and sick, through the tough, relentless terrain. Beside with Mao, several others lost their close to and dear ones. The only thing that accepted them through was an indomitable political will and strength derived from the rightness of the cause they were fighting for. They knew they were fighting for a new China—a China which would ensure a better excellence of life for the millions of poor and deprived.

Approximately everyone—historian or journalist—who has written anything on China has done so with great respect for those who attempted this extra ordinary journey. Some journalists, who accompanied the March for some distances, in order to cover it for their papers, became lifelong supporters.

Agnes Smedley, Edgar Snow, Dr. Norman and Bethane have described the extensive March very graphically and brought to life before us those who would otherwise have remained strange. If you ever have an opportunity to read any of their, works, you necessity do so.

When the Extensive March began Chiang Kai Shek seemed to be in manage of China. Yet this retreat of the Communists from Kiangsi and other Red bases in southern China proved to be a crucial event in the Communists path to eventual victory. At the end of their extensive and hard journey they were at last able to set up a really firm base against the KMT military forces. The vital aim to save the revolution was therefore achieved, though at a heavy price for the loss of thousands of their cadres.

Three factors linked with the Extensive March helped in keeping the Communist revolution alive:

- The Extensive March itself contributed to the —rising reputation of the Communists and the Peoples‘ Liberation Army as presently, courageous, and truly nationalist. The KMT sustained to claim that the Communists had been defeated for good, and their manage in excess of the press and public opinion prevented mainly people from knowing what was really happening in the remote areas of China. Yet, the journalistic pieces of Snow and Smedley got through to the Western world and democratic forces all in excess of the world contributed with medicines and money for setting up of medical units in the remote areas. Although this help was but a small drop in the ocean, more important was their enhanced prestige in China itself. The Extensive March became the theme for songs and legends, and Communists, the accepted leaders of the new awakening in China.
- The Extensive March also led to a new cohesion within the Communist movement in China. Mao’s leadership of the Party was consolidated. All beside the March, when it was not possible to move further due to enemy regions, the frequent waits were utilized for political education and political meetings of the leadership. The existing variation in the

middle of them was thoroughly ironed out in the light of the experience of the immediate realities.

- The mainly significant gain for the Communists was, though, the human and physical experience that the Extensive March gave to the thousands of cadres. It was in itself a training ground for hard physical training and political education. It brought them into get in touch with new areas and the dissimilar people of China.

Therefore when the Communists recognized their firm base in North Shensi, Yen-an, they had already disseminated their thoughts in the middle of a very big part of people on the method, learnt an equal amount in relation to the Chinese peasantry, its attitudes and habits, and were politically distant wiser and experienced than at the Hunan or Kiangsi stage. In short, the Extensive March experience prepared them for their final assault against the enemies, and their eventual victory. On the other hand, the very dissimilar behaviour of the Peoples Liberation Army as compared to the KMT military forces, and their experience of this army as their own, meant eventually the acceptance of the Communists as their leaders through the Chinese people as a whole. Beside the method they were, so, able to enlist a lot of Red supporters and partisans—even new recruits for their main army. After all the poor people of all the regions of China were oppressed through the warlords and the KMT.

The Yen-an Strategy

Yen-an was chosen as the new base through the Communists for reasons very similar to why Kiangsi had earlier been chosen through them. As Edgar Snow pointed out: —Yen-an was ideally suited for defense. Cradle in bound of high, rock-ribbed hills, its stout walls crawl up to the very tops.¶

As earlier, the liberated zones were founded on armed struggle, changes in land ownership based on peasant interests, guerilla warfare at local stages, and site of bases in regions inaccessible to government troops. But the chief enemy for the Communists at this stage was no longer the KMT. The main enemies were now the Japanese. In practical conditions this meant that several more people from the previously measured hostile sections could now be brought into the field of the anti-Japanese struggle. In contrast to the earlier Chinese Soviet Republics so, the social base of their new regions of manage was now greatly expanded.

A strategy of social transformation that would ensure an enlarged social base was absolutely necessary at this stage. This was in view of the information that the CPC no longer faced a divided, corrupt adversary. The disciplined, armed might of Japanese imperialism was a dissimilar thing altogether from the KMT dependent on several warlords at odds with each other. The civil war in China was no longer flanked by a KMT—trying to unify if not social transformation—and some warlords equally interested in self-governing means of manage. The complexity of their conflicts lending a special dimension to the war flanked by the KMT and the workers and peasants of China no longer held true in the changed political context.

The Yen-an strategy was, so at once a strategy of United Front against Japanese imperialism, as well as of social transformation that would provide the CPC a distant wider social base than throughout the Kiangsi era. In information, these two characteristics of their strategy were interlinked and integral to each other.

Japanese Aggression

The Capitalist world, in spite of the international settlements made at the end of World War-I was in an unprecedented economic crisis through 1929. This worsened in the after that three years. These countries, particularly Japan and Germany who had not gained then, were very badly hit. There was

an urge for a —newl division of the world. Japanese imperialism saw an aggressive war as the only method out. Against the clauses of the Nine-Power Treaty, the Japanese sought to drive the European powers and the U.S. out of China, and to turn China into their own colony in much the similar method as India was a British colony. They had already launched their first attack on Sept 18, 1931. Through January 1933 they had penetrated into the whole of the North China plain, through 1935 they had occupied Inner Mongolia, and through 1937 they were the paramount power in China. By a minor incident at the Marco Polo Bridge (to the south of Peking) at this time, Japan invaded all of China without actually declaring war.

The devastation caused through Japanese brutality was shattering. For instance, when the Nanking government fell 300,000 people were massacred. In the Yangtzi area, refugees were subjected to a rain of machine-gun firing. The huge loss of life and economy was similar in other parts of China.

Too preoccupied with their own war with Germany, more of an immediate threat to them, the European powers did not intervene. The U.S. remained neutral until the attack on Pearl Harbour through Japan in 1941. The Chinese government too, on its part, in keeping with its compromising policy towards the Western powers, did not declare war on Japan till the 1941 attack on Pearl Harbour and the fall of Hong Kong and Singapore. The Japanese had, so, approximately a free run of the lay.

Incompetence on the part of Chinese authorities led to irrational loss of additional lives. A panic led them to set fire to Changlisa, the capital of Hienan, where 800,000 refugees died in addition to inhabitants. Attempting to check the Japanese advance, they burst the dams of the Yellow River, killing thousands. The fight against Japanese aggression, so, became a matter of survival for China, and for this cause, the primary task for the Communists at this political juncture in China's history.

International Situation

For this task the broadest possible front had to be forged not only within China, but also with the other countries fighting Japan. The outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 led to the formation of a broad international front against Germany, Italy and Japan—the fascist powers. This broad front consisted of England, France, Soviet Union and after 1941, the U.S. They described themselves the Allied forces. The social forces of national liberation too joined this broad front. For India the choice was not so easy, as she was ruled through Britain. But for China the choice was easy and straightforward because the Allies fought Japan. Yet, for the CPC a superior question was at stake. The popular fronts against Germany, Italy and Japan also represented a fight for the survival of democracy and the first socialist state, the Soviet Union, both of which the CPC measured as necessary circumstances for their own success. Therefore the victory of Fascism would mean a setback and defeat for China at the hands of Japan, while their defeat would mean an self-governing China.

In short, they perceived the world political situation and their role and lay in it in very much the similar method as Indian leaders did. It is not a coincidence that the procedure of decolonization, the Indian independence and the Chinese Revolution followed the defeat of the Fascist powers in the Second World War.

The formation of this International United Front of which CPC and the KMT in China became a part, was a extensive and painful procedure. The Japanese aggression in - China began in 1931, assuming serious proportions through 1934. The Western powers till this time saw their interests as primarily opposed to the Soviet Union. Within China too they had their own economic investments and regions of manage. So, it was only when Japan began easing them out in China, and Germany in Europe and other parts of the world that they actually began to seriously oppose Germany and Japan. U.S., joined the war only in 1941. Through then a united resistance movement against Japan had already urbanized in China.

Economic Factors

The emerging conflicts flanked by Japan and the European powers and the U.S. had their foundation in their economic rivalries in China. Imperialist manage in excess of Chinese economy was complete in all sectors of economy. In 1937, 90.7 per cent of China's railway investment was foreign. 55.7 per cent of China's coal output, 18.9 per cent of the total tonnage of the vessels plying the Yangtse River and 55 per cent of the electricity manufacture were in foreign hands. All the iron manufacture was with the Japanese. In 1936, 46.2 per cent of China's spindles and 56.4 per cent of her looms were owned through foreign capital. The foreign banks also enjoyed the privileges of issuing bank notes controlling the customs duty and salt tax. These imperialist investments were squeezed from China itself, as was the case in India.

But as compared with the 1930 figure, the British total investments in 1936 remained stagnant, the American increased through 20 per cent although its whole amount was not much. The Japanese investment in this era increased through 48 per cent accounting for half of the gross sum of foreign investments in China. In the North East particularly, Japan monopolized the market and the land, the factories, mines, industrial raw materials, communications and transport. As a result China's industrialists and merchants had great losses in foreign trade and in the international market, as well as industrial profits within China.

The three major textile centers in China were controlled through Japan. All these figures tell the very plain story of how the possibilities of enlarging the social base of the national revolutionary movement were created throughout this era, and also why it became logical and necessary to create Japan its primary target.

Social and Political Resistance to Japan

The resistance to Japanese aggression began immediately. The Kiangsi Soviets declared war on Japan in 1932 as a protest against the invasion of Manchuria, although this was nothing more than a token resistance. But in the municipalities there was overwhelming assertion of public opinion against the Japanese. The intelligentsia played a leading role in activating public opinion and organizing boycott of Japanese goods. The student movement came to be recognized with the national resistance movement. In the autumn of 1931, some 15,000 high school and university students held military exercises in the streets of the capital and staged daily demonstrations to stop negotiations and force the government to declare war on Japan. The CPC, recognizing the great potential of these movements sent out an appeal to the whole country to join the Communists in fighting Japan. This was in August 1935 even before the Extensive March had been completed and before they reached their base in Yen-an. The strategy of the Chinese United Front, similar to the anti-Fascist United Fronts in Europe, was already born. Though, it took some more time to formulate, and even more time to implement.

Although the KMT government did not officially declare war on Japan till 1941, and sustained to regard the Communists as their main enemy, yet it was forced to recognize even in 1935 the rising anti-Japanese sentiment in the middle of the Chinese people. Students, intellectuals, professionals, as well as the working people— particularly in the East, were very vocal. The Japanese offensive in North China provoked a mass students' uprising, recognized today as the December Ninth Movement (1935). The main demonstrations that Peking had ever seen were organized. They played an significant role in preventing the Japanese from carrying out their plan to detach the five northern provinces from the rest of China. A boycott movement against Japanese goods was launched through the merchants and coolies in several towns.

Finally, in May 1936, at the initiative of the students, was shaped the Pan-China Federation of Association for National Salvation. It soon became

the organizing centre for a powerful nationalist movement. This prestigious association, with several well-recognized lawyers, journalists and professors as its directors, described for an end to civil war and united resistance to Japan. In effect, this meant the endorsement of the CPC and Comintern appeal for a new United Front. In the municipalities of the East the Federation cooperated with the Communists.

These organizations and movements were as much a protest against the Chinese government's policies of compromise and lack of resistance, as against the Japanese. It was in this political context that the much celebrated and important 'Sian Incident' took place. On December 12, 1936, Chiang Kai, Shek was kidnapped through one of his generals while on a visit to Sian. Chinese troops were not happy fighting with the Chinese people, even if they happened to be Communists. They presented him with 'Eight Demands':

- Reorganize the Nanking Government and admit all parties to share the joint responsibility of national salvation.
- End all civil war immediately and adopt the policy of armed resistance against Japan.
- Release the leaders of the resistance movement in Shanghai.
- Pardon all political prisoners.
- Guarantee the people liberty of assembly.
- Safeguard the people's rights of patriotic organization and political liberty.
- Put into effect the will of Dr. Sun Yat Sen.
- Immediately convene a National Salvation Conference.

This programme implied in practice:

- A united front of all the Chinese against Japan,
- An end to the persecution of the Communists, and
- Drastic political reforms.

The compromising policy of the KMT had made the people realize the necessity of democracy and a political system responsive to their aspirations. The link flanked by nationalism and revolution had been forged in the minds of the Chinese people. It was realised that without political reform and the liberty to express and organize the political will of the people there could be no united resistance to Japan. The Chinese nation was inseparable from an assertion of self-governing political will and social transformation.

The expression of public opinion from 1931 to 1937 played a very important role in establishing this link in the minds and political practices of the Chinese people. The municipalities, which, throughout the Kiangsi era had not seen political action of the masses, became once more connected with the Chinese revolutionary movement. The centre of gravity of the thrash about shifted from the South, where the Kiangsi and other Red regions had been throughout that era, to the North, the region of Japanese aggression and job.

The programme represented through the ‘Eight Demands’ as well as the Federation of Association of National Salvation were in keeping with the immediate demands of the CPC. The Chinese Red Army, the Soviet Government and the CPC immediately offered their support to this programme. The CPC once again made a formal appeal to the KMT on July 15, 1937, to join the United Front of the people against Japan. Chiang Kai Shek was released. He, on his part, under pressure from the political growths of the preceding six years, was forced to:

- Accept the legality of the CPC,
- Agree to end the persecution of the Communists, and
- Work in co-operation with them.

He also promised some political reforms. In this method, the formation of the Second United Front brought in relation to the a re-alignment of social and political forces in China. Though this was very dissimilar from the First United Front.

The United Front in Practice

The United Front of the CPC and the KMT against Japan did not function smoothly at all times. In practical conditions it also meant that the Communists had to provide up their thought of overthrowing the KMT through force as extensive as the Japanese remained on China's soil. This was an issue beset with several practical difficulties and social tensions because the KMT's social policies had not been customized throughout the United Front, even as the CPC customized its own. Secondly, even as the Communists 'chained their own armed forces, they were also counted as part of the National Army. They became part of the —Eight Marching Army and the —New Fourth Army which also had KMT commanding officers.

To begin with, Chiang Kai Shek did take a stand against the Japanese. On August 13, 1937, he put his best troops into action against the Japanese marine garrison in Shanghai. The Japanese realised that they were confronted through the might of the whole Chinese people, and went in for full mobilization of their own possessions. As a result Chinese casualties mounted to thousands. The Chinese presently did not have the similar type of equipment. But every inch of the soil was fought in excess of through the Chinese. This resistance at Shanghai was futile in a military sense, but in a political sense the demonstration of courage and heroism was important. The tales of the battle, accepted to other regions, kindled a spreading bonfire of patriotic feelings.

As pointed out through those who accounted on this battle, —the winter of 1937-38 worked a miracle in China. The seat of government, after the defeat of Nanking, was shifted to Hankow. There was complete unity of purpose. All of China was on the move. Warlord armies from the South and South-west marched to join the battle. The Communist partisans fought bravely against the Japanese. In Hankow the government and the Communists sat jointly to formulate the plans for the prosecution of the war. Another unit

of the Communist Army was created. In April 1938, for the first time in the history of Japan, her armies suffered a defeat in China.

This was, though, presently one battle. Thereafter, one lay after another in China fell before the economic and military superiority of the Japanese. Everything that counted for them came into their lap: the great ports, the industrial and commercial centers, the mouths of the three main rivers and the capital.

The KMT and the Communists responded to this differently. As a result, through 1938 there appeared two differing perceptions of the strategy for fighting Japan—immobility and peoples' war. As Chiang Kai Shek now saw it, there was nothing else to do but hold out till international assistance came. But this was not to come from the Western powers till 1941, as pointed out earlier. For all practical purposes this meant a suspension of thrash about. The Communists, on the other hand, resolved to continue the thrash about from their Red bases in Yenan.

Through 1938 it also became obvious to Chiang Kai Shek that because the Communists were more effectively organizing the people for guerilla warfare against the Japanese they were winning the loyalty of the people. The strains within the United Front became more acute and Chiang again resorted to his earlier policy of blockage of Red regions. In spring 1939 his troops moved against the Communists in Hunan, then Hubei and Hebei. In November, they partially dismantled the southern part of the Yenan base. In January 1941 the Communist headquarters were attacked, and several of their leaders captured or killed.

The financial aid to China in the form of 500 million US dollars came to the KMT in 1941. Chiang Kai Shek was through now, though, more concerned with fighting the Communists. Meanwhile, in early 1944 the Japanese began another offensive. In Hunan they defeated the KMT forces within a matter of weeks. In their further victories to the southwest, they also

destroyed the remaining American bases. Even at this stage he failed to adopt the Communist policy of people's guerilla warfare. In information the KMT resistance to the Japanese had collapsed in 1938 itself.

The Yen-an Base: A Form of Resistance

The Communist programme for resisting Japan was put forward in Mao Tse Tung's article published on July 23, 1937. It was entitled —The Policies, Events and Perspectives of Combating Japanese Invasion. In this he pointed out that the Communists' policy was one of the absolute resistance and its special characteristic was a reliance on the masses for this resistance. The mobilization of the people was of utmost importance for, as the Communists understood it, war was not an end in itself. It was a means towards structure up a new China of freedom and equality. So, separately from carrying on self-governing guerilla warfare, it was seen as necessary to set up anti-Japanese bases behind the enemy's rows.

In the first Stage of the war, the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army of the Communists waged extensive warfare and recognized a number of anti-Japanese bases in North and Central China. From the winter of 1938 to the end of 1940 these bases kept rising. Anti-Japanese democratic governments' were set up in these bases. The Communists' decision to send their forces behind the enemy rows was not the only method that these bases originated. Other fighting groups appeared spontaneously behind the Japanese rows like the peasant self-defense groups, autonomous guerillas, groups of students, and even KMT dissidents. The two type of efforts complemented each other. This type of warfare, culminating in the establishment of several Red bases, meant that the distinction flanked by the military and the civilians was eliminated. The military organizations ranged from the regular army to the local militants and village defense groups, and even peasants who occasionally participated in military action without giving up agricultural work. The support of the peasant population was crucial in providing new

recruits, giving information, and providing transportation, provisions and other help throughout emergencies.

The distinction flanked by the military and political spheres was also eliminated because these Red regions, even as they became regions controlled through the Chinese as opposed to the Japanese, were also regions where a new and free China was being built at the initiative of the Chinese people. This had become possible because the people themselves were waging a war.

Once Chiang Kai Shek suspended the KMT thrash about, the pressure of the Japanese aggression fell entirely on the Communists and the Red bases. The Japanese pursued a relentless policy of destroying harvests and houses. But the severity of the Japanese atrocities further increased the support for the communists, as the Red bases became their only refuge against the Japanese. The governments of the nations opposed to Japan favored the KMT in China. So, the American aid or international pressure on Japan towards the end of the war worked towards the advantage of the KMT. Communists were regarded through them as enemies. The Red bases, in this context of complete separation, survived solely on the strength of the working people of China. Without these Red bases there would have been no uncompromising thrash about against the Japanese and no free and united China.

The Red Bases: A New Kind of Society

Although spread out in excess of in relation to the eighteen bases, the whole experiment with social transformation in these Red regions has come to be recognized as the Yen-an strategy or the Yen-an model. The whole thought behind the Yen-an strategy—put very basically —was that —If you take a peasant who has been swindled, beaten and kicked in relation to the for all his working days, and you treat him like a man, inquire his opinion, let him vote for a local government, let him constitute a part of the police force in his own region, decide on his own taxes, the peasant becomes a man who has

something to fight for. He will fight to preserve it against any enemy, Japanese or Chinese.¶

This is precisely what the Communists did in the Red regions. The blueprint for these new bases can be seen in Mao Tse Tung's pamphlet 'On New Democracy', written in even as the first experiments were already underway. To begin with, in keeping with the policy of the United Front of the whole Chinese people against the Japanese and their landlord collaborators- in China, the land policy was correspondingly customized. The land confiscation policy was substituted through a more moderate programme of rent reduction. Land rents were reduced through 25 per cent. Through this the Communists won in excess of the majority of the peasants—rich, middle and poor—who were tenants on the land they cultivated. The second aspect of their policy, a decrease in usury or interest rate which was fixed at 10 per cent a year, won them further support. The third aspect, a progressive taxation policy, which meant that the richer landlords paid more taxes, the poorer less, were also a welcome change for the peasantry burdened until then with high taxes totally disproportionate to their income. Since there were fewer big landowners in North China, i.e. in the Yen-an area, than in South or Central China, their giving up of land confiscation did not entail letting the landlords remain strong and powerful.

Related to these reforms were events to augment manufacture. It was felt that if peoples' livelihood standards are to improve then manufacture necessity also be made to augment. The Party, government and army directed their best efforts towards helping the people raise their manufacture. Throughout the anti-Japanese war, two manufacture campaigns were undertaken through the troops and government bodies in the Shensi- Kansu-border area. The first (in 1938) aimed chiefly at the improvement of livelihood circumstances, the second (in 1941) at self support. The extensive manufacture campaign in the base regions behind the enemy rows was started in 1942. Through 1943 it had become a widespread movement. In the liberated regions

this campaign was very successful. The region under manufacture and the grain output increased tremendously.

As a method of rising manufacture and improving the method of manufacture organization, as well as introducing new shapes of political education, peasants were organized into mutual aid teams and co-operatives. The principle involved in this co-operation was voluntary work and mutual benefit. Therefore peasants began to experience new shapes of interaction with each other through general labour and rotation of equipment. The methods followed were flexible and in keeping with local condition. The size of co-operative units varied widely and the manufacture unit was shaped at the stage of a village, or part of a village as convenient and desired through the local population rather than on the foundation of an administrative unit. The income, a very crucial matter naturally, was worked out on the foundation of labour put in and the amount of investment in land. Therefore the more a peasant put in, the more he got. In this method, the system of co-operative avoided the pitfalls of heartburning or disagreement within the peasantry at this crucial political juncture, while having the merit of introducing communal effort even on the foundation of individual peasant economy. It gave enough incentive to the peasant to co-operate without though, demanding his rights in excess of his land. These experiments represented so new shapes of popular co-operation and new organizational structures in the economic life of the peasantry at the village stage.

In the region of crafts also, efforts were made to develop industrial co-operatives at the village stage itself. They produced their own agricultural equipment, textiles, paper etc. Oil refining, iron smelting, machine structure and repairing war materials, textiles, separately from breeding of livestock, etc. sustained to be accepted out throughout the war.

To fight the enemy on the economic front controls were imposed on trade with the enemy-occupied regions. The export of grain, cotton, iron and

leather was prohibited, while the import of salt, matches, cloth, electric appliances, military equipment and other things needed was encouraged.

These efforts on the economic front successfully counteracted the devastation, plunder and blockade through the Japanese. It helped to protect the possessions of the base regions, promoted a degree of economic self-reliance, considerably enabled the reduction of grain taken from the local population as levy and helped make a strong foundation for the new experiments later followed through the Communist regime.

These changes in economic organization also served as a sound base for creating the framework of a new democracy. In the Red Regions, political power at the local stage was shared through the state, the party, the mass organizations of the people and the Peoples' Liberation Army. The state was in charge of the principal public services such as finance, manufacture, education and common management. The state itself was a decentralized one. The officials of the state were actively associated with manufacture. Mao Tse Tung himself raised tomatoes and tobacco leaves approximately his cave flanked by the work sessions of the leadership organizations. The party's work was that of co-ordination and political mobilization of the people for structure the new democratic structure. The mass organizations of the youth, the women, and peasants and workers' played a important role in raising the political consciousness of the people, separately from supervising manufacture. The army did a big number of other political tasks separately from fighting. This whole experiment was recognized as one of —mass rowl, because of the policies followed as well as the initiative of the people involved in several behaviors.

The foundation of the new democratic political structure was universal, with free elections at all stages—village, district, and area. Everyone in excess of eighteen years could participate in the elections to all the bodies. But it was ensured that of those elected 1/3 should be Communists, 1/3 self-governing left members, and 1/3 liberals and democrats—sometimes even KMT

members. In this method, the United Front was given a political participatory dimension, giving representation to an alliance of the working poor and middle peasants, the petty bourgeoisie intellectuals and also the —national capitalists. In short, all those opposed to Japanese imperialism and feudalism were welcomed in the Second United Front against Japan.

Separately from the electoral procedure and representation, democracy was given a distant deeper dimension through ensuring the participation of all the members in the economic decisions of the co-operatives, in the village self-defense militias and in the implementation of the new land policy. Democracy itself began to acquire a higher connection than easy individual self-expression. It became the means for organizing the mainly effective shapes for the general thrash about against the Japanese. Approximately the whole population of the base regions backed the new democratic regime though it was involved in the anti-Japanese war in several methods. Since these bases were in rural regions, the peasants naturally constituted the primary social base of the new regime, although representation of workers, intellectuals and national capitalists ensured a policy framework for broader themes than only land reform.

Special effort was made to rally women. The women's associations in keeping with the new policy framework and the demands of their times, did not merely confine themselves to issues such as forced marriages, subordination to parents, in-laws and husband, or demands for political and social equality. They played an important role in mobilizing women for agricultural work and participation in cooperatives. Although only 8 per cent of those elected to the local committees for political leadership were women, yet a beginning had been made.

The Final Stage

In 1941 a critical point was reached. In the liberated Red regions, a new type of social and political life had been created and support of the whole population gained. But, at this time the Japanese offensive also became harsher and the blockade against the Red regions became complete. The break with the KMT was equally complete. The Japanese followed a policy of —Kill all, plunder all.‖ This was an very hard year for the Communists. After the bombing of the Pearl Harbour in 1941, the Americans and the British increased their pressure on Japan in China. But they pushed for their own interests. The Communists were, though, not in favour of replacing the Japanese with Americans and the British. The KMT, on the other hand, had not opposed them, so, the entry of the Americans and the British into the war situation in China helped, which was equally opposed to the Communists through 1941.

From 1941 to 1943, the Japanese built enormous structure approximately their occupied zones and at the edge of the liberated Red regions. As a result of this renewed offensive thousands of people were massacred, harvests and villages destroyed. The population in the liberated regions was severely decimated with the regular army educed to merely 300,000 men in 1942.

The tide could be made to turn only in 1944. The peasant militia was expanded A final, desperate thrash about ensued. In 1944, and especially in 1945 the thrash about was expanded. Communist bases were enlarged in Shantung and Shensi, Jiangsu, the borders of Hunan, Hubei and Henan. The anti-Japanese movement in the enemy- occupied municipalities and villages became more widespread and rigorous. The puppet governments set up in the enemy territories in North, Central and South China, where also the worst plunder had taken lay, were overthrown in several regions. Through April 1945, the Peoples' Army had expanded to 910,000 men, the militia to 2,200,000, and the self-defense corps to 10,000,000 men. Nineteen liberated

regions had been recognized covering an region of 950,000 square kilometers, inhabited through a population of 95,500,000. The liberated regions occupied very significant strategic positions. Mainly of the Japanese occupied major municipalities, communication rows and coastal rows were bounded through the peoples' troops.

Meanwhile the protocol for Germany's surrender was signed on May 7, 1945. The complete defeat of Germany and her unconditional surrender placed Japan in a location of utter political and military separation. Japan, though, sustained with her aggression in China. On August 14, 1945, the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance was signed. This treaty meant that both countries should Co-operate with the other allied countries in Fighting Japan until her final defeat. On August 8, 1945, Soviet Union had declared war on Japan.

Following this, the Red army also launched a new counter offensive against Japan. Within two months from August 11, 1945 to October 10, 1945, the Peoples' Liberation Army liberated 315,000 square kilometers of territory with a population of 18,712,000, and recovered 190 municipalities. The liberated regions were therefore further expanded.

The atomic bomb dropped through the U.S. at Hiroshima forced Japan to surrender on September 2, 1945. The extensive-drawn, heroic thrash about of the Chinese people against Japan ended with this. So several thousands had sacrificed their lives, their livelihood and their customary method of life for their country's liberation on new rows. The liberation from the external enemy was achieved. The new life created in the liberated zones which had enabled them to win the war had though, yet to be defended against the K.MT and their allies. This was to be dealt with their after that stage of thrash about i.e. the successful Chinese revolution.

THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

Some Observations

In an era of less than four years the KMT or the Nationalist government based at Nanking slowly but surely collapsed. It lost out not only in the military battles and in its inability to bring in relation to the economic reconstruction of China in the postwar years, but also because of its refusal to usher in any political or social changes. Thousands of Chinese people had already experienced a new excellence of life in the liberated regions throughout the Kiangsi and the Yen-an periods. They were now not willing to accept a reversal to the old oppressive order under the KMT. The inability of the KMT to meet their aspirations was, so, as much a cause for the KMT's defeat. As Lenin once pointed out, —great upheavals happen in history only when very big sections of people no longer want to continue livelihood in the old method, and when a sizeable part that has a stake in the old methods is no longer able to continue with the old methods.‖ Precisely such a great historical juncture arrived in China in the year: 1945 to 1949.

But the civil war which ensued after the Japanese defeat and the triumph of Chinese nationalism was not basically a war to decide who would be China's future rulers. It was also a war to decide the future of millions of Chinese people i.e. what their politics, society and everyday lives would be like. So, what is important for us to understand in relation to this era is not only why the KMT lost, but also why and how the Chinese Communists won. In short, we necessarily be able to see not only what the Chinese people fought against, but also what they fought for. The positive alternative that the Communists offered was a blueprint for a society which was characterized through a distant greater democracy and social justice than they had ever recognized or had recognized only for the brief periods i.e. till the 'liberated' zones lasted.

It is equally significant to understand that in fighting alongside the Communists the Chinese people were fighting for themselves. What was taking place, in information, was not basically a civil war or a military disagreement. It was a revolutionary procedure, through participating in

which, the Chinese people were transforming themselves as much as they were transforming Chinese society and all that it stood for.

Moreover, a revolution involves not only a change in the government. It involves the overthrow of an whole social order and its replacement through another—a more progressive one. So, it becomes significant to revise the revolutionary procedures of this era from the point of view of the change in the correlation of social and political forces in China. Likewise, some understanding of the content of the movement for peoples' democracy is also necessary.

The Chinese Revolution of 1949 was not a socialist revolution of the type that the Russian Revolution of 1917 was. The Chinese's Communists themselves saw the 1949 victory as the:

- Outcome of the whole national movement, • victory of peasant struggles, and
- Restoration of unity in a country which for so several years had been torn separately through conflicting forces.

They described it a peoples' democratic revolution which brought to political power the Communists who stood for socialism. On October 1, 1949, Mao Tse Tung, Chairman of the Communist Party of China, proclaimed the establishment of the Peoples' Republic of China. The actual victory of the Red Army is though, not so easy to date. Parts of the North had been liberated since 1936 where as parts of southern China were not liberated until 1950. The 1949 victory, so, stands for the whole span of time from 1945 to 1951 throughout which the Peoples' government slowly consolidated it's manage in excess of all of China. But October 1, 1949 has great symbolic significance. On that day the people of China claimed power in excess of their own fate. In rapid succession laws were passed ending the oppressive traditional practices. It was a freedom for everyone who had suffered under the whole system. These laws, jointly with the Constitution, became the foundation of organization and government in the New China.

Post-War Situation and Political Forces in China

The outcome of the World War II was a great disappointment to the imperialist powers. This was because in spite of the defeat of Italy, Germany and Japan, the victorious powers, Britain, France and the U.S. could not hold on to their privileges in the colonies. In information, the Soviet victory and the emergence of the Peoples' Democracies in Eastern Europe beside with strong national movements set the grounds for a systematic procedure of decolonization in Asia. The emergence of a strong socialist camp at the end of World War II, in information, Changed the whole balance of political forces at the international stage. Socialism and national liberation movements were gaining ground. The post-war international situation was, so, in favour of the Chinese people in their thrash about against the foreign powers and those forces in China which collaborated with the foreign powers. This international climate was of great advantage to the Chinese communists in spite of the information that in the immediate aftermath of the Japanese surrender the internal balance of forces seemed to weigh heavily in favour of the KMT.

The regions measured as the liberated Red zones had expanded throughout the course of the anti-Japanese thrash about. But at the end of 1945, the KMT still controlled the major portions of the territory. All the international powers in 1945 gave legitimate recognition to KMTs' location. The Chinese Communists were yet to win acknowledgment in the middle of the world powers that they enjoyed considerable support in the middle of the Chinese people. The KMT was distant ahead of the Communists in conditions of:

- Financial possessions,
- Military equipment,
- Manage in excess of management and the means of communication, as well as print media and co-operation from the dominant sections of Chinese society.

Yet, one could not write off the Chinese Communists. This comes out clearly from the reports of several war correspondents of that era. In

information, the situation was somewhat similar to that of Russia in February 1917 when there was a type of —dual power‡ flanked by two organs of power—one that held the reins of power and the other which drew its strength from popular support. The social procedures which the land policy and the experiment with democratic government had initiated in the liberated regions throughout the Kiangsi and the Yen-an periods had created a substantial popular base for the Communists. It had created the potential for a keen tussle for political power, the outcome of which could not be predetermined in spite of the singular advantages which the KMT possessed in 1945.

It is not that the Chinese peasantry did not have any complaints or criticisms of the Soviet system of government in the liberated regions, or that the Chinese people in the municipalities had a positive preference for a socialist future. But they definitely preferred their experience with the Communists to that with the KMT. The peasantry, particularly referred to the Kiangsi and the Yen-an Soviets as —our government‡ and preferred them to what they described the —old days‡. Another thing that suggests the Communists' Popular base is the information that in the liberated regions the policing and guarding was done approximately entirely through the peasant organizations alone. Local defense was shared through the village revolutionary defense corps, peasant guards and partisans.

On the other face, in the regions under KMT manage there was a generalized lack of morale and widespread discouragement. The governmental and military structure was slowly becoming permeated from top to bottom through corruption. The power of the Central Government was weakening in the regions absent from the superior municipalities. It was becoming hard for the government to collect enough food for its big army and bureaucracy. Peasants in the KMT regions expressed extreme resentment at the forced conscription, tax collection and other arbitrary impositions which sustained after the end of war. The salaried classes suffered from the inflation resulting from the economic crisis. The intellectuals were dissatisfied. The political manage and repression led to lack of intellectual vigor and leadership.

This contrasting picture flanked by the Red regions and the KMT regions shapes the immediate background and the social context within which the thrash about flanked by the KMT and the Communists took lay. The success of the national-liberation thrash about with the defeat of the Japanese, led to a transformation of the internal contradictions in China. The contradiction flanked by China and Japan gave method to that flanked by the broad masses of the Chinese people represented through the Communist Party on the one hand, and the big landlord class and big bourgeoisie represented through the KMT and aided through the U.S. on the other. This became the principal contradiction of Chinese social and political life—the main factor dominating the domestic situation. Having won a victory in excess of the Japanese forces, the Chinese people now saw freedom from their internal oppressors as their main task. Political democracy and social emancipation became the primary issues in China. As the Civil War progressed, the KMT became the main hurdle to the realizations of these aspirations. The number of people involved in the thrash about also increased rapidly as the Civil War took its course. The excellence of life in the regions under the manage of the two political groupings rather than the size of the regions under their manage became the decisive factor in changing the political correlation of forces in favour of the Communists.

Outbreak of the Civil War

What immediately followed the Japanese surrender in China was a scramble for men, territory, property and military equipment. The Supreme Chief of Staff of the Chinese army, that had fought the Japanese, sent a memorandum to the Japanese Commander-in-Chief in China instructing him to surrender his 1,090,000 troops and equipment only to the Chinese commanders of the war zones. Since all the commanders were KMT officers, this memorandum effectively deprived the Communists, who had fought as equal partners against the Japanese, the right to accept the surrender of any Japanese units. At the similar time Chiang Kai Shek telegraphed all the units

of the Communist Eighth Route Army to stay where they were pending further orders and forbade them to take in excess of the enemy's (Japanese) arms.

The Communists saw through this strategy of the KMT an effort to emerge as the sole political power in China. Mao Tse Tung immediately ordered the Red Army units to march towards Inner Mongolia, Manchuria and north and south Shensi, and to create all efforts to attack the enemy troops and be prepared to accept their surrender. This the Red Army did under the command of Chu Teh. The KMT government branded the Communists as 'enemies of the people' and Mao in turn accused KMT of having 'declared civil war against the Chinese people'.

Immediate disagreement arose in excess of Manchuria which the Communists were able to inhabit. This was in spite of the information that the KMT forces at this time totaled in relation to the 3 million, while the Communists had less than 1 million. The Americans tried to mediate flanked by the two forces because they perceived that a civil war in China could only go against their interests. General George C. Marshall was sent through President Truman to arrange for peace. Chiang Kai Shek refused anything short of complete management in excess of Manchuria where the Communists now held sway. This the Communists obviously could not agree to. Through the spring of 1946 all possibilities for successful negotiations ended and a full-fledged civil war became inevitable.

Meanwhile inflation and rising prices in the KMT regions threatened a situation where civil war would be accepted into the KMT regions themselves. On the other hand, in the liberated zones, the Communist leaders launched a —movement against the traitors.¶ For instance the landlords who had sided with the Japanese were denounced in village assemblies. In 1946, on the foundation of an earlier directive, a mass movement was launched for the reduction of rent and interest rates, separately from abolishing all prior debts of the poor and middle peasants. In May 1946, the slogan of —land belongs to the tiller¶ was popularized. Landlords also had to pay heavy taxes. In this method growths in both the KMT regions and the liberated zones contributed towards creation class thrash about (through the agrarian revolution) an

significant dimension of the civil war even before the negotiations had failed. The Chinese people, although sick of the years of war, became prepared for another war. This time it was for the protection of own rights in excess of land and livelihood.

KMT Offensives and their Defeat: 1946-1947

In June 1946, the KMT with its strength of two million men attacked the big Communist bases in North and Central China. They pushed back the Communist forces from the central plain and the lower Yangtze area. Through March 1947 they had seized Yen-an, which had been the base of the Communists after the Extensive March.

But these victories were deceptive. Still mustering their forces and avoiding a showdown the Communists had not yet begun to go on the offensive. They did not attempt to defend their territory also. They concentrated instead on disengaging their forces and gathering them jointly for mobile defense and guerilla warfare from their positions of defense. They, therefore, did not lose their forces. The KMT, on the other hand, in order to retain the lost Communist territory, was forced to base a big part of its forces in this territory. There was no other method it could have retained manage in excess of a hostile population which favored the Communists who had given them a new life. The Communists were, therefore able to choose their region of combat according to their own possessions, and also to concentrate their whole forces in those regions where the KMT was weak.

In the spring of 1947 the Peoples Liberation Army (PLA), under Lin Piao's command, accepted out a series of offensives which left the municipality bound KMT forces dazed and confused. Except for the municipalities, Manchuria was firmly won through the Communists. In February 1947, the Central Committee of the CPC described for the overthrow of the KMT Nationalist government. Through the end of 1947 the Communists were able to regain manage in excess of Hebei, Shantung and Shansi regions. They defeated 56 KMT brigades through February 1947, 90 in

May 1947 and 97 in September 1947. This amounted to the defeat of almost 1/4 of the KMT army.

Simultaneously with this military crisis of the KMT, there broke out an economic crisis in the KMT controlled regions caused through the collaboration flanked by the KMT and the United States. After the Japanese surrender, it was the KMT and not the Communists, to whom the Japanese had surrendered all the industrial equipment, the banking and financial institutions. The total value of these assets was 1,800 million dollars, which was controlled through a small clique of big industrial capitalists. In information, the capital owned through the —Four Big Families| in China amounted to 70-80 per cent of the total industrial capital of China. Besides the KMT also took in excess of all the agricultural land and other assets which the Japanese had wrested from the Chinese people. Instead of structure/an self-governing economy, in return for American aid to fight the Communists, these _Four Big Families and their collaborators who controlled the KMT, forced the Nationalist government to mortgage the whole Chinese economy to the United States. It suited the Americans very well as they did not mind helping those forces in China which were anti-Communist and could as well give them a base against the Soviet Union.

Throughout the civil war itself, in November 1946 the KMT signed the Sino-American Treaty of Commerce and Navigation which opened China to American products. Through 1947 the United States occupied a decisive role in China's foreign commerce: 51 per cent of all imports (as opposed to 22 per cent in 1936 before the Japanese defeat), and 57 per cent of all exports (compared to 19 per cent in 1936). Management and training of personnel in several enterprises was put under American manage. The U.S. also put up factories in China and acquired or was given several privileges. They made use of KMT State organs to evade taxation, monopolies raw material, manage the market and transport facilities.

All this meant a virtual colonization of Chinese economy through American capital. It totally stifled and prevented growth of China's national industry and commerce and was against the interests of the big part of Chinese bourgeoisie or entrepreneurs. In conditions of the civil war this meant that the

Chinese Communists now establish a major part of the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie in China prepared to collaborate with them. This meant a major re-alignment of social forces in favour of the Communists.

The unprecedented rise in prices further contributed to an acute social and economic crisis in the KMT regions. The price index (100 in 1937) increased to 210 in 1947. The Chinese people were desperate and ready to welcome any change. They also felt that they had sacrificed so much to throw the Japanese out of the country and here was the KMT again selling out to a foreign power i.e. this time the Americans. They saw their newly won independence from foreign rule being systematically eroded and they recognized the Communists as the only constant fighters.

Popular discontent against the KMT grew in the middle of approximately all sections of society within and outside the KMT zones. Sometimes this discontent was led through underground Communist cadres. But very often it was spontaneous and created through the KMT policies. In September 1946 the slogan of Communist International —leave China! became popular. There arose a mass movement, whose supporters declared that they would go on agitating until all the American troops withdrew from China. This movement took dissimilar shapes of thrash about in dissimilar regions. For instance on December 1, 1947 a stall-keepers thrash about broke out in Shanghai. The people had to rely for their necessities on pavement stalls and there were several stall-keepers in Shanghai. But in order to monopolies the market for their big commercial supporters, the KMT government issued orders banning stalls on the pavement.

This made it impossible for the stall-keepers to earn their livelihood. Their demand to continue with the stalls was met with extreme brutality. Since Shanghai was the centre of collaboration of the KMT and Americans, it produced an unprecedented reaction in the middle of the Chinese people. In another case the rape of a Peking University girl-student through an American soldier was the last straw. Five lakh young people from schools and universities went on strike and organized demonstrations.

In May 1947, a —New May Fourth Movement! was proclaimed, protesting against the whole set of KMT policies. This movement was met

through repression. Hundreds of young people were wounded and 13,000 arrests were made in presently two months. But this only brought the democratic patriotic movement to a higher stage. Through the autumn of 1947 the movement had urbanized into a —movement for the protection of civil rights.¶

After a extensive era of inactivity the workers' movement also picked up. In May 1947, riots and strikes broke out in Shanghai protesting against the high cost of livelihood and hunger. —Rice riots¶ broke out in the municipalities of the lower Yangtze. The municipalities, therefore again became significant regions of thrash about against the old forces resisting change.

In the countryside, in KMT regions, peasant agitation took the form of demonstrations, riots, refusal to pay taxes and rent, and attacks on rent collectors. In Taiwan also there was resistance to KMT rule. The government again answered with brutal force. The poet Wen i-tuo, associated with the thrash about for democracy, was murdered. In May 1947 strikes, demonstrations and even petitions through more than ten people were banned. There remained no legroom for peaceful protest and no method out for those who stood midway flanked by the KMT and the Communists except to join the Communists against the repressive and authoritarian KMT government.

The liberated zones were able to retain their freedom from this repression because of the mass support for the Communists in the middle of the peasants. The CPC further consolidated its base in these regions through the October 1947 Agrarian Reform Law which described for the confiscation of landlords' land. The rich peasants were to provide up only those lands which exceeded the allowed limits. The Agrarian Law aimed at the elimination of the feudal lords as a class, but not at wiping them off as individuals. Clear distinction was made flanked by landlords and rich peasants, big landlords and smaller landlords; flanked by the common landlords and those who were local bullies. Each category was treated differently within the common framework of the Agrarian law based on the principle of —land to the tiller.¶

Moreover, these events were not accepted out basically through administrative means from above. The poor and middle peasants shaped the backbone of the movement for agrarian changes. Land was distributed in the following method: All the public land and the land owned through the landlords were to be taken in excess of through the local peasant association and, jointly with the rest of the land in the locality, re-distributed equally on a per capita foundation. An overall readjustment of landholdings was made so that every person in the locality became the owner of a piece of land roughly equal in conditions of size or productivity.

Within a year of the law, 100 million peasants in the liberated regions received land. The CPC also led the peasants in a movement for co-operation on a voluntary foundation in order to create improved methods of farming easier to implement and to augment agricultural manufacture.

Therefore, we see that the Communist victories of 1947 were not won through military means alone. The dissimilar shapes of class thrash about in the regions of the KMT and the CPC weakened KMT and strengthened the CPC support base throughout China. Having obtained land the peasants enthusiastically participated in the civil war on the face of the Communists. The total number of KMT troops was reduced from 4,30,000 at the beginning of the war to 3,700,000 through July 1947, while the PLA grew from 1,200,000 to almost 2,000,000. There was also as a result, a fundamental change in the war situation. People's revolutionary forces which had fought a suspicious battle for the last twenty years in China were, for the first time, in a location to assume the offensive. The PLA penetrated into the KMT regions. Mao Tse Tung referred to this stage as —the turning point in the war.¶

Communist Victories (1948-49)

In spring 1948, the PLA occupied the major municipalities beside the Yellow river. They also reoccupied Yen-an which had been their base throughout the anti-Japanese war and which they had been forced to abandon in 1946. In three major campaigns later the KMT forces were totally defeated:

- The first of these major campaigns through the PLA was in East China, where, after eight days of continual attack beginning on September 16, 1948, Tsinah, the capital municipality of Shantung province was liberated from the KMT forces.
- From September 12 to November 2, 1948 the PLA in North-east China mannered a campaign which resulted in the liberation of Shenyang and the whole North-east China, where the mainly significant industrial municipalities and the mainly productive areas of the whole country lay.
- In the era flanked by November 7, 1948 and January 10, 1949, the PLA liberates all the regions north of the Huai River and brought the greater part of the regions south of it under its manage.

After a campaign lasting from December 5, 1948 to January 31, 1949, another part of the PLA was able to liberate Peking. At this point, Chiang Kai Shek tried to create a illustrate of negotiations, while recouping his forces in the meanwhile. His game soon became clear to the Communists, who launched a new campaign in April 1949 to liberate the whole country. It did not take more than three days to capture Nanking which had been the headquarters of the KMT regime for more than 20 years. The liberation of Nanking marked the end of KMT rule, after which the whole mainland of China was won in excess of. Chiang Kai Shek, with a part of his forces, was forced to retreat to Taiwan. The western provinces, still ruled through their formerly self-governing warlords, laid down their arms and acknowledged the Communist regime. The Communists appeared as victors of the civil war. The Chinese people for the first time had a government that was their own throughout the country.

As in the earlier stage, the loss of support for the KMT and increased support for the CPC were important factors in these final victories. The KMT was not able to check price rise and manufacture came to a halt. It lost support from the people.

The Communists, on their part, in 1948-1949, tried to win the support of superior sections of people, through adopting a more flexible agrarian policy in the new liberated zones. They tried to be more moderate to begin with. For instance, the rich peasants were not touched and the middle classes and bourgeoisie were also not alienated through any events against their interests. The effort was to emphasize national reconstruction and popular unity of all democratic forces, which also incorporated non- Communist groups who had opposed the KMT. The thought was put forward through Mao Tse Tung in his pamphlet, —On the Peoples‘ Democratic Dictatorship,^l and was already implemented in the newly liberated zones.

So, even as victory was achieved, the circumstances had already been created for the establishment of new state structures on the foundation of broad political alliances with other democratic groups and a —general programme^{ll} on behalf of the aspirations of the Chinese people. On October 1, 1949, the new Peoples‘ Republic of China was formally proclaimed.

Difficulties for the New Regime

There were still some drawbacks for the new regime. The world as a whole would not recognize the new regime. The U.S. sustained to recognize Chiang Kai Shek, who resumed the leadership of his government in the confines of Taiwan. Other powers hesitated, some creation acts of recognition, other holding back. Communist China did not obtain China‘s seat at the U.N. Except for the Soviet Union, which was a socialist country, others adopted a hostile attitude. They saw in the new regime a defeat for the forces supported through imperialism, and a victory for socialism to which they were opposed in principle. They forgot all talk in relation to the democracy and disregarded the information that the new regime enjoyed great popular support. The United States, in information, did not recognize Communist China for more than twenty years.

Other troubles faced through the new regime were:

- The total wreck of the national economy,
- Galloping inflation,

- Disrupted and destroyed communications,
- No foreign trade,
- Hardly any functional industry, and
- Threat of famine in several regions.

There was very little left of the contemporary fleet of steamships, also mainly foreign owned, which had mannered the trade and afforded a major row of communications on the Yangtze river.

For these reasons several observers whispered that the new Communist government would not be able to survive extensive. But it had sure advantages. For instance it had the support of the vast majority of the Chinese people. They saw the new regime as a new start in the history, of their country and in their personal lives. Few knew in relation to the Communism, but they were conscious of structure a new society. The poorest of the poor felt a new dignity and usefulness in society. The whole country, for the first time in several years, was united and was at peace. Communications were being restored fast. This was, as several observers pointed out, achieved through unpaid labour. But the masses who worked on the railway restoration were fed and mobilized through PLA and received equal treatment with the soldiers. The towns did not starve in the winter of 1949. Food was transported, through barges and primitive boats, fourteen hundred miles up the Yangtze. The Chinese people survived the economic blockade through the foreign powers, presently as Soviet Russia had in 1917.

The Army had no more wars to fight. It was set to work in the municipalities, rebuilding shattered dwellings and public structures. A new currency was introduced. In the middle of 1951, within two years of victory, the inflation was halted and there was some economic stability.

It was on the foundation of this new stability that the leaders of the CPC tried to put into practice their experience of Kiahgsi and Yen-an throughout the country.

New Regime: Economic, Political and Social Framework

In 1948, at Mao's suggestion, one of the May Day slogans proclaimed through the Chinese Communist Party had been: —All democratic parties, peoples' organizations and public personages should quickly call a Political Consultative Conference to talk about and carry out the convening of a People's Congress and the formation of a democratic coalition government. The blueprint for such a government was put forward through Mao in his essay —On the Peoples' Democratic Dictatorship.‘‘ The political structure envisaged through him allowed for the participation of a very broad part of the Chinese population in the political and economic life of the country. This whole might of the people was to be directed against the power of the landlords and the reactionaries.

As soon as China was proclaimed a Republic with Communist victory, this type of a government was recognized. It was a coalition of fourteen parties and groups and there were non-Communists both in the government as well as in the middle of the deputy heads of states. This political structure was a symbol of the broad support enjoyed through the new regime. In social conditions it represented a united front or alliance of the working class, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie. Mao Tse- Tung was made the Chairman of the Peoples' Republic.

Land Reforms

The 'first major policy to be implemented was that of land reform'. This meant that:

- All land should be as distant as possible shared out equally flanked by the village or district, and
- The former landlords were to retain a small share, equal to that of others and only to them who were prepared to work it themselves.

In keeping with the broad base of the new political structure, the agrarian policy was also moderate, and such as to retain the support of the broader sections of the Chinese people in the countryside. As such, it was

more moderate than the Civil War policy. It was also a policy geared to promote economic development of the countryside and to re-form social and economic dealings there.

Therefore, the Agrarian Law of 1950, unlike that of 1947, divided the rural lands and goods of landowners without indemnity, but left them in possession of their municipality properties and business. The rich peasants, again unlike in 1947, were allowed to stay their lands and holdings, consideration being given to their productive capability and the information that municipalities had to be supplied with rice. Besides, these more flexible events applied only to the new liberated zones, where agrarian reform was being implemented for the first time. In the old liberated zones the 1947 events, remained in effect.

The properties of the landlords were divided in the middle of the poor and middle peasants. Tenant farming, with payments both in type and cash, was abolished. This amounted to 1/4 of the country's agricultural manufacture, which was earlier being handed in excess of to landlords. Forced labour and other feudal services were also abolished. Almost 300 million peasants benefited from these reforms. They became full owners of their land which they could buy, sell and rent. The rich peasants, though, retained their better excellence lands, The Agrarian Reform law also defined the powers of the peasants associations which were set up for carrying out the changes and peoples' courts were also recognized to deal with the cases of disagreement.

With the formation of peoples' courts and peasants associations, the political power of the landlords was also destroyed. This gave tremendous confidence to the peasants. Mass trials of cruel and oppressive landlords were accepted out in all parts of China. A number of landlords were executed after these trials, some sentenced to a era of detention, and some merely made to apologies, depending on their crimes. There were cases of cruelty, and it was a era of great political and psychological trauma for the landlords. But the peasantry had been oppressed for so extensive arid subjected to much cruelty that sometimes people took matter into their own hands, basically overcome through their deep resentment. Though, such cases were not the common rule of the day.

Agrarian reform also helped to activate the social life in the villages. Health and literacy campaigns were mannered through peasants associations, behaviors through women's groups and those of young people also ensured the participation of all sections in the transformation of the life of the people.

Industry

Industry and its management were in the hands of the national bourgeoisie, and the Communists had very little manage in excess of it. So, through the 1950 law they concerned themselves primarily with labour unions, price manage, sharing of primary materials and state orders. The CCP organized a vast network of unions in factories, municipality federations, provinces and in the dissimilar branches of industry. They represented workers interests in the factories and also accepted out literacy campaigns. Private economy was allowed to develop and even create profit under the common guidance of the state. Relentless thrash about was accepted out against corruption, waste, bribery and other such evils which undermined manufacture. Transportation, finances and commerce were also put in order.

Social Change

The Marriage Law of 1950 was an significant landmark in transforming social relationships. Its aim was the establishment of equal rights for women. Through creation marriage an institution based on equality and free mutual consent, the location of women was vastly improved. Women played an active role in productive work and in shouldering social responsibilities. They became active citizens of a new China. The Marriage Law was also a law for protection of children. Female infanticide was strictly forbidden. It was illegal to sell children, which had happened regularly throughout the famines of 1921, 1931 and 1943. Several women married against their wish asked for divorce and were helped through women's organizations. Prostitution became a crime. The prostitutes were given medical care and emotional support to begin new lives.

The peddlers of opium and other drugs were hunted down; the re-education and cure of opium addicts was organized and public gambling was

outlawed. In confronting all these illegal behaviors, the new regime defended the principles of human dignity.

A central problem faced through the new regime was also the cultural backwardness of the country. As Mao declared:

- —The serious problem is the education of the peasantry.¶

Literacy campaigns were organized in the villages, factories and in the middle of the poor sections of the municipalities. The number of students doubled flanked by 1949 and 1952 from 24 to 51 million primary school children, and from 1 million to 2.5 million secondary school students.

These social, political and economic changes were implemented through the creation of an organizational network extending to the mainly backward regions in the country. The membership of the Chinese Communist Party had grown from in relation to the 1 million at the start of the civil war to approximately 5 million in 1950. Mass organizations connected to the Party grew in all regions of social life: unions, women's organizations, youth groups, professional and intellectual organizations, friendship clubs with Soviet Union and other socialist countries. They were very active and in secure touch with the concrete troubles establish in each social category. In 1952 the women organizations had 76 million members. Democratic Youth Organization 7 million members, Federation of Students had 1,600,000 members, and the union had 6 million members. These organizations helped to:

- Link the masses to the significant policy events of the time,
- Provide them an active role, and
- Consolidate new thinking and new values through campaigns in the form of public meetings, discussions, posters and vast marches.

In this method the social, political and ideological foundations were created for a democratic regime that would enable a gradual transition towards a socialist society.

Significance of the Chinese Revolution

In assessing the significance and worldwide impact of the successful Chinese Revolution, we necessarily seem at it from a historical perspective. Both in region and population, China in 1949 was the main country in the world. Its territory extends to 9 million square kilometers and population, according to official statistics was 410 million in 1939. The destruction of the old order through the successful Chinese revolutionary movement and the establishment of a People's Republic, implied, so, the transformation of the excellence of life of a big chunk of the world's inhabitants. Given this information, it was a major event not only in the history of China but in the history of mankind.

Usually, it is recognized through students of history that the contemporary thoughts which first appeared in the West have played an significant role in transforming the consciousness of people in the more backward civilizations. Notable in the middle of these are the thoughts of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, Democracy and popular sovereignty. But we should also understand that these thoughts cannot discover fertile soil in a vacuum. It is ultimately the changes in the backward civilizations which make the favorable climate for new thoughts to take root. This happened also in the case of China. Secondly, successful revolutions like those of Russia (1917) and China (1949) have also shown that for democracy and equality to be real, there has to be economic equality, freedom from hunger and organization of manufacture in such a method that it benefits those who are the producers of the world's produce and wealth. Democracy, likewise, can have real content of the political structure if it is receptive to the needs of the labouring poor, who constitute the majority of the population; if its policies are in the interests of this part, and if they have a real attendance in governing themselves. The Chinese Revolution of 1949 laid the foundations of precisely such a society and polity in China. In doing so it inspired those who are fighting for social justice and equality not only in the underdeveloped countries but even in the advanced countries of the West. After the Chinese Revolution it can no longer

be said that progressive thoughts and practices have emanated only from the West.

We necessarily remember that the Chinese Revolution was also a major act of decolonization. Pre-revolutionary China was a country bled through approximately all the imperialist powers of the world. Its whole wealth and manufacture was organized for the benefit of these powers. The Chinese people existed a life of acute deprivation under the system of treaties forced on China through the Western powers and Japan.

They were equally the victims of the worst abuses of feudalism represented through Chinese Warlordism. Death from poverty and hunger was the norm rather than exception for the poorer sections of the peasantry. The Chinese Revolution in destroying the social and economic foundation of feudalism in China also destroyed the social base of the imperialist powers on Chinese soil. In their uncompromising thrash about against the imperialists, the Chinese revolutionary masses also gave a rebuff to the Western powers. It changed the balances of political forces in favour of socialism and national liberation. It proved an inspiring instance to all Asian countries fighting for national independence.

The Chinese revolution in bringing forth the full political potential of the peasantry provided a blueprint for the role of the peasantry in the revolutionary transformation of backward civilizations. The Communist movement in all backward countries has drawn upon this experience of China. Its concept of a ‘peoples’ democratic revolution has been incorporated and adapted in the programme of Communist parties in Asian Countries. The Chinese Revolution transformed the whole spectrum of life of the Chinese people—political, social, economic, intellectual— and made those major actors on the stage of world history.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

- Explain the international developments that contributed to the receptiveness of Communists ideas in China.
- What was the political climate in China during 1919-20?

- Discuss the objectives of the Communist Party of China in the formation of the United Front.
- Discuss the nature of the United Front.
- Discuss the Agrarian law set-up during Kiangsi Soviet.
- What impact did the agrarian policy have on rich, middle and poor peasants?
- Why did the CPC forge the second United Front?
- Explain the impact of U.S., entry in the war on China.
- Discuss the position of the political forces in China in the post-World War-11 period.
- Discuss the significance of the Chinese Revolution.

