

**M.A. PART - I****HIISTORY OF CHINA (1900-1992)  
SYLLABUS**

1. **China at the Opening of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century**
  - (a) Traditional Society, Ideologies and Response to the West
  - (b) Imperialism, China Under Western Influence
2. **Reforms and Revolutions** Social Origin of Revolution
  - (a) Sun Yat-sen and Revolution of 1911
3. **The Nationalist Government**
  - (a) Chiang Kai-shek
  - (b) Domestic Policy and Programme
  - (c) Foreign Policy
4. **Communist Party of China**
  - (a) Growth of Communism
  - (b) Rise of Mao Tse-tung
  - (c) Mao Tse-tung's Policies and Strategies
5. **Civil War**
  - (a) The Long March
  - (b) Triumph of Communists
  - (c) Birth of People's Republic of China
6. **People's Republic of China**
  - (a) The Constitutional Challenges
  - (b) Reconstruction Programme-Agricultural and Industrial
  - (c) Leadership Crisis and Cultural Revolution
7. **Deng Xiaoping Era**
  - (a) Emergence of Deng Xiaoping and China's New Order
  - (b) Four Modernizations
  - (c) Free Market Economy and Globalization
8. **China's Defence and Foreign Policy**
  - (a) China's World View
  - (b) China's Defence Policy
  - (c) China's Relations with USA, USSR and India



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# CHINA AT THE OPENING OF THE 20TH CENTURY-I TRADITIONAL SOCIETY AND IDEOLOGIES

## Outline of the Topic

- 1.0. Objectives
- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Historical Background.
- 1.3 Ideologies.
- 1.4 Traditional Chinese Society
- 1.5 Conclusion
- 1.6 Check your progress
- 1.8 Broad Questions.

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## 1.0 OBJECTIVES

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1. *To understand briefly the historical development in China.*
2. *To study the growth of ideologies that influenced the Chinese society and politics.*
3. *To review the social structure, role of the family and position of women in the traditional Chinese society.*

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## 1.1. INTRODUCTION

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China is one of the oldest countries in the world. She has been the cradle of one of the most ancient civilizations. The society in China as the political system gradually evolved through the ages. The Traditional Chinese society was based on the ideological development that took place during the 6th century BC such as Confucianism and Taoism. The traditional Chinese society was predominantly based on the Confucian ideology.

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## 1.2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

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Among the great countries of the world, China alone could boast of a continuous culture and civilization going back to as far as four thousand years. The civilization that we know as China originated in the area of the Yellow River, in the northern part of the country. Traditional texts refer to Huang Ti (2700 B.C.) as the first historical ruler of China. However, on the basis of archaeological findings it is believed that the earliest rulers of China existed probably between

1300 and 1200 B.C. They belonged to the Shang dynasty and ruled a substantial part of northern China.

With the establishment of Shang rule over most of North China and the appearance of the first written texts, China completed the transition from Neolithic culture to civilization. Shang originally was the name of a nomadic tribe whose vigorous leaders succeeded in establishing themselves as the overlords of other tribal leaders in North China. The Shang capital, a walled city to which the tribal leaders came to pay tribute, changed frequently; the last capital was at modern Anyang.

The Shang people developed bronze metallurgy and carried it to heights hardly surpassed in world history. Bronze was used to cast elaborate ceremonial and drinking vessels and weapons, all intricately decorated with both incised and high-relief designs.

The Shang people also developed a distinctive writing system employing nearly 5000 characters, some of which are still in use today. These characters represent individual words rather than sounds and consist of pictographs, recognizable as pictures of observable objects, and ideographs representing ideas.

Around 1122 B.C., the leader of the Zhou tribe overthrew the Shang ruler, who, it was claimed, had failed to rule fairly and benevolently. The Zhou leader announced that Heaven (Tien) had given him a mandate to replace the Shang. This was more than a rationalization of the seizure of power.

Comprising most of North China, the large Zhou domain made the establishment of a unified state impossible. Consequently, the Zhou kings set up a feudal system of government by delegating local authority to relatives and noble magnates. These vassal lords, whose power was hereditary, recognized the over-lordship of the Zhou kings and supplied them with military aid.

Class divisions and consciousness became highly developed under Zhou feudalism and have remained until modern times. The king and the aristocracy were sharply separated from the mass of the people on the basis of land ownership and family descent.

The core units of aristocratic society were the elementary family, the extended family, and the clan, held together by patriarchal authority and ancestor worship. Marriages were formally arranged unions between families.

The feudal system in the later Zhou period had weakened the central authority. During the so called period of 'Warring States' (475-221 B.C.) China was divided into a number of independent

principalities. Finally, the state of Qin (Chin) from which the name of the country (China) is derived, conquered other states, destroyed the feudal system and unified the whole of the country in a well-knit empire. Its ruler became Qin Shih Huang Ti (First Emperor of the Qin dynasty). Earlier rulers of several states had built walls to guard their northern borders against attack. Shih Huang Ti completed the 'Great Wall of China'. The Great Wall emphasized what was Chinese and what was Chung-kuo, the central country, or the Middle Kingdom, as often appeared in Western literature. Shih Huang Ti is also remembered for his 'burning of the books' and ruthless persecution of Confucianism. Confucian books were burnt, and Confucian scholars were executed.

The Qin dynasty survived for a brief period of twenty years. Power struggle among top officials after the death of Shih Huang Ti (210 B.C.) and revolts of the subject people against the oppression of the legalist government brought an early end to the dynasty. Though the Qin dynasty had an early end, the idea of a unified China under a single emperor was kept alive. In spite of the frequent rise and fall of dynasties and occasional periods of division, China experienced unified imperial government for nearly 2,000 years.

The Qin dynasty was followed by the Han dynasty in 206 B.C. The reign of the Han dynasty was one of the richest and most inspiring periods in China's long history. Han culture enriched Chinese culture in many ways. There was progress in literature and arts, science and industry and government. The Chinese developed a lunar calendar and seismograph to detect earthquake. Elaborately embroidered silks were woven for both domestic and foreign trade. Literature became richer in expression. The first standard histories written on paper were produced during the Han period. China first came in contact with West Asia and the Roman Empire in this age.

Following the Hans the unity of China was disrupted once again. Early in the fourth century when the Huns dominated Northern China, the Tsin dynasty occupied only the South of the country. China came to be fragmented into 'Sixteen Kingdoms'. This period saw progress in the field of religion.

Four centuries after the downfall of the Han dynasty, China once again entered a period of greatness under the Tang dynasty (618-906). Education was encouraged, civil service examinations, an idea adapted from the previous Sui dynasty were stressed, laws were codified and commerce was encouraged. The Tang Empire covered the whole of China and extended to Manchuria and Turkestan.

Following the fall of the Tang dynasty, China once again entered a period of political confusion. Between 907 and 960 a succession of 'Five Dynasties' managed to keep a precarious control over what remained of the Tang Empire. The outstanding event of this period was the invention of the art of printing which was to influence the whole world. The important Confucian and Buddhist texts, printed from wooden blocks, soon spread over China. This period also witnessed the evil custom of 'foot-binding' of girls. It was also a period of general collapse of political and economic structure of the society

Out of this prevailing confusion and lawlessness rose the Sung dynasty that ruled China from 960 to 1279, with the exception of the years 1127-1135. The Chinese urban culture reached its peak during this period. A wealthy and vigorous merchant class developed commerce both within China and with South-east Asia. The livelihood of the people improved and there was progress in the arts and education. There was also advance in the science of algebra, probably introduced through the Arab trade. Prose writing, landscape painting, block printing and Neo-Confucianism developed during the Sung period.

During the late Sung period the nomads to the north began moving south into China. Finally, in 1279, the Mongols under Kublai Khan conquered the entire China. Under the Mongol (Yuan) dynasty (1279-1368), China was included into a Mongol Empire which for a while covered most of Asia. It was for the first time that China came under the foreign rule. During the Mongol rule, Europeans became increasingly interested in China. Marco Polo, a trader from Venice in Italy visited China during the reign of Kublai Khan. After travelling widely in China from 1275 to 1292, Marco Polo returned to Venice with glowing accounts of the highly civilized country which he called Cathay.

Mongol rule lasted less than a century. In 1368, Chinese rebels were able to expel the Mongols and establish the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) of a pure Chinese origin. The Ming dynasty promoted stability, prosperity and arts and literature. The Confucian scholars began to dominate the Chinese society during this period. Following the Mongol rule, the Ming Emperors looked down on all things foreign. When European traders visited China during 1500's and 1600's, the Chinese attitude towards both foreigners and commerce had become very negative.

Following the decline of the Ming dynasty, the Manchus, a semi-civilized and quite non-Chinese group living in the North east (Manchuria) invaded China and established the Qing (Ching or Manchu) dynasty. Like the Mongols, the Manchus were foreigners. However, unlike the Mongols, the Manchus adopted many

elements of Chinese culture before they gained control of the empire. The Manchus strongly supported Neo-Confucianism and modeled their political system after that of the Ming rulers.

The Manchu Empire enjoyed stability and prosperity from 1661 to 1799. Chinese influence extended into Mongolia, Tibet, and Central Asia. Agriculture, handicraft industry and commerce increased remarkably. But by late 1700's, the standard of living began to decline in China as the population growth became faster than agricultural production. The worsening conditions resulted in a rebellion in 1796 led anti-Manchu secret societies. The rebellion that lasted till 1804 greatly weakened the Manchu dynasty.

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### 1.3. IDEOLOGIES

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By the fifth century B.C., the increasing warfare among the feudal lords and Warring States had destroyed the stability that had characterized Chinese society under the Shang and early Zhou dynasties. Educated Chinese had become aware of the great disparity between the traditions inherited from their ancestors and the conditions in which they themselves lived. The result was the birth of a social consciousness leading to the formulation of ideologies that focused on the study of humanity and the problems of society. Some scholars have noted the parallel between the flourishing intellectual life of China in the fifth century B.C. and Greek philosophy and Indian religious thought at the same time. However, the birth of social consciousness and ideologies in China, isolated from the other centers of civilization, can best be understood in terms of internal developments rather than external influences. Some of the important ideologies that continued to influence the Chinese society and politics at the opening of the 20th century are the following:

**1.3.1. Confucianism:** The first, most famous, and certainly most influential Chinese philosopher and teacher was K'ung-fu-tzu (Master K'ung, the Sage), known popularly as Confucius (551-479 B.C.) Confucianism is the cornerstone of traditional Chinese culture. It is a complete ideological system created by Confucius, based on the traditional culture of the Xia, Shang and Zhou Dynasties. Confucianism has dominated a feudal society that in essence has lasted 2000 years and for that reason its influence over the history, social structure and the people of China cannot be overlooked. Confucius has proved to be the greatest influence over the Chinese character. Besides being a great educationist, thinker and unsuccessful politician, he was first of all an intellect with a noble morality. He pursued truth, kindness and perfection throughout his life and his success and failure were largely due to his character, which had an everlasting impact on Chinese intellect.

Later, Confucians attributed to the master the role of composing or editing the Five Confucian Classics (two books of history and one book each on poetry, divination, and ceremonies), which were in large part a product of the early Zhou period. But the only work that can be accurately attributed to Confucius is the 'Analects' (Selected Sayings), a collection of his responses to his disciples' questions.

Confucius, who belonged to the lower aristocracy, was more or less a contemporary of the Buddha in India, Zoroaster in Persia, and the early philosophers of Greece. Like the Buddha and Zoroaster, Confucius lived in a troubled time - an age of political and social turmoil - and his prime concern, like theirs, was the improvement of society. To achieve this goal, Confucius did not look to the gods and spirits for assistance. Though he accepted the existence of Heaven (Tien) and spirits, he insisted it was more important 'to know the essential duties of man living in a society of men.' He said, "We don't know yet how to serve men, how can we know about serving the spirits?" And, "We don't yet know about life, how can we know about death?" He advised a ruler to "respect the ghosts and spirits but keep them at a distance" and "devote yourself to the proper demands of the people."

His teaching was largely concerned with the problems of good government. Confucius believed that the improvement of society was the responsibility of the ruler and that the quality of government depended on the ruler's moral character. He said, "The Ruler himself should be virtuous, just, honest and dutiful. A virtuous ruler is like the Pole-star which, by keeping its place, makes all other stars to revolve round it. As is the Ruler, so will be the subjects." Confucius laid great stress on the cultivation of character, purity of heart and conduct. He exhorted the people to develop a good character first, which is a priceless jewel and which is the best of all virtues.

The nature of man, according to Confucius, is fundamentally good inclined towards goodness. Perfection of goodness can be found in sages and saints. Every man should attempt to reach the ideal by leading a virtuous life, by possessing a very noble character, and by doing his duty unselfishly with sincerity and truthfulness. He who is endowed with a good character and divine virtue is a princely type of man. The princely man sticks to virtue, and the inferior man clings to material comfort. The princely man is just while the inferior man expects rewards and favours. The princely man is dignified, noble, magnanimous, and humble while the inferior man is mean, proud, crooked, and arrogant.

In the 'Great Learning' Confucius revealed the process, step by step, by which self-development is attained and by which it flows over into the common life to serve the state and bless mankind.



The order of development which Confucius set forth is as follows: Investigation of phenomena, Learning, Sincerity, Rectitude of purpose, Self-development, Family-discipline, Local self-government, and Universal self-government.

Confucius held that society was made up of five relationships: Those of husband and wife, of parent and child, of elder and younger brother, or generally of elders and youngsters, of ruler and minister or subject, and of friend and friend. According to Confucius a country would be well-governed when all the parties performed their parts aright in these relationships. Confucius said: "There was Tao (a way or road of righteousness) only when fathers were fathers, when sons were sons, when rulers were rulers and when ministers were ministers."

**1.3.2. Mencius:** The man whose work was largely responsible for the emergence of Confucianism as the most widely accepted ideology in China was Mencius (Meng-tzu- 372-289 B.C.). Mencius, who was born a century after the death of Confucius added important new dimensions to Confucian ideology in two areas: human nature and government.

Although Confucius had only implied that human nature is good, Mencius emphatically insisted that all people are inherently good and tend to seek the good, just as water tends to run downhill. But unless people strive to preserve and develop their inborn goodness, which is the source of righteous conduct, it can be corrupted by the bad practices and ideas existing in the environment. Mencius taught that the opposite of righteous conduct is selfishness, and he attacked the extreme individualism of the Taoists as a form of selfishness.

The second area in which Mencius elaborated on Confucius' ideology was political theory. Mencius distinguished between good kings, who ruled benevolently, and the rulers of his day (the Period of Warring States), who governed by brute force and spread violence and disorder. Because good rulers are guided by ethical standards, he said, they will behave benevolently toward the people and provide for their well-being. Unlike Confucius, who did not question the right of hereditary kings to rule, Mencius said that the people have a right to rebel against bad rulers and even kill them if necessary, because they have lost the 'Mandate of Heaven.'

This concept of Mencius has been used by the Zhou to justify their revolt against the Shang. On that occasion, the concept had had a religious meaning, being connected with the worship of Heaven, who supported the ruler as the 'Son of Heaven.' Mencius, however, secularized and humanized the 'Mandate of Heaven' by equating it with the people. By redefining the concept in this way, Mencius

made the welfare of the people the ultimate standard for judging government. He even went to the extent of telling rulers that the people were more important than they were.

Modern commentators, both Chinese and Western, have viewed Mencius' definition of the 'Mandate of Heaven' as an early form of democratic thought. Mencius did believe that all people were morally equal and that the ruler needed the consent of the people. However, Mencius was clearly the advocate of benevolent monarchy rather than popular democracy.

**1.3.3. Taoism:** A second ideological reaction to the troubled life of the late Zhou period was the teaching of Lao-tzu (Old Master), a semi-legendary figure who was believed to have been a contemporary of Confucius. As with Confucius, the key term in Lao-tzu's teaching is Tao (road or way), from which his ideology derives its name. The Tao represents the characteristics or behaviour that makes each thing in the universe what it is. The word is also used to mean reality as a whole, which consists of all the individual 'ways'. While Confucius defined Tao as a rational standard of ethics in human affairs, Lao-tzu gave it a metaphysical meaning - the course of nature, the natural and inevitable order of the universe.

The beliefs of Taoism as an ideology appear in two books-the 'Lao Tzu' (later renamed the 'Tao Te Ching', the Classic of the Way and the Virtue) and the 'Chuang Tzu'. The Lao-tzu is a collection from several sources and its authors and editors are unknown.

According to Confucian ideology, people can live a good life only in a well-disciplined society that stresses attention to economy, duty, morality, and public service. The Taoist ideology, on the other hand, is a person who avoids conventional social obligations and leads a simple, spontaneous, and meditative life close to nature. Thus, at the core of Taoist ideology is the concept of 'wu-wei', or 'non-action' - a manner of living which, like nature itself, is nonassertive and spontaneous. Lao-tzu pointed out that in nature all things work silently. They fulfill their function and, after they reach their bloom, they return to their origins. Unlike Confucius' ideal gentleman, who is constantly involved in society in order to better it, Lao-tzu's sage is a private person, an egocentric individualist.

Confucianism and Taoism became the two major ideologies that shaped Chinese thought, society and civilization. Although these rival schools frequently sniped at one another, they never became mutually exclusive outlooks on life. Taoist intuition complemented Confucian rationalism. During the centuries to come, Chinese were often Confucianists in their social relations and Taoists in their private life.

**1.3.4. Legalism:** Another ideology that emerged in the fourth and third centuries B.C. came to be called the ‘School of Law,’ or Legalism. It had no single founder, as did Confucianism and Taoism, nor was it ever a school in the sense of a teacher leading disciples. What it did have in common with Confucianism and Taoism was the desire to establish stability in an age of turmoil.

The Legalists emphasized the importance of harsh and inflexible law as the only means of achieving an orderly and prosperous society. They believed that human nature was basically bad and that people acted virtuously only when forced to do so. Therefore, they argued for an elaborate system of laws defining fixed penalties for each offense, with no exceptions for rank, class, or circumstances. Judges were not to use their own conscience in estimating the gravity of the crime and arbitrarily deciding on the punishment. Their task was solely to define the crime correctly. The punishment was provided automatically by the code of law. This procedure is still a characteristic of Chinese law.

Since the enforcement of law required a strong state, the immediate goal of the Legalists was to enhance the power of the ruler at the expense of other elements, particularly the nobility. Their ultimate goal was the creation of a centralized state strong enough to unify all China and end the chaos of the Warring States period. The unification of China in 221 B.C. was largely the result of putting Legalist ideas of government into practice.

**Check Progress :**

1. *What were the basic principles of the ideology developed by Confucius?*
2. *Briefly evaluate the contribution of Mencius to the growth of Confucianism.*
3. *Mention briefly the core of Taoist ideology*
4. *Write a brief note on Legalism.*

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## **1.4. TRADITIONAL CHINESE SOCIETY**

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Like other ancient societies, traditional Chinese society had been predominantly conservative. The values of the Chinese traditional

society were contained in the orthodox version of Confucianism. These values were distinctive for their worldly emphasis on society and public administration and for their wide diffusion throughout Chinese society. Confucianism, which was never regarded as a religion in any accepted sense, was primarily concerned with social order. Social harmony was to be achieved within the state, whose administrators consciously selected the proper policies and acted to educate both the rulers and the subject masses. Confucianism originated and developed as the ideology of professional administrators.

**1.4.1. Traditional Social Structure:** Traditional Chinese society was a complex agrarian society. The chief features of the Chinese social life included stability, the absence of a priestly class, dominance of the scholar-gentry class, lack of any established religious tradition, fourfold division of the society in which individuals had the freedom of upward or downward social mobility, patriarchal family system and women being assigned an inferior position.

The traditional Chinese society was structured into four classes: (1) The scholar-gentry (Mandarins), (2) The peasants, (3) The artisans and (4) The merchants.

**1.4.1.a. The Scholar-Gentry (Mandarins):** A few years before the beginning of the Christian era, feudalism had come to an end in China. A unified imperial state created by military force had resulted in the establishment of a centralized government. The military force did not play any role in shaping the structure of the traditional Chinese society. Neither was there any priestly class in China as in other ancient civilizations which could provide leadership to the society. Thus, the Chinese society came to be dominated by the government officials and administrators (bureaucrats). This scholar-gentry, though small in number, helped the rulers in running the administrative system in imperial China. They were considered as the leaders of the society and officials of the state.

The scholar-gentry comprising about one percent of China's population, had a number of distinctive features. They were dispersed across the country and often lived in rural areas, where they were the dominant figures on the local scene. Although they held land, which they rented to tenant farmers, they neither possessed large estates like European nobles nor held hereditary titles. They achieved their highest and most prestigious titles by their performance in the central government's triennial civil service examinations. These titles had to be earned by each generation, and since the examinations had strict numerical quotas, competition was fierce. Government officials were selected from

those who passed the examinations, which tested for mastery of the Confucian Classics.

The imperial state was staffed by a small civil bureaucracy. Civil officials were directly appointed and paid by the emperor and had to have passed the civil service examinations. Officials, who were supposed to owe their primary loyalty to the emperor, did not serve in their home provinces and were generally assigned to different places. Although the salary of central officials was low, the positions offered great opportunities for personal enrichment, which was one reason that families competed so fiercely to pass the examinations and then obtain an appointment. For most officials, holding office in the government was not a lifetime career. Many of the officials served for a few years and then returned to their home districts and families where their wealth, prestige, and network of official contacts made them dominant figures on the local scene.

**1.4.1.b. The Peasants:** The overwhelming majority of the Chinese lived in villages and their chief occupation was agriculture. Throughout the centuries some 80 to 90 percent of the Chinese population has been farmers. The farmers supported a small number of specialized craftsmen and traders and also an even smaller number of land- and office-holding elite families who ran the society. As producers of food and other agricultural items, the peasants and farmers in the traditional Chinese society occupied a status of respect next only to the scholar-gentry. They had freedom in buying or selling their land. If they had intellectual ability, the peasants could compete in the civil service examinations and rise to the ranks of scholar-gentry. A tenant farmer was as free as the owner of the land. He was not treated as a bonded labour and was not required to render any personal service to the landlord.

**1.4.1.c. The Artisans:** During the Han period China became the most technologically innovative of all classical civilizations. Innovations included the introduction of paper, watermills, powdering mills and compasses. Improved techniques also appeared in mining, silk making, and ceramics. The advances led to the growth of a mostly urban artisan and manufacturing class. The class of the artisans and craftsmen was identified with the Chinese character meaning labour. They were much like farmers in the respect that they produced essential goods needed by themselves and the rest of society. Although they could not provide the state with much of its revenues since they often had no land of their own to be taxed, artisans and craftsmen were still given a higher place than merchants. Since ancient times, the skilled work of artisans and craftsmen was handed down orally from father to son.

Artisans and craftsmen were either employed by the government or worked privately. A successful and highly skilled artisan could often gain enough capital in order to hire others as apprentices or additional labourers that could be overseen by the chief artisan as a manager. Hence, artisans could create their own small enterprises in selling their work and that of others, and like the merchants, they formed their own guilds. Artisans and craftsmen although relegated by the scholar-gentry to a social status inferior to peasants, surpassed them in living standards.

**1.4.1.d. Merchants:** The merchants, traders, and peddlers of goods were viewed by the scholar-gentry as essential members of society. However, they were placed on the lowest of the four grades in the traditional Chinese social hierarchy. The scholars' attitude towards commerce and business was almost universally apparent in their writings which denounced the merchant class as greedy and lacking moral character. Merchants were seen as somewhat parasitic to the needs of all other groups in society. It was commonly believed that they used the goods that others produced and made their own profits from them. In essence, they were seen as business savvy, but not morally cultivated enough to be leading members of society or highly venerated representatives of Chinese culture.

**1.4.1.e. Other Lower Social Groups:** There were many social groups that were excluded from the four broad categories in the traditional Chinese social hierarchy. These included soldiers and guards, religious clergy and diviners, eunuchs and concubines, entertainers and courtiers, domestic servants and slaves, prostitutes, and low class labourers other than farmers and artisans.

There were reasons behind the aristocratic officials and later scholar-officials' classifying of certain groups in the hierarchy and leaving others out. The scholar-officials placed farmers as the second most prestigious group because the aristocratic officials and scholar-officials were landholders themselves, much like farmers. Both farmers and artisans were placed on a higher scale than merchants because the two former groups produced crops and manufactured goods, essential things needed by the whole of society. The merchants were seen as merely talented at business and trading, and were often seen as greedy and even parasitic to the needs of all other groups.

The social category of the soldier was left out of the social hierarchy due to the gentry scholars' embracing of intellectual cultivation and dislike for violence. The scholars did not want to legitimize those whose professions centered chiefly around violence, so to leave them out of the social hierarchy altogether.

was a means to keep them in an unrecognized and undistinguished social scale. Entertainers and courtiers were often dependents upon the wealthy or were associated with the often-perceived immoral pleasure grounds of urban entertainment districts. To give them official recognition would have given them more prestige. Although shamans and diviners in Bronze Age China had some authority as religious leaders in society, the scholars did not want religious leaders gaining too much power and influence like military strongmen.

**1.4.2. Family in Traditional Chinese Society:** In the traditional Chinese society, the family was the basic unit. In most of the families three to four generations lived under the same roof. As the traditional Chinese society was patriarchal, the members of the joint family were required to obey the eldest male member, who was accepted as the head of the family. The family structure and relations between members were based on the ideology of Confucius. According to Confucius, "Society rests upon the obedience of children to parents and wife to her husband and the subjects to their ruler." The chief features of the traditional Chinese family were that the younger members in the family obeyed the elders and as in most medieval societies, women were assigned inferior status compared with men.

Obedience to the head of the family was the cardinal principle in the traditional Chinese society. He had complete authority over all the members of the family. His word was respected because he was responsible for the welfare of the members of the family. The head of the family owned all the property of the family. His decisions in all important matters were final. All the religious duties were to be performed by the head of the family. Ancestor worship was one of the important customs that had come down through many centuries in China.

**1.4.3. Status of Women in Traditional Chinese Society:** In the predominantly patriarchal Chinese society women occupied a subordinate and degraded status. They were considered as inferior to men and were assigned the most despised and least important jobs and positions. The male child was looked upon as a 'gift' from the gods, and treated accordingly. He alone could offer sacrifice to his ancestors. Girls were considered a burden to the family.

The custom of 'foot-binding' of girls that originated in China during the Tang dynasty in the 10th century continued even during the 19th century. Right from childhood the feet of the girls were bound with bandages or placed in small wooden shoes in order to prevent their growth. This practice caused a lot of pain to the women as they had to walk with great care. Women with small feet were considered to be beautiful and desirable and small feet were a pre-

requisite for a good marriage. Thus, mothers took extra care in binding the feet of their daughters in order to restrict their growth. This custom was chiefly prevalent among the scholar-gentry class. As the peasant women were required to work in the fields they were spared from this painful custom.

Women in the traditional Chinese society had to obey their husbands and live under the authority of their mothers-in-law. They had no right to property. Men could marry more than one wife but women could not remarry even after the death of their first husband. Men were also allowed to have pre-marital and extra-marital relations and even could have concubines without any social restrictions. Prostitution was a legalized profession in China.

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## 1.5 CONCLUSION

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The Chinese polity, society and culture has evolved through a long historical process. The Chinese culture has greatly contributed to various aspects of scientific and technological development. The Chinese society was given a proper direction through philosophical ideologies such as Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism. The predominant ideology that became the foundation of the Chinese social order up 1912 was Confucianism which regulated the life of an individual in the family and defined relationship between individual and the ruler. The traditional Chinese society was well organized into class system that fixed the hierarchy of a group of people based on their intelligence and profession. However, it is important to note that the women in the Chinese society as in other cultures were treated as subordinate to men and denied a number of rights that were enjoyed by men.

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## 1.6 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS :

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5. Point out different classes into which the traditional Chinese society was divided.
6. What was the nature of the family in the traditional Chinese society?
7. Examine the status of women in the traditional Chinese society

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**1. 7 BROAD QUESTIONS**

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1. Explain different ideologies that developed in China.
2. Give an account of the traditional Chinese society in China.
3. Review the influence of ideologies on the traditional Chinese society.
4. *Write short notes on:*
  - a. Confucianism
  - b. Taoism
  - c. Social structure in China
  - d. Position of women



## CHINA AT THE OPENING OF THE 20TH CENTURY-II

### Outline of the Topic

- 2.0 Objective
- 2.1 Imperialism in China
- 2.2. China Under Western Influence
- 2.3 Chinese Response to the West
- 2.4 Conclusion
- 2.5 Check your progress
- 2.6 Broad Questions.

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### **2.0 OBJECTIVES:**

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1. *To review briefly the impact of imperialism in China.*
2. *To study Western influence on Chinese society.*
3. *To evaluate the response of the Chinese to the Western impact.*

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### **2. 1. IMPERIALISM IN CHINA**

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**2.1 .1. Introduction:** It is quite interesting to understand the history of the Western contact with the Far East in general and China in particular. European imperialism in China and the gradual Western influence on the Chinese society led to different response from the conservative as well as liberal elements in the Chinese society.

**2. 1.2. Early Contact between the West and China:** The early contact between the West and China can be traced to the early period of Christianity. During the early years of the Christian era a regular overland silk trade was carried on between China and the Roman Empire. There was a great demand for Chinese silk in the Roman Empire. However, China was not dependent on any of the Western products.

It was during the seventh century that Christianity was introduced in China. The Nestorian missionaries of the Persian Church reached China in about 635 during the rule of the Tang dynasty. The missionaries built churches in several cities. Though there was occasional persecution of the Nestorians, they were generally tolerated for about two centuries.

During the period of 'Five Dynasties' (907-960) and the Sung dynasty (960-1279) a fairly good amount of foreign trade was conducted between the West and China. As intermediaries, the Muslim Arab merchants regularly visited China. It is also said that

even the Jewish merchants had a colony in China. There is a general belief that it was through the Arab traders that the Europeans acquired knowledge of the Chinese tea.

During the thirteenth century, the Mongol Empire established by Chenghis Khan extended from the western borders of Russia to the Pacific Ocean under his successors. This facilitated the opening of trade routes between China and Europe which had been closed for more than four centuries. A number of factors encouraged this new European interest in China. With the rapid spread of Islam, Christianity in Europe was threatened. Thus, the Christian Europe entertained a hope of a possibility of an alliance with the Mongols and the Chinese against the Muslims. A new demand for Eastern commodities in Europe was created as a result of the Crusades. Besides, the Roman Catholic Church entertained a desire to carry the 'true faith' to pagan China. Thus, fear, material gain and faith, encouraged the Europeans to revive their interest in China.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries regular religious, commercial and political embassies were sent from Europe to China during the Mongol rule. A Franciscan missionary, John de Plano Carpini was welcomed by Kublai Khan in 1246. Louis IX of France sent two political embassies in 1249 and 1252. Two Venetian merchants, Nicolo and Maffeo Polo reached the court of Kublai Khan in 1264. Later, in 1275, the Polo brothers along with Nicolo's son, Marco Polo visited China. After his return to Venice, Marco Polo's narration about his experience in China was published in the form of a book titled 'The Book of Marco Polo' also known as 'The Description of the World'. This book stirred the imagination of the Europeans and made them to realise the great potential of trade with China.

**2. 1.3. Sea Route to China:** As the land routes to the Far East through Central Asia became unsafe due to the Turkish domination of the region, the Europeans began to explore the possibility of an alternative route through the seas to the East. Vasco da Gama, the Portuguese adventurer reached Calicut in India in 1498. Other Portuguese sailors who followed da Gama reached Malacca in Southeast Asia in 1511. Raphael Peresterella was the first Portuguese to reach the southern coast of China in 1516. Later, in 1557, the Portuguese established themselves at Macao, a small peninsula in Southern China. The Portuguese monopoly of trade with China was broken when the Spaniards reached China in 1575, followed by the Dutch in 1604, English in 1637 and the Americans in 1784. However, Russia was the first foreign country to conclude an agreement with China in 1689. By this agreement trade between the two countries came to be regulated.

Roman Catholic missionaries were not far behind the European traders. By their appeal to scientific and scholarly interests of the Chinese officials, the missionaries could find favour with them. In the seventeenth century Franciscan, Dominican and Augustinian missionaries entered China. In 1692, Emperor Kang Hsi issued a proclamation granting freedom of worship to the Roman Catholics throughout the empire. However, occasionally the missionaries were persecuted and were forced to return to Canton or Macao.

**2. 1.4. Chinese Reaction towards the Europeans:** The Manchu rulers in particular and the Chinese in general were prejudicial in their reaction to the presence of the Europeans in China. The Chinese were of the strong conviction that their country had the highest and in a sense the only true civilization in the world. They were willing to have contact with Europeans only on the assumption that they were 'barbarians'. The Europeans were required to acknowledge the superiority of the Chinese culture and the emperor of China. They were also required to present tribute to the emperor as a sign of submission. The foreign envoys did not enjoy the status of equality as the representatives of sovereign states. They had to observe the 'Kowto'w, a practice of paying respect to the emperor by kneeling before him and bumping the head on the ground. The Chinese authorities imposed a number of restrictions on the Europeans. They were subjected to the Chinese laws and there were no fixed and uniform tariff laws.

**2. 1.5. The Canton Trade:** The Manchu Emperors desired to limit and control foreign trade rather than eliminate it. This led to the development of the so-called the Canton system of trade. Accordingly, in 1757, Canton was declared as the only legal port for foreign trade with China. This trade was strictly regulated by the 'cohong' or a guild of Chinese merchants who paid the emperor handsomely for their monopoly power. The cohong fixed prices, collected duties, and levied numerous fees on foreign merchants, who were forbidden to interact with the Chinese people or even to learn the Chinese language.

**2.1.6. East India Company's Penetration into China:** In the eighteenth century the English East India Company enjoyed the monopoly of the Eastern trade. The Chinese silk, cotton and tea were in great demand in the European markets. For these, payment was made by spice and silver. Thus, the trade was favourable to China. The unequal balance of trade between the two countries created a lot of uneasiness among the British. The principal item of exchange was the Chinese tea, which had become the national drink of the British people during the eighteenth century. By the early nineteenth century, British ships were transporting millions of kilograms of tea back to England every year. Unfortunately, English merchants were unable to come up

with products which they could sell to the Chinese in similar quantity. As a result in some years, 90 per cent of the cargo brought by the British ships to China consisted of silver bullion.

The British considered such an imbalance of trade with China as unhealthy. In 1793 the British government sent a diplomatic mission to China demanding the abandonment of the Canton system and suggesting the opening of the entire China for the British trade. The Chinese officials refused to accept the British demands. In his famous reply to King George III of England, the Emperor of China declared, "We possess all things. I set no value on objects strange or ingenious, and have no use for your country's manufactures."

**2. 1.7. Opium Wars:** The opium trade and the subsequent opium wars were the manifestation of the British imperialism in China. Opium became the tool by which the British traders eventually broke open the Chinese market. The Chinese had long been introduced to this addictive drug. In 1773, the English East India Company established its monopoly over opium cultivation in India.

Realising the evil impact of opium on the people, the Chinese government had imposed a ban on the cultivation and import of opium in China. However, the ban was ineffective as the English merchants smuggled opium in large quantities into China with the connivance of corrupt Chinese officials. The opium, while addicting the Chinese population was also draining a huge amount of silver from China. The outflow of a large amount of Chinese silver disrupted Chinese finances and ruined Chinese economy. Following the Charter Act of 1833, the monopoly of the East India Company came to an end. This enabled new groups of merchants to enter the Chinese market. With the increased flow of opium into China many Chinese became addicted to opium smoking.

**2.1.7.1. First Opium War (1839-42):** In late 1830s, the Chinese government made a serious attempt to eradicate the opium traffic. An efficient and competent administrator named Lin Tse Hsu was sent to Canton to manage the campaign. He decided to take action against the foreign merchants who had been supplying opium to the Chinese smugglers. In March 1839, Lin ordered the British merchants to hand over all of their opium stocks within three days. He also asked them to sign a bond pledging never again to traffic in the drug under penalty of death. When British superintendent of trade Charles Elliot attempted to negotiate, Lin suspended trade and held all foreign merchants hostage. Elliot then ordered the merchants to hand over their opium to him, after which he surrendered it to Lin who dumped nearly 20,000 boxes of opium into the sea. However, the British merchants refused to give an undertaking that they would abstain in future from trading in opium. These developments ultimately led to the First Opium War.

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

The First Opium War dragged on till 1842 till China was forced to submit through the Treaty of Nanking (1842). By this treaty: China agreed to : (1) abolish the Cohong; (2) open four more ports (Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo, and Shanghai) to trade and residence of British merchants; (3) cede the island of Hong Kong to the British; (4) pay a huge war indemnity to the British; and (5) a uniform and moderate tariff on exports and imports, which came to be known as the five per cent ad volorem.

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

**2. 1.7.2. The Second Opium War (1856-60):** The Second Opium War was in many ways an inevitable sequel to the first. The Chinese were not eager to implement the terms of a treaty that they saw as unfair. The British merchants were unhappy as they could not get better profits from the trade with China. Smuggling continued, and this only increased Chinese resentment of the foreigners.

The Arrow incident of 1856 was the spark that ignited the Second Opium War. The Arrow was a ship owned by a Chinese resident of Hong Kong that was registered with the British. In October, 1856, Chinese officers searching for a notorious pirate boarded the ship at Canton without the permission of the British authorities. During this operation one of the Chinese officials hauled down the British flag, which was considered as an offence by the British. This minor incident was used by the British as an excuse to renew hostilities against China that led to the Second Opium War.

The British expeditionary force was joined by a French task force against the Chinese. The French used the murder of one of their missionaries in February 1856 as a pretext to make common cause

with the British against the Chinese. After some delay, the joint force took Canton in December 1857, and then moved north to threaten the capital city of Peking. By June 1858, the European powers forced the Chinese government to sign the Treaty of Tientsin. The most important provisions of the treaty included the right granted by China to the foreigners to establish permanent diplomatic residence at Peking and opening of additional ports to foreign trade.

When the British and French returned to ratify the treaty the following summer, angry Chinese forces opened fire, killing more than 400 British men and sinking four of their ships. A much larger Anglo-French force returned a year later, in August 1860, attacked the Chinese capital and burnt down the Summer Palace. The imperial court fled the capital for safety. On 24 October, 1860, the British representatives forced the Convention of Peking on the defeated Chinese government. This convention included the right of foreign diplomatic representation in China's capital, removal of restrictions on the foreigners to travel within China and permission to the Christian missionaries to carry on their activities and even to own property. Finally, the opium trade which was the chief reason of the whole dispute was legalized.

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

**2.1.8. The 'Slicing of the Chinese Melon':** China not only became a victim of Western imperialism, but also came under the increasing threat from her industrially advanced island neighbour, Japan. Japan's attempt to have a foothold on the mainland of the continent, especially in Korea led to a conflict between Japan and China resulting in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95). China once again faced defeat and humiliation in the hands of an Asiatic Power, Japan. The Treaty of Shimonoseki, that brought an end to the Sino-Japanese War granted territorial, commercial and diplomatic concessions to Japan. Moreover, the treaty imposed a heavy war indemnity on China that was beyond her capacity to pay.

In order to help China to overcome her financial difficulty created by the payment of a heavy war indemnity to Japan, France, Russia, England, and Germany offered China a huge amount of loans. In return for these loans, they demanded and acquired territorial leaseholds from China. This policy of the Western Powers to carve out separate spheres of interest and influence in China is generally referred to by a phrase, 'the Slicing of the Chinese Melon'.

**2. 1.9. The Open Door Policy:** During the Civil War (1861-65) the United States had been busy in domestic affairs. She did not have an opportunity to participate in the scramble for concessions in China. By 1897, the United States became highly industrialised and she needed foreign markets for her surplus goods and investment of capital. Thus, she again developed interest in Asia. The acquisition of the Philippines from Spain (1898) following the Spanish-American War brought her closer to China. The United States was alarmed at the creation of exclusive spheres of interest and influence in China by the European Powers and Japan.

In order to prevent further division and to preserve the territorial integrity and independence of China, and to promote the interest of the American businessmen, the Secretary of State, John Hay proposed in September 1899 the so called 'Open Door' policy in China. According to the Open Door policy, all ports of China had to be opened to trade by all nations. No Chinese port would be considered an exclusive sphere of influence by any particular foreign power. Equal duties were to be charged for all nationalities trading in any port of China.

### **Check Your Progress**

1. Trace early Western contacts with China.
2. Examine the causes and consequences of the Opium Wars.
3. Which imperial powers participated in the 'Slicing of the Chinese Melon'?
4. Explain the Open Door Policy of USA

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## **2. 2. CHINA UNDER WESTERN INFLUENCE**

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**2. 2.1. Introduction:** England had taken a leading part in opening the doors of China for European trade and commerce. Two Opium



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

**2. 2.2. Initial Chinese Resistance to Western Influence:** In spite of military defeat, humiliating treaties and economic exploitation by the Western Powers, China refused to learn anything from these events. Neither had she showed any inclination to learn from the West as Japan did. She was too proud to give up her false sense of superiority and manifested lack of interest in understanding the factors that had revolutionised and modernised the West.

In spite of reluctance and resistance, Western influence was silently at work in China through different channels. The appointment of foreign customs officials, especially the British in treaty ports, establishment of foreign Legations (diplomatic missions) at Peking, penetration of traders and Christian missionaries deeper into China and other factors led to the gradual spread of Western ideas. These ideas gradually influenced different aspects of the Chinese life.

**2.2.3. Diplomatic Relations With the West:** Initially it was through diplomatic relations that the Western influence began to make inroads into China. The Treaty of Peking had opened China to Western diplomatic and political representation. In 1867, China invited Burlingame, an American envoy at Peking, after his retirement, to be an adviser on diplomatic relations with the Western Powers. Burlingame led a Chinese mission to the United States and impressed upon the Americans that China, the oldest nation was seeking Westernization and progress through America, the youngest of the nations. The US administration gave a warm welcome to Burlingame and his Chinese colleagues. The Burlingame Mission concluded a number of agreements with the American government. These agreements provided that China might appoint consuls at the United States ports and that Americans in China and Chinese in the United States should enjoy complete freedom of religion. Besides, the United States promised not to intervene in the domestic administration of China.

The Burlingame Mission also visited London, Paris, Belgium, Prussia, Denmark, Sweden, Holland, and Russia. The Manchu government established its first diplomatic mission in England in 1877 and in the United States in 1878. By 1880 China established diplomatic missions in most of the Western countries and Japan. A number of Chinese missions were sent to Western countries to

study Western civilization and political systems and institutions. These diplomats with a better understanding of Western ideas and institutions became catalysts in the modernization of China.

**2.2.4. Influence of Christian Missionaries:** Christian missionaries had entered China since the beginning of the nineteenth century. However, they had to face a lot of opposition from the Chinese. In many cases the missionaries were subjected to harassment and even persecution. The murder of a French Catholic missionary had prompted France to join England in the Second Opium War. The Treaty of Tientsin (1858) that was imposed on China following her defeat in the Second Opium War contained the toleration clauses that provided legal status to Christianity and missionaries in China. The Peking Convention (1860) acknowledged the right of the missionaries to reside in the interior of China, to acquire land, build churches and schools, and to propagate Christianity without any obstacles.

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

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

### **Check Your Progress**

5. Trace the diplomatic relations of China with the West.
5. Examine the Influence of the Christian Missionaries in China.

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## **2. 3. CHINESE RESPONSE TO THE WEST**

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**2.3.1. Introduction:** The influence of the West on different spheres of Chinese life led to gradual and guarded response on the part of the Chinese to the Western influence. Progress was made in the field of education, reforms were introduced in military and innovations were adopted in industry and business. Besides, enlightened social reformers such as Kang Yu Wei impressed upon the Manchu government to introduce reforms in all spheres of Chinese life including society, education, economy, military and administration. The Manchu government itself undertook certain reform measures in an attempt to perpetuate its rule. These reforms along with the knowledge of Western political system gradually convinced the Chinese the need to change their own political structure by putting an end to the decaying Manchu dynasty and driving out the foreign imperial powers which led to the emergence of nationalism in China.

**2. 3. 2. Progress in Education:** The foremost Chinese response to the Western influence was evident in the field of education. Efforts of the missionaries and China's contact with the Western Powers through diplomatic missions gradually led to the reforms in the Chinese educational system. This marked the beginning of a dramatic break from traditional Chinese educational system. The missionaries learnt mastered local Chinese languages, translated foreign books in to Chinese and brought out dictionaries. To promote the study of foreign languages, a language school was established at Peking in 1866. Gradually, schools came to be established in various cities of China to impart learning in various subjects such as foreign languages, astronomy, mathematics, shipbuilding and other subjects.

Tseng Kuo Fan and Li Hung Chang, two of the most enlightened government officials who had taken a leading part in the suppression of the Taiping Rebellion encouraged education on Western model. They made efforts to educate young Chinese in Western countries, especially in the United States, England and France. They were instrumental in sending students' education missions to USA and Europe. The first students' mission from China comprising 120 students was sent to the United States between 1872 and 1881. The second mission comprising 30 students was sent to England and France for technical training.

**2.3.3. Military Reforms on Western Model:** By introducing far reaching military reforms, the Chinese responded favourably to the Western impact. The military weakness of China was exposed during the Opium Wars and the Taiping Rebellion. Failure to maintain a strong central army prompted the Manchu government to promote regional armies. To put down the Taiping rebels, a new

type of military organization became necessary. The government troops had become corrupt and undisciplined. In 1852 the Manchu government assigned to Tseng Kuo Fan and Li Hung Chang the task of organising local militias against the Taiping rebels. These two military leaders organised their militias with the help of Western military advisors. They purchased arms and ammunitions from the West. Some foreigners also entered the Chinese military service to suppress the Taipings. With the support of the British and French governments and the assistance of their foreign colleagues, Tseng and Li were able to slowly and gradually suppress the Taipings.

The suppression of the Taiping Rebellion by the local militias with the help of foreign military officers and support of the Western Powers showed that the Manchu government narrowly escaped destruction from domestic enemies. It became evident that lack of a trained, disciplined and equipped central army would spell doom to the Manchu dynasty. Realising a need for drastic military reforms, in 1865, Tseng Kuo Fan and Li Hung Chang petitioned the Manchu government to set up defense establishments. Between 1865 and 1888 a number of military establishments were set up. Naval and Military Academies on Western model were also established at Tientsin.

The defeat of China in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95), the Boxer Rebellion (1900) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05) manifested the urgency for military reform in China. The chief figure in the new military reform was Yuan Shi Kai, who had been Li Hung Chang's agent in Korea before the Sino-Japanese War. With the help of young officers who were graduated from the Military Academy of Tientsin, Yuan set about in raising the best-trained, equipped and disciplined army in China. The Manchu military reform programme (1902-11) aimed at rebuilding the prestige and power of the dynasty. A proposal was made to reform military schools. A Commission for Army Reorganization was set up to supervise the military reform programme. Elaborate plans were floated for the control, equipment and training of armies, including the necessary military industries. However, in spite of all efforts, the military reforms in China could not save the Manchu dynasty.

**2.3.4. Introduction of Modern Industries:** The Western impact made itself felt on the economic life of China. The process of industrialisation was gradual and slow. The first modern shipyard was constructed at Shanghai in 1865. In 1871, Li Hung Chang established the 'China Merchants' Steam Navigation Company' at Shanghai. The Tientsin Machine Factory was remodelled to produce modern weapons. Western technology was introduced for the first time at Kaiping coal mines in 1878 to extract coal. The first railway line was constructed between Shanghai and Wuchang in 1876. But the superstitious people opposed the railroad. Another

attempt to introduce railways in China was made in 1881 at the initiative of Li Hung Chang. Its success marked the beginning of modern transport system in China. In 1882 a telegraph line was opened between Tientsin and Shanghai. A dockyard was built at Port Arthur and a plan was prepared to build steel ships.

By 1906, a Ministry of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce were established at Peking. Codes of commercial and company law were issued. These factors led to a considerable growth of Chinese industries. The industries included cotton textile mills, electric plants, flour mills, match and tobacco factories, steel mills and silk manufacturing. Modern banking system was also introduced in China to finance industrial enterprises.

**2.3.5. The Hundred Days Reforms:** The man who initiated radical reforms in China was Kang Yu Wei, a native of Canton. He had a scholarly background. He was greatly influenced by Western ideas. He was impressed by Western intellectual tradition and by the traditional Confucian philosophy. He wanted to blend both these traditions for the progress of China. In his book *Grand Union*, Kang put forth his radical and revolutionary ideas on Chinese thought and tradition.

Kang Yu-Wei was convinced that China was a backward society and modernisation was essential. He firmly believed that the only way of salvation for China was to follow the Japanese example, eliminate corruption and introduce Western laws and reforms.

In 1898, Kang Yu-Wei was introduced to Emperor Kuang Hsu. Being deeply influenced by Kang's ideas, the Emperor began to issue a series of reform edicts and thus inaugurated the Hundred Days' Reforms. These reform edicts issued from 11 June 1898 to 16 September 1898, covered a wide range of subjects. These edicts contained a programme of reforming the system of education on Western lines, reorganising the administrative machinery, the army and the navy on western model, promoting internal trade, speeding up of industrial development and constructing a network of railways to promote the transport system. The Hundred Days Reform was the first internal reaction and response to the Western impact on China. It was an attempt to strengthen the nation by introducing reforms on Western model so that China might be able to stand up against the foreign domination.

The conservative group in the court led by the Dowager Empress, Tsu Hsi, aunt of Emperor Kuang Hsu, was strongly opposed to the reform programme. The Manchu officers did not want changes, which would affect their predominant position. Tsu Hsi conspired against the reforms and spreading a rumour that the emperor, Kuang Hsu was taken ill confined him to the palace as a prisoner

for ten years until his death (1908). Tsu Hsi once again assumed the position as the Dowager Empress. She put an end to the Hundred Days' Reforms. Many of the reformers suffered summary execution. Kang Yu-Wei and some of his followers escaped to Hong Kong.

**2.3.6. The Manchu Reform Programme (1901-11):** The Manchu government for nearly half a century (1860-1908) was dominated by the Dowager Empress, Tsu Hsi. She was opposed to reforms in order to maintain her control over the government. In 1898, when Emperor Kuang Hsu attempted to introduce reforms on the Western pattern under the guidance of Kang Yu-Wei, the reactionary forces under the leadership of Tsu Hsi scuttled the so called Hundred Days Reforms. Emperor Kuang Hsu was imprisoned. Kang Yu-Wei escaped abroad and his followers were executed or imprisoned.

Internal and external compulsions forced the Manchu government, led by Tsu Hsi to think in terms of introducing some reforms at the turn of the twentieth century. This was not because the Manchus were genuinely interested in the Western influenced reforms, but as a desperate attempt to save the tottering dynasty.

Soon after her return to Peking in January 1902 following the Boxer Protocol, Tsu Hsi issued reform edicts that aimed at reforming the society, such as removing ban on intermarriage between the Chinese and the Manchus and advising the people to abandon the practice of 'foot-binding' of girls. Reforms were also introduced in the field of education. Chinese young men were encouraged to go abroad at government expense to acquire modern education. A Ministry of Education was set up in 1903. Schools were established to teach Chinese and Western subjects. A commission on judicial reform was established, and on its recommendation Chinese laws were modified. Torture and other cruel forms of punishment were abolished. In 1905, the civil service examination based on the Chinese classics was abolished.

The most important of all the reforms was an attempt to introduce constitutional government in China. Tsu Hsi sent missions to Japan and Western countries to study their constitutions. After a thorough study of the British, German and Japanese constitutional systems, China adopted Japanese system of constitution. The Provisional Constitution of 1908 vested wide ranging powers in the Emperor. Citizens were promised freedom of thought, speech and association. The constitution provided for a bi-cameral legislature with restricted powers.

In 1908, Emperor Kuang Hsu died, followed shortly after by the Dowager Empress, Tsu Hsi. With her death departed the last

symbol, not only of the Manchu Empire, but also of the monarchical system of government. From the closing years of the Taiping Rebellion to the critical period after the Boxer Rebellion she had held the powers of the empire in her own hands. Aisin Gioro Pu Yi, a three years old great-nephew of Tsu Hsi, through her sister's daughter, was placed on the throne. His father became the Regent. But he was inefficient and was unable to meet the challenges of the time. The reforms promised by Tsu Hsi came too late and too little, and they could not save the Manchu dynasty from the impending disaster and inglorious end following the Revolution of 1911.

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## 2.4 CONCLUSION

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There had been regular trade contact between China and the West since ancient times. Since the Portuguese opened the sea route to the East, China came under increasing influence of the West through trade and cultural contacts. Though initially, the Chinese government was reluctant to open up additional ports for the European trade, the Opium Wars changed the military equation between China and the West and gradually China became the victim of Western imperialism. European countries and Japan tried to bring the major part of China under their influence. The cutting of the Chinese melon prompted the United States to declare the so called 'Open Door Policy' Though China resisted the Western influence in the beginning gradually she could not avoid the winds of change blowing from the West. This diplomatic relations with the West, work of the Christian Missionaries in the field of education and other factors gradually led the spread of Western influence in China. China responded to some extent to the Extent to the Western Influence by introducing certain reforms in military and industry. However, an attempt to introduce effective reforms such as the Hundred Days Reforms' did not succeed as the conservative elements in the government and palace scuttled these attempts.

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## 2.5 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS :

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7. *Point out the Chinese response to the West in the field of education.*
8. *Enumerate the military reforms introduced in China.*
9. *Which industries were introduced in China during the second half of the 19th C?*
10. *Write a note on the Hundred Days Reforms.*
11. *What reforms were introduced by the Manchu government?*

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## 2.6 BROAD QUESTIONS

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1. Give an account of the Western imperialism in China with special reference to the Opium Wars.
2. Examine the Western influence on Chinese government and society.
3. Analyze the Chinese response to the Western influence.
4. Discuss the Western influence on China. How did she respond to this influence?





## REFORMS AND REVOLUTIONS-I

### Outline of the Topic :

- 3.0 Objective
- 3.1 Social Origin Revolution
- 3.2 Background of Chinese Nationalism.
- 3.3 Dr. Sun Yet-Sen
- 3.4 Conclusion
- 3.5 Check your Progress
- 3.6 Broad Questions.

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### 3.0 OBJECTIVES

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1. To understand the social origin of the Revolution of 1911 by tracing the growth of nationalism in China.
2. To review the transformation of Dr Sun Yat-sen into a reformer and revolutionary.

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### 3. 1. SOCIAL ORIGIN OF REVOLUTION

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**3.1.1. Introduction:** The conservative society in China was in ferment due to the impact of the Western imperialism. While the educated and Western influenced section of the Chinese society desired social and other reforms, the conservative section of the society led by the Dowager Empress Tsu Hsi was opposed to radical reforms that would have resulted in the loss of power and control over the society and government. However, nationalist sentiments among the young and enlightened sections of the Chinese society gradually began to assert itself which ultimately resulted in the Revolution of 1911 under the dynamic leadership of Dr Sun Yat-sen.

**3.1. 2. Rise of Chinese Nationalism:** The impact of the Western imperialism on the Chinese society was quite different from other parts of Asia. Hence, the rise and nature of nationalism in China and other Asian countries also differed. In Asian countries such as India, Indo-China and Indonesia, the British, the French and the Dutch respectively established their economic and political power. These European powers had a predominant control over these countries though other European powers had pockets of their influence. These imperial powers gradually replaced the central political authority in these countries. Thus, nationalism in these countries was an outcome of the circumstances created by the imperial powers and national movement was aimed at liberating the country from foreign domination.

However, the Chinese society had to face the twin problem of a weak and outdated monarchy and exploitative imperial powers. The Chinese society considered that the Manchu monarchy was responsible for the internal evils of China and for its failure to resist the military and commercial power of the imperial powers. On the other hand the economic exploitation of the country by the imperial powers through trade, leasehold, and spheres of influence added to the poverty and misery of the Chinese people. Added to this was the national humiliation imposed by the foreign powers through the unequal treaties. The missionary activities and spread of Christianity was viewed by the conservative section of the Chinese society as a challenge to their ancient culture and beliefs. Hence, the rise of Chinese nationalism can be traced to these above factors. The aim of the Chinese national movement was not only to liberate the country from the exploitative foreigners but also to overthrow the weak and inefficient Manchu dynasty and establish a republic.

The methodology of the Chinese nationalism took different forms. These included establishment of secret societies, rebellions directed against both the Manchus and the foreigners, attempts by some scholarly leaders to introduce reforms, and measures to reorganise the army, industry and economy on the model of the Western Powers. The Revolution of 1911 brought an end to the Manchu dynasty and led to the establishment of a republic in China. Following these events attempts were made to bring about national unification by suppressing the warlords and feudal barons. The second half of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century witnessed the origin and growth of Chinese nationalism.

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### **3. 2 BACKGROUND OF CHINESE NATIONALISM:**

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**3.2.1. Secret Societies:** The first half of the nineteenth century witnessed the emergence of a number of secret societies in different parts of China. These secret societies propagated anti-foreign and anti-Manchu feelings among different sections of the Chinese society. Some of the secret societies were strongly nationalistic. With a view to foment rebellions, these societies recruited unemployed and disaffected youths and provided them military training. The White Lotus Society, a secret society influenced by Buddhism incited a serious rebellion in Central China. In 1822, a secret society bandit, Small Pax Chu, raised the banner of revolt. In 1830's members of the secret societies known as the Triads and Yae created trouble in Hunan. The Heaven and Earth Society was the other secret society that was active in China.

**3. 2.2. The Taiping Rebellion (1851-1864):** The first major anti-Manchu movement was the Taiping Rebellion in the mid nineteenth century. It began in the hills of South China under the leadership of Hung Hsiu Chuan, a religious visionary claiming to be the younger brother of Jesus Christ. The Taiping Rebellion succeeded in establishing a separate rival government, the Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace (Taiping Tien-Kuo), which ruled much of southern China for more than a decade. The Taipings won the support of the local people with a mixture of messianic Christianity and attacks on the non-Chinese Manchu dynasty.

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

By 1853 Hung and his followers had moved north to establish their headquarters at Nanking. For more than a decade they expanded their influence along the Yangtze River and sought to overthrow the Manchu dynasty in Peking. With the help of the local militias led by scholar generals such as Tseng Kuo Fan and Li Hung Chang and with foreign assistance, the Manchus eventually suppressed the Taiping Rebellion in 1864. In spite of the early end of the Taiping Rebellion, its stunning success for a decade illustrated the unpopularity of the Manchu regime, the weakness of imperial institutions, and the urgent need for a new social vision to overcome the problems of the age. The rebellion seriously weakened the authority of the central government. The ethnic antagonism rekindled by the Taiping Uprising merged with the forces of modern nationalism to bring an end to China's imperial regime less than fifty years after the rebellion ended.

**3. 2.3 Boxer Uprising (1900):** Following the Taiping Rebellion attempts were made to introduce reforms in various fields. Tseng Kuo Fan and Li Hung Chang, who were chiefly responsible for the suppression of the Taipings, took a lead in suggesting reforms. However, they could not make much progress due to the resistance from the conservative section of the Chinese society led by the Dowager Empress, Tsu Hsi. Similarly, the 'Hundred Days Reforms' were also abandoned. The promoter of the reforms, Emperor Kuang Hsu was imprisoned and the brain behind the reforms, Kang Yu Wei went into exile.

Within a short period following the end of the Hundred Days Reforms another crisis shook China in the form of the notorious Boxer Uprising. This uprising manifested the reaction of the conservative section of the Chinese society to the adverse effects of Western imperialism. The Boxer Uprising was directed first against foreign missionaries and Chinese Christians, and then against the Western diplomats themselves.

The origin of the Boxer movement is not very clear. It could be traced back to the eighteenth century secret society known as I-ho-chuan ((Harmonious Brotherhood).The Boxers claimed mysterious powers of Chinese martial arts. They believed in superstitions, magic spells, trances and rituals. The majority of the Boxers were either poor peasants or marginal social groups whose livelihood was threatened by modern transportation and industry. The Boxers originally had anti-Manchu feelings. However, the Dowager Empress and the royal court made a common cause with the Boxers against the foreigners and missionaries. With a certain degree of support from the Manchu court the boxers became openly pro-dynastic and made an alliance with anti-foreign officials.

In June 1900, the Boxers launched an uprising by attacking missionaries and foreigners in general. Shantung, Chihli, Shansi and Manchuria were the chief provinces affected by the Boxer Uprising. The Boxers manifested their anti-foreign sentiments by uprooting the railroads and telegraphs, burning churches and massacring missionaries and Chinese converts to Christianity. Emboldened by the success of the Boxers the Manchu government declared war on the foreigners on 21 June 1901. Being encouraged by the government the Boxers attacked the foreign legations at Peking. A joint force of the major Western Powers and Japan marched into Peking, defeated the Boxers and the government army, and extracted a massive indemnity from the Chinese government through a settlement known as the Boxer Protocol (1901).

The Boxer Uprising was a manifestation of anti-foreign influence in China. The Chinese considered the foreigners responsible for the sufferings of the Chinese society. They aimed at destroying the foreigners along with their machines and inventions, their 'strange and intolerant religion' and their air of superiority. The Boxer Uprising profoundly influenced China's political future. The strong hatred of the Boxers against the foreigners put a check on their attempt at the dismemberment of China. It hastened the conservative Manchu reform programme under the Dowager Empress with a view to strengthen and preserve the dynasty. Although the dynasty survived till 1911, its fate was sealed by the

Boxer Rebellion. As such the Boxer Rebellion can be considered as a catalyst in the march of China towards the goal of nationhood.

**Check your progress ::**

1. Trace the origin of Chinese nationalism
2. Write a note on the Taiping Rebellion.
3. What was the significance of the Boxers Uprising?

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**3. 3. DR. SUN YAT-SEN**

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**3. 3. 1. Introduction:** Two uprisings of peasant origin, the anti-Manchu Taiping Rebellion and the anti-foreign Boxer uprising, followed by the efforts of scholar-reformers to remedy the evils of China had failed to produce any tangible result. Nationalism as a binding force among different sections of the Chinese society still found missing. Under these circumstances it was the turn of the newly emerging middle class to make a fresh attempt at the turn of the nineteenth century to give a new orientation to Chinese nationalism. The leader of the new Chinese nationalism was Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

**3. 3.2. Early Life of Sun Yat-sen:** Sun Yat-sen was born in a village near Canton in 1866. His family belonged to the peasant class. At early school age, he had a traditional Chinese classical education. At the age of thirteen, Sun Yat-sen was sent to Honolulu in Hawaii to join his elder brother who had started a successful business overseas. At Honolulu, Sun Yat-sen received a foreign, modern education and became a Christian. Later, he returned to his village. However, the practice of Christianity alienated Sun Yat-sen from his family and community and once again he was forced to leave his native land. He went to Hong Kong where he studied medicine at a British mission hospital and became a doctor in 1892. For a brief period he practiced medicine at Macao where he came into contact with friends who were members of anti-Manchu secret societies. Such connections with secret societies proved to be important for his later revolutionary career.

**3. 3.3. Making of a Revolutionary:** During these formative years, Sun Yat-sen was exposed to two contrasting worlds - a Western

World of powerful national states and a degenerated China steeped in Confucian theory, governed by an outdated dynasty and economically exploited by the imperial powers. Years of observations, both in Hawaii or Hong Kong and in his home village, made Sun Yat-sen realize the backwardness of China and the progress of the West and his dissatisfaction with the corrupt Manchu rule grew.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen strongly believed that in order to regenerate China the Manchu dynasty should be overthrown and the imperial powers must evacuate. As he had received a Western education and was a Christian and a doctor, Sun Yat-sen had difficulty in making himself acceptable and popular among the traditional scholar-gentry and reformers like K'ang Yu-wei. However, as he was familiar with Western countries and Western culture, he had an advantage of having the quality of political leadership that traditional Confucian scholars lacked contacts with the West.

Because Dr. Sun Yat-sen came from a peasant family and had lived among overseas Chinese, he was in a better position to develop connections with the lower classes of Chinese society in revolutionary efforts. In this respect, he was unlike the Confucian scholars, most of whom kept themselves apart from the common people. South China and Kwangtung in particular, had a stronger anti-Manchu tradition than North China. Born in such an environment, Sun Yat-sen was himself deeply revolutionary in character.

It is important to note that during the initial period Dr. Sun Yat-sen was not yet an outright revolutionary. He still thought of using the old method to save China, namely, reform. Thus, he made attempts to meet reformist figures of the time, such as K'ang Yu-wei in 1893 and Li Hung-chang in 1894. Dr. Sun Yat-sen put forward a number of proposals for reforms. Following his failure to attract Li's attention, he became a full-time revolutionary working for the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty.

**3. 3. 4. The Hsing-chung Hui (Revive China Society):** Finding no response from the government for his reform proposals Dr. Sun Yat-sen decided to set up a revolutionary organization that would become 'modernist, nationalist and anti-monarchical, instead of merely patriotic and anti-dynastic'. In 1894-95, Dr. Sun Yat-sen founded the Society for the Revival of China (Hsing-chung Hui) in Hawaii and Hong Kong. It consisted mainly of overseas Chinese and Christians and was under the leadership of a small group of missionary-educated young people like Dr. Sun Yat-sen himself. Initially there were about 150 members. They took an oath to "expel the Manchus, restore the Chinese rule, and establish a republic."

Branches of the Revive China Society were organized in different parts of Central China. Members of the society tried to teach the people improved methods of production of necessities of life through better education. It was planned that the overseas Chinese members would organize revolts in places like Hong Kong, and secret-society members would be hired to do the fighting on the Chinese mainland. Taking the advantage of the disturbances created by China's defeat in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95) Dr. Sun Yat-sen made an attempt to organize the first revolt in Canton in 1895 in order to take over its government. As the attempt ended in failure, Dr. Sun Yat-sen fled to Japan where he made a number of friends and received aid for his secret society.

**3. 3. 5. Travels in Foreign Countries:** After 1895, Dr. Sun Yat-sen travelled in foreign countries with a view to win sympathy from Western countries and seeking more support from the overseas Chinese communities. Dr. Sun Yat-sen believed that active foreign assistance or friendly foreign neutrality was necessary for a successful revolution in China. He therefore tried to convince the foreigners that their interest in trade and missionary activities could be better protected by a new republic than by the corrupt Manchu dynasty. He promised that a republic set up by the revolutionaries would bring advantages for foreigners. However, in spite of his best efforts Dr. Sun Yat-sen could not muster enough support for his revolutionary endeavour from the foreign countries.

From 1896 to 1898, Dr. Sun Yat-sen was in Europe. In 1896, he went London to pursue his studies and improve his knowledge of the West. When Dr. Sun Yat-sen stayed in London, he was kidnapped by some Manchu officials in the Chinese legation. However, with the help of an English friend, he was finally rescued. Later, Sun Yat-sen published his story of kidnapping in London and overnight he became the most famous Chinese revolutionary. The effect of the incident was to strengthen Dr. Sun Yat-sen's sense of confidence and mission, making his determination to overthrow the Manchu dynasty greater than ever.

**3. 3. 6. The Tung-meng Hui (The Revolutionary Alliance):** Following his return in 1900, Dr. Sun Yat-sen carried on his propaganda in China, Indochina, Malaya, Philippines and Japan. During the Boxer Rebellion, he made an appeal to Li Hung Chang to give up the cause of the Manchus and support a democratic republic. After 1900, Dr. Sun Yat-sen's political aim was the achievement of republicanism and nationalism through armed revolution.

As the Manchu reform programme was in progress in China, Dr. Sun Yat-sen reorganized the Hsing-chung Hui as the Tung-meng Hui (The Revolutionary Alliance) in 1905. From 1905-6, there were

about 1,000 people who joined the Revolutionary Alliance. Out of these 90% were overseas Chinese from Japan. Most of the members were students and intellectuals, and nearly all provinces of China were represented in the organization.

The new Society preached republican ideology. The primary and most important objective of the society was overthrow of the Manchu dynasty, establishment of a republic and a parliamentary system of government. Other aims were included in a six-point program:

- i. overthrow of the Manchus,
- ii. establishment of a republic,
- iii. maintenance of world peace,
- iv. nationalization of land,
- v. cooperation with Japan, and
- vi. world support for the revolutionary movement.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen's theory of China's first modern political revolution is found in the Manifesto of Tung-meng Hui proclaimed at Tokyo in 1905. *Min Pao*, (The People), the official organ of the Tung-meng Hui, was also founded in Tokyo. Its aim was to defend republican ideology and the revolutionary road against the partisans of constitutional monarchy.

**3. 3. 7. The Three Principles of the People: Dr.** Sun Yat-sen gradually developed the Three Principles of the People (San Min Chu-il). These principles were aimed at making China a nation state with democratic government and creating conditions suitable for people's livelihood. The Three Principles of the people were the following:

**3. 3. 7. a. Principle of Nationalism (Min-tsu chu-i):** Initially, nationalism was understood as an attempt to overthrow the Manchu dynasty. However, following the end of the Manchu dynasty in 1912, Dr. Sun Yat-sen realized that merely ouster of the Manchus would not make China a nation state. He visualised a strong political unity of all the Chinese people in place of the cultural unity which was the heritage of China. According to Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the people remained a 'sheet of loose sand', lacking solidarity. He aimed at binding this 'sheet of loose sand' by the cement of nationalism. Thus, Dr. Sun Yat-sen revised the principle of nationalism to include the idea of a unity of Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Tibetans, and various lesser groups. Basically, this nationalism was neither anti-Manchuism nor anti-foreignism. It meant the transfer of traditional loyalty from the clan-family-village to the political state. Eventually, nationalism stood for anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism. Dr. Sun Yat-sen wanted to



divisive forces, both internal and external through a united national front.

**3. 3. 7. b. Principle of Democracy (*Min-chuan chu-i*):** Min-chuan, literally means people's power or democracy. Dr. Sun Yat-sen had upheld the idea of democracy in 1905 while attacking the supporters of a constitutional monarchy. Later, by 1924, Dr. Sun Yat-sen elaborated the Principle of Democracy. His ideas on democracy were derived from four chief sources: (a) Western republicanism (b) The Swiss principles of initiative, referendum, elections and recall. (c) Soviet democratic centralism, and (d) Chinese ideas of examination and control. Dr. Sun Yat-sen believed that popular control would be established over the government through electoral process. Other methods of controlling the government by the people would include referendum, initiative and recall. The government would have strong executive powers to deal with the business of the government. Political power was to be exercised through five branches - executive, legislative, judicial, examination and censorship. The first three are familiar concepts in the West, whereas the last two, examination and censor were based on old Confucian practices.

Dr Sun Yat-sen viewed the progress towards democracy in three distinct stages. Military action, power and control would characterize the first stage. In the second stage, people would be under political control in which they would be trained in the use of their powers. Democratic process would start from local level and gradually would move towards national democracy. In the final stage, with the training of the people to exercise their powers on a national scale, constitutional and democratic government would be established.

**3. 3.7. Principle of People's Livelihood (*Min-sheng chu-i*):** This principle included a number of social and economic theories which had influenced Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Often Dr. Sun Yat-sen and his followers used this principle as an equivalent for socialism. However, he was not impressed by the basic principles of Marxism. he did not accept the Marxist theories of class struggle and economic determinism. In order to promote China's industrial development, Dr. Sun Yat-sen emphasized recovery of tariff autonomy and imposition of protective tariffs. He also stressed on the need for technological improvement of agriculture.

The Revolution of 1911 was the greatest manifestation of the emergence of Chinese nationalism. The latent forces of nationalism nurtured by secret societies and inspired by the Dr. Sun Yat-sen's philosophy of let loose the forces of revolution that swept away the Manchu dynasty.

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### 3.4 CONCLUSION

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As the conservative Manchu dynasty dominated by the Dowager Empress Tsu Hsi was reluctant to introduce social and political reforms, the moderate Chinese nationalists tried to find other ways to fulfill their nationalist aspirations. There were a number of secret societies that were operating in China whose aim was to rid China of the Western imperialism and the decadent Manchu dynasty. The Taiping Rebellion during the mid nineteenth century and the Boxers Uprising at the turn of the twentieth century were two major attempts that tried to achieve these objectives. However, the Manchu government with the help of the Western powers suppressed these rebellions. Under these circumstances, Dr Sun Yat-sen emerged on the Chinese political stage and tried to give a new turn to Chinese nationalism. As his attempts towards reforming the Chinese government and society did not bear fruit, he organized secret societies recruit Chinese revolutionaries and tried to win the support of the Chinese living abroad. He traveled widely to garner support for his revolutionary movement in China. His vision for China was summed up in Three Principles of the People-Principle of Nationalism, Principle of Democracy and Principle of People's Livelihood.

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### 3.5 Check Your Progress

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4. Trace briefly the early life and career of Dr. Sun Yat-sen.
5. Write briefly on the revolutionary societies founded by Dr. Sun Yat-sen.
6. What were the Three Principles of People preached by Dr. Sun Yat-sen?

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### 3.6 BROAD QUESTIONS

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1. Discuss the social origins of the Revolution of 1911 in China.
2. Examine the background of Chinese nationalism.
3. Evaluate the role of Dr Sun Yat-sen as a revolutionary.
4. Give an account of the transformation of Dr Sun Yat-sen from a reformer to a revolutionary.



## REFORMS AND REVOLUTIONS-II

### REVOLUTION OF 1911

#### Outline of the Topic

- 4.0 Objective
- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Causes of the Revolution of 1911
- 4.3 Course of the Revolution of 1911
- 4.4 Consequences of the Revolution 1911
- 4.5 Conclusion
- 4.6 Check Your Progress
- 4.7 Broad Questions

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#### **4.0 OBJECTIVES:**

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1. *To review the causes of the Revolution of 1911 in China.*
  2. *To understand the course of the Revolution of 1911.*
  3. *To analyze the consequences of the Evolution of 1911.*
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#### **4. 1. INTRODUCTION**

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At the turn of the twentieth century China was ripe for revolution. The weakness of the Manchu dynasty, foreign imperialism and economic exploitation, influence of Western liberal ideas, increasing population and pressure on cultivable land which was in short supply, impoverishment of the peasants due to high taxation and natural calamities became the underlying causes of the Revolution of 1911. However, it is important to note that the real basis of the Chinese revolutionary movement was rooted in the Confucian teaching. According to Confucianism the Chinese emperor ruled under the 'mandate of heaven'. In return for his autocratic power the emperor was expected to maintain peace and order and promote prosperity of the people. The emperor was held responsible not only for major social and political disturbances, but also for natural disasters such as floods, famines and earthquakes. Under these circumstances it was believed that the emperor has lost the 'mandate of heaven' and the people have the right to rebel against him and replace him by another ruler.

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#### **4. 2. CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTION OF 1911**

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**4. 2. 1. Decline of the Manchu Dynasty:** The Manchu dynasty that had been ruling China from 1644 was facing decay and decline since the close of the eighteenth century. Succession of a number of weak and inefficient rulers including minors led to the

degeneration of the monarchy. As a race conquering China, the Manchus had always enjoyed powerful political influence greater than their small number should give them. Yet in the late nineteenth century there was lack of capable Manchu leadership.

The royal court and palace were filled by women, eunuchs and cliques of inefficient and corrupt officials and courtiers. Under these circumstances, the Manchu emperors could not provide the desirable leadership to the country. The affairs of the state fell into neglect. Inertia, inefficiency and corruption marked the administrative system. The civil service sank into corruption and indolence. Absence of central control extended misadministration and corruption in the provinces. The common people in the provinces became victims of bribery, extortion, miscarriage of justice and man-made famines.

For lack of money to put down rebellions or to meet government expenses, the Manchu court increasingly relied on the sale of government posts to increase its income. In this way more and more people acquired government posts. On becoming officials, they squeezed as much money from the common people as they could.

As politics was so corrupt and demoralized, political power could no longer be centralized in Peking. Political decentralization as such had been growing serious since the Taiping Rebellion (1851-1864). At that time, the Manchu court permitted the creation of regional armies for suppressing rebellions. These regional armies were locally based, financed by local money, and trained to obey local-provincial officials like Tseng Kuo-fan and Li Hung-chang. Peking's control over them was ineffective. This factor partly explained why the provinces declared independence in 1911.

The weakness of the Manchu dynasty was revealed by its failure to prevent the Western penetration in China through the treaty-port system and other privileges independent of the Chinese control. The Opium Wars and the Taiping Rebellion exposed the military weakness of the Manchu government and accelerated the decline of the dynasty.

**4. 2.2. Economic and Social Causes:** Economic factors were at the bottom of many local rebellions in China. Long years of peace in the early and mid Manchu period had contributed to a rapid rise in China's population. Over population exerted an increasing pressure on cultivable land which was limited in amount and was concentrated in powerful landlords. The people were forbidden by law to move to Manchuria and other places outside China to find alternative land or means of livelihood. Moreover, there was no large industrial development to absorb the excessive manpower

and to raise the standard of living in society. As a result, more people only meant greater social poverty and inequality.

As society was poor, the taxes that the Manchu government could collect were limited in amount. Besides, serious corruption in the government ate away a large part of the taxes that had been collected. Powerful landlords evaded government taxes, thereby putting most of the tax burden on the peasants. Corruption in the Chinese bureaucracy affected the peasants the most. The tax-farmers practiced extortion. Since taxes were paid both in cash and in kind, the tax collectors exploited the illiterate peasantry by collecting two to three times the assessed taxes. This miserable condition alienated the mass of the peasantry from the Manchu government.

When the oppressed peasants broke into rebellions, the Manchu dynasty had to spend more money to deal with the disorder, thus making the financial conditions even worse. From the mid-nineteenth century in, the problem of political decentralization made collection of taxes from the whole of the country more and more difficult and sometimes impossible. Administrative inefficiency led to confusing financial management. To solve its financial problem, the poor government increased taxes and sold more of its offices which resulted in more social suffering, more corruption, and more rebellions.

Economic depressions were caused due to recurring natural calamities such as floods and famines. Absentee landlordism and ruin of domestic industries added to the impoverishment of the peasants and craftsmen. Since the last quarter of the nineteenth century cheap foreign manufactured goods began to penetrate deeper into China, which nearly wiped out rural industries. Without any alternative occupation, the rural population had to depend entirely on agrarian economy to sustain itself. Agriculture remained backward due to use of ancient tools and inefficient methods of cultivation.

The Chinese treasury was on the verge of bankruptcy. China had to spend large amount of money on the creation of a new army, construction of new railroads, introduction of new educational system etc. Heavy war reparation that China had to pay to Japan following her defeat in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95) and much heavier Boxer indemnity not only depleted the Chinese exchequer, but also heavily drained the resources of the country. This prompted the government to further burden the people with additional taxes that increased discontent and disaffection against the Manchus.

**4. 2.3. Failure of the Reform Programmes:** The major reform programme, known as the 'Hundred Days Reforms', inaugurated by Emperor Kuang Hsu under the guidance of Kang Yu-wei in 1898, saw an early and inglorious end due to conservative opposition. The conservative reaction to the reforms led by the Dowager Empress, Tsu Hsi confirmed the widespread suspicion among the educated Chinese that the ruling dynasty was not interested in reforms and regeneration of China. The radical elements in southern part of China and the Chinese exiles abroad became convinced that for the reforms and revitalization of China, the alien Manchu dynasty has to be overthrown.

**4. 2. 4. Consequences of the Manchu Reforms:** In a few years, the Dowager Empress, Tsu Hsi, by force of circumstances realized that the survival of the dynasty depended on a certain degree of reforms. Thus, she moved rather cautiously towards the establishment of a constitutional monarchy. In order to bring about this transformation Tsu Hsi undertook essential and far-reaching administrative, judicial, and fiscal reforms. Proposals were put forward to create a modern army, to support industrial development and to abolish the traditional civil service examinations and to promote a new educational system. But these efforts were too little and came too late and these reforms only served to boomerang on the fortunes of the dynasty.

The Manchu reforms were seen as a further evidence of the weakness of the dynasty. The government was forced to grant concessions due to the pressure of public opinion. These reforms eventually undermined the established order. Institutions of higher education that once had turned out Confucian scholar-officials now began to graduate revolutionaries. In the newly raised army and military schools, patriotic young officers driven by nationalism began to espouse revolution.

Development of the Chinese industry on modern lines gave rise to a new class, that of merchants as well as scholar-officials. Their needs and values differed from those of the old ruling class. Representatives of this emerging class could make their presence felt in the newly created provincial assemblies, which became natural centers of political agitation. One of the aims of the Manchu reform programmes was to strengthen the authority of the central government over the provinces. The common people and provincial bureaucrats resented this limitation on the traditional rights and privileges of the local bodies.

**4. 2. 5. Spread of Western Education:** Western education in China, though limited initially due to conservative resistance, gradually began to influence the Chinese youth with Western ideas. Through missionary efforts and via treaty-ports, modern ideas such

as democracy and republicanism were introduced to and popularized among Chinese intellectuals. These progressive young people were greatly influenced by examples of great European revolutions such as the French Revolution of 1789 and national unifications such as the Italian and German Unification of 1871.

Pressure of population and a desire to find better prospects prompted a large number of Chinese to immigrate to foreign countries. These overseas Chinese came in contact with new Western ideas. They were influenced by liberal ideas such as liberty, equality and fraternity, republicanism and democracy. Many Chinese went into exile or were sent as trainees to neighbouring Japan. Chinese revolutionaries who were in self-exile in Japan secretly tried to undermine their loyalty to the Manchu dynasty. Foreign education gradually promoted the growth of patriotic and anti-Manchu revolutionary feelings among the Chinese educated class. By providing modern education to its prospective official class, the Manchu dynasty signed its own death warrant.

**4. 2. 6. Death of Emperor Kuang Hsu and Tsu Hsi:** On 14 November, 1908, Kuang Hsu, the emperor of China, who had been kept virtually as a state prisoner by the Dowager Empress following the end of the 'Hundred Days reforms' died at Peking. On the next day, 15 November, the Dowager herself was suddenly taken ill and died within few hours. The myth of Manchu dynasty was kept alive by proclaiming a great-nephew of the Dowager, through her sister's daughter, Aisin Gioro Pu Yi, a child of three years, as the next emperor.

The child emperor succeeded under the reign title of Hsuan Tung, meaning 'extended rule'. The new Regent, Prince Chun, father of the child Emperor, was the younger brother of the late emperor Kuang Hsu. He was a weak and incompetent man. However, he had resented the virtual deposition and confinement of his brother and attributed his fall to the treachery of Yuan Shi-kai, a prominent general, who commanded the most modern formations of the Chinese army.

The Regent's first act was to dismiss Yuan. He was strongly influenced by the extreme Manchu party at the court, who distrusted all Chinese ministers and officials. He sought to counter the effects of the constitutional reform programme by appointing his relatives as the chief ministers. Under these circumstances the people as a whole, or rather the educated classes did not put much faith in Manchu promises of reform.

**4. 2.7. Role of Dr. Sun Yat-sen:** The movement for a revolution and republic had begun fifteen years before the events in 1911. Dr. Sun Yat-sen, a Western educated convert to Methodist Christianity

became the chief architect of the Revolution of 1911. After failing to interest the then all-powerful viceroy, Li Hung Chang, in a plan for reform, had started to conspire against the dynasty and made an unsuccessful attempt to capture political power in the city of Canton in 1895. Dr. Sun was forced to flee China.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen moved between Hong Kong, Malaya, Japan, and America. He spent his time and used his influence for raising funds and winning recruits for a revolution. Most of the financial support for the revolutionaries came from the overseas Chinese, especially from successful businessmen. They were generous in their contributions to a revolutionary movement, which they regarded as essentially a nationalist and modernizing movement.

In 1905, Dr. Sun organized a secret revolutionary society at Tokyo called the Tung Meng Hui (Revolutionary Alliance). Its chief aim was to propagate revolutionary ideas among the numerous Chinese students who had come to Japan to gain modern education. Between 1906 and 1911, the followers of Dr. Sun Yat-sen failed in ten armed uprisings against the Manchu dynasty. None of these efforts attracted sufficient number of participants. However, the revolutionaries did not give up their hope of future success.

Following the failure of the tenth major uprising at Canton on 27 April 1910, Dr. Sun Yat-sen left Japan and travelled first in South-east Asia to rally support among the overseas Chinese. Later, he proceeded to the United States to win support to his revolutionary activities and raise additional funds from the Chinese residents.

**4.2.8. Immediate Cause-Railway Nationalization:** The final crisis that brought about the Revolution of 1911 was a dispute over the control of China's railway. Many Chinese regarded foreign control of the railway network as one of the major threats to Chinese independence. The Chinese acquired the right to build some key lines returned by the foreigners to the Chinese ownership. Members of the local gentry had put up substantial amount of capital for railroad construction.

Meanwhile, the provincial assemblies constituted as per the Manchu reform programme, became the watchdogs of provincial rights as against those of the central government. Early in 1911, the private railway construction rights in Central, South and South-western China were taken away by the central government through a decree for the nationalization of the railways. The chief reason for this move was to mortgage these railway lines to foreign banks against a loan of six million pounds taken from a consortium of American, British, French and German bankers.



The agitation began as a 'Movement for the Protection of the Railroad'. The nationalization of the provincial railroads decreed in May 1911 touched a sensitive nerve in Sichuan and several central provinces. It was this move that set off the explosion resulting in the Revolution of 1911. Nationalization meant the intrusion of Western capital in a business matter that should have been purely Chinese and provincial. People belonging to different classes in Sichuan were united by a nationalist movement that was anti-Western in intent, anti-Manchu in fact, opposed to absolutism, and already revolutionary. As the news of the disturbances spread all over central and southern China, secret revolutionary societies, including Dr. Sun Yat-sen's considering the situation appropriate redoubled their efforts at a major insurrection.

**4. 2. 9. Hankow Incident and Wuchang Mutiny:** On October 10, 1911, an explosion occurred in a house in the Russian concession in the Yangtze treaty port of Hankow. The police investigation found that this house was an arsenal and headquarters of the revolutionaries. The police captured several of the ringleaders and seized a number of papers including a list of members of the Tung Meng Hui, the secret revolutionary society of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Thus, the revolutionaries decided to stage an uprising immediately rather than wait to be arrested.

When the officers of the Wuchang garrison learned what had happened at Hankow, went at night to the bedroom of their commander, General Li Yuan Hung, a loyal monarchist. The officers roused him at pistol point and gave him the choice of leading a revolution or death. Li chose revolution. On the morning of 12 October, 1911, the dragon flag of the Manchu dynasty was hauled down in Wuchang. This was the beginning of the Revolution of 1911 in China.

**Check your Progress :**

1. *What factors led to the decline of the Manchu dynasty?*
2. *Enumerate the social and economic causes of the Revolution of 1911.*
3. *What were the consequences of the Manchu reforms?*
4. *How did the spread of Western education contribute to the Revolution of 1911?*
5. *What was the immediate cause of the Revolution of 1911?*

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### 4. 3. COURSE OF THE REVOLUTION OF 1911

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**4. 3. 1. Spread of the Revolution:** Throughout Southern China the garrisons revolted and set up independent administration. In most cities the change was peaceful. In some provinces the imperial governors supported the revolution. Less than two months later all the provinces of Central and Southern China, along with the North-west, had proclaimed their independence. In Western China, where some of the provincial capitals had Manchu resident garrisons, the revolution took violent turn. In Sian, capital of Shensi, the Manchus were systematically massacred by a secret anti-Manchu society called the Society of the Elder Brethren, which was powerful in Western China. However, the Northern provinces remained loyal to the Manchus. The revolutionary army captured the city of Nanking on 2 December 1911. The revolutionaries proclaimed the establishment of a republic with Nanking as the capital.

**4. 3. 2. Return of Dr Sun Yat-sen from USA:** Dr. Sun Yat-sen was in Denver, Colorado (USA) when the revolution broke out in China. He came to know about the event through a newspaper. Dr. Sun Yat-sen decided to return to China to take up the leadership of the revolution. During his return journey, Dr. Sun Yat-sen- stopped at London to try to arrange for a loan, but failed. He made another stop at Paris. He finally arrived in Shanghai on 24 December 1911, just to become Provisional President of the Republic of China and took office on 1 January 1912, at Nanking.

**4. 3. 3. Recall of Yuan Shi-kai:** The imperial court, in desperation, turned to Yuan Shi-kai. He was the builder of the strongest army that China then possessed. He was considered by the Manchus as the best man to command this army, in spite of his unceremonious ouster from the command four years earlier. Yuan extracted very broad powers from the Manchu court before accepting the command. Being an opportunist, Yuan made a deal with the revolutionaries. Under an agreement with Dr. Sun Yat-sen, Yuan supported the transformation of China into a republic and in return demanded the Presidency for himself.

**4. 3. 4. The End of the Manchu Dynasty:** The abdication of the Manchu dynasty was effected without resistance. The court was powerless, and was even without money. As soon as he began his secret negotiations, Yuan had seized the imperial treasury and deprived the court of this last resource. He assured the regent that there was no hope in further resistance and the dynasty must abdicate. However, he promised that he would arrange satisfactory and generous terms.

The terms for 'favourable treatment' were included in a treaty signed between the revolutionary republicans and the dynasty. These terms provided that the emperor would legally abdicate this would transfer the government to the republic. In return the emperor could retain his title and his court would have their ranks. Further, the dethroned emperor could retain the imperial palace along with the summer palace and all his private property. He would receive an annual pension of \$4,000,000. The abdication took the form of an imperial edict issued on 12 February 1912. Thus, the Revolution of 1911 led to the end of the Manchu dynasty and the establishment of the first Republic in China.

**4. 3. 5. *Betrayal of the Republic:*** On 13 February 1912, Dr. Sun Yat-sen resigned as the provisional President of the republic, and on 15 February, Yuan Shi-kai was elected in his place. The president and the executive of the republic remained in Peking. However, the revolutionary council was still in Nanking. It was preoccupied with plans for the election of a parliament and constitutional assembly, which would inaugurate democratic government. Sung Chiao-jen, one of the ablest followers of Dr. Sun Yat-sen organized an open parliamentary party named Kuomintang (KMT), or Nationalist People's Party replacing the revolutionary and secret society the Tung Meng Hui. Yuan Shi-kai, who began to fear that the election would not suit his plans, formed a 'Republican Party'.

In the election that held in February 1913, the Kuomintang won a clear majority. Sung Chiao-jen seemed to be the Prime Minister. This would have drastically reduced Yuan's powers as the President. On 20 March 1913, Sung Chio-jen was assassinated on Shanghai railway station, probably at Yuan's instigation. The Kuomintang sympathizers in several central and southern provinces rebelled against Yuan in July, but were easily suppressed. At the end of the year Yuan outlawed the Kuomintang. In January 1914, he dissolved the parliament. This put an end to parliamentary government in China. Yuan replaced the Parliament by a political council with handpicked members. The political council proposed a new constitution on 1 May 1914, which gave the President all the powers, which the late Empress Dowager had proposed to reserve for the emperor in the constitution she had promised in 1908.

Yuan Shi-kai was moving carefully not only towards establishing dictatorial power, but assuming the imperial title. At the end of 1914 he made a sacrifice to heaven at the Altar of Heaven in Peking, an imperial rite that only an emperor could perform. This clearly revealed his intentions. In the early months of 1915, Yuan assembled a convention. When the convention met in August 1915, it voted for the restoration of the monarchy and invited Yuan Shi-kai

to ascend the throne of a new dynasty. He made the customary triple refusal, then 'bowed to the will of the people'. The new dynasty was to be proclaimed on New Year's Day 1916.

Meanwhile, the First World War was in progress. Taking advantage of the pre-occupation of the Allied powers in Europe, Japan presented the Twenty-one Demands to Yuan Shi-kai. These demands contained proposals not only for Japanese influence over considerable areas of China, but also for the inclusion of Japanese advisers in several important branches of the Chinese government including the police.

Opposition to Yuan's proposed dynastic ambition was gathering momentum. The educated class, the military commanders and provincial governors had their own reasons to resist Yuan's claim to imperial title. Disaffection and rebellion spread in various provinces. The troops that were sent against the rebels refused to fight. Under these circumstances Yuan decided to postpone the enthronement until order could be restored. But things were going out of control for Yuan. Provincial governors and military generals deserted him. In a joint telegram they all demanded the abrogation of the new dynasty and monarchy. On 22 March 1916, Yuan Shi-kai gave up the throne, abolished the monarchy, and resumed the Presidency. In spite of this, discontent against Yuan Shi-kai continued. He became ill with worry and disillusionment and died on 6 June 1916.

Yuan's career had been a story of betrayals. He had betrayed the emperor, Kuang Hsu. He had betrayed the Manchu dynasty. Finally, he had betrayed Dr. Sun Yat-sen and the republic. His failure and death plunged China into further confusion, civil war, and new developments. However, it marked the end of the first phase of the Chinese Revolution, the failure of democratic republicanism and also an attempt to restore the monarchy.

**4. 3. 6. Revival of the Republic:** Immediately after the death of Yuan Shi-kai, the Constitution of 1912 was revived and the republic was restored with Li Yuan Hung, the then vice-president as the new president and Tuan Chi Jui as the prime minister. Tuan Chi Jui dominated the government as the prime minister. He drove out the president with the help of a royalist general following a disagreement between the two on China's entry into the First World War. For a very brief period there was a Manchu revival. The boy emperor, Pu Yi was put back on the throne. However, Tuan threw out the royalists and the restoration soon came to an end.

Following four years of turmoil, instability, factionalism, warlordism and foreign interference, especially by Japan, Dr. Sun Yat-sen returned to Canton from his exile from Shanghai. In 1921 he was re-elected President of the Southern Republic. Another clash

between the military groups drove out Sun Yat-sen again from Canton to Shanghai. Repeated failures did not dishearten Dr. Sun Yat-sen. He devoted his time for the reorganization of the Kuomintang (Nationalist People's Party). Analyzing the problems faced by the republic, he began to re-orient his course of action. In order to consolidate the republic, Dr. Sun Yat-sen laid down his future course of action - alliance with the Soviet Union, cooperation with the Chinese Communist Party, and promotion of the interests of the workers and the peasants. Dr. Sun Yat-sen's dream of unifying China under the republic could not be realized due to his death on 12 March 1925. This task was achieved by his successor Chiang Kai-shek and his Nationalist Government.

**Check your progress :**

6. *Point out the areas that were affected by the Revolution of 1911 in China.*
7. *Why did Dr Sun Yat-sen return to China from USA in 1911?*
8. *Why did Yuan Shi-kai betray the republic?*
9. *How did Dr Sun Yat-sen revive the republic in China?*

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#### **4. 4. CONSEQUENCES OF THE REVOLUTION OF 1911**

The Revolution of 1911 in China can be considered as one of the significant landmarks in the history of China. It produced far reaching consequences in the political, economic and social spheres in China. It marked the end of an era of conservatism and ushered in an age of liberalism and modernism. The consequences or results of the Revolution of 1911 can be summarized as the following:

**4. 4.1. End of the Manchu Dynasty:** Politically speaking, the Revolution of 1911 was a decisive break with the past. For over two thousand years, China had been ruled by the monarchical form of government by successive dynasties, the last being the Manchu dynasty. The revolution of 1911 not only put an end to the Manchu dynasty but to monarchical system of government itself in China. Whereas in the past, the dynasty could claim absolute obedience from its subject people, the Chinese people after 1911 began to learn that sovereignty belonged finally to them and to no one else.

**4. 4. 2. Establishment of Republic:** The end of the dynastic monarchy led to the establishment of a republic in China. Republicanism was not a popular political practice at that time in other parts of the world. For example, except for China, there was no republic in Asia in 1911. Even in Europe, there were only two republican governments, one in France and the other in Switzerland. In this way it could be said that the Revolution of 1911 put China ahead of other Asian countries in respect of political advancement.

**4. 4. 3. Decreasing Influence of Confucianism:** The political break with the past had far reaching effects on the Chinese society. Negatively, the importance of Confucianism in Chinese society was greatly decreased. The monarchy and political structure had been an inseparable part of Confucianism. The abolition of the monarchy in 1911 manifested that the age old Confucianism was becoming irrelevant with changing times as a political belief. Later, during the May Fourth Revolution in 1919, even Confucianism as a way of life and a body of social thought was under attack. In this way, the 1911 political revolution made way for the 1919 intellectual revolution.

**4. 4. 4. Spread of Westernization and Modernization:** Positively, the creation of a Western-style republic speeded up and extended Westernization and modernization in all areas of Chinese social life and culture. The Chinese people were therefore psychologically better prepared to accept new and modern things.

**4. 4. 5. Lack of Social Revolution:** In spite of the political revolution, it may be said that socially speaking, the Revolution of 1911 was a failure. First of all the Revolution did not bring about much change in the composition of the Chinese ruling classes. It is true that the emperor and his officials were gone, but the conservative gentry-landlords had not been overthrown. They were still ruling in the countryside. In addition, military officials of the Manchus like Yuan Shih-k'ai remained influential. Revolutionaries and intellectuals, who helped in running the Republic, were powerless in the presence of these conservative forces.

Secondly, the Revolution of 1911 was limited to several cities only. It did not affect much of the rural population in China as it came to an end within a short period with the abdication of the last of the Manchu rulers. Thus, the Revolution of 1911 only revolutionized the political system. The social order remained what it had been. Consequently, while the cities were modernized, the villages continued to remain as backward and conservative as ever.

**4. 4. 6. Increased Provincial Decentralization:** Once the dynasty had been overthrown, the traditional link between the provinces and

Peking was cut. The new Republic was weak and could not establish centralized political power over all China. Consequently, the local-provincial scholar-gentry got itself immersed in local and provincial rather than national affairs. The growth of national consciousness was therefore slowed down. Seen from this angle, the Revolution of 1911 worsened the problem of political decentralization which had started during the later part of the Manchu dynasty.

**4. 4. 7. From anti-Manchuism to anti-Imperialism:** Before 1911, Chinese intellectuals could blame the Manchus for all the national and social problems that China suffered. However, following the Revolution of 1911, the Manchus no longer ruled China. Hence, the foreign imperialism became the target of the Chinese nationalists after 1911. As a result, modern Chinese nationalism gradually transformed from anti-Manchuism to anti-imperialism after 1911.

**4. 4. 8. Increased Foreign Influence in China:** As the new Chinese Republic was weak and divided, foreign control over China went on increasing after 1911. For example, the foreign diplomats in Peking had taken over the complete direction of China's maritime customs.

**4. 4. 9. Loss of Outer Mongolia and Tibet:** The weakness of the republican government in China and the internal conflict between different political factions led to the break up of China. Territories that traditionally belonged to China such as Outer Mongolia and Tibet declared independence from China after 1911.

**4. 4. 10. May Fourth Movement:** In the nineteenth century, resistance against foreign imperialism in China had usually taken the form of simple xenophobia. The Chinese had expressed a general dislike for Western things and wanted the foreigners to leave China. However, by the end of the First World War, a more modern type of nationalism was spreading in China especially among the more westernized sections of the population. This expression of modern Chinese nationalism can be traced to the so-called May Fourth Movement.

The May Fourth Movement was an agitation initiated by the intellectuals primarily the academicians. Its strength came from the students and the professors. In the narrower sense, the May Fourth Movement refers to a student demonstration staged in Peking on 4 May 1919. The aim of the demonstration was to protest against the decision of the Paris Peace Conference that transferred Germany's rights in Shantung province to Japan. This nation-wide patriotic movement denounced the Treaty of Versailles and gave a call for the boycott of Japanese goods. In a broader sense, the May Fourth Movement was a initiated the cultural renewal and social revolution.

The May Fourth Movement included not only political protest but also literary and scientific developments considerably influenced by Western ideas. Gradually, the May Fourth Movement spread throughout China and lasted for three years.

The May Fourth Movement strengthened Chinese nationalism and promoted the concept of democracy, which gained in popularity among the intellectuals. The Western ideas of equality greatly influenced the educated classes. There was an improvement in the status of women. A small but increasing proportion of women received formal education, and the custom of 'foot binding' began to decline. Major intellectual figures began to write in a language much closer to the spoken language of the common people. This shift in language made mass education far easier than it could have been before. This enabled in promoting modern economic development and a more equal society.

The May Fourth Movement promoted a faith in nationalism, progress, democracy, and science. The rejection of Chinese ideals and the adoption of European values were linked. The growing conviction that the Chinese tradition was outdated led to the search for a foreign substitute. Signs of a pro-Western frenzy were everywhere to be seen among modern intellectuals. Popular slogans such as 'Total Westernization' were common. Translations of Western books were undertaken. Most May Fourth periodicals were divided into two equal parts, one of which was reserved for translations.

Thus, the May Fourth Movement can be considered as a symbol of broad Cultural Revolution and expression of nationalism. The student demonstration at Peking on 4 May 1919, was a direct result and dynamic expression of an intellectual transformation. Shanghai and Canton followed Peking's lead, and within weeks the Peking students' demonstration was transformed into a national movement. Moreover, the movement drew the country's different social classes together in a joint effort.

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#### **4.5. CONCLUSION**

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A number of factors contributed to the outbreak of the Revolution of 1911 in China. The degenerating political, economic and social conditions in China coupled with the failure of the reform programmes brought about a lot of discontent among the Chinese nationalists who were influenced by the Western ideas of nationalism, republicanism and democracy. These nationalist forces were canalized by Or Sun Yat-sen through his secret societies which finally led to the Revolution of 1911. Within a short period the revolution spread to different provinces of China, especially in Southern and Central regions of the country. Though



true Manchu government tried to save the dynasty by recalling one of its trusted generals, Yuan Shi-kat, However, the ambitious general struck a deal with the Dr Sun Yat-sen and forced the last of the Manchu candidates to abdicate in 1912, The^ developments led to the end of the Manchu dynasty in China and tire beginning of the republican form of government

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**4.6. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS**

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- 10. What was the immediate consequence of the Revolution of 1911 in China.
- 11. Enumerate the results of the Revolution of 1911.
- 12. Write a note on the May Fourth Movement

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**4.7 BROAD QUESTIONS**

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- 1. Analyze the causes of the Revolution of 1911 in China.
- 2. Trace the course of events that led to the Revolution of 1911 in China.
- 3. Give an account of the course of the Revolution of 1911 in China.
- 4. Enumerate the consequences of the Revolution of 1911 in China.
- 5. Discuss the causes and results of the Revolution of 1911.



## THE NATIONALIST GOVERNMENT

### Outline of the Topic

- 5.0 Objective
- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 Nationalist Government Under Dr. Sun Yat-Sen
- 5.3 Chang Kai –Shek
- 5.4 Domestic Policy and Programme.
- 5.5 Foreign Policy
- 5.6 Conclusion
- 5.7 Check Your Progress
- 5.9. Broad Questions.

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### 5.0 OBJECTIVES

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1. *To review the growth of the Kuomintang Party and the Nationalist Government under Dr Sun Yat-sen.*
2. *To trace in brief the life and career of Chiang Kai Shek till he takes charge of the Nationalist Government in China.*
3. *To review the domestic policy and programme of the Nationalist Government under the leadership of Chiang Kai Shek.*
4. *To study the foreign policy of the Nationalist Government and to review its impact on China.*

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### 5. 1. INTRODUCTION

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The Revolution of 1911 brought an end to the Manchu dynasty and ushered in an era of republic in China. However, the dream of Dr. Sun Yat-sen and the nationalists to establish a truly democratic republic was shattered. The period between 1912 and 1927 was marked by an attempt by Yuan Shi-kai to establish his dictatorship and monarchy, First World War and Japan's intimidation through the Twenty-one Demands, warlordism, factionalism in the government, attempt of the foreign powers to keep China divided and weak, re-emergence of Dr. Sun Yat-sen as the president of the Southern Republic, his death and rise of Chiang Kai-shek. Chiang Kai-shek, on his part had to consolidate his position in the Kuomintang party, eliminate Communist influence within and outside the party, bring about the unification of China either with the cooperation of the warlords or suppressing them, provide a working government, resist the Japanese invasion and finally fight a civil war against the Communists. At the end losing out to the Communists he was forced to flee China and settle in Taiwan.

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## 5.2. NATIONALIST GOVERNMENT UNDER DR SUN YAT-SEN:

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**5. 2. 1. Establishment of the Kuomintang:** The secret society founded by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, Tung-meng-hui, was greatly instrumental in bringing about the Revolution of 1911 in China. Following the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty, the Tung-meng-hui was reorganized as a non-secret political party and was renamed as the Kuomintang (KMT) or the National People's Party. The Kuomintang bitterly opposed Yuan Shi-kai's attempt to assume dictatorial powers. Its failure against Yuan Shi-kai and later the warlords made the Kuomintang ineffective. After a period of uncertainty for about a decade, the Kuomintang finally formed the Chinese Republic at Canton with Dr. Sun Yat-sen as the President in 1921.

**5.2. 2 The Kuomintang and the Communists:** Developments in the decade from 1911 to 1921 greatly helped the Kuomintang to gain new recruits. Outbreak of the First World War, presentation of the 'twenty-one demands' to China by Japan, outbreak of the Russian Revolution in 1917, disillusionment with the outcome of the Paris Peace Conference followed by the May Fourth Movement brought about a great transformation among the educated Chinese. Large number of patriotically charged students was attracted to the Nationalist Party. Inspired by the Russian Revolution of 1917, the intellectuals of China established the Chinese Communist Party with a view to introduce Marxism in China. Soviet Russia sought to ally with Chinese nationalists and found Kuomintang to be a convenient tool to spread Communist ideology in China.

**5. 2. 3. Reorganization of the Kuomintang:** Soviet Russia exerted considerable influence on the Kuomintang. The Nationalist Party was reorganized on the model of the Bolshevik (Communist) Party of Russia. Russian adviser to the Southern Republic, Michael Borodin played a major role in reorganising the Kuomintang into a strong, nationwide disciplined party with a democratic centralized structure.

Out of a sense of gratitude towards the Soviet Union for her help and sympathy for the Chinese nationalists, Dr. Sun Yat-sen permitted enrolment of Chinese Communists as individual members in the reorganized Kuomintang Party. During the period of Kuomintang-Communist collaboration, propaganda and military activities were the two facets of the Kuomintang policy. While the Kuomintang was pre-occupied with territory and warfare, the Communists concentrated on propaganda and infiltration into the various representative institutions and mass peasant and labour movements. Meanwhile an amicable settlement in respect of Outer

Mongolia and the Chinese Eastern Railway was reached in 1924. This enabled Russia to re-establish her influence in Mongolia and Manchuria.

**5.2.4. First Congress of the Kuomintang, 1924:** The Kuomintang held its first Congress in 1924. Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles of the People - nationalism, democracy and socialism were accepted as the political doctrine of the Party. The Kuomintang accepted three policies to consolidate its position in China - alliance with the Soviet Union, alliance with the Chinese Communist Party and support of workers and peasants. The Congress expressed deep faith in the political capacity of the Chinese people. An appeal was made to the peasants, workers, students, youths and overseas Chinese to strengthen the nationalist forces in China. The Congress also spelt out its foreign policy. It demanded the abolition of territorial concessions and extra-territorial rights enjoyed by the Treaty Powers. The Whampoa Military Academy was established to train the revolutionary army. Chiang Kai-shek, the young Russian-trained general and an ardent follower of Dr. Sun Yat-sen was appointed as its superintendent.

**5.2.5. Rightwing and Leftwing in the Kuomintang:** The influential position held by the Communist members in the Kuomintang soon excited the jealousy of rank and file of the members. Since the reorganization of the Kuomintang on the model of Russia's Communist Party in 1924, the Party came to be divided into two factions, the Leftists and the Rightists. Those supporting the reorganization and the enrolment of the Communists were called Leftists and those opposing were Rightists. The Leftists promoted the policy of making the masses partners in the struggle against the warlords and the imperialists. Till the death of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's they constituted the majority in the re-organized party. The Rightists were veterans of the old party. They had roots in the landlord and mercantile classes.

The Communist Party aimed at aligning itself with the Leftists in the Kuomintang and dislodge the Rightists in the Party from positions of influence in the movement. The Rightists hated the Leftists for collaborating with the Communists, and considered them as agents of Moscow. Thus, the Rightists demanded the expulsion of the Communists from the Kuomintang. By September 1924, a number of their leaders had gone to Shanghai and formed a 'White Kuomintang' supported by the bourgeoisie opposed to the 'Red Kuomintang' in Canton. Dr. Sun Yat-sen skillfully balanced the two factions in the party as long as he was alive. Though the death of Dr. Sun Yat-sen in 1925 removed the balancing factor, imperialist threat and military expeditions somehow maintained the unity in the Kuomintang Party.

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### 5. 3. CHIANG KAI SHEK

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**5.3.1. Introduction:** Chiang Kai-shek was one of the most important political leaders in 20th century Chinese history, sandwiched between Dr. Sun Yat-sen and Mao Tse Tung. Early in the twentieth century Chiang Kai-shek fought for Dr. Sun Yat-sen's United Revolutionary League and the Kuomintang party to overthrow China's imperial dynasty. The Republic of China was established in 1912, but by the end of the 1920s the Kuomintang split with the Communists led by Mao Tse Tung. After the death of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, Chiang became the leader of the Kuomintang army and seized control of the government.

**5. 3.2. Birth and Early Life:** Chiang Kai-shek (Immovable Stone) was born on 31 October 1887, in a family of salt merchants in Chekiang Province, in eastern China. At the time of Chiang's youth, China was suffering from a series of defeats by foreign powers that had left the country in debt, politically destabilized, and vulnerable to foreign intervention. A desire to rescue his country from its precarious position led Chiang to pursue a career in the military. Following schooling in Ningbo and a brief trip to Japan in 1906, Chiang enrolled in a government military academy in Baoding. From 1908 until 1910 he attended military school in Tokyo.

**5. 3.3. Chiang and Revolution of 1911:** While in Japan, Chiang became involved in the revolutionary movement to overthrow China's ruling Manchu dynasty, which he and others blamed for the country's condition. In 1908 Chiang joined the T'ung Meng Hui (Revolutionary Alliance), founded by Dr. Sun Yat-sen. When revolution broke out in China in 1911, Chiang left Japan to serve under revolutionary forces in Shanghai. The revolutionaries succeeded in overthrowing the imperial government and establishing a republican government in Nanking in eastern China. In 1912, Chiang and other revolutionaries formed a new political party, the Kuomintang, under the leadership of Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

In 1917 Dr. Sun Yat-sen set up a revolutionary government in the southern Chinese city of Canton to compete with the warlords. In 1918 he summoned Chiang as he valued his military expertise. In the next few years, Chiang moved back and forth between Canton and Shanghai, but his activities were unclear. It appears that he engaged in stock market speculation in Shanghai, perhaps to raise funds for Dr. Sun Yat-sen, and became connected with business and underworld leaders.

**5.3.4. Chiang's Rise to Political Power:** In 1923 Dr. Sun Yat-sen appointed Chiang as the military chief of staff of his government. Dr. Sun Yat-sen's new alliance with the Communist leadership of

the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) opened the door to substantial economic and military aid for the Kuomintang government. Dr. Sun Yat-sen sent Chiang to Moscow, where he spent several months studying Soviet military and political organization. Soviet aid enabled Dr. Sun Yat-sen to establish a Kuomintang military academy at Whampoa near Canton in 1924. Chiang became director of the academy and personally trained nearly 2,000 cadets in three years. These officers, sometimes called the Whampoa Clique, became the core of a new nationalist army and served as Chiang Kai-shek's political base.

***Check your progress :***

1. Evaluate the role of Dr. Sun-Yet-sen in reviving the Kuomintang government.
2. Trace the early career of Chiang Kai-shek.
3. Why did Dr. Sun Yat-sen Chiang Kai-shek to Soviet Russia?

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## **5. 4. DOMESTIC POLICY AND PROGRAMME**

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**5. 4.1. Measures Towards the Unification of the Country:** Dr. Sun Yat-sen's death in 1925 created a power vacuum within the Kuomintang. Chiang was looked upon as one of the chief political heirs of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. He became the commander-in-chief of the Nationalist army. Chiang's key break came in July 1926 when he launched the Northern Expedition, a military campaign to defeat the warlords controlling northern China and unify the country under the Kuomintang.

The Nationalist army under Chiang moved gradually and gained striking victories against the warlords. By the end of 1925, Chiang brought Kwangtung and Kwangsi provinces under the control of the Kuomintang executive. In 1926, Chiang advanced northwards through Hunan to the Yangtse valley and occupied all the important cities in the valley. The advancing Nationalist army received strong local support. The practical unification of the country by military campaign took two years to complete. The campaign was conducted in two phases. In the first phase, the Nationalist army captured Hankow within a few months. In the second phase, the Nationalist army under Chiang captured Peking, the ancient capital,

of China in June 1928. Chiang Kai-shek's attempt to unify the country made him popular among the Chinese people.

**5. 4. 2. Break up of the Kuomintang:** Meanwhile, a growing split had developed between Left and Right factions within the Kuomintang. In January 1927, allied with the Chinese Communists and with Moscow's representative, Michael Borodin, KMT leftists moved the civilian government from Canton to Hankow in Central China. The move revealed the ideological power struggle between the two factions. After conquering Shanghai and Nanking in March, Chiang decided to break with the Hankow group. On 12 April 1927, Chiang launched a swift and brutal attack on thousands of suspected Communists in the area he controlled. The Soviet agents were sent back. Chiang then established his own Nationalist government in Nanking, supported by many conservatives. The financial magnates of Shanghai supported Chiang in his struggle for supremacy.

Due to continuing political and military rivalries, Chiang took many months to consolidate his power. In August 1927, he resigned his command of the Nanking government, but continued to exercise his control from the background. In the following month he travelled to Japan. Chiang had previously been married at least twice and had one son from his first marriage. On 1 December, 1927, while in Japan, he married Soong Mei-ling, the third daughter of a prominent Christian leader in Shanghai. Mei-ling's older sister, Soong Ching-ling, was the widow of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Thus, through the marriage Chiang tied himself to the legacy of the revered founder of the Kuomintang. In the decades that followed, Madame Chiang, as she was known, would serve as a liaison to Western powers, particularly the United States.

Chiang Kai-shek returned from semi-retirement due to Communist uprising in Canton during November-December 1927. The need of Chiang's military leadership was felt by all sections of the Kuomintang. By January 1928 Chiang Kai-shek emerged as the supreme leader of the Kuomintang (Generalissimo).

**5. 4. 3. Capture of Peking:** The second phase of the unification of the country through military campaign was launched by Chiang Kai-shek after the break with the Communists. The Nationalist army under the command of Chiang captured Peking in June 1928. Chang Tso-lin, the leader of the Peking regime, fled to Mukden where he was killed by a mysterious bomb explosion. Following his death, his son Chang Hsueh-liang, still in control of the three eastern provinces, accepted the Kuomintang flag. He was persuaded to join the party and rule there as deputy of the Nationalist government. Thus, theoretically at least, China was

united under the military rule of Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalist government.

Nanking became the capital of the Nationalist government. Twelve Western Powers including the United States, France and England gave recognition to the Nationalist government under Chiang Kai-shek. The Nationalist government claimed to have realised the 'principle of nationalism', one of the first principles of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's "Three People's Principles". The Nationalist government set its goal to the achievement of the other two principles - principle of democracy and people's livelihood, in due course of time.

**5. 4. 4. Constitution of the Kuomintang:** To carry out Dr. Sun Yat-sen's programme, the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee was convened in August 1928. It adopted a provisional constitution called the Organic Law. The Organic Law established a close link between the government and the party, both functioning under the principle of 'Democratic Centralism'. The highest organ of the state was the State Council whose Chairman was also the Head of State. Under the State Council functioned five Yuans or departments of government - the legislative, executive, judicial, examination and control Yuans. Chiang Kai-shek became Chairman of the State Council. The State Council together with the Party's Central Executive Committee constituted Central Political Council. This ensured the control of the Kuomintang on the administration. The Organic Law remained in force as the basis of government till the adoption of another provisional Constitution in May 1931 by the National People's Convention.

**5. 4.5. Conflict Between the Nationalists and Communists:** Chiang's greatest domestic rivals, the Chinese Communists, were outside of his party. The Communists regrouped in a remote area of central Kiangsi Province in the early 1930s and created a Soviet-style government. Though the Nationalist government was able to destroy the urban political strength of the Communists without much difficulty, the Communists under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung won the support of impoverished and oppressed peasants of southern and central China. The Communists also increased their influence among the workers by forming unions, which attempted to raise wages and improve their working conditions. Chiang became obsessed with destroying the Communists. With the aid of German military advisers, he launched numerous campaigns to defeat the Communists. During the fifth campaign, in 1934, Chiang surrounded the Communists and launched an all-out 'annihilation drive'. Starved out by the blockade, the Communists broke out and began their famous Long March. The Communists eventually established a new base at Yen-an in the far northwest.



**5. 4. 6. The United Front against Japan:** Following the Manchurian Crisis of 1931, Chiang Kai-shek adopted a defensive policy towards the Japanese aggression in Manchuria. Meanwhile, he was making an all-out effort to crush the Communists within China. The Chinese Communists had already declared war on Japan in 1932. They made an appeal to Chiang to put an end to the civil war in order to maintain a united front against the Japanese. But Chiang disregarded their appeal as well as the pressure of Chinese patriots for a joint defense of the country. Even one of Chiang's allied commanders, Chang Hsueh-liang, who had been expelled from Manchuria after the Mukden Incident, came to doubt the wisdom of Chiang's approach.

Following these developments, in 1936 Chang held Chiang prisoner in Sian. For a time, Chiang's life was in danger. However, early in 1937, a compromise was reached with the Communists about a united national front against the Japanese. By the compromise, the Communists agreed to bring its autonomous regime and army under the control of the National government. The Nationalist government agreed to lead a determined resistance against the Japanese aggression and establish a democratic system. It also promised social and economic reforms. This settlement ended the civil war between the Communists and the Nationalists for the time being.

#### **5. 4.7. Administration of the Nationalist Government**

The administration of the Nationalist government during the period 1930-1937 is remembered for the growth of capitalism, Financial, legal and educational reforms, and improvement of transport and communication.

**5. 4.7. 1. Promotion of Capitalism:** Chiang Kai-shek's strong apathy towards Communism and his conservative roots enabled him to promote capitalism in China. In his struggle against the Communists he had the support of wealthy Chinese families, business community, landlords and the bourgeoisie. By marriage he was linked to one of the wealthiest Soong families of China. Being converted to Christianity, Chiang had the support of the Christian missionaries. In foreign policy he followed a pro-Western approach. These factors helped in the growth of capitalism in China.

**5. 4.7. 2. Reforms in Financial Sector:** The Nationalist government took advantage of its improved relations with the West and invited foreign banks to operate in China. T.V. Soong, the brother-in-law of Chiang Kai-shek was appointed as the Minister of Finance. Under his guidance the Nationalist government introduced a number of fiscal and economic reforms that greatly helped in the growth of capitalism in China. Sir Frederick Leith-Ross, on behalf of

the League of Nations, helped to improve China's financial system. In 1936, a new currency, Yuan was introduced to replace the old Tael (Liang). The paper currency known as Fa-pi was also accepted as a legal tender. Nickel and copper coins under decimal system were also minted to supplement the paper currency.

**5. 4.7. 3. Reforms in Banking Sector:** Along with financial reforms, Chiang's Nationalist Government introduced significant reforms in the Banking sector as well. The Central Bank with a capital of 100 million Chinese dollars (Yuans) was recognised as the Central Bank of China. Its chief function was to maintain currency stability. The Bank of China with a capital of 40 million Yuans was assigned the function of controlling the foreign exchange. The Bank of Communication with a capital of 20 million Yuans was to provide assistance to the development of domestic industries. The Farmers' Bank of China was assigned the task of farm credit and land mortgage. The tariff agreements with the treaty-powers enabled China to regain her tariff autonomy, which led to an increase in revenue. The presentation of regular annual budget manifested Nationalist government's control over financial matters.

**5. 4.7. 4. Legal Reforms:** The need to remove 'unequal treaties' led to reforms in legal system and judicial procedure. An attempt towards legal reforms had already undertaken during the regimes of Yuan Shi-kai and Warlords of Peking. However, the Nationalist government, in an attempt to induce the Western Powers to give up their privileged position in China, earnestly took up the reform of the legal system. Between 1929 and 1935, the Legislative Yuan passed a number of laws relating to commerce, industry, mining, forests etc.

**5. 4.7. 5. Reforms in the Field of Education:** In order to promote constitutional government and eventual democracy in China, the Nationalist government attempted to introduce massive educational reforms. An ambitious programme of providing at least six years of schooling for all children was introduced. However, due to lack of funds and trained teachers, the results of this programme were not quite encouraging. In the field of higher education, the success of the Nationalist government was quite impressive. Several public universities, colleges and professional schools were consolidated into thirteen national universities, five technical colleges, and nine provincial universities. The Nationalist government provided subsidies in order to encourage private enterprise in higher education.

**5. 4.7. 6. Industrial Progress:** The Nationalist government made considerable efforts to promote industrialization in China. In spite of the loss of Manchuria and the Japanese attack on Shanghai, the

Nationalist government aimed at developing medium and large scale industries in the middle and lower Yangtse region as they were under her direct control. Both Chinese and Chinese industrialists concentrated their industrial enterprises in coastal regions, thereby neglecting the interior regions of China. There was considerable progress in light industries such as textiles, matches, flour production, cement and chemical manufacturing.

**5. 4.7. 7. Agrarian Reforms:** Dr. Sun Yat-sen's 'Principle of Livelihood of People' prompted the Nationalist government to pay considerable attention to the problems related to the peasants and farmers. The Nationalist government enacted a Land Law in 1930. Its aim was to eradicate some of the worst defects in tenancy and attempted to reduce rents. The law also contained provisions to protect the peasants from eviction from their land if they did not pay rents for two successive years or their failure to cultivate the land for a year without a valid reason. However, this law was not strictly implemented and the conditions of the poor peasants continued to worsen.

In spite of its failure to solve the problems of the peasantry, the Nationalist government tried to improve the agriculture technically. Agricultural research institutions were set up. Agricultural departments were opened in colleges and universities. Studies were made in improving the production of food grains, cotton and silk. The peasants were instructed in the use of better seeds and chemical fertilizers. The Nationalist government also undertook the construction of dykes in areas susceptible to frequent floods and irrigation projects in drought afflicted regions. However, these benefits could not reach to a vast majority of peasants whose conditions gradually deteriorated.

**5. 4.7. 8. Improvement in Transport and Communication:** The Nationalist government undertook projects to improve the transport and communication system. To administer the existing railway lines as well as to expand the railway system, a Ministry of Railway was established in 1928. The Nationalist government expanded the railway system to central and southern China. With foreign help railway lines, such as the Peking-Canton were built. Modern types of motorable roads linking up even distance provinces were built. To supervise and control this ambitious project a National Road Planning Commission was constituted. In 1930, the China National Aviation Corporation was set up with the help of Chinese and American capital. In the field of communication, the Nationalist government made considerable progress in postal, telegraph and telephone services.

#### **5. 4. 8. Failure of the Nationalist Government**

The defeat and ouster of the Nationalist government by the Communists in 1949 manifested its inherent failure not only in military tactics and strategy but also in administrative field.

**5. 4.8. 1. Failure to Solve the Rural Problems:** The programme of the Nationalist government was one of social and economic reform and not revolution. Its reform programme as seen above was typical of a bourgeoisie capitalist state. As such, it failed to meet the need for livelihood of a large number of impoverished people. Though experiments in rural reconstruction under the supervision of semi-independent provincial governments were allowed, the Nationalist government was not serious about their success. Land Laws, aimed at protecting peasants were hardly implemented. The propertied classes including the rural landlords, who were the support base of the Nationalist government, desired no such changes in the system of land tenure or agricultural credits, which would have affected their interests. Thus, the rural masses identified the Nationalist government with urban businessmen and rural gentry. As such they became receptive to the propaganda of the Communists.

**5. 4.8. 2. Lack of Economic Development:** The Nationalist government's record in stimulating economic development in China during its regime was quite dismal. The rise of the Kuomintang took place during a period when light and medium industries, communication systems, and export-import oriented firms, which had begun during the First World War, were gradually expanding. The hopes of quickening and broadening the process of economic modernization during the rule of the Nationalist government were not fulfilled.

The government did show its earnestness in economic progress through tariff autonomy, fiscal, legal and educational reforms, industrial expansion and improvement in transport and communication. However, these reforms were not enough to break away from the traditional system and to establish a truly modern economy.

The need of the time was far-reaching institutional reforms affecting the very foundation of Chinese life and livelihood. Nationalist government's policies were repressive of economic growth. Heavy expenditure to maintain the nationalist army did stimulate increased economic activity. But they diverted available resources and labour from projects which in long run could have been more productive of goods and services. As a result during the years 1932-1936 the gross national product did not keep pace with increases in population. This was reflected in the increased popular unrest.

**5. 4.8. 3. Lack of Ideological Direction:** Chiang Kai-shek, being a military man tended to view political, social and economic issues with the eyes of a general. He attempted military solution of the country's social and economic problems. He aimed at the unification of the country through military force. However, he never bothered seriously to think what would hold China after his armies had accomplished their task. His emphasis on military made the Kuomintang ideologically bankrupt. Chiang could never make it a dynamic organization driven by ideological steam. His military approach made people to think that "he ruled China with his armies, not with ideas".

Other than the Three Principles of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, to which a lip service was given, the Nationalist government had little to offer in competition with the Communists. All that Chiang could do in the field of ideology was to launch the so-called New Life Movement in 1935 to provide an ideological basis for unity. Confucianism was revived and applied to China's modern problems. The Nationalist leaders were under the illusion that class-antagonism did not exist in China and wrongly believed that it was a perception of the Marxists. Thus, the Nationalist government gave priority to political control and neglected internal reforms. This manifested the ideological bankruptcy of the Nationalist government, which proved to be the main cause of its failure.

**5. 4.8. 4. Challenge by the Communist Party:** The rise of the Communist party, especially under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung proved to be the greatest challenge to the Nationalist government. Following their ouster from the Kuomintang Party in 1927, the Communists created problems for the Nationalist government by plotting an urban based revolution. Meanwhile another group of Communists under Mao Tse-tung began to organize the rural peasantry in the mountainous regions of Kiangsi and Hunan provinces. Chiang Kai-shek's determination to suppress the Communists led to a series of unsuccessful military campaigns against them resulting in loss of men, material and money.

Chiang's apathy towards the Communists even prompted him to compromise with the Japanese when they invaded Manchuria in 1931. Internal pressure and readiness of the Communists to fight the Japanese under the banner of the Nationalist government brought about a united front against the latter. However, with the final defeat and surrender of the Japanese at the end of the Second World War (1945) led to a bitter civil war between the Communists and the Nationalists, which finally led to the victory of the former and exile of the latter to the island of Taiwan.

**Check your Progress :**

4. Review the growth of the Kuomintang Party under the leadership of Dr Sun Yat-sen.
5. Why did Dr Sun Yat-sen seek the help of Soviet Russia?
6. Trace the rise of Chiang Kai-shek to military and political power.
7. Enumerate the chief administrative reforms introduced by the Nationalist Government in China.
8. What factors led to the failure of the Nationalist Government?

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## 5. 5. FOREIGN POLICY

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**5. 5. 1. Introduction:** The foreign policy of the Nationalist government can be traced to the Kuomintang Party under the leadership of Dr Sun Yat-sen. Dr Sun Yat-sen, who was a great admirer of Western democracy and Western system of government was greatly disillusioned with the Western countries as they were reluctant to help the Kuomintang Party in rebuilding China due to their selfish attitude. They were apprehensive that a united and strengthened China would be detrimental for their nefarious imperial activities in China. This prompted Dr Sun Yat-sen to seek assistance from Soviet Russia which gradually led to the Communist influence in China.

**5. 5. 2. Alliance with Soviet Russia:** Since 1920 the Soviet Russia had been proposing to China the resumption of diplomatic relations. At first the Kuomintang was divided in its attitude towards Soviet Russia. A section of the party was favourable towards Russia's overtures, while the other was opposed to any ties with the Communist regime in Russia. The anti-imperialist attitude of Soviet Russia made a deep impression on the Chinese nationalists. Russia's announcement that she would give up all the special privileges extracted by the Tsarist government in China, and that her aim was to prevent Japan from absorbing Manchuria and she would enable China to fight foreign imperialism greatly attracted the Chinese nationalists.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen's disillusionment at the refusal of the Western Powers to assist his government financially led him to turn towards Russia. Appreciating his struggle against the foreign imperialistic powers, Russia promised all possible aid to Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

Russia sent diplomatic and military missions to Canton. In 1923 Dr. Sun Yat-sen declared, "We no longer look to the Western Powers. Our faces are turned towards Russia."

**5. 5. 3. Foreign Policy Under Chiang Kai-shek:** The Nanking Incident of 1927 had alienated the foreign owners and thus, they were unwilling to enter into relations with Nationalist government of China. The Nanking Incident, not to be confused with the Nanking Massacre, occurred during the first phase of the Northern Expedition starting on 21 March 1927 and continued till 23 March 1927. As the Nationalist Kuomintang troops neared and entered the city, which had many foreign residents, they targeted and looted foreign properties, doing much damage and killing and injuring many foreigners. Western and Japanese warships on the river responded by shelling Chinese forces in an effort to stop the looting of the city.

Chiang Kai-shek and his 'moderate' wing of the Kuomintang blamed the outrages on Communist elements in the army, an explanation which the Japanese and many westerners were very ready to accept, although there is no good evidence to support this. Foreign outrage against the Nanking Incident of 1927 was strong. However, the Americans and Japanese in particular wanted to avoid action against Chiang that would weaken his hand against the Communists, whom they feared far more.

In order to contain the damage done by the Nanking Incident of 1927, Chiang undertook the responsibility of making reparations for the damages which resulted from the incident and succeeded in securing official recognition of his Nationalist government from foreign powers.

**5. 5. 4. Snapping Relations with Soviet Russia:** In 1927, Chiang Kai-shek broke off relations with the Russian Communists. His subsequent anti-Communist attitude and measures, coupled with the responsibility which he undertook for the Nanking Incident won the goodwill of the Western Powers. This enabled him to free China from many of the restrictions which foreign Powers had previously imposed on her sovereignty.

**5. 5.5. Revision of the Treaties with the West:** The Nationalist government while engaged in the task of unification and reconstruction also attempted at the revision of the 'unequal treaties' imposed upon China by the Western Powers. It meant recovery of tariff autonomy, abolition of extra-territorial rights enjoyed by foreign nationals in China, abolition of foreign residential area called Concessions and Settlements in China's port cities, removal of foreign troops and police from the legation quarters and railway zones, acquisition of Manchurian railways held by the

Soviet Union and Japan, abolition of remaining leaseholds, and restoration of China's 'traditional frontiers'. In this direction the warlord governments in Peking under pressure of public opinion and empty treasury had already taken the initiative.

The achievement of the Nationalist government in the field of treaty-revision was quite substantial. Two developments enabled the Nationalist government to press upon the revision of the unequal treaties. In the first place the First World War had disrupted the unity of the treaty powers. Being defeated in the war, Germany was too weak to re-assert her former privileged position under the unequal treaties. The Soviet Union had voluntarily given up the former Tsarist rights to prove her anti-imperialist credentials. The weaker and smaller treaty powers such as Belgium and Holland, could be forced to give up their special rights. Secondly, the powerful countries, England, France and the United States were gradually becoming appreciative of the Nationalist government for its anti-Communist drive. The liberal government of Japan was also pursuing a conciliatory policy in respect of what was known as China proper, that is, eighteen provinces south of the Great Wall.

Earlier in December 1926, England had urged the Treaty Powers to adopt a more conciliatory policy towards the Chinese Nationalist government and to accept tariff autonomy whenever the new Chinese tariff law would come into operation. The British initiative enabled China eventually to achieve tariff autonomy. China's new tariff law came into effect on 1 January 1929. Japan also followed the lead of the Western Powers when after prolonged negotiations a Sino-Japanese Tariff Treaty was signed on 6 May, 1930. Thus, China won the long struggle to secure complete freedom to impose her own custom duties. By this tariff autonomy, China secured additional revenue. Besides, this gave an opportunity to China to protect her industries from foreign competition.

China's efforts to abrogate the extra-territorial provisions of the treaties met with only partial success. By 1930, nine countries agreed to give up their extra-territorial rights in China. However, England, France and the United States, while accepting abrogation of extra-territoriality in principle, insisted on gradual abolition of the system. With the hope of enlisting the support of Western Powers against Japan, Chiang Kai-shek postponed the complete abrogation of extra-territorial rights for more than a decade. During the Second World War, England, France and the United States, being in alliance with China, voluntarily gave up extra-territorial rights for their nationals by a joint declaration in 1943. Thus, by 1931, China had recovered tariff autonomy and most of the leased territories, foreign concessions and settlements and had also resumed jurisdiction over most of the foreign nationals in China.



**5. 5. 6. The Manchurian Crisis:** The most serious challenge Chiang faced was not his domestic enemies but the threat of Japanese imperialism. On 18 September 1931, a bomb explosion damaged the railway line just outside Mukden. Probably this was stage-managed by the Japanese army itself. Immediately after this incident seized Manchuria, a region comprising China's three north-eastern provinces and containing 30 million people. The Nationalist government was unable to resist Japan's military strength, and Chiang's reputation as a nationalist leader suffered a serious blow. As Japanese pressure continued in the following years, Chiang was reluctant to challenge his enemy directly. Chiang referred the matter to the League of Nations. The Japanese ignored the League resolution asking the Japanese to withdraw their troops to their original garrison bases in Manchuria. Chiang adopted a slogan, "first internal pacification, and then external resistance"; in other words, first eliminate the Chinese Communists, then focus on Japan.

In China there was a loud outcry against the Nationalist government. As the government was weak, the people tried to make up for it by strikes in Japanese-owned business concerns and boycott of Japanese goods. In 1932, Pu Yi, the dethroned Chinese monarch who was living in the Japanese concession at Tientsin, was declared Chief Executive of the Republic of Manchukuo and two years later he was crowned Emperor of that State. Manchukuo lasted till the end of the Second World War. The Lytton Commission under the League of Nations recommended autonomy for Manchuria under Chinese sovereignty. However, the Western Powers never thought of using force to enforce this recommendation as they felt that a strong Japanese military presence in Manchuria might act as a bulwark against the Soviet Russia.

**5. 5. 7. The Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945):** In July 1937 a serious clash between Chinese and Japanese troops at the Marco Polo Bridge near Peking precipitated a full-scale, though undeclared, war between the two countries. Chiang Kai-shek adhered to the terms of the compromise and offered strong resistance to the invading Japanese forces. The Chinese were hampered by their lack of industrial bases and well-trained army officers and enlisted men. The Japanese quickly captured the major cities in northern China, including the capital of the Nationalist government, Nanking. In 1938 the Japanese also seized Hankow in Central China and Canton in the south.

Chiang Kai-shek led his armies westward into the interior and established the new wartime capital at Chungking, in Sichuan province. The Japanese were able to cripple the Chinese economy and isolate Chiang's forces by capturing the entire coastal strip of

China and cutting off communications with the interior. The Chinese, however, continued to resist the Japanese.

From July 1937 until December 1941, China fought the Japanese alone. However, when Japan attacked the United States at Pearl Harbour, Hawaii, the Second World War spread to the Pacific. China became one of the Allied Powers. Even as Chiang's position within China weakened, his diplomatic stature grew. He was recognized as one of the "Big Four" Allied leaders along with Franklin D. Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, and Joseph Stalin. Chiang travelled to Cairo, Egypt, in November 1943 for a summit with Roosevelt and Churchill.

#### **5. 5.8. The Civil War (1945-1949)**

Although China and Chiang apparently achieved great status, in reality the Nationalist government was crumbling, and it was plagued by corruption and inflation. The Japanese continued to inflict devastating blows on China as late as 1944. On the other hand the Chinese Communists took advantage of wartime condition to spread their guerrilla organizations throughout the north. When the war ended in August 1945, the Communists had consolidated their control over a vast area of rural China.

Although the United States attempted to negotiate a settlement between the Communists and the Nationalist government civil war proved inevitable. At first Chiang's forces appeared to have the upper hand, but in late 1948 and early 1949 they suffered a series of crippling defeats. In the summer of 1949 the Nationalist resistance collapsed, and in October Communist leader Mao Tse-tung proclaimed a new People's Republic of China. Chiang Kai-shek, along with the remaining Nationalist forces, retreated to the island of Taiwan. There he established a government in exile that he claimed to be the legitimate government of China.

#### **5. 5. 9. An Assessment of the Nationalist Government**

In spite of these failures, the Nationalist government's achievements in domestic and foreign fields should be assessed in the background of its struggle for survival against both the Japanese and the domestic enemies, especially the Communists. Chiang Kai-shek's role and his contribution to modern China had been a subject of controversies. His supporters had showered him with unqualified praises and admirers and his detractors had been strong in their condemnation.

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### **5.6 CONCLUSION**

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It is important to note that Chiang Kai-shek took up the leadership of the Kuomintang Party in a very critical and difficult period of Chinese history. He became a symbol of national unity and brought

a major part of the country under one administration. He defeated the warlords and united the nationalist forces under the banner of the Kuomintang. For a time being though not voluntarily, Chiang became a rallying point to the nationalists and Communists in a united front against the Japanese aggression. His military leadership was acknowledged not only by the Chinese Communists but also the Soviet Union, who pressurised the former to make common cause with the Nationalists against the Japanese.

Under Chiang Kai-shek's leadership China regained her sovereignty by securing customs autonomy and revising the 'unequal treaties'. In spite of all odds, he initiated the economic modernization of the country. However, its benefits did not reach to the urban and rural impoverished masses. He failed to comprehend the role of workers and peasants in the revolution and hated Communists. In spite of all his defects and shortcomings, Chiang Kai-shek has been described by John Gunther as "the strongest man China has produced in generation".

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### 5.7 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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9. Trace the relation between the Nationalist government under Chiang Kai-shek and the Soviet Union.
10. How did Chiang Kai-shek succeed in revising the treaties with the West?
- 11/ Write a note on the Manchurian Crisis of 1931.

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### 5.8 BROAD QUESTIONS

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1. Describe the contribution of Dr Sun Yat-sen to the growth of the Nationalist government in China.
2. Trace the career of Chiang Kai-shek as the military and political leader in China.
3. Discuss the programmes and domestic policies of the Nationalist Government in China.
4. Analyze the administrative reforms introduced by the Nationalist Government in China.
5. What were the factors that led to the failure of the Nationalist Government in China?
6. Review the foreign policy of the Nationalist Government in China.



## COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

### Outline of the Topic

- 6.0 Objective
- 6.1 Growth of communism
- 6.2 Rise of Mao Tse-tung
- 6.3 Mao Yse-tung of Policies and strategies.
- 6.4 Conclusion.
- 6.5 Check your progress.
- 6.7 Broad Questions.

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### 6.0 OBJECTIVES

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1. *To trace the growth of Communism in China.*
2. *To understand the circumstances that led to the rise of Mao Tse-tung.*
3. *To study the policies and strategies adopted by Mao Tse-tung in China.*

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### 6. 1. GROWTH OF COMMUNISM

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**6. 1.1. Introduction:** The gradual transformation from monarchy, to democratic republic and finally to one party Communist regime during the first half of the twentieth century is a remarkable phase in the history of China. The Marxist doctrine of proletarian dictatorship was adopted in Soviet Russia following the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917. Within a few years after the Russian Revolution, the Chinese Communist Party was established. Initially, the Chinese Communist Party had an uneasy partnership with the Kuomintang. Chiang Kai-shek's strong dislike of the Communists and his campaigns aimed at their annihilation put the Communists on the defensive. However, the Communists under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung built a strong base among the impoverished rural population. The civil war between the Nationalists and the Communists ended in the success of the latter and led to the establishment of the People's Republic of China under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung. Under the Communist rule, China emerged as a strong economic and military power in Asia.

#### 6. 1. 2. Circumstances that Led to the Growth of Communism in China:

**6. 1. 2. 1. Influence of the Comintern:** In 1917, the Bolshevik Party, renamed later as the Communist Party seized control of the Russian government. It advocated policies of class struggle,

eventually leading the poor to take control of the economy from the rich, thus, establishing a socialist economic system. The Bolsheviks looked at revolution as a worldwide phenomenon. In order to promote similar Communist revolutions in other countries, the Bolsheviks established the Comintern (Communist International or Third International). It was to be a worldwide organization of revolutionary parties, with its headquarter in Soviet Russia.

Communist ideas found followers in many countries including China. The Communist ideology claimed the ability to solve virtually all of humanity's problems. Besides, the Comintern's hostility to the capitalist powers strongly appealed to people in countries like China, which had long been victims of European imperialism.

**6. 1. 2. 2. The May Fourth Movement:** The so-called "May Fourth Movement" or "new culture" movement that began in China around 1916 greatly influenced in the foundation of the Communist Party in China. The May Fourth Movement set in motion in China following the failure of the 1911 Revolution to establish a republican government, and continued through the 1920s. Its importance equals if not surpasses the more commonly known political revolutions of the century.

The May Fourth Movement was an agitation initiated by the intellectuals primarily the academicians. Its strength came from the students and the professors. In the narrower sense, the May Fourth Movement refers to a student demonstration staged in Peking on 4 May 1919. The aim of the demonstration was to protest against the decision of the Paris Peace Conference that transferred Germany's rights in Shantung province to Japan. This nation-wide patriotic movement denounced the Treaty of Versailles and gave a call for the boycott of Japanese goods. In a broader sense, the May Fourth Movement was a initiated the cultural renewal and social revolution. The May Fourth Movement included not only political protest but also literary and scientific developments considerably influenced by Western ideas. Gradually, the May Fourth Movement spread throughout China and lasted for three years.

The May Fourth Movement strengthened Chinese nationalism and promoted the concept of democracy, which gained in popularity among the intellectuals. The Western ideas of equality greatly influenced the educated classes. There was an improvement in the status of women. A small but increasing proportion of women received formal education, and the custom of 'foot binding' began to decline. Major intellectual figures began to write in a language much closer to the spoken language of the common people. This shift in language made mass education far easier than it could have been before. This enabled in promoting modern economic development and a more equal society.

The May Fourth Movement promoted a faith in nationalism, progress, democracy, and science. The rejection of Chinese ideals and the adoption of European values were linked. The growing conviction that the Chinese tradition was outdated led to the search for a foreign substitute. Signs of a pro-Western frenzy were everywhere to be seen among modern intellectuals. Popular slogans such as 'Total Westernization' were common. Translations of Western books were undertaken. Most May Fourth periodicals were divided into two equal parts, one of which was reserved for translations.

Thus, the May Fourth Movement can be considered as a symbol of broad Cultural Revolution and expression of nationalism. The student demonstration at Peking on 4 May 1919, was a direct result and dynamic expression of an intellectual transformation. Shanghai and Canton followed Peking's lead, and within weeks the Peking students' demonstration was transformed into a national movement. Moreover, the movement drew the country's different social classes together in a joint effort.

The May Fourth Movement (1919) had a great influence on the Chinese intellectuals. Though the movement was a reaction against the West for having sold China's rights to Japan at the Paris Peace Conference, it gave birth to Chinese nationalism, which had so far remained an ill-understood idea. The May Fourth Movement brought to the forefront anti-foreignism, national unity and recovery of lost rights. Mao Tse-tung's comment on the movement is quite significant: "Its outstanding historical significance lies in a feature which was absent in the Revolution of 1911, namely, a thorough and uncompromising opposition to imperialism, and a thorough and uncompromising opposition to feudalism". As opposed to the 'letting down of China' by the West, Soviet Russia's more favourable overtures by renouncing such Tsarist privileges as extra-territoriality made a good impression on the Chinese.

**6. 1. 2. 3. Marxist Study Group:** The initial impact of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 in Russia on China had been quite negligible. Petrograd and Moscow were too far away. In spite of this Communist influence was felt in China. Chinese translations of some of the important writings of Marx and Lenin were gradually introduced in China. Li Ta Chao and Chen Tu Hsiu, who were teachers in the Peking University, established a Marxist Study Group in Peking in 1918. A number of students including the young Mao Tse-tung joined this study group. Originally the study group viewed Marxism more from the academic interest rather than a practical ideology. However, under the influence of the events of 4 May 1919, and on becoming acquainted with more of the Marxist-Leninist texts, especially Lenin's theory of imperialism, both Li Ta Chao and Chen Tu Hsiu became staunch Marxists by 1920.

**6. 1. 2. 4. Birth of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP):** Small groups of Marxists were in existence in different cities of China. The first emissary of the Comintern, Voitinsky arrived in China from the Soviet Union in early 1920. He met both Li Ta Chao and Chen Tu Hsiu, and held meetings of Marxist groups during the year. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) was formally established when twelve delegates representing fifty members held the First Congress in Shanghai on 1 July, 1921.

The CCP remained a small party comprising of less than a thousand members for several years after it was founded. Most of its members were educated people. They came from the middle and the upper class background. Inspired by the Marxist ideas, these young intellectuals soon attempted to organize the proletariat, the industrial workers, as the main basis of the revolution. Chinese workers, like those in many other countries, suffered from long hours of work, low wages, and miserable working conditions. The rapidly spreading discontent among the industrial workers made it easy for the CCP members to organize them. However, it is important to note that the Chinese proletariat was still very small. This was chiefly due to the slow progress of industrialization in China. Thus, the CCP could not muster enough workers to win battles against the employers. Under these circumstances taking over the Chinese government was a distant dream. The CCP supported a major strike by railroad workers in 1922, but the warlord forces ruthlessly suppressed it. Thus, the Chinese proletariat could not provide a broader base to the Communist intellectuals. For quite some time the CCP was no more than a fringe group in Chinese politics.

The lack of an urban proletariat prevented the CCP from following an extreme 'leftist' programme of establishing socialism in China. Lenin was of the opinion that due to lack of an urban proletariat in most of the colonial and backward countries of the world, the local Communist parties should make a temporary alliance with bourgeoisie-democratic movements. This would enable them to advance their own influence and base of mass support, while retaining organizational independence. Meanwhile the industrial labour force would grow.

The CCP at its Second Congress in July 1922 adopted Lenin's proposals. The CCP decided to work for a two-party alliance with Sun Yat-sen's Kuomintang. The Comintern was of the opinion that the Kuomintang had a better mass base and Sun Yat-sen was a better revolutionary leader.

**6. 1. 2.5. Kuomintang-Comintern-CCP Alliance:** Dr. Sun Yat-sen initially rejected the Comintern proposal for a two party alliance. However, he invited individual Communists to join the Kuomintang,

and in some cases to take top positions in it. The CCP was to retain its external independence. By this arrangement, the Comintern aimed at making the Kuomintang a means for furthering Russian interests in China. It also believed that the CCP would eventually be able to take control of the Kuomintang. Sun Yat-sen, on his part, was disillusioned with the treatment meted out to China by the Western Powers, including non-recognition of his government by them. He was also in need of material aid from Russia in the form of arms and money in order to build a strong army with which he could unify China. Besides, he anticipated that he could keep the Communists as inferior partners within the Kuomintang.

**6. 1. 2.6. Reorganization of the Kuomintang: Dr Sun Yat-sen** agreed to have the Kuomintang reorganized on the Bolshevik model following his meeting with the Comintern representative, Adolfe Joffe during 1923. Michael Borodin and other Russian advisers arrived at Canton in October 1923, to organize both the Kuomintang party and the Nationalist army.

The alliance between the Kuomintang, Comintern and the CCP seemed to offer considerable benefits to all the parties involved. The Russians hoped that large portions of China would come under the control of the CCP, over which they had a great deal of power through the Comintern, or at least of Kuomintang with which they were allied. They believed that any strengthening of Chinese nationalism would weaken European imperialist powers, which were the enemies of Soviet Russia. The small CCP gained prestige by affiliating with Dr. Sun Yat-sen and cooperation from his organization. On the other hand, Dr. Sun Yat-sen gained new recruits from among the Communists, arms and funding from the Comintern, and invaluable services from the Russian advisers to teach the Kuomintang how to run a political party and an army. By 1926, there were about sixty Comintern advisers attached to the Kuomintang. The instructors of the Whampoa Military Academy included Comintern advisers as well as Communist and non-Communist members of the Kuomintang. They trained military officers of a considerably higher quality than most of those found in the warlord armies of the north.

**6. 1. 2. 7. Chiang Kai-shek's Distrust of the Communists:** Following the death of Dr. Sun Yat-sen in March 1925, two men, Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Ching-wei, had emerged as possible successors to his leadership. Chiang was soon made commander-in-chief of the Nationalist army and president of the Whampoa Military Academy in Canton. Though he began to distrust both the Russian and the Chinese Communists, he realized that Russian help was essential in order to bring about the unity of the country through military campaigns. Even then, Chiang took advantage of the temporary absence of Borodin in Peking during March 1926 to



arrest many Communists in Canton and to put several Russian advisers under house arrest. In spite of this action the Comintern insisted that the CCP should maintain its ties with the Kuomintang. Borodin agreed to restrict the activities of the Communists in the Kuomintang and to support Chiang's northern expedition. On his side, Chiang promised to follow restraint against the Communists. With the help of arms supplies and military advisers sent by Soviet Russia, the Northern Expedition began in July 1926. The troops were aided considerably in their task by the activities of the Communists, including Mao Tse-tung, who organised the peasants along the route of the Kuomintang army.

**Check Your Progress:**

1. *What factors led to the growth of Communism in China?*
2. *Write a note on the may Fourth Movement.*
3. *Trace the relationship between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party till 1926.*

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## 6. 2. RISE OF MAO TSE TUNG

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**6. 2. 1. Introduction:** Mao Tse-tung, who became the supreme leader of the Chinese Communist Party led the long struggle that made China a Communist nation in 1949. Following the success of the Communist Revolution that ousted the Nationalist Government led by Chiang Kai-shek, Mao Tse-tung became the ruler of the Chinese republic and one of the world's most powerful leaders.

**6. 2.2. Birth and Early Life:** Mao Tse-tung was born on 26<sup>th</sup> December 1893, in the village of Shao-shan, Hunan Province. His father was a former poor peasant who had become affluent as a farmer and grain dealer. He had two younger brothers and one sister. In his childhood Mao Tse-tung lived with his mother's family in a neighbouring village until he was eight. He grew up in an environment in which education was valued only as training for keeping records and accounts. From the age of eight he attended his native village's primary school, where he acquired a basic knowledge of the Confucian Classics. At 13 he was forced to leave and begin working full time on his family's farm.

Rebelling against paternal authority, Mao Tse-tung left his family to study at a higher primary school in a neighbouring county and then at a secondary school in the provincial capital, Ch'ang-sha. There he came in contact with new ideas from the West, as formulated by such political and cultural reformers as Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and the Nationalist revolutionary Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Before he began studying revolutionary ideas a real revolution took place before his very eyes. On 10 October 1911, revolution against the Manchu dynasty broke out in Wu-ch'ang, and within two weeks the revolt had spread to Ch'ang-sha

**6. 2.3. Role of Mao Tse-tung During the Revolution of 1911:**

During the Revolution of 1911 Mao Tse-tung enlisted in a unit of the revolutionary army in Hunan and spent six months as a soldier. His first brief military experience at least confirmed his boyhood admiration of military leaders and exploits. In primary school days, his heroes had included not only the great warrior-emperors of the Chinese past but Napoleon and George Washington as well.

Following the success of the Revolution of 1911 that led to the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty, Dr Sun Yat-sen laid the foundation of the Kuomintang (KMT) - the National People's Party, or Nationalist Party in August 1912. The party won the majority of seats in elections held in February 1913 for the new, two-house parliament. However, KMT was forced to install Yuan Shikai as president who later assumed dictatorial powers. To achieve international recognition, the new regime agreed to grant autonomy to Outer Mongolia and Tibet, which came under British influence.

In November 1913 Yuan Shikai assumed absolute power. He dissolved the KMT, suspended its members from the parliament and rewrote the constitution making him president for life. By the time Yuan died in 1916 China had become a theatre of conflict among 'warlords' (provincial military leaders).

**6. 2. 4. Further Studies:** With the establishment of the new Chinese Republic in 1912, Mao Tse-tung's military service came to an end. For a year he drifted from one thing to another, trying, in turn, a police school, a law school, and a business school. He studied history in a secondary school and then spent some months reading many of the classic works of the Western liberal tradition in the provincial library. The abolition of the official civil service examination system in 1905 and the piecemeal introduction of Western learning in so-called modern schools had left young people in a state of uncertainty as to what type of training, Chinese or Western, could best prepare them for a career or for service to their country.

Mao eventually was graduated from the First Provincial Normal School in Ch'ang-sha in 1918. While officially an institution of secondary level rather than of higher education, the normal school offered a high standard of instruction in Chinese history, literature, and philosophy as well as in Western ideas. While at the school, Mao Tse-tung also acquired his first experience in political activity by helping to establish several student organizations. The most important of these was the New People's Study Society, founded in the winter of 1917-18. Many of its members later joined the Socialist Party.

**6. 2.5. Mao Tse-tung in Peking:** From the normal school in Ch'ang-sha, Mao Tse-tung went to the Peking University, China's leading intellectual centre. The half year that he spent in Peking working as a librarian's assistant was of great importance in shaping his future career. In the Peking University Mao Tse-tung came under the influence of the two men who were to be the principal figures in the foundation of the Chinese Socialist Party. They were Li Ta-chao and Ch'en Tu-hsiu. Moreover, Mao Tse-tung found himself at the Peking University precisely during the months leading up to the May Fourth Movement of 1919, which was to a considerable extent the fountainhead of all of the changes that were to take place in China in the following half century.

**6. 2.6. May Fourth Movement:** In a limited sense, May Fourth Movement is the name given to the student demonstrations protesting against the Paris Peace Conference's decision to hand over former German concessions in Shantung Province to Japan instead of returning them to China. But the term also evokes a period of rapid political and cultural change, beginning in 1915, that resulted in the Chinese radicals' abandonment of Western liberalism for Marxism-Leninism as the answer to China's problems and the subsequent founding of the Chinese Socialist Party in 1921. During this period a shift took place from the classical written language to a far more accessible colloquial speech as a vehicle of literary expression. The May Fourth Movement revitalized Chinese nationalism as intellectuals called for the modernization and democratization of the Chinese society. In an editorial published in July 1919, Mao wrote: "The world is ours, the nation is ours, society is ours. If we do not speak, who will speak? If we do not act, who will act"?

During the summer of 1919 Mao Tse-tung helped to establish a variety of organizations in Ch'ang-sha that brought the students together with the merchants and the workers in demonstrations aimed at forcing the government to oppose Japan. However, the peasants were not yet included in any movement. The writings of Mao Tse-tung at that time are filled with references to the "army of the red flag" throughout the world and to the victory of the Russian

Revolution, but it was not until January 1921 that he was finally committed to Marxism as the philosophical basis of the revolution.

**6. 2.7. As A Member of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP):** In September 1920 Mao Tse-tung became principal of the Lin Ch'ang-sha primary school. In October he organized a branch of the Socialist Youth League in Ch'ang-sha. That winter he married Yang K'ai-hui, the daughter of his former ethics teacher. In July 1921 he attended the First Congress of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), together with representatives from the other Socialist groups in China and two delegates from the Moscow-based Comintern (Communist International). Mao Tse-tung participated in the Congress acting as the recording secretary. He was appointed as the party's general secretary for Hunan Province, where on his return he begins to organize labour unions and strikes.

When its alliance with the warlords collapsed, the KMT turned to the newly established Soviet Union for help. The Soviets pledged to support both the KMT and the emerging CCP with their struggle for national unification. In 1923, when the CCP entered into an alliance with Dr. Sun Yat-sen's KMT, Mao Tse-tung was one of the first Communists to join the KMT and to work within it. During the first half of 1924, he lived mostly with his wife and two infant sons in Shanghai, where he was a leading member of the KMT Executive Bureau.

**6. 2.8. Organizer of Peasant and Industrial Unions:** In 1923, Dr Sun Yat-sen sent Chiang Kai-shek, a rising member of the KMT to Moscow for military and political training. Meanwhile, Mao Tse-tung became a full-time worker for the CCP, organizing peasant and industrial unions. At the CCP's Third National Congress held at Guangzhou in June 1923 Mao Tse-tung was elected to the party Central Committee. By October 1925 he had become the acting head of the KMT's propaganda department.

In the winter of 1924-25, Mao returned to his native village of Shao-shan for a rest. After witnessing demonstrations by peasants stirred into political consciousness by the shooting of several dozen Chinese by foreign police in Shanghai in May and June 1925, Mao Tse-tung suddenly became aware of the revolutionary potential inherent in the peasantry. Although born in a peasant household, he had, in the course of his student years, adopted the Chinese intellectual's traditional view of the workers and peasants as ignorant and dirty. His conversion to Marxism had forced him to revise his estimate of the urban proletariat, but he continued to share Marx's own contempt for the backward peasantry. Now he turned back to the rural world of his youth as the source of China's regeneration. Following the example of other Socialists working within the Kuomintang who had already begun to organize the

peasants, Mao Tse-tung sought to channel the spontaneous protests of the Hunanese peasants into a network of peasant associations.

Following the death of Dr Sun Yat-sen in 1925, Chiang Kai-shek, who had assumed the leadership of the KMT launched a campaign against the northern warlords and succeeded in bringing under KUOMINTANG control nearly half of China within nine months. However, the alliance with the CCP soon began to crumble.

The split between the KMT and CCP came in July 1927, when Chiang Kai-shek turned violently on the CCP, executing many of its leaders and up to 3,500 party sympathizers. Under these circumstances the Soviets shifted their allegiance to the communists, who initiated a series of unsuccessful insurrection attempts.

**Check Your Progress :**

4. Trace the early life of Mao Tse-tung.
5. Examine the role of Mao Tse-tung in the CCP up to 1926.

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### **6. 3. MAO TSE TUNG'S POLICIES AND STRATEGIES**

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**6. 3.1. Peasants- Real Revolutionary Force:** Analyzing the ground realities of China, Mao Tse-tung was convinced that for the success of revolution in China the support of the peasants was very essential. He realized, unlike the conventional Marxists that the overwhelming majority of the peasants were the real strength that can be channelised into a revolutionary force. Thus, Mao Tse-tung formulated his policies towards organizing and mobilizing the peasants. In an article written in March 1926 titled: "Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society", Mao Tse-tung advocated the organization of the peasantry and the need to adopt radical land policy which included the confiscation of surplus land from the land lords and its distribution among landless peasants. He undertook tour of the villages to understand and investigate the real condition of the peasants. Following extensive tours in the rural areas and villages of Hunan, Mao Tse-tung published his monumental "Report on the Peasant Movement in Hunan".

Following the exhaustive study of the peasant condition in Hunan, Mao Tse-tung became convinced that the leadership of the Chinese revolution must come from the peasants. This policy of Mao Tse-tung was contrary to the policy of the CCP and Comintern, who followed the conventional Marxist theory that the revolution should begin in urban centers under the leadership of the working class or proletariat. In their scheme of revolution, the peasants were given secondary importance. On the other hand Mao Tse-tung realized that the urban proletariat in China was not as numerous and powerful as it was in Russia, and thus was convinced that depending entirely on the proletariat for a revolution would not be feasible. He emphasized that the Peasant Associations had grown into a powerful movement and were successful in solving many of the problems of the peasants.

**6.3.2. Organization of the Peasants:** While the conservative Communists were unsuccessfully trying to organize the urban proletariat, a few Communists, of whom Mao Tse-tung was prominent, were beginning to notice that the largest element of the population in China was the peasantry. They were of the opinion that the peasants could also be very responsive to communist appeals for class struggle.

During the period of Kuomintang-Communist United Front (1924-1927) Mao Tse-tung organized the peasant movement in Hunan. He planned a rural revolution and destruction of feudalism, which had held the peasantry captive in China's countryside. In a report on the peasant movement in Hunan, Mao observed: "In a very short time several hundred million peasants in China's central, southern and northern provinces would rise like tempest, a force so extraordinarily swift and violent that no power, however great, can suppress it. They will send all imperialists, warlords, corrupt officials to their graves... Without the poor peasants there can be no revolution".

The vast majority of China's peasants were illiterate and poor. They were overburdened with taxes and debt-ridden. They were also victims of extortion practiced by corrupt officials. The warlords usually collected taxes several years in advance. Nearly two-thirds of the country's cultivable land was concentrated in the hands of resident or absentee landlords, rich peasants and officials making up ten per cent of the rural population.

Under Mao Tse-tung's leadership the Communists organized peasant societies in Kiangsi, Fukien and Hunan provinces. He won over the peasants to the communist cause by offering them agrarian reforms, reduction of taxes and rent, establishment of peasant councils and setting up schools. Under his guidance the peasants were organized into guerilla groups to wage relentless

war against the city-based power of the Kuomintang government. A Chinese Red Army was in the process of creation under the command of Chu Teh, a close associate of Mao Tse-tung, during these years.

**6. 3.3. *The Autumn Harvest Uprising (1927):*** The Communists planned simultaneous urban uprising and peasant revolts in the countryside. Mao Tse-tung had been deputed to Hunan by the Central Committee to prepare for the uprising. He incited the so-called Autumn Harvest Uprising in September 1927. Autumn was chosen as the season for the uprising chiefly due to the fact that taxes were collected during the autumn harvest and that the peasants were most likely to support any rebellion that would benefit them. Mao Tse-tung's programme included the confiscation of the land from big and middle landlords, and its redistribution to the poor peasants. He also aimed to organize a revolutionary army, and to set up *soviets*. However, the Autumn Harvest Uprising launched on 9 September 1927, ended in a failure due to lack of local support, and military defeats suffered by the Communists at the hands of the Nationalist forces of Chiang Kai-shek. Mao Tse-tung with his supporters numbering around 1,000 was forced to flee for refuge to the mountainous region of Chingknagshan. Because of the failure of the uprising, and for his premature advocacy of organizing Soviets before they were officially authorized, Mao Tse-tung was removed from his position as a member of the CCP Central Committee in November 1927.

**6. 3.4. *Right and Left wing Factions in the Kuomintang:*** The members of the Kuomintang gradually came to be divided into two factions depending on their ideological leanings and other factors. Wang Ching-wei headed the left wing of the Kuomintang and Chiang Kai-shek led the right wing. The rivalry and conflict between these two factions of the Kuomintang were due to a number of reasons. These included personal rivalry between the two leaders, differing views on the alliance with the Communists, and Wang's fear of Chiang's military machine. In January 1927, Wang Ching-wei moved the Kuomintang National Government to Wuhan. Chiang preferred Nanking as the capital of the Nationalist government. In March the Wuhan government placed restrictions on the military and political authority of Chiang.

**6. 3.5. *Suppression of the Communists in Shanghai:*** Moving out of Nanking, Chiang entered Shanghai, where the workers, organized by the Communists under the leadership of Chou En-lai, had taken over the control of the Chinese section of the city. Realizing the futility of any prolonged unity between the Kuomintang and the CCP, Chiang decided to suppress the Communists and proceeded to Shanghai with his troops. In this task, bankers, businessmen and landlords supported Chiang. On

12 April 1927, Chiang launched a massacre of the CCP members along with a number of suspected Communists. Chou En-lai managed to escape with his life.

**6. 3.6. Purge of the Communists from the Kuomintang:** On the other hand, friendship between the CCP and the left wing of the Kuomintang did not last long. Wang Ching-wei's suspicion that the Communists were planning to capture the Kuomintang was confirmed when a Comintern representative, M.N. Roy, showed him a telegram from Stalin which urged the CCP to take control of the Kuomintang. In mid-July the Wuhan government purged the Communists from the Kuomintang, and sent Comintern advisers, including Borodin, back to Moscow.

Stalin was keen to see a strong, unified China run by a government friendly to Russia. However, his aspiration remained unfulfilled, as the Communists were unable to get organizational control of the Kuomintang. Besides, Stalin, thousands of miles away in Moscow, was poorly informed about events in China. Moreover, Stalin underestimated the ability of Chiang Kai-shek against the Communists. Unable to face the determined repression of the Nationalists in urban areas, the Communists moved to the countryside for safety. Gradually, over the years they evolved a strategy independent of the Comintern.

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## 6.4 CONCLUSION

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A number of factors contributed to the growth of Communism in China. The May Fourth Movement of 1919 in a real sense broadened the Chinese nationalism and stimulated intellectual activities leading to the organization of Marxist study groups. These factors, along with the propaganda activity of the Comintern led to the foundation of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). Dr Sun Yat-sen's positive attitude towards the Chinese Communists helped the CCP to strike deeper roots in China under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung who believed in mobilizing the peasantry who, he believed had tremendous potential for proletarian revolution in China. Under Mao Tse-tung's leadership, the Communists organized peasant societies in Kiangsi, Fukien and Hunan. The first attempt of Mao Tse-tung in organizing the peasant revolt known as 'the Autumn Harvest Uprising' did not succeed. But Mao Tse-tung never gave up hope and continued his work in establishing peasant Soviets in China. Meanwhile, Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist government took up the fight to suppress the Communists.



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**6.5 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS**

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6. Why did Mao Tse-tung organize the peasants?
7. What was the Autumn Harvest Uprising?
8. Why did Chaung Kai-shek take step of purge Communists from the KMT?

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**6.6 BORAD QUESTIONS**

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1. Trace the growth of Communism in China.
2. Discuss the factors that led to the foundation of the Chinese Communist Party.
3. Give an account of the rise of Mao Tse-tung in China.
4. Describe the role of Mao Tse-tung in the history of China from 1911 to 1926.
5. Analyze the policies and strategies of Mao Tse-tung up to 1926.
6. Write short notes on the following:
  - (a) The May Fourth Movement
  - (b) The formative years of Mao Tse-tung
  - (c) The Autumn Harvest Uprising



## CIVIL WAR

### Outline of the Topic

- 7.0 Objectives
- 7.1 The Long March
- 7.2 Birth of People's Republic of China.
- 7.3 Triumph of Communists.
- 7.4 Conclusion
- 7.5 Check Your Progress
- 7.6 Broad Questions.

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### 7.0 OBJECTIVES

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1. *To trace the circumstances that led to the Long March undertaken by the Communists under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung and understand the difficulties faced by them.*
2. *To study the various developments in China that ultimately led to the birth of the People's Republic in China.*
3. *To analyze the factors that led to the success of the Communists in achieving political power in China.*

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### 7. 1. THE LONG MARCH

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**7. 1.1. Introduction:** The Long March undertaken by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung to escape from the Nationalist Army under the command of Chiang Kai-shek was an episode in the human endurance and determination. There was not one Long March, but several, as various Communist armies in the south escaped to the north and west. The most well known is the march from Kiangsi Province which began in October 1934. The Chinese Communists escaped in a circling retreat to the west and north, which covered a distance of over 6,000 miles.

**7. 1. 2. The Kiangsi Soviet:** The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) which had a shaky alliance with the Nationalist Party headed by Chiang Kai-shek came to an end in April 1927, when the Nationalist Army let loose a reign of terror in which thousands of the Communists perished. Few of the Communist leaders including Chou En-lai fled to the west to the Kiangsi Province. The remoteness of Kiangsi was so great in the 1930s that the government had almost no control over this area. With lack of roads as in most parts of China in those years, it could be traversed only by mountain footpaths by people carrying bundles on their backs, horse-and-mule caravans. With its remoteness inaccessibility,

Kiangsi provided a suitable base for the Communists to resist the Nationalist government and peasant rebellions. By its geographical location the Kiangsi Province was steeped in illiteracy, disease, poverty, and ignorance. It was here that Mao Tse-tung set up his new Soviet Communist zone.

**7. 1.3. Organization of the Red Army:** In April 1928, Chu Teh, the chief architect of the Chinese Red Army, joined Mao Tse-tung. The Red Army comprised a force of about 10,000 men. Together they set up local Soviets and implemented radical land policy of liquidating landlords and redistributing land of the whole area to the landless peasants. In spite of their success in Chingkangshan, Mao Tse-tung and Chu Teh were forced to leave the region in January 1929 due to the attacks from the Nationalist Army and economic blockade. Moving to south Kiangsi, Mao Tse-tung and Chu Teh set up a new base, which was to become the future Chinese Soviet Republic. All the elements of the Maoist strategy became apparent in the Kiangsi Soviet. This included the use of rural base areas (*Soviets*) from which he could conduct land reform and guerilla warfare by means of a Red Army led by a disciplined Communist party.

**7. 1.4. Differences Between Mao Tse-tung and the CCP:** However, Mao Tse-tung's strategy ran contrary to the directives of the Sixth Congress of the CCP and the Sixth Congress of the Comintern held in Moscow in 1928. The Sixth Congress recognised that the agrarian revolution was the main content of the Chinese revolution. However, it emphasised that organizing the proletarian bases in the cities was the first priority of the CCP. It was considered essential to link the rural Soviets to the struggle of the urban workers, and to establish party control over the peasants. Thus, the Sixth Congress stressed the need for proletarian control over the revolution, while Mao Tse-tung emphasised the importance of the peasants in any revolutionary movement. The Congress also called for preparations for armed uprisings in the future. As against this programme Mao Tse-tung was in favour of gradual expansion and consolidation of the peasant bases in rural areas.

**7. 1.5. The 'Bandit Encirclement Campaigns':** In addition to the intra-party conflict, Mao Tse-tung was also faced with the formidable task of facing the 'Bandit Encirclement Campaigns' initiated by Chiang Kai-shek at the end of 1930. Alarmed by the Red Army strikes against the cities in the summer of 1930, Chiang Kai-shek was determined to wipe out the Communists once and for all. However, the Red Armies using guerilla warfare frustrated the first two of his 'Encirclement Campaigns'. The third campaign, led by Chiang Kai-shek himself attained some success in summer of 1931. Juichin, the Soviet headquarters in Kiangsi was in danger of

being overrun by the Kuomintang forces. At this juncture Chiang's attention was diverted to Manchuria due to the Mukden Incident of 18 September 1931 engineered by the Japanese who occupied the entire province. Chiang Kai-shek was forced to call off the campaign against the Communists of the Kiangsi Soviet to deal with the problem created by the Japanese occupation of Manchuria.

For seven years the Communists prospered despite everything Chiang Kai-shek and his Nationalist Army could do in The First, Second, Third and Fourth 'annihilation' campaign against the 'Red Bandits' as he referred to them. During these four campaigns the Communists had used the guerilla tactics of hit-and-run. They maneuvered the Nationalists deep into their territory and attacked them with deadly ambushes. The Communist captured huge quantities of guns and ammunition and from the thousands of Nationalist prisoners, they replenished losses in their ranks.

**7. 1.6. German Assistance to the Nationalists:** In the autumn of 1933, the Nationalist leader Chiang Kai-shek launched a huge and determined Fifth Campaign against the Communists who were then based in the Kiangsi and Fukien provinces in south-east China. During the Fifth Campaign Hitler, the dictator of Germany and an enemy of the Communists had dispatched one of his best Generals, Hans von Seeckt to China as an adviser to the Nationalist forces in their attempt in suppressing the Communists. He advised Chiang Kai-shek not to launch a full frontal attack on Kiangsi. He advised Chiang Kai-shek that with 500,000 Nationalist troops the Communist base at Juichin in Kiangsi could be surrounded with a view to strangulate the Communists. The Nationalists had a policy of making a slow advance building trenches and blockhouses in order to provide protection to the Nationalist forces. Seeckt wanted a war of attrition but with minimal contact with the Communists as he wanted to starve them out rather engage in battles with them.

Seeckt was a skilled soldier and his strategy worked very well. His 'slow-but-sure' process lead to the area controlled by the Communists shrinking quite rapidly. Within 12 months, the Communists had lost 50% of the territory they had controlled in 1933 and 60,000 Communist soldiers of the Red Army were killed. Under these circumstances the Nationalists had the clear ability to fully destroy the Communists.

Von Seeckt moved the Nationalist troops forward very slowly and then built concrete reinforced blockhouses and pillboxes. This allowed the Nationalists to control every path and road. The noose was being drawn around the Red Army slowly but surely. The Red Army was forced to confront the Nationalists in costly head to head

battles. For Chiang Kai-shek the end to the Red Bandits was near at hand and he took great comfort in this.

**7. 1.7. Temporary Setback to Mao Tse-tung:** It was then that the Communists changed tactics. Against the advise of Mao Tse-tung, the Communists used full-scale attacks against the Nationalist forces on the advise of the Russian agents lead by Otto Braun. It was Braun who advised full-frontal attacks against the Nationalist forces and convinced the Communist hierarchy that Mao Tse-tung was wrong in his strategies. He also branded Mao Tse-tung as being politically wrong because peasants in Kiangsi were being killed by the Nationalists and the Red Army did nothing to assist them. In order to minimize his influence Mao Tse-tung was even expelled from the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee.

However, the strategy of Braun proved to be very costly for the Communists. They lost men and equipment and as Kiangsi was surrounded by blockhouses held by the Nationalists, they could get no supplies through from the other Communist base at Hunan.

Realizing the hopeless situation in which the Communist were placed, Mao Tse-tung tried to win back the support from the Communist cadre by pushing for a breakout by the Red Army followed up by an attack on the Nationalist forces in their rear. This was rejected in favour of Braun's idea for a full-scale retreat from Kiangsi with a push for a Communist base in Hunan where the Chinese Communist's Party Second Army was based. The retreat, which was to be called the Long March, thus started in October 1934.

**7. 1.8. Beginning of the Long March:** The Red Army started to Long March carrying whatever it could. 87,000 soldiers started the retreat carrying such items as typewriters, furniture, printing presses etc. They also took with them 33,000 guns and nearly 2 million ammunition cartridges. It took the Red Army 40 days to get through the blockhouses surrounding Kiangsi. However, as soon as they got through the blockhouses they were attacked at Xiang by the Nationalist forces. In the Battle of Xiang, the Red Army lost as many as 45,000 men, that is, over 50 per cent of their fighting force. It was believed that the poor strategy adopted by Braun was responsible for the disastrous defeat and loss of the Red Army. Braun ordered the Red Army to march in a straight line. The Nationalists were able to predict where the Red Army would be at any given point. Also the fleeing communists took with them equipment that was bound to hamper their retreat. The printing presses, typewriters and other articles were not of military value in survival terms and hindered speed of movement. After the Battle of Xiang, Braun was blamed for these failings, but the damage had

been done. In January 1935, control of the Red Army was handed over to Mao Tse-tung and Braun was suspended.

**7. 1.9. Strategies Adopted by Mao Tse-tung:** Mao Tse-tung with the support of Chu Teh adopted new tactics. Mao Tse-tung wanted the Red Army to move in a completely unpredictable way. He sent his men in several directions trying to confuse Chiang Kai-shek who had between 500,000 and 750,000 men on the chessboard to prevent Mao Tse-tung from escaping north across the Yangtze River. As the Red Army moved away from Xiang, it used twisting movement patterns that made predicting its direction very difficult. Mao Tse-tung also split up the Red Army into smaller units. In theory this made them more open to attack, but in practice, they were more difficult to find in the open spaces on China.

**7. 1.10. Difficulties During the Long March:** Mao also had a new target, Shensi province towards the north of China. The journey was physically demanding as it crossed a very difficult environment. The Red Army had to cross the Snowy Mountains, some of the highest mountains in the world. The 14,000 and 15,000-foot height would kill many men who would just die for lack of oxygen. Halting at the top proved to be fatal. It was terrible not to rest, but rest meant death. The best was to sit down and slide. So that ice would take into bottom. Some were lost, catapulted off cliffs, other suffered broken bones, but many survived. To most of the Red Army, the Snowies were the worst experience of the Long March. While crossing the Chinese Grassland which was an area of deep marshes the Red Army lost hundreds of lives. The Red Army did not only have to contend with the Nationalist Army but the Warlords who were in control of the land in northern China. Even the Nationalists under Chiang Kai-shek had failed to break their power. They did not welcome the arrival of the Red Army into an area they effectively ruled.

**7. 1.11. Establishment of the Soviets:** In spite of the difficulties faced during the Long March, the Communists implemented their network of Village Soviets as they had done in Chingkangshan and Kiangsi. They took land from the landlords and distributed it among the landless peasants. The peasants in the Village Soviets were also provided arms to defend themselves and their property. Mao Tse-tung succeeded in earning the friendship and goodwill of the tribal people on the way who proved to be of a great help as guides to the red Army while crossing the mountain ranges.

**7. 1. 12. End of the Long March:** By October 1935, what was left of the original 87,000 Red Army soldiers reached their destination at Yen-an in Shensi province which marked the end of the Long March after enduring the hardships and death for more than a year. Less than 10,000 men had survived the Long March. These

survivors had marched over 9000 kilometers. The march had taken 368 days. The Long March is considered one of the great physical feats of the Twentieth Century.

After arriving in the northwestern province of Shensi, the Communists, under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung reorganised and regrouped their scattered forces. When those who survived the Long March reached Yen-an, they combined with the communist troops there to form a fighting strength of 80,000 which still made it a formidable fighting force against the Nationalists. Gradually they extended their control over the neighbouring provinces. Under the Communist influence the peasants became increasingly radical in their attitude and approach. The economic reforms which won support of the peasants for the Communists were-redistribution of land, abolition of tax extortion and elimination of privileged groups.

**7. 1.13. Significance of the Long March:** While costly, the Long March gave the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) the isolation it needed, allowing its army to recuperate and rebuild in the north of China. It also was vital in helping the CCP to gain a positive reputation among the peasants due to the determination and dedication of the surviving participants of the Long March. Emphasising the importance of the Long March, Mao Tse-tung wrote in 1935: "The Long March is a manifesto. It has proclaimed to the world that the Red Army is an army of heroes while the imperialists and their running dogs, Chiang Kai-shek and his like, are impotent. It has proclaimed their utter failure to encircle, pursue, obstruct and intercept us. The Long March is also a propaganda force. It has announced to some 200 million people in eleven provinces that the road of the Red Army is their only road to liberation."

In addition, policies ordered by Mao for all soldiers to follow, the Eight Points of Attention, instructed the army to avoid harm to or disrespect for the peasants, in spite of the desperate need for food and supplies. This policy won support for the Communists among the rural peasants.

From the Long March the rank and file of the Chinese Communist Party emerged with enormous energy and courage. The Communist Red Army had become tough and well trained in guerilla tactics that it could face any challenge not only from the Nationalist Army but also the Japanese forces. Mao Tse-tung described the Red Army as the 'army of heroes'.

The Long March was an epic feat of great importance in the history of China. It was a unique human adventure as nearly 100,000 persons undertook a march for 368 days covering a distance of 6,000 miles. The marchers had to pass through inhospitable

regions, encounter unfriendly tribes and bear the brunt of the pursuing Nationalist army. Giving a vivid picture of the Long March, Edgar Snow in his famous book 'Red Star Over China' writes, "Altogether they crossed eighteen mountain ranges, five of them perennially snow-capped, and they crossed twenty four rivers. They passed through twelve provinces, each larger than most European countries; they broke through enveloping armies of ten different provincial warlords; they eluded, outmanoeuvred or defeated Kuomintang troops numbering more than 3,00,000. They entered and crossed six different aboriginal districts, and penetrated areas through which no Chinese army had gone for many years."

**Check your Progress:**

1. Trace the circumstances that led to the Long March.
2. Enumerate the problems faced by the Communists during the Long March.
3. What was the significance of the Long March?

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## **7. 2. BIRTH OF PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA**

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**7. 2. 1. Introduction:** Following the Long March, the Communists under the supreme leadership of Mao Tse-tung had to consolidate their position in north-western China so as to meet the final challenge of the Nationalist government under Chiang Kai-shek. The chief aim of the Communists was the organization of the peasants, building of a strong Red Army and capture of political power through a sustained revolution that would lead to the establishment of the People's Republic in China under the Communist control. However, the Communists had to wait for nearly 15 years before the final goal was achieved in 1949. During these 15 years China had to face the invasion of the Japanese and the Communists were forced by circumstances to forge a second front in order to fight against the Japanese which continued even after the outbreak of Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937 which eventually merged with the Second World War that began in 1939. Following the end of the Second World War in 1945, the Communists and the nationalists fought a bitter Civil War that



ultimately led to the victory of the Communists and the birth of People's Republic in China in 1949.

**7. 2.2. The Manchurian Incident (1931):** The Manchurian Incident also known as the Mukden Incident in 1931 led to the establishment of a puppet government in Manchuria by Japan. After the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05), Japan replaced Russia as the dominant foreign power in South Manchuria. By the late 1920s the Japanese feared that unification of China under the Nationalist (Kuomintang) party would harm Japanese interests in Manchuria. This view was confirmed when the Manchurian general Chang Hsiu Liang, a recent convert to the Kuomintang, refused to halt construction of railway and harbour facilities. Taking advantage of a bomb explosion that ripped the Japanese railway near Mukden, the Japanese army occupied entire Manchuria in September 1931 and proclaimed the puppet state of Manchukuo.

**7. 2.3. The Second United Front:** In August 1935, Mao Tse-tung had initiated new proposals for a united front with the Nationalists against the Japanese aggression. This would provide a respite for the Communists from further Nationalist military campaigns. Even the Comintern was in favour of the proposal. Public opinion in China demanded that Chiang Kai-shek should give up the civil war against the Communists and resist the Japanese. However, Chiang rejected the proposal of the Communists for a united front against the Japanese. He agreed only after the so-called 'Sian incident' in which Chiang was practically held a hostage by his own troops from Manchuria under the command of Chang Hsiu Liang. They were in favour of resisting the Japanese rather than pursuing the Communists. Chiang was released following the intervention of Chou En-lai as a mediator. Under the agreement reached between the Communists and the Kuomintang, the former accepted Chiang Kai-shek as the head of the state and pledged to place their re-organised armies under his command. They also agreed to slow down the pace of socialisation of land and industry in the areas under their control.

**7. 2. 4. The Second Sino-Japanese War:** On 7 July 1937, the Japanese attacked China falsifying an attack at the Marco Polo Bridge. Japanese troops and warships poured into China, attempting to occupy the five Western provinces and create another state like Manchukuo. They occupied the major cities of China including Peking, Shanghai, Wuhan and Canton by October. In December 1937 they took Nanking, the Nationalist capital. Crowded with refugees, the Nationalists abandoned Nanking to its fate at the hands of the Japanese. Over a period of six weeks, hundreds of thousands of Chinese were killed, women were raped, and the city sacked in what became known as the "Rape of Nanking."

As the Japanese advanced deeper inside China and occupied a vast part of the country, the Communist and the Nationalist guerilla groups remained behind the thinly held Japanese areas. Chiang Kai-shek and his followers relocated to Chungking in the Sichuan province. By 1939, as war started in Europe, China had been fighting a forgotten war for eight years. There were more than 2,000,000 Chinese casualties, widespread disease and famine. The Japanese declared China conquered, but the reality was that neither side could gain an upper hand. Chiang Kai-shek distrusted the Communists, and sent his army against them as often as he attacked the Japanese

The Communists were better experienced and organised to continue guerilla activities. Thus, they were more successful against the Japanese. The Communists set up a number of local governments in border regions, which they controlled during the late thirties and early forties. The Second Sino-Japanese War was merged with the Second World War when the United States declared war on Japan in December 1941 following the Japanese attack on the American naval base at Pearl Harbour in Hawaii on 7 December 1941.

The United Front provided the Communists with the much-needed breathing space for extension of their control and for strengthening the fighting capacity of the Red Army. Both the Communists and the Nationalists had entered into a compromise with their bitter memories of mutual hostility. Neither of them was prepared to make any sacrifice of their principles. By 1941 the United Front ceased to exist, and charges and counter charges began to be levelled against each other. In spite of an understanding that the Red Army should be placed under the authority of Chiang Kai-shek, the Communists retained control over their military formations throughout the war against Japan. The Red Army received intensive political indoctrination and continued to grow under the leadership of Chu Teh. By the end of the Second World War, the communist armed forces had increased from 80,000 in 1937 to about three million in regular troops, guerilla forces and militia. Thus, at the time of the Japanese defeat and collapse, the CCP was ready to fill the vacuum with a large well-doctrinated army, efficient party machine and by popular slogans of "land redistribution and agrarian reform".

**7. 2.5. End of the Second World War:** With the surrender of Japan in August 1945, Chiang Kai-shek, assured of good relations with Russia and strong support of the United States confidently looked forward to reform and reconstruct China. He was unaware of the deteriorating economic situation, widespread corruption and incompetence of his government. He relied on his apparent superior military power. He was strongly opposed to any proposal

of entering into a coalition with the Communists to form a government in the post-war China. The United States tried to exert diplomatic pressure on Chiang to organise a coalition government with the Communists as a means of building national unity and reconstruction of the war-ravaged economy. On the other hand, Chiang Kai-shek demanded the disbandment of Communist troops and their return to their original north-west region as a price for concession.

**7. 2.6. *Struggle Between the Nationalists and the Communists:***

The Communists, aware of their strength and support in the country, refused to oblige Chiang Kai-shek. The result was a race between the Nationalists and the Communists to take over from the Japanese the control of cities, strategic areas and railroads all over the occupied parts of China. The United States airlifted the Nationalist troops to Shanghai and Nanking ahead of the Communists. Before the end of the year clashes had taken place between the rival troops in as many as eleven provinces. There was keen competition in Manchuria. The Communists entered important cities in North China and rural areas of Manchuria. They threatened civil war if Chiang attempted to send troops against them. The occupation of Manchuria and capture of Manchukuoan troops gave the Communists an upper hand in the civil war which broke out the following year leading eventually to the fall of the Nationalists.

**7. 2.7. *Shuttle Diplomacy of the US:***

Meanwhile, the United States was engaged in promoting a coalition government in China in order to prevent civil war between the Nationalists and the Communists and to ensure unity and integrity of the country. Throughout 1945, the American Ambassador, Patrick Hurley, was engaged in a shuttle diplomacy between Chungking and Yen-an trying to sort out the differences between the two parties on the question of forming a national government. Mao Tse-tung was also in favour of a 'democratic coalition government'. However, Chiang Kai-shek was opposed to any such proposal.

**7. 2.8. *The Marshall Mission:***

General George Marshall followed Patrick Hurley to China in December 1945, as President Truman's personal representative. He was instructed to prevent a civil war and achieve the 'unification of China by peaceful democratic methods'. President Truman wanted a strong China, allied with the United States, to form a linchpin of post-war US policy for Asia.

The Marshall Mission aimed at ending the one-party rule in China, which was considered to be the main objection of the Communists. By early 1946 Marshall was able to set up a People's Consultative Council comprising of Communist, Kuomintang and other representatives as a prelude to ending the one-party rule of the

Kuomintang. The People's Consultative Council lasted only for three weeks and the civil war between the Nationalists and the Communists broke out all over North China and in Manchuria. A cease-fire arranged by George Marshall broke down. Marshall left China in disgust due to the stubborn attitude of Chiang Kai-shek and China plunged into a full-scale civil war.

**7. 2.9. Success of the Communists:** Following the outbreak of a full-scale civil war, in the initial stages the Nationalist forces gained an upper hand. But from mid-1947 advantage shifted to the Communists. Chiang Kai-shek gradually lost his initiative, particularly in Manchuria and North-east China. Faced with grave inflation, military setback and loss of sympathy of the United States, the Nationalists lost the confidence and support of the poverty-stricken people. The Communists were quite successful against the Nationalist forces as they adopted guerilla tactics.

The Communists succeeded in putting the Nationalist on the defensive by disrupting communications, cutting off supplies and massacring the scattered Nationalist troops or forcing them to surrender. Defection, treachery of generals and deteriorating morale of the Nationalist forces completed the tale of defeat and disaster. Nanking and Shanghai fell to the Communists without a fight. On 21 January 1949, Chiang Kai-shek officially resigned as president of the Republic of China and vice president Li Tsung Jen nominally took Chiang's place. However, Chiang kept real power in his own hands. As his military position on the mainland of China became hopeless, he withdrew as many of his troops as possible to the island of Taiwan. On 1 March 1950, Chiang Kai-shek once again took the title of President of the Republic of China.

**7. 2. 10. Birth of the Peoples' Republic of China:** The Red Army, renamed as the People's Liberation Army during the civil war, crossed the Yangtze River in April 1949, and reached Canton on the southern coast in October. At this point the civil war seemed to be effectively over. On 1 October 1949, in the old imperial capital of Peking, the Chinese Communist Party under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung proclaimed the establishment of the People's Republic of China.

**Check your Progress :**

4. *Examine the circumstances that led to the formation of the Second Front between the Communists and the Nationalists against Japan.*
5. *Describe the civil war between the Communists and the Nationalists following the end of the Second World War in 1945.*
6. *Review the role of the US in resolving the conflict between the Communists and the Nationalists*



half lakh of them were either captured by the Japanese or killed. His decision to pursue the Communists and capture their headquarters at Yen-an proved to be detrimental to the interest of the Nationalists as a large number of troops had to be deployed to suppress the Communists. The war against the Japanese was also not properly executed causing demoralization and destruction of the Nationalist forces. These factors greatly contributed to the weakness of the Nationalist forces and the Communists succeeded in taking advantage of this situation.

**7. C. 2.3. Corruption Among the Nationalists:** The Nationalist party, as a governing party and as an agency for national reconstruction, was discredited by the corruption and inefficiency of its officers. The top ranking officials used their position to fill their own pockets by diverting supplies intended for public use into the channels for private trade for their own profit. During the Second World War, the US Army General Joseph Stilwell was given the task of commanding Allied forces in China. Stilwell was highly critical of Chiang Kai-shek's widespread corruption, obsession with the Communists, and lack of emphasis on training. Being annoyed with Stilwell's observation, Chiang Kai-shek urged the US President F.D.Roosevelt to replace him with the British General, Lord Louis Mountbatten in 1943. Under these circumstances the demand of the Nationalist Government for new sacrifices on the Chinese people for war efforts against the Communists failed to inspire confidence of the Chinese people. Moreover, the Nationalists distrusted the masses and depended on the support of the landlords, propertied classes and bureaucrats. Thus, it lost touch with the common people and failed to win their sympathy.

**7. 3. 2.4. Economic Crisis and Inflation:** The economic crisis in China coupled with galloping inflation proved disastrous to the Nationalist government of Chiang Kai-shek. According to an estimate, between 1945 and 1948 prices of essential commodities rose by 30 percent per month. Inflation, financial mismanagement coupled with corruption among the rank and file of the Nationalist Government and army destroyed livelihood of millions of Chinese people and completely discredited the Nationalist government.

**7. 3. 2.5. Loss of Peoples' Confidence in the Nationalist Government:** Besides corruption among the officials of the Nationalist Government and uncontrolled inflation and economic crisis, the conduct of the Nationalist officials who returned to the Japanese occupied territories following the defeat of the latter in the Second World war, damaged the prestige of the Nationalist Government. They returned as conquerors and treated the people with contempt as if they had been disloyal citizens or traitors. The Nationalists were more interested in taking over the enemy properties than trying to solve the immediate problems of the

peasants and other common people. The Nationalist officials manifested their greed and practiced corruption by appropriating the relief materials meant for the peasants and other suffering population in the former Japanese occupied territories, who had been waiting for eight years for the return of the Nationalist Government. These factors resulted in the loss of confidence in the Nationalist Government among the Chinese people.

**7. 3. 2.6. Neglect of Economic and Social Reforms:** One of the important causes for the success of the Communists was the acts of omission on the part of the Nationalist Government of Chiang Kai-shek. The Nationalist Government neglected to introduce the much needed economic and social reforms especially rural China advantage of which was taken by the Communists. There is no doubt that the Nationalist Government had to face a number of internal and external problems of great magnitude. It had to bring about national unification and meet the challenge of the Communists. On the other hand it had to deal with the aggression of Japan. However, by neglecting economic and social reforms, the Nationalist Government failed to solve the basic problems of the masses of the people whose support was essential for the continuation of the government.

**7. 3. 2.7. Appeal of the Communists to the Masses:** On the other hand, the Communists appealed to the peasantry and the common people by carrying on vigorous propaganda among them. They won their hearts by their austere simplicity and their insistence on clean and honest government that would work for the upliftment of the masses. In those areas controlled by them, the Communists used their power to ameliorate the condition of the peasants rather than for personal advantage. Their troops were orderly and disciplined and neither plundered civilians nor outraged women. Such conduct of the Communists was so contrary to the experience of the Chinese people as compared with the Nationalist government that it induced general belief among them that the Communists were sincerely concerned for the welfare of the Chinese people. Thus, the success of the Communists was due as much to the weakness of the Nationalist party as to their growing strength and popularity. Dissensions among the Nationalist party leaders weakened it further. Chiang Kai-shek chief relied on the military and hence, he did not care for the masses. Besides, the support from Soviet Russia in terms of finance and military aid strengthened Communists after 1945.

Thus, besides the determined leadership of Mao Tse-tung and his comrades and the sacrificing spirit of the Communists, the failure of the Nationalist government under Chiang Kai-shek to consolidate its position in China indirectly helped the Communist to capture political power by defeating the Nationalist forces in the Civil War.

The Second Sino-Japanese War which eventually merged with the Second World War though caused loss of human life, destruction of property and occupation of a large part of China by the Japanese, it created the circumstances that eventually enabled the Communists to defeat the Nationalists and emerge victorious. The defeat and withdrawal of Japan from China created a power vacuum that was gradually filled by the Communists during the Civil War against the Nationalists.

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#### **7.4. CONCLUSION**

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As the Nationalist Government under Chiang Kai-shek was determined to annihilate the Communists and surrounded their hide outs in the Kiangss and Hukien Provinces, the Communists under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung undertook the epic Long March. During this Long March, the Communists suffered heavy losses but not their spirit, in spite of relentless pursuit from the Nationalist Forces in hostile terrain, the surviving Communists reached Yen-an in the North-west of China from where they reorganized themselves. During the Manchurian Crisis (1931) and Second Sino-Japanese war (1937) which merged with the Second World War (1939) the Communists and the Nationalists fought against the Japanese. However following the end of the Second World War in 1946 the differences between the Communists and the Nationalists came to the forefront which ultimately led to the Civil War between the two resulting in the final victory of the Communists. The Communists captured political power in China from the Nationalists and proclaimed the birth of the People's Republic of China in 1949.

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#### **7.6. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS:**

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7. *Enumerate the causes of the success of the Communists against the Nationalists.*
8. *Why did the Chinese People lose confidence in the Nationalists.*
9. *How did the communists succeed in their appeal to the masses?*

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## 7.7 BORAD QUESTIONS

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1. Write a detailed note on the Long March.
2. Discuss the causes, course and consequences of the Long March.
3. Trace the course of events that led to the birth of the Peoples' Republic in China.
4. Analyze the factors that led to the triumph of the Communists in China.



## PEOPLES' REPUBLIC OF CHINA-I THE CONSTITUTIONAL CHALLENGES

### Outline of the Topic:

- 8.0 Objectives
- 8.1 Introduction
- 8.2 The Organic Laws
- 8.3 First National People's Congress
- 8.4 Process of Drafting the constitution
- 8.5 Basic features of the Constitution.
- 8.6 Role of the Communist party.
- 8.7 The New Constitution of China.
- 8.8 Conclusion.
- 8.9 Check Your Progress
- 8.10 Board Questions.

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### 8.0 OBJECTIVES

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1. *To study the challenges faces the Chinese Communist Party in framing a new Constitution that would be effective in governing China.*
2. *To review the stages through which the Constitution was drafted and promulgated.*
3. *To understand the chief features of the New Constitution of 1978.*

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### 8.1. INTRODUCTION

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Following the victory over the Nationalists in the civil war, the Communists proclaimed the establishment of the People's Republic of China. In the beginning the People's Republic had the facade of a coalition government under the leadership of the Communist Party. Till the adoption of a regular Constitution in September 1954, China was governed by the so-called Organic Laws. In September 1954, a constitution was adopted by which the Communist government was formalized. The new constitution not only provided legitimacy to the Communist regime, but also became a legal basis for the socialist transformation of the national economy.

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### 8.2. THE ORGANIC LAWS

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Between 1949 and 1954, that is, from the establishment of the People's Republic of China and the adoption of a new constitution, China was governed according to the Organic Laws. Ten days

before the proclamation of the People's Republic of China, on September 21, 1949, a People's Political Consultative Conference was held. This conference was attended by 662 delegates representing Communist and pro-Communist parties. The People's Political Consultative Conference passed three fundamental laws to administer China till the adoption of a new constitution. These fundamental laws were known as the Organic Laws. These Organic Laws acted as the interim constitution of China.

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### **8.3. FIRST NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS**

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The People's Political Consultative Conference was the supreme governing body in China until the first National People's Congress was convened in September 1954. After bringing the entire country under its control, the Communist party conducted general elections to choose delegates to the First National People's Congress, which was convened in September 1954. This Congress adopted a constitution that was drafted by a committee under the chairmanship of Mao Tse-tung.

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### **8. 4. PROCESS OF DRAFTING THE CONSTITUTION**

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The Constitution of 1954 of the People's Republic of China was drafted through various stages. The Committee for the drafting of the Constitution was formed by the Central People's Government under the Chairmanship of Mao Tse-tung on 13 January, 1953. The first draft of the Constitution was accepted in March 1954 by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). This draft Constitution was widely read and discussed and commented upon by various groups of people and organizations who made suggestions for its further improvement. Those suggestions found to be appropriate were incorporated in the draft Constitution and the draft was approved on 14 June 1954 by the Central People's Government Council for publication for the entire nation.

The draft Constitution was translated into various regional languages for the benefit of the national minorities. Discussions were held on this draft Constitution and people put forward many suggestions for its amendment and revision. The Central People's Government again went through these suggestions and adopted it on 9 September, 1954. When the First National People's Congress met for its first session on 15 September, 1954, the modified and amended draft Constitution was discussed in detail and was adopted on 20 September, 1954.

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### **8.5. BASIC FEATURES OF THE CONSTITUTION**

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**8.5.1. Structure of the Constitution:** The Constitution of the People's Republic of China has besides the Preamble, 106 articles

which are grouped into four chapters. These chapters embody the general principles on which the Chinese Constitution is founded and which it consistently endeavours to achieve. Chapter I of the Constitution consists of 20 Articles and deals with the general principles on which the working of the People's Republic of China is based. Chapter II is the longest chapter having 84 Articles divided into 6 sections. It deals with the structure of the State. Chapter III of the Constitution contains the Fundamental Rights and duties of the citizens. Chapter IV is the last chapter of the Constitution which is very short having only three Articles which deal with the National Flag, the National Emblem and the Capital.

**8. 5. 2. The Preamble:** The preamble of the Constitution of 1954 states: "From the founding of the People's Republic of China to the attainment of a socialist society, is a period of transition. During the transition, the fundamental task of the state is to accomplish, step by step, the socialist transformation of agriculture, handcrafts and capitalist industry and commerce." The Constitution framed was likely to last for 20 years when the transition stage of China, political and economic development would realise the objectives set before it.

**8.5.3. Establishment of a Socialist State:** The Constitution of the People's Republic of China embodies the aspirations of the Chinese people toward the establishment of a Socialist State. The draft Constitution sums up these facts. It says: "That we, Chinese people, have won complete victory in our long-drawn-out revolutionary struggles against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism, that our people's democratic state led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants has been solidly established, that the socialist sector in China's economy has now assumed a position of vigorous leadership, that our country has embarked on its systematic socialist transformation and is in gradual transition towards socialist society." Stipulating the goal of the Constitution, Article 4 lays down that relying on the organs of the State and the social forces, and by means of socialist industrialization the goal of socialist society would be achieved. Further it lays down in Article 6 that the state sector of the economy is a socialist sector, owned by the whole people. All mineral resources and waters as well as forests are the property of the whole people. Thus, the Constitution of 1954 aimed at establishing a socialist state in China.

**8.5.4. Sovereignty of the People:** Up to 1911 China was ruled by a dynastic monarchy. However, the Constitution of 1954 proclaimed people as the sovereigns of China. Article 1 of the Constitution visualizes the new People's Republic of China as a people's democratic state led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants. By laying down the statement: "This

Constitution envisages all power in the hands of the people”, the Constitution of 1954 emphasizes that it the people as a whole who constitute the real sovereign power and authority. The people are to be governed through a process of democracy and people’s active participation in framing and executing policies which affect them. The people will exercise their power through the National People’s Congress and the Local People’s Congresses.

**8.5.5. Concept of Welfare State:** The Constitution of 1954 visualizes the State as a Welfare State like Indian Constitution. The Constitution of 1954 directs the State to undertake welfare programmes for national good and for the benefit of all its citizens. Article 17 says: “All organs of the State must rely on the masses of the people constantly maintaining close contact with them, heed their opinions and accept their supervision. The people have the right to bring charges against the government, if it ignores their wishes or if it fails to safeguard their interests.”

**8.5.6. Structure of the Government:**

**8.5.6.a. The National People’s Congress:** Chapter II of the Constitution of 1954 deals with the structure of the government of the People’s Republic of China. The first section refers to the National People’s Congress, which is the highest authority in the People’s Republic of China. It is a unicameral legislature and the highest legislative authority in China.

The National people’s Congress is composed of deputies elected by provinces, autonomous regions, municipalities which are directly under the central authority, the armed forces and the Chinese residents abroad. In the first National People’s Congress held from 18 to 28 September, 1954 the number of elected deputies was 1226. Presently it contains around 3000 deputies. The term of the members of the National People’s Congress is four years. Two months before the expiry of its term, its Standing Committee completes the election of the deputies to the next National People’s Congress. In case of emergencies the term of the Congress can be prolonged.

The National People’s Congress meets once a year. It is convened by its Standing Committee. It can be summoned more than once a year if circumstances so warrant. The Congress elects its own Presidium to conduct its sessions.

Being the most powerful body, the National People’s Congress performs important functions of the state. Article 27 lays down the powers enjoyed and functions performed by the National People’s Congress. These powers and functions include: (1) It amends the Constitution, which require a two-thirds majority vote of all the deputies. (2) It enacts laws, which require a simple majority of

votes. (3) It supervises the enforcement of the Constitution and the laws. (4) It elects the Chairman and the Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China. (5) It chooses the Prime Minister of the State Council on the recommendation of the Chairman. (6) It decides on the choice of the Vice-Chairman and other members of the Council of National defence upon the recommendation by the Chairman of the People's Republic of China. (7) It elects the President of the Supreme People's Court. (8) It elects the Chief Procurator of the Supreme People's Procuratorate. (9) It examines and approves the national economic plans. (10) It passes the state budget and financial report. (11) It ratifies the status and boundaries of autonomous regions, provinces and municipalities directly under the central authority. (12) it decides on the question of war and peace. (13) It decides on general amnesties. (14) It appoints Commissions of Inquiry for the investigation of specific cases. (15) It has power to remove from office persons such as the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China, the Prime Minister, Vice-Premiers, Heads of Commissions and the secretary general of the State Council.

Deputies of the National People's Congress have the right to ask questions to the State Council or to the Ministers and Commissions of the State Council who are obliged to answer. The Deputies are subject to the supervision of the units which elect them and these electoral units have the power to replace their deputies at any time. The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress is the permanently acting body of the National People's congress. It functions when the Congress is not in session. The Chairman, Vice-Chairman, secretary general and members of the Standing Committee are elected at the first session of each Congress. The Standing Committee is responsible to the national People's Congress and it reports to it all decisions.

The powers of the Standing Committee are of two types. Firstly, those powers which are exercised in ordinary circumstances such as conducting elections of deputies to the National People's Congress, convening the Congress, interpreting laws, adopting decrees, supervising the work of the State Council and other state agencies, etc. Secondly, the powers which are exercised in times of emergencies when the National People's Congress is not in session such as to decide on general or partial mobilization, to decide on the enforcement of martial law, either throughout the country or in designated and specific areas.

The National People's Congress has a number of Committees in order to carry on its functions smoothly and efficiently. These committees include Nationalities Committee, Bill Committee, Budget Committee and Credential Committee.

**8.5.6. b. The Chairman of the Peoples Republic of China:** The Chairman of the People's Republic of China is elected by the National People's Congress. Any person who has the right to vote and has attained the age of thirty-five is eligible for election as the Chairman. His term of office is four years. If the post of the Chairman falls vacant or if he is incapacitated to function effectively due to any reason or on account of his protracted illness, his powers and functions would be exercised by the Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China.

The Chairman of the People's Republic of China in pursuance of decisions of the national People's Congress or the Standing Committee has power to promulgate laws and decrees, appoint or remove Vice-Premier, Ministers, Heads of Commissions and the Secretary General of the State Council, appoint or remove the Vice-Chairman and other members of the Council of National Defence, confer state orders, medals, titles of honour, proclaim general amnesty and grant pardons, proclaim martial law, proclaim a state of war and order mobilization, etc.

The Chairman of the People's Republic of China is the supreme commander of the armed forces of the country and is the Chairman of the Council of National Defence. Whenever circumstances demand, he is also empowered to convene a Supreme State Conference and act as its Chairman. In the field of foreign affairs, he represents the People's Republic of China in foreign states, receives diplomatic representatives and ratifies treaties and other agreements concluded with foreign states.

**8.5.6. c. The State Council:** The State Council of the People's Republic of China or the Central People's Government is the executive organ of the highest state authority. It is in charge of the administration of the country.

The State Council is comprised of the Prime Minister, Vice-Premiers, Ministers, Heads of Commissions and the Secretary General. The State Council has about forty-eight ministries and commissions. The addition of new ministries or commissions under the State Council and the abolition or merging of existing ones are decided by the National People's Congress or by the Standing Committee on the recommendation of the Prime Minister when the Congress is not in session. Every ministry has a Minister and Vice-Ministers.

The State Council exercises functions such as formulation of administrative measures, issuing decisions and orders, submission of bills to the National People's Congress or to its Standing Committee, coordinates the work of ministries and commissions, local administrative organs of the state throughout the country,

control foreign and domestic trade, implement national economic plans and provisions of the state budget, direct cultural, educational and public health work, direct and conduct external affairs, etc.

**8.5.6. d. Judicial Organization:** In the People's Republic of China, judicial authority is exercised by the People's Courts. These Courts decide both criminal and civil cases by punishing the criminals and settling civil disputes so as to safeguard the people's democratic system, maintain public order, protect public property, and safeguard the rights and lawful interests of the citizens. The judiciary also acts as an agent of social transformation in the country.

The judicial authority in China is exercised by the Supreme People's Court, Local People's Courts and Special people's Courts, etc. The Constitution of 1954 lays down that the term of office of the President of the Supreme People's Court and the Presidents of Local People's Courts is four years. The Supreme People's Court is responsible to the National People's Congress by which it is elected and reports to it or to its Standing Committee when the Congress is not in session. Local People's Courts are responsible and report to Local People's congresses at their own level. The Supreme People's Court supervises the work of all Local People's Courts.

The Peoples Courts at every level are expected to be independent and impartial in interpreting and enforcing laws or in deciding cases. All are equal before the law irrespective of their nationality, race, occupation, social origin, sex, etc. There are codified laws which lay down procedure for trial in all cases or interpreting laws. The accused has the right of defence. In China cases are decided honestly, impartially and quickly. According to Edgar Snow, in China, judges work most efficiently and generally cases are decided very quickly.

**8. 5.7. Fundamental Rights and Duties of Citizens:** Articles 85 to 103 of Chapter III of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China contains the fundamental rights and duties of citizens. These rights and duties are very comprehensive and all people are provided with these without distinction. They touch all aspects of national life and their observance holds out a bright political, social and economic order. Along with the rights, the Constitution lays emphasis on duties. The chief fundamental rights enshrined in the Constitution of 1954 include: Citizens of the People's Republic of China are equal before the law. Women have equal rights in property and discrimination of any nationality is forbidden. The citizens have right to vote and contest elections without any distinction. The Constitution guarantees freedom of religion, speech, press and assembly, association, procession, demonstration. The people of China have the fundamental right to



work, right to rest and leisure. They also have the right to material assistance in old age and in case of illness or disability. The people also have the right to education, literary and artistic creation and other cultural pursuits. Women in People's Republic of China enjoy equal rights with men in all spheres of political, economic, cultural, social and domestic life and in property.

The duties of the citizens of the People's Republic of China are also defined in the Constitution of 1954. These duties include: The citizens must abide by the Constitution and the law, uphold discipline at work, keep public order and respect social ethics, protect public property and pay taxes according to the law. Another important duty of the citizen enshrined in the Constitution is that every citizen should defend the homeland and perform military service according to law.

### **Check your Progress**

1. *How China was governed before the promulgation of the Constitution of 1954?*
2. *Enumerate the chief features of the Constitution of 1954.*
3. *List the chief functions of the National People's Congress.*
4. *Examine the judicial organization in China.*
5. *What are the fundamental rights and duties enshrined in the Constitution of 1954?*

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## **8.6. ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY**

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The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) founded in 1921 believes in the doctrines of Marxism and Leninism for achieving socialism and communism in China as interpreted by Mao Tse-tung and his successors. The Chinese Communist Party has been able to capture the support and imagination of the masses. With the passage of time its strength and influence have steadily increased. It successfully led, the people of the country in a series of revolutionary wars and finally in the Civil War (1945-49) it succeeded in overthrowing imperialism, feudalism and capitalism

and Nationalist Government of Chiang Kai-shek to establish the People's Republic of China in October, 1949.

The Chinese Communist Party and its leaders play a dominant role in Chinese political life. The members of the party are selected on the basis of their conviction in the Maoist ideology and staunch loyalty to the party. One of the main characteristics of a member of the Chinese Communist Party is the complete subordination of his personal interest to those of the Party.

The National Party Congress is the highest organ of the CCP. Its members are elected by the Party. The National Party Congress elects the Central Committee, which in turn elects the Politburo. The Politburo elects the Standing Committee of six to seven members, who constitute the real source of power, though the final authority on all matters vests in the CCP. One who controls the CCP also controls the country's government. The leaders of the CCP are automatically the leaders of China. This convention had started since the Long March in 1935. The leaders of the Long March, Mao Tse-tung, Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai and Chu Teh also headed the government after the establishment of the People's Republic of China.

Mao Tse-tung was the Chairman of the Politburo and the Standing Committee of the CCP. Liu Shao-chi was the Vice-Chairman, Chou En-lai was the Prime Minister and Chu Teh was the Chief Of the Army. However, it is important to note that Mao Tse-tung enjoyed the supreme authority in the CCP.

Mao Tse-tung was the first Chairman of the People's Republic of China. He was succeeded by Liu Shao-chi in 1959. In spite of this Mao Tse-tung retained his power as the Chairman of the Politburo and its Standing Committee. During the Cultural Revolution of 1966, Mao Tse-tung used his position to limit the 'revisionists' led by Liu Shao-chi.

The CCP has the vast net-work throughout China. Three or four members of the CCP form a cell. Some cells together form a branch of the Party. This branch takes care of the interest of the Party in a factory, a mine, or any other unit of this kind. These branch units are supervised by city, commune or country units. Provincial bodies supervise the functioning of the city and commune units. Over the Provincial units are the national bodies.

This basic unit is responsible for carrying on propaganda of the Communist ideology at the level of factory, army or mine. They conduct classes for the indoctrination of their members. Until the spread of literacy, most members of the CCP at the lower levels

were illiterate peasants and workers, who blindly and passionately followed the Party line.

All the means of mass communication are controlled by the CCP through the government machinery. It controls the newspapers, radio, television and the cinema. Only the ideas approved by the CCP are allowed to reach to the masses. The propaganda machinery of the government has so successfully transformed the attitude of the people that for the Chinese Communism is a matter of faith subject to no reason or objective evaluation.

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## **8.7. THE NEW CONSTITUTION OF CHINA**

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The New constitution of China was adopted by the Fifth National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China at its first session on 5 March, 1978 after the death of Mao Tse-tung. Its aim was to remould China politically and economically.

The New Constitution also lays much emphasis on the building of a socialist society, persevere in continuing the Revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and also to carry forward the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, etc. It aims at making China a great and powerful socialist country equipped with modern agriculture, industry, national defence, science and technology, etc. by the end of the twentieth century.

The New Constitution of China is a simple and brief document containing a Preamble and four chapters comprising only sixty articles. It is written in simple and spoken language which can be understood easily by the working class and laymen. It avoids irrelevant details and concentrates on the enumeration of principles of the constitution, fundamental rights and duties of the citizens and a very brief account of the structure of the government. Article 60 makes a mention of flag, emblem and the capital of China.

The Constitution describes People's Republic of China as a Socialist State of the dictatorship of the proletariat led by working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants. The New Constitution of China consolidates the gains achieved during the past of about 25 years.

The Preamble of the New constitution is a prelude to the first chapter of the Constitution. The Preamble pays rich tribute to the Chinese people who fought heroic struggles under the leadership of the Communist Party headed by Mao Tse-tung against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism etc. The Preamble also urges the people to oppose revisionism, prevent the restoration of capitalism, enhance the unity of all nationalities in the country and consolidate and also to expand the revolutionary united front based

on the worker-peasant alliance. In the international sphere, it stressed that China should establish and develop relations with other countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence (Panchsheel).

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## 8.8 CONCLUSION

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An appraisal of the features of the New Constitution of China enables one to conclude that it does not radically differ from the Constitution of 1954. However, the Chairman of the People's Republic of China about whom there was a specific mention in the old Constitution and Chinese People's Political Consultation Conference, a moral institution, are conspicuous by their absence in the New Constitution of 1978. The Chairman of the Standing Committee of the People's Congress has been accorded the status of a formal head of the state as was the case in Soviet Russia under the Constitution of 1936. The CCP has been constitutionally recognized and granted a supreme position. Its Chairman is to be the head of the armed forces.

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## 8.9 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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1. Trace process of drafting the constituents of China.
2. What was the structure of the Government under the constitution of 1954?

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## 9.10 BROAD QUESTIONS

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1. Trace the background of the drafting of the Constitution for the People's Republic of China.
2. Analyze the chief feature of the Constitution of 1954.
3. Discuss the organization and functions of the legislature and executive under the Constitution of 1954.
4. Write short notes on the following:
  - a. The National People's Congress
  - b. The State Council
  - c. Role of the Communist Party in China
  - d. The New Constitution of 1978.



## PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA-II

### Outline of the Topic

- 9.0 Objectives
- 9.1 Reconstruction Programme-Agricultural and Industrial.
- 9.2 Reconstruction of Agriculture.
- 9.3 Reconstruction of Industry
- 9.4 The Great Leap Forward
- 9.5 Leadership Crisis.
- 9.6 The Cultural Revolution
- 9.7 Conclusion
- 9.8 Check Your Progress
- 9.9 Broad Questions

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### 9.0 OBJECTIVES

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1. *To study the reconstruction programme carried out by the Chinese Communist Party in the field of agriculture and industry.*
2. *To analyze the leadership crisis in the People's Republic of China leading to the Cultural Revolution and to understand its impact on China.*

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### 9.1 . RECONSTRUCTION PROGRAMME- AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL

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#### 9. A. 1. Introduction

The chief aim of the Communist regime in China was to accomplish the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce. The new constitution not only provided legitimacy to the Communist regime, but also became a legal basis for the socialist transformation of the national economy, the nationalization of natural resources, and the introduction of centralized planning. As the Communist regime under Mao Tse-tung was striking deeper roots and strengthening its authority, it undertook the bold measures in launching socialist experiment in vital sectors of Chinese economy, agriculture and industry.

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#### 9.2. RECONSTRUCTION OF AGRICULTURE:

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**9. 2.1. Condition of Agriculture:** In order to bring about socialist experiment in agriculture and industry, the Communist government of China had to bear in mind a number of factors basic to the Chinese economy. For example, it was estimated that at that time,

the population stood at approximately 540 million and it was expanding at the rate of two per cent per annum. Besides, although China had a land area slightly more than the United States, only about 15 per cent of it was cultivated. Since few people lived in cities, there was a very high density of population in good agricultural areas. As the peasants were living at subsistence level, there was little saving and few funds available for investment in industry. This situation could only be improved by the use of new farming practices, new technology and mechanization, or by improved organization. In order to bring about the economic transformation in China, the CCP decided to adopt the last option.

**9.2.2. Redistribution of Land:** After restoring agricultural production in 1949, the CCP launched a nation-wide policy of land redistribution. This policy had already been implemented in some of the areas controlled by the Communists before 1949. With the enactment of the Agrarian Reform Law in June 1950, the land redistribution programme was extended to cover the entire country. The land, animals, tools and other property of the landlords as well as of the rich peasants were confiscated. This confiscated land and property were then redistributed to the poor and landless peasants, while the property of the middle peasants was protected.

**9. 2.3. Elimination of the Landlords:** Though land redistribution programme was meant to improve agricultural productivity, its prime aim was political, that is, to break the power of the landlord class. A large number of landlords who refused to surrender their land voluntarily were eliminated. Thus, politically land redistribution was a success as the political and economic power of the landlords and the gentry was broken. However, economically, the land reform programme was less successful. The redistribution of former estates of the landlords led to a decline in area of the average holding of each peasant. This adversely affected the productivity of the land. In order to increase farm productivity and facilitate centralized planning, the CCP worked out programmes, which eventually led to the collectivization of the land.

**9.2.4. Establishment of Mutual-Aid Teams:** As a first step towards collectivization of the land, the CCP introduced mutual-aid teams. These were based on the traditional practice in China of pooling resources such as animals and tools, during the shortage of labour during the busy seasons of sowing and harvesting. On an average three to five households formed the mutual-aid teams. Gradually, they were converted into permanent mutual-aid teams of six to ten households. However, the peasants retained private ownership of their land, animals and implements.

**9. 2.5. Agricultural Producers' Cooperatives (APCs) :** The next step towards collectivization was the formation of Agricultural

Producers' Cooperatives (APCs). Each APC had approximately forty households in it. Land use, labour and animals were put under collective management. In spite of this, the peasants still retained, at least in theory, the ownership of their land, and could leave the cooperative if they so wished. Thus, the APCs were only semi-socialist in character. The peasants received their income according to the inputs of land and labour.

It was hoped that the formation of 'advanced' APCs would lead to a big increase in agricultural production. This was important to meet the target of the First Five Year Plan (1953-57). In the advanced or higher APCs, land was owned collectively. The peasants received no income from it, but were paid a wage on the basis of their work done on the collective farm. Each peasant was allowed to maintain a small private plot on which he could raise vegetables or chickens. By mid-1956, more than 90 per cent of all peasant households had joined the APCs.

**9.2.6. Establishment of the Communes:** In 1958 the CCP sought to revolutionize the social and economic structure of the country by establishing the communes. These communes were to act as basic units of the Chinese society. By the end of the year, about 24,000 communes were organized in China. These communes covered around 500 million peasants. Each commune contained from 1,000 to 10,000 families. These communes were set up by merging the small cooperative farms. Each commune formed an administrative unit, which helped in reducing a number of tasks of the central government. The introduction of communes was expected to increase agricultural production and quicken the transformation of China into a truly Communist state. The private plots of the peasants were also taken away, and much other property was collectivized. Collectivization of life of the peasants became the ultimate aim of the Communist regime. The peasants ate in communal mess halls, and were paid on a part-wage, part-supply basis.

However, the strong regimentation of life in the communes and the sudden break with all forms of individualism naturally aroused opposition and friction in the country. In December 1958 some of the rights of personal property were restored together with other incentives. The peasants were also granted twelve hours of leisure for eating and resting. In April 1959, small private plots of the peasants were restored to them. Gradually the communes were decentralized to the level of former APCs. However, the communes retained various local government functions and continued to manage some small industrial and water conservation projects.

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### 9. 3. RECONSTRUCTION OF INDUSTRY

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**9..3.1. Condition of Industry in China:** In 1949, when the Communists took over the political and military control of China, its economy was in shattered condition. A period of thirty seven years of almost continuous warfare, from the time of the fall of the Manchu government in 1912 until 1949 and the natural calamities such as floods and famines had damaged the Chinese economy, especially industry beyond repair.

Chinese Communism had been born in the cities, but it had been essentially a rural movement since 1927. The Communist Party that had marched into Peking, Shanghai, Wuchang and Canton in 1949, found itself in an alien environment. In order to run the urban economy, and then expand and develop it the CCP leaders had to gain the support not only of workers, but also of people with vital skills such as technicians, managers, and administrators, and at the same time acquire some of those skills themselves. Thus, the Communists had a greater challenge in transforming the urban economy than transforming the countryside.

**9. 3.2. Adoption of the Soviet Model:** China was more fortunate to have natural resources in abundance especially coal and water. Oil and iron-ore reserves were reasonably good. The natural resources of China were ample enough to sustain a modern industrial economy. However, for the exploitation and development of these resources a heavy investment in capital and equipment was required, which China lacked at that time. Under these circumstances, in the initial stage, the Communist planners decided to make good use of the first period of peace in the country to restore industrial and agricultural production to its pre-war levels. They also aimed to bring about a measure of financial stability by limiting inflation, and to rebuild the transport network. Thereafter, the CCP decided adopt the broad outline of economic development on the model of Soviet Russia. That is, agricultural collectivization, industrialization, and abolition of private enterprise.

**9. 3.3. Economic Recovery:** The CCP achieved considerable success in these initial aims. Overall economic production increased throughout 1949-1952 period to pre-war levels. Besides, inflation was curtailed, the rail network was largely restored, and construction of new lines was started. Much of the recovery was due to the lenient treatment given to private capitalists, who continued in most areas to run their own enterprises with only nominal state control.



Immediately after the establishment of the People's Republic of China, the CCP had to prevent the breakdown in urban society. It had to maintain services and production. In the long run it was determined to expand and improve the industrial sector very drastically in order to make China a modern nation. The CCP made no secret of its intention to establish a socialist system, but it offered people with valuable skills the opportunity to preserve their elite status if they supported the new Communist regime.

**9. 3.4. State Control Over Industry:** As the Communists moved into the cities, they took over those industrial enterprises that had been owned by the previous Nationalist government, and those owned by 'bureaucratic capitalists' (those who held important positions in the Kuomintang, or were closely associated with it). These enterprises, along with new ones established by government after 1949, made up a substantial state sector in manufacturing and commerce by the mid-1950s. Important sections of the economy, such as transportation and heavy industry, were almost entirely under the state control. State trading networks were established to replace private merchants in the distribution of certain commodities. However, there remained a private sector owned by the 'national bourgeoisie' (those among the capitalists who were not on the hostile list of the CCP). At first, the CCP simply tried to keep the private sector operating, and offered it fairly liberal conditions for a considerable period. However, as the Party's reserve of qualified personnel became larger and its grip on the country became stronger, it moved to impose tighter control on private sector.

**9. 3.5. The Policy of 'Use, Restrict and Transform':** Article 10 of the state Constitution outlined the policy of the state towards capitalist industry and commerce. The policy was to 'use, restrict and transform'. The period of 'use' lasted from 1949 to 1951. During this period private industry played a dominant role, and helped in the rejuvenation of the economy.

The period of 'restriction' lasted from 1952 to 1953. During this period the government limited private enterprise with respect of production, sales and profits. Restriction was also facilitated by the Party-directed 'Five-Anti' campaign of 1952. This campaign was directed against bribery, tax evasion, theft of state property and of state economic secrets, and cheating on government contract. These measures were used to reduce the overall autonomy of the capitalists. Almost every enterprise was vulnerable to this campaign. The campaign penalised many people for perfectly normal business practices. Industrialists, merchants and businessmen were denounced at public trials. Many committed suicide or were executed. The luckier ones escaped with fine or a period in a corrective labour camp. In its final analysis, the 'Five-

Anti' campaign succeeded in reducing both the economic and political power of the capitalists.

The period of 'transformation' lasted from 1954 to 1957. This period was divided into two stages. In the first stage, emphasis was laid on the gradual transformation of private enterprises into joint state-private enterprises. Owners and investors in the industry were given interest payments of five per cent per annum on their investment. In the latter half of 1955 and early 1956, this programme was speeded up followed by the second stage of development known as 'joint operation by whole trades'. With this second stage, ninety per cent of all un-socialized industry was brought under joint state-private management. Thus, by 1956, not only agriculture was collectivized, but industry was also brought under complete state control.

**9. 3.6. The First Five Year Plan (1953-57):** The First Five Year Plan though began in 1953 and lasted till 1957, was not publicly announced until mid-1955. For the first two and a half years the Chinese operated on the basis of annual plans. According to Mao Tse-tung's estimates, China required three Five Year Plans for the transformation of China into a socialist society, and forty or fifty years to build a powerful country with a high degree of socialist industrialization.

**9. 3.7. Progress of Heavy Industry:** Chinese economic policy in the mid 1950s was based on the Soviet model of economic development. The chief goal was to develop heavy industry, such as steel, machinery etc. as quickly as possible. The investment for the heavy industrial base was to come from the agricultural surplus provided by collectivization. Russian technicians helped in designing and building large plants in many areas. Light industry and agriculture took second place, though they were not neglected. Thus, during 1953-1957, of the total state investment, 56 per cent went to the industry (87 per cent of this for heavy industry and only 13 per cent for light industry), 18.7 per cent into transport and communication, and only 8.2 per cent for agriculture.

During the First Five Year Plan period, China registered considerable progress in heavy industrial development, especially in iron and steel production, as well as fuels, except petroleum, raw materials, electric power and the machine tool industry. For the first time China manufactured cars, trucks, jet aircrafts and ships. During the First Five Year Plan period the average annual rate of growth of industrial production was between 14 to 19 per cent. New roads were built and railroads were laid out, which had military, political and economic value.

**9. 3.8. Slow Growth of Agriculture:** Due to over emphasis on heavy industry during the plan period, neither light industry nor agriculture performed well. Agricultural production increased by an annual average of 4.5 per cent from 1952 to 1957. A number of factors contributed to the slow growth in agriculture. These included widening gap between increase in cultivable land acreage (3 per cent) and population growth (10 per cent), failure to raise agricultural productivity following collectivization and poor harvests of 1953 and 1954. Fluctuations in agricultural production resulted in fluctuations in industry. Poor agricultural production meant fewer food exports and this led to reduced imports of industrial equipment. Moreover, light industry depended on agriculture to provide many of the raw materials such as cotton, tobacco and sugar. In spite of slow progress in agriculture and light industry, the First Five Year Plan as whole was a success.

**9.3.9. 'Let Hundred Flowers Bloom':** After the foundation of the Communist state was strongly laid, Mao Tse-tung became confident of the sympathy between the people and the Communist Party. This emboldened him to allow certain amount of freedom of speech. In a speech given on 2 May, 1956, Mao Tse-tung gave the slogan 'Let a Hundred Flowers Blossom, a Hundred Schools of Thought Contend'. The CCP's insistence on more freedom of thought and criticism was possibly prompted by Khrushchev's 'de-Stalinization' speech of February 1956, and by the Hungarian uprising in October 1956. On 27 February 1957 Mao Tse-tung delivered his speech 'On the Correct handling of Contradictions among the People'. In this speech he encouraged the 'Hundred Flowers' movement. Following a resolution of the Central Committee, a rectification of the Party was advocated. Non-Party personnel were urged to participate in criticising Party cadres, and curing the Party of its defects.

However, the criticism that appeared was stronger than the Party expected. Intellectuals and students used this opportunity to criticise the Communist system and blossomed into activity. They used the language of Western democracy, put up wall-posters denouncing the monopoly of power of the CCP, and the arrogant attitude of Party members. For five weeks damaging campaign continued against all aspects of the Communist rule. The CCP could not allow its right to monopoly of power to be challenged. Thus, the fragrant flowers became poisonous weeds. Censorship was re-imposed and the freedom of expression was once again curtailed. The intellectuals were sent down to the countryside in increasing numbers to take part in manual labour.

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## 9. 4 THE GREAT LEAP FORWARD

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Although, industry, particularly heavy industry, had expanded rapidly during the First Five Year Plan, agriculture lagged behind miserably. The attempt to raise production and to change simultaneously the entire land tenure system through collectivization by 1957 produced only widening of the gap between agricultural output and demand. This problem was complicated by declining aid from the Soviet Union and the loss of momentum in the expansion of industries.

Under these circumstances, in February 1958, at a meeting of the National People's Congress, Mao Tse-tung launched a programme for accelerated economic growth known as the 'Great Leap Forward'. This programme reaffirmed the importance of rural areas and of manual work. Higher production goals were set for the various industries. The Communist regime proclaimed its intention of surpassing England's industrial output in fifteen years. To achieve this target agricultural productivity had to be raised through large-scale irrigation projects and intensive cultivation. Individuals were required to work harder than before at their regular jobs and were also required to assume additional productive tasks. Hundreds of millions of peasants who spent their day in farming were required to devote part of their nights to work in factories. Besides, they were also ordered to set up blast furnaces in their backyards to produce pig iron. At the same time the first agricultural communes were introduced. Wholesale mergers of Agricultural Producers' Cooperatives (APCs) into far larger units were carried out in order to improve management.

By the end of 1958, the Communist government was claiming an increase of hundred per cent in agricultural production. The output of iron and steel was said to have doubled. Similar increases were said to have occurred in other important industries. However, with the passage of time the government's production estimates were reduced.

The Great Leap Forward programme of fast track economic growth turned into a nightmare. In spite of all the official boasts, the shortcomings of the system soon became apparent. Lack of sleep and rest began to take its toll on the quality of the peasant's work. Exhaustion and the poor food served in the communal mess halls, withdrawal of the private plots, and downgrading of family life lowered the morale of the peasants. They worked lethargically and slaughtered farm animals. These factors reduced farm productivity. The 'backyard' blast furnaces produced millions of tons of pig iron, but most of this was of low quality. Trying to meet the impossible targets of production, industries over-used their machines by

neglecting regular maintenance. As a result the machines broke down and productivity suffered. Beginning in 1959, China faced a distinct economic setback. Industrial production suffered a slow down. Even more serious was a break down in agriculture. In 1960, a drop in agricultural production forced China to import wheat from Australia, Canada and other countries.

To face the problems created by the Great Leap Forward, the Communist regime had no other option but to grant certain concessions to the people. The government withdrew some of the extreme measures of the programme. Centralized planning was once again emphasized. Agricultural production was given priority, and industrial investment was reduced. Commune life was eased. Some of the rights to personal property were restored to the peasants, and they were given private plots to use as they pleased. China followed the Soviet model of economic development strategy by laying emphasis on heavy industry up to 1958. The Second Five Year Plan (1958-1962), which was overtaken by the Great Leap Forward, continued the emphasis on heavy industry and modern technology. However, it added to it a policy of developing small-scale native industry, using indigenous methods and labour intensive techniques. This programme came to be known as 'walking with two legs' policy.

In January 1961, following the poor harvest of 1960, the Communist government reduced investment in heavy industry. Admitting deficiencies in agricultural output, the Communist government announced the end of the Great Leap Forward programme. A new policy of concentrating its efforts on the agricultural sector was formulated. The Tenth Central Committee Congress in September 1962, emphasized on 'agriculture as the foundation of the national economy'. In this way, the Chinese continued their deviation from the Soviet model of economic development, which had begun in 1958.

By 1970 the Communist government brought about certain fundamental changes in the social sphere, especially in relation to family. In pre-Communist China, the family was the basic unit of the society. The eldest male member of the family exercised authority in the household. The individual members, thus primarily owed their loyalty to the family and not to the state. The women in the family were subordinate to the men. Women were also not free to choose their life partners.

From the later part of the nineteenth century, the foundations of the Chinese traditional family structure began to erode. This was due the beginning of industrialization and introduction of Western concepts of personal freedom and individual rights. This erosion was accelerated with the general collapse of authority that took

place after the fall of the Manchu dynasty in 1911, and the decline of the republic due to civil war. The Nationalist Government did try to reform the social structure. However, Westernization was usually restricted to the wealthier classes in the urban areas.

After acquiring political power, the CCP aimed at destroying the feudal form of traditional family structure, while retaining the family as a basic social unit. In the new-structured family the women had equal rights with men. Many of the women's traditional functions were taken over by the state. This made them free for productive labour in farms and industry. They were granted freedom of marriage, thus widening the horizon of individual freedom. In this way, it was believed that the individuals owed their loyalty, not to the family, but to the collective and to the state.

Under the Marriage Law of 1950, women gained full equality with men in marriage, divorce, and ownership of property. Practices such as keeping concubines, child marriage, and payment for brides were prohibited. A minimum age of twenty and eighteen years was fixed for marriage for men and for women respectively. Marriage ceremony became a simple affair of the couple registering with the local government. The enforcement of the Marriage Law was one of the primary responsibilities of the All-China Federation of Democratic Women, who's Vice-Chairman was Teng Ying Chao, wife of Chou En-lai. The main task of the federation was to ensure that the law was implemented in the more backward regions of China.

### **Check Your Progress**

1. Trace the different stages in the reconstruction of agriculture.
2. Explain the policy of 'Use, Restrict and Transform'.
3. Comment on the slogan 'Let Hundred Flowers Bloom'.
4. Write a note on the 'Great Leap Forward'.

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## **9. 5. LEADERSHIP CRISIS AND CULTURAL REVOLUTION**

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**9. 5.1. Leadership Crisis:** The three years beginning with 1959 were known as the 'Three Years of Natural Disasters' in China.

Food was in short supply, and production declined dramatically. By the end of the 'Three Years of Natural Disasters', which was the direct result of the failed Great Leap Forward campaign, an estimated 20 million people had died from widespread famine resulting in starvation.

After the withdrawal of Mao Tse-tung from active politics and the government Liu Shao-chi, a great advocate of Leninist principles became the leader of the country. Other party men, who, till then, had looked up to Mao Tse-tung, now turned to Liu Shao-chi. Liu wanted to restore the legitimate authority of the Party in society in general. He decided to end many of the policies adopted by Mao Tse-tung during the Great Leap Forward programme including rural communes, and to restore the economic policies used before the Great Leap Forward.

Because of the success of his economic reforms, Liu Shao-chi had won prestige in the eyes of many party members both in the central government and among the masses. Together with Deng Xiaoping, Secretary general of the CCP, Liu began planning to gradually retire Mao Tse-tung from any real power, and to turn him into a figurehead.

Mao Tse-tung resented the fact that the restoration of the powers of the bureaucracy and the socio-economic policies followed by Liu Shao-chi and his supporters were not in keeping with the revolutionary tradition. He called them 'capitalist roaders'. He lamented that the bureaucrats had given up their revolutionary spirit and had developed bourgeois trends and habits. He attacked the bureaucrats in 1965, for their anti-revolutionary acts. To restore his political base and to eliminate his opponents, Mao Tse-tung initiated the Socialist Education Movement, in 1963. One great irony of the Socialist Education Movement was that it called for grassroots action, yet was directed by Mao Tse-tung himself. This movement, aimed primarily at schoolchildren, did not have any immediate effect on Chinese politics, but it did influence a generation of youths, from whom Mao Tse-tung could draw support in the future.

In 1963, Mao Tse-tung began attacking Liu Shao-chi openly, stating that the idealism of 'the struggle of the classes' must always be fully understood and applied. By 1964, the Socialist Education Movement had become the new 'Four Cleanups Movement', with the stated goal of the cleansing of politics, economics, ideas, and organization. The Movement was directed politically against Liu Shao-chi.

In early 1960s after the failure of the Great Leap Forward, Mao Tse-tung saw his power and influence decline. However, he had

retained his hold on the armed forces through his old associate, Lin Piao as War Minister. Irritated by the constant criticism from the intellectuals, at a secret meeting of the Central Committee in September 1965, Mao called for a vast increase in the effort to destroy 'reactionary' ideas. Under Peng Chen's leadership, the majority of the members of the Central Committee refused to comply with this suggestion of Mao. Mao felt a sense of insecurity, and he suspected that there was a plot against him. In the face of the increasing boldness of the opposition, Mao fled to Shanghai.

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## **9. 6 THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION:**

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The 'Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution' (1966-76) was launched by Chinese Communist Party (CCP) Chairman Mao Tse-tung to stem what he perceived as the country's drift away from socialism and toward the 'restoration of capitalism' under Liu Shao-chi. The campaign, which was euphorically described at its inception by its progenitors as "a great revolution that touches people to their very souls" and which inspired radical students from Paris to Berkeley, is now regarded as having been a terrible catastrophe for the Chinese nation.

**9. 6.2.1. *The Origins of the Cultural Revolution:*** The origins of the Cultural Revolution can be traced to the mid-1950s when Mao Tse-tung first became seriously concerned about the path that China's socialist transition had taken in the years since the CCP had come to power in 1949. His anxieties about the bureaucratization of the party, ideological degeneration in society as a whole, and the glaring socio-economic inequalities that had emerged as China modernized escalated through the early 1960s and propelled him to embark on a crusade to eradicate the 'revisionism' that he believed was contaminating the party and the nation.

Mao concluded that the source of China's political retrogression lay in the false and self-serving view of many of his party colleagues that class struggle ceased under socialism. On the contrary, Mao Tse-tung concluded, the struggle between proletarian and bourgeois ideologies took on new, forms even after the landlord and capitalist classes had been eliminated. The principal targets of Mao's anger were, on the one hand, party and government officials who he felt had become a 'new class' divorced from the masses and, on the other, intellectuals who, in his view, were the repository of bourgeois and even feudal values.

Mao Tse-tung's decision to undertake the Cultural Revolution was strongly influenced by his analysis that the Soviet Union had already abandoned socialism for capitalism. The Cultural Revolution was also a power struggle in which Mao Tse-tung fought



to recapture from his political rivals some of the authority and prestige that he had lost as a result of earlier policy failures. Furthermore, Mao Tse-tung saw the Cultural Revolution as an opportunity to forge a 'generation of revolutionary successors' by preparing China's youth to inherit the mantle of those who had originally brought the CCP to power.

There was also a policy dimension to the Cultural Revolution: once those who were thought to be leading China down the 'capitalist road' had been dislodged from power at all levels of society, a wide range of truly socialist institutions and processes ("sprouts of communism") were to be put in place to give life to the vision of the Cultural Revolution. For example, elitism in education was to be replaced by schools with revamped, politicized curricula, mass-based administration, and advancement criteria that stressed good class background, political activism and ideological correctness.

**9. 6..2. Interpretation of the Cultural Revolution:** In the long career of Mao Tse-tung there has been no episode less easy to comprehend or more controversial than the Cultural Revolution. When it began in 1966, the Cultural Revolution was subject of many interpretations. It was seen as a power struggle between Mao Tse-tung and Liu Shao-chi, the president of the Peoples Republic of China. It was also viewed as a revolt of the young against the privileges of the senior members of the Party. Many believe that it was an upsurge of nationalism, which had characterized China in the years following the fall of the Manchu dynasty. It was also believed that the interval of unity that the Communist victory had imposed in 1949 was breaking down, and a new warlord era was predicted.

**9. 64.3. Justification of the Cultural Revolution:** Mao Tse-tung himself justified the Cultural Revolution. According to him the revolution must have various stages. The first stage was political, by which the 'bourgeoisie' state is overthrown and the Communist Party, champion of the masses, comes to power. Next comes the economic revolution by which the capitalist economy and the 'feudal' land system are first modified, and finally replaced by new socialist forms of economy and land tenure. This was accomplished in the years following the military victory, and culminated in the Commune system and virtually the complete nationalization of industry and commerce. According to Mao, there remained a further stage. The government had been changed and the economy transformed, but the Chinese themselves, their thoughts, their tastes, their outlook on life and their personal hopes and ambitions, remained largely unchanged. Thus, the last step was a cultural revolution, by which these characteristics were to be remodelled leading to genuine socialists.

**9. 6.4. 'Hai Rui Dismissed from Office':** The conflict between Mao Tse-tung and his opponents came to a head in 1966. The Deputy Mayor of Peking, Wu Han, was an academic, who had joined the Communist movement along with many other intellectuals during the 1950s. In 1961, Wu Han wrote a play called *Hai Rui Dismissed from Office*. The play was the story of a wise and virtuous official of the Ming dynasty, devoted to the welfare of the people, who was dismissed from office by an egotistical emperor. This play was viewed as a veiled criticism of the Great Leap Forward and Mao's dismissal of Defense Minister Peng Te Huai, who had criticized the programme and argued for more moderate policies.

**9. 6.5. Beginning of the Cultural Revolution:** Wu Han's allusive style was strongly attacked in the Shanghai publication, *Wen Hui Pao*, which was under the direct supervision of Chiang Ching, Mao's wife. In February 1966 Chiang Ching proclaimed Wu Han's play a "reactionary poisonous weed," and called for attacks on other cultural works that criticized Mao's policies. In April 1966, the army's mouthpiece, *Jeifangjun Bao* (Liberation Army Daily), published a rousing call for a 'cultural revolution'. In May 1966, Nieh Yuan Tsu, the Communist Party secretary of the philosophy department at China's prestigious Peking University, fired another opening shot of the Cultural Revolution when she displayed a poster warning that the bourgeoisie, or elite controlled the university. The poster called for an all-out attack against elitist forces. By Mao's order, the poster was read over national radio on 1 June 1966.

Mao Tse-tung also authorized editorials in the Communist Party newspaper to denounce the bourgeoisie elements in society. By doing this, he formally proclaimed the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, though few at the time understood that it would lead to ten years of chaos and violence. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution extended officially from August 1966 to April 1969.

**9. 6.6. The Red Guards:** In response to Mao's call, high school students in Peking began forming groups called the Red Guards. Mao Tse-tung approved the formation of these groups. Following the support from Mao Tse-tung, high school and university students around the country formed other bands of Red Guards. The eleven million youthful Red Guards spearheaded a revolution that destroyed not only people, but also countless works of art, temples and other items of China's cultural inheritance. These students began to criticise teachers, school administrators, and government leaders. Mao himself received millions of Red Guards in a mass review at Peking's Tiananmen Square on 18 August 1966. Schools were ordered closed and students from all over the country travelled to Peking for an opportunity to meet Mao Tse-tung, who

was worshipped by many as a 'godlike' hero. Schools and universities remained closed from 1966 to 1969. Mao appealed to the students to "smash the four olds": old ideas, old culture, old customs, and old habits.

**9. 6.7. Attack on Intellectuals:** Chaos and lawlessness spread throughout China as the Red Guards destroyed temples, artwork, books, and anything associated with traditional or foreign cultures. They raided the homes of professors and other intellectuals, confiscated or destroying Western-style clothing, books and paintings, and anything that offended them. Radical leaders and Red Guards also persecuted artists, writers, and those with foreign connections. Victims were subjected to public criticism, humiliation, and physical abuse. Intellectuals such as the writer Lao She and the historian Wu Han were among the thousands of victims who committed suicide or died from Red Guard abuse. Many others were imprisoned or forced to do menial labour. The police and military were under orders not to interfere.

**9. 6.8. Action Against the Moderate Government Officials:** On 5 August 1966, the direction of the movement began to change. Mao Tse-tung himself issued a statement titled 'Bombard the Headquarters'. Through this statement he pointed out that there were people in the CCP at all levels up to the very top who were following reactionary 'bourgeoisie' policies. This led to an attack on moderate Government officials by the radicals. Liu Shao-chi, who was then China's President and Mao's chosen successor, was the most prominent moderate. For his pragmatic policies, Liu was accused of being "China's number one capitalist roader" and a traitor to Chairman Mao. He died in prison in 1969. Those associated with Liu's policies, such as Teng Hsiao Ping, were removed from their government positions and imprisoned or exiled. Military leader Lin Biao, a supporter of Mao's Cultural Revolution policies, was named Mao's successor in 1969.

**9. 6.9. Restoration of Order By the People's Liberation Army:** Under the weight of the Cultural Revolution, the Communist Party structure gradually collapsed, leading to anarchy and lawlessness. The People's Liberation Army (PLA) remained the sole disciplined structure in the country. In 1967, to put an end to the anarchy and mob violence let loose by the Red Guard and to prevent the situation going out of control due to the fighting between rival Red Guard groups, the People's Liberation Army was called in to restore order. From 1967 to 1969 thousands died in violent clashes between Red Guard factions, and between the Red Guards and the military. In an attempt to control the chaos, Mao and his supporters placed most government organizations under the control of the People's Liberation Army.

**9. 6.10. 'Campaign to Purify Class Ranks':** Mao Tse-tung launched the new phase of the Cultural Revolution known as the 'Campaign to Purify Class Ranks'. Beginning from 1969 urban government officials and intellectuals were sent to the countryside to do hard labour and to study Mao's works. Many urban youths from the age 16 to age 19 were sent to the countryside where they were instructed to learn from the peasants. Family members were often split up and forced to live in harsh conditions thousands of miles from one another. Many youths remained in the countryside for years, as they could not get permission to return to their native cities and towns.

**9. 6.11. 'Barefoot Doctors':** Throughout the early 1970s Mao continued his goal of reducing the economic gap between the city and the countryside. The children of urban elite lived and worked among rural peasants. The children of peasants, workers, and soldiers attended the reopened schools where they studied the works of Mao and the accomplishments of the peasants. Thousands of students received rudimentary medical training and went to the countryside as so-called 'barefoot doctors'. They provided basic health care to peasants who otherwise had no access to medical facilities. Urban culture was replaced by new revolutionary ballet, opera, and literature, much of it produced under the patronage of Chiang Ching. The new work expressed the struggles of the peasants and glorified Chairman Mao.

**9. 6.12. Defection and Death of Lin Piao:** As public order was restored and the Party machinery was revived, Mao felt less need for the army and its commander. He began to cut down the authority of Lin Piao. Uncertain as to how far this would go, and not willing to give up the supreme power, Lin Piao apparently began to plot against Mao. In the power struggle that followed, Lin Piao lost by September 1971. He and some of his followers apparently tried to flee to Soviet Russia by an airplane. However, they were killed when their plane crashed in Outer Mongolia. The cause of the crash is still uncertain.

**9. 6.13. Rehabilitation of Teng Hsiao Ping:** Mao Tse-tung had suspended a large number of officials from important positions on a purely temporary basis during the Cultural Revolution. The defection of Lin Piao increased Mao's need to broaden his base of support by bringing non-Maoists back into the party and the government. During the early 1970s, even people who had been charged with most serious crimes during the Cultural Revolution were rehabilitated and restored to position in the party and government. The most important of them was Teng Hsiao Ping, who was rehabilitated in 1973. By 1975, as both Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai became too ill to handle any great amount of business,

Teng was given control of the day-to-day operations of the Communist Party's Central Committee.

**9. 6.14. End of the 'Gang of Four':** While most of the radical excesses of the Cultural Revolution had diminished by the mid-1970s, some of its rhetoric and policies continued even after Mao's death in 1976. Chiang Ching, the widow of Mao Tse-tung and the rest of the 'Gang of Four' were arrested that year. With their arrest the Cultural Revolution officially came to an end. In 1981 the members of 'Gang of Four' were convicted for their crimes. The Communist Party leadership under Teng Hsiao Ping officially condemned the Cultural Revolution.

**9.6.15. Consequences of the Cultural Revolution:**

**(1) Slowdown of the Chinese Economy:** The Cultural Revolution had far-reaching consequences on all aspects of the Chinese society. The years of chaos from 1966 to 1969 resulted in the slowdown and partial collapse of the Chinese economy. As the rural markets were forbidden, the peasants were forced to sell all produce to the state. The possibility of economic cooperation with the West was eliminated due to China's emphasis on self-reliance and the fear of foreigners and foreign influence 'corrupting' the Chinese culture. This caused economic isolation and stagnation. In contrast, during the same period the economies of Japan, Taiwan, and South Korea made great progress.

**(2) Setback to Education:** Education suffered serious setback. An entire generation of young people had their education disrupted. A large number of high school and college students joined the Red Guards and 'made revolution' for Chairman Mao. College entrance exams, suspended in 1966, were not restarted until 1977. During the Cultural Revolution many valuable books and art collections were destroyed and many scholars of China's leading schools and colleges died from abuse and attacks by the Red Guards.

**(3) Loss of Prestige of the CCP:** The Chinese Communist Party lost much of its prestige as a result of the Cultural Revolution. People at all levels of society were disillusioned by the high-level power struggles and instability of the party policy. But the CCP managed to remain in control. Teng Hsiao Ping's economic reforms of the 1980s and 1990s attempted to wipe out the legacy of the Cultural Revolution.

Even Mao Tse-tung, once glorified as 'The Great Helmsman' and the 'Red Sun', was officially criticized for his 'leftist mistakes' in the Cultural Revolution. However, he was still praised for his leadership in both the war against Japan and the civil war against the Kuomintang. Today, while privately vilified by many Chinese, Mao

is at the same time still genuinely admired as a powerful national leader.

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## 9.7. CONCLUSION

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The People's Republic of China under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung undertook measures to reconstruct agricultural and industrial system in China. As far as agriculture was concerned, the Communist regime took drastic steps of confiscating the land and redistributing it among the landless peasants. By establishing mutual aid teams and agricultural producers' cooperatives the Communist regime ultimately succeeded in organizing the vast masses of the Chinese peasants into communes. For the industrial reconstruction, the Communist government adopted the Soviet model and gradually succeeded in establishing government control over industries. The government also introduced Five Year Plans to bring about rapid growth of agriculture and industry. Emphasis was laid on heavy industry. During the so-called 'The Great Leap Forward' programme, Mao Tse-tung aimed at maximum utilization of resources and man power to supersede some of the industrially advanced European countries! However, this programme resulted in a lot of misery to the Chinese peasants and working class, as they were overworked and underpaid.

Following the rupture of 'The Great Leap Forward' programme, there emerged leadership crisis among the hardliners led by Mao Tse-tung and moderates led by Liu Shao-chi who were in favour of reforms in economic field. This leadership contest led to the Cultural Revolution initiated by Mao Tse-tung and his supporters who were keen in maintaining the purity of Communist ideology. The so-called 'revisionists' were purged and severely suppressed. The Cultural Revolution led to a lot of bloodshed and chaos before order was established by the People's Liberation Army.

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## 9.8. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS:

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5. Give an account of the leadership crisis in China following the failure of the Great Leap Forward programme. ;
6. Point out the origins of the Cultural Revolution. •
7. How did Mao Tse-tung justify the Cultural Revolution?
8. What methods were used by Mao Tse-tung to implement the Cultural Revolution?
9. Who were the Gang of four?
10. Enumerate the consequences of the cultural Revolution?

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### **9.9. QUESTIONS**

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1. Discuss the reconstruction of agriculture in China following the Revolution of 1949.
2. Examine the various stages through which the industrial reconstruction was undertaken in China under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung.
3. Write a detailed note on the Great Leap Forward.
4. What factors led to the Cultural Revolution in China? What were its results?
5. Trace the causes, course and consequences of the Cultural Revolution.
6. Write short notes on the following:
  - a. Communes
  - b. Great Leap Forward
  - c. Leadership crisis
  - d. Impact of the Cultural Revolution



## DENG XIAOPING ERA-I EMERGENCE OF DENG XIAOPING AND CHINA'S NEW ORDER

### Outline of the Topic :

- 10.0 Objectives
- 10.1 Introduction
- 10.2 Early Life of Deng the Revolution
- 10.3 Deng Xiaoping's Role During the Revolution.
- 10.4 Political Rise of Deng Xiaoping
- 10.5 Improved Relations with the West
- 10.6 Programme of Reforms
- 10.7 The Tiananmen Square Massacre
- 10.8 End of Era
- 10.9 Conclusion
- 10.10 Check Your Progress
- 10.11 Broad Questions

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### 10.0 OBJECTIVES

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1. *To trace the different stages through which Deng Xiaoping emerged as the supreme leader of China in post-Mao Tse-tung era.*
2. *To study the various reforms introduced by Deng Xiaoping in order to make China a great power.*
3. *To make an estimate of the legacy of Deng Xiaoping in the history of China.*

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### 10.1. INTRODUCTION

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Deng Xiaoping (1904–1997) was a prominent Chinese revolutionary, politician, pragmatist and reformer, as well as the leader of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). Deng never held office as the head of state or the head of government, but served as the *de facto* leader of the People's Republic of China from 1978 to the early 1990s.

Deng Xiaoping inherited a China steeped in social and institutional problems left over from the devastating Cultural Revolution and other mass political movements of the Mao Tse-tung era, Deng was at the center of the second generation of Chinese leadership. He was instrumental in introducing a new brand of socialist thinking. He developed Socialism with Chinese characteristics and Chinese



economic reform, which came to be known as the 'socialist market economy' that partially opened China to the global market. He is generally credited with advancing China into becoming one of the fastest growing economies in the world and vastly raising the standard of living among the Chinese people. Analysts generally see Deng Xiaoping's ouster of Hua Guofeng as the moment when the market policies of economic reform began their adoption, leading to revision of previous policies, popularly called Communism.

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## **10. 2. EARLY LIFE OF DENG XIAOPING**

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Deng Xiaoping was born on 22, August 1904, into a Hakka family in Guang, a county in Sichuan province. He had his initial education in China. In the summer of 1919, Deng Xiaoping graduated from the Chungking Preparatory School. Later, with a group of 80 schoolmates Deng proceeded to France under the work-study programme. He did varieties of jobs for his survival. However, he barely earned enough to survive. Many of these jobs had brutal working conditions, with workers frequently being injured. Deng would later claim that it was while working in France that he got an initial feel of the evils of the capitalist society.

While working and getting educated in France, Deng Xiaoping came under the influence of his seniors such as Chou En-lai among others. Along with his education, Deng began to study Marxism and did political propaganda work. In 1921 he joined the Chinese Communist Youth League in Europe. In the second half of 1923 he joined the Chinese Communist Party and became one of the leading members of the General Branch of the Youth League in Europe. After studying at Moscow in the then-USSR, Deng returned to China in early 1926.

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## **10. 3. DENG XIAOPING'S ROLE DURING THE REVOLUTION**

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After his return to China, Deng Xiaoping became an active Communist Party worker. Gradually he rose in the party hierarchy. He was one of the veterans of the Long March and served as General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. He organized several important military campaigns during the war with Japan and during the Civil War against the Nationalist Army. In late November 1948, Deng led the final assault on the Nationalist forces, which were under the direct command of Chiang Kai-shek in Sichuan. The city of Chungking fell to the People's Liberation Army on 1, December 1948 and Deng was immediately appointed mayor and political commissar. Chiang Kai-shek, who had moved his headquarters to Chungking in mid-November fled to the provincial capital of Chengdu. This last mainland Chinese city to

be held by the Nationalists fell on 10 December, 1948 and Chiang fled to Taiwan on the same day. When the People's Republic of China was founded in 1949, Deng was sent to supervise issues in the Southwestern Region, and acted as its First Secretary.

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## 10. 4. POLITICAL RISE OF DENG XIAOPING

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### 10.4.1 General Secretary of the CCP

As a supporter of Mao Tse-tung, Deng Xiaoping was named by the former to several important posts in the new government of the People's Republic of China. After officially supporting Mao Tse-tung in his Anti-Rightist Campaign of 1957, Deng became General Secretary of the Communist Party of China and ran the country's daily affairs with then President Liu Shao-chi. Following the setback in the Great Leap Forward programme initiated by Mao Tse-tung, Deng Xiaoping and Liu Shao-chi gained influence within the CCP. They embarked on economic reforms that increased their prestige among the party rank and file and among the masses of people at large. Deng and Liu advocated more pragmatic policies, as opposed to Mao's radicalist ideas. In 1961, at the Guangzhou conference, Deng uttered what is perhaps his most famous quotation: "I don't care if it's a white cat or a black cat. It's a good cat so long as it catches mice." This quotation of Deng was interpreted to mean that being productive in life is most important, not whether one believes in communism or capitalism.

**10.4.2. Cultural Revolution and Purge of Deng Xiaoping:** The increasing power and prestige of both Liu Shao-chi and Deng Xiaoping made Mao Tse-tung quite insecure and he became apprehensive that he would be reduced to a mere figurehead in the CCP and the government. In order to re-assert his position and re-affirm the faith of the party cadre and the people in general in his radical doctrine as laid down by him and to attack the so called 'revisionists', Mao Tse-tung launched the Cultural Revolution in 1966, during which Deng Xiaoping fell out of favour and was forced to retire from all his offices. He was sent to the Xingjian County Tractor Factory in rural Jiangxi province to work as a regular worker. While working in the tractor factory Deng spent his spare time writing. He was purged nationally, but to a lesser scale than Liu Shao-chi.

During the Cultural Revolution, Deng Xiaoping and his family were targeted by the Red Guards. Red Guards imprisoned Deng's son, Deng Pufang who was tortured and thrown out of the window of a four-story building as a result of which he became a paraplegic for life.

**10.4.3. Recall of Deng Xiaoping:** In spite of his banishment from active politics and party positions, Deng Xiaoping maintained his

balance and retained the goodwill among a number of Chinese leaders including Chou En-lai . When he fell ill due to cancer, Chou En-lai chose Deng as his successor and succeeded in convincing Mao Tse-tung to bring Deng Xiaoping back into politics in 1974 as First Vice-Premier, who would be responsible for running daily affairs.

**10..4.4. Deng Vs the ‘Gang of Four’:** Being elevated to the office of the First Vice-Premier, Deng Xiaoping focused on reconstructing the country's economy and stressed unity as the first step to raising production. However, he remained careful of not violating at least on paper, the basic Maoist line of thinking. In reality, the Cultural Revolution was not yet over, and a radical leftist political group known as the ‘Gang of Four’, led by Mao's wife Jiang Qing, competed for power within the Communist Party. The Gang saw Deng as their greatest challenge to power. Mao Tse-tung was also suspicious that Deng might reduce the positive reputation of the Cultural Revolution which was considered by Mao as one of his greatest policy initiatives. Beginning in late 1975, Deng was asked to draw up a series of self-criticisms. Although Deng admitted to having taken an ‘inappropriate ideological perspective’ while dealing with state and party affairs, he was reluctant to admit that his policies were wrong in essence. Deng's antagonism with the ‘Gang of Four’ became increasingly clear, and Mao seemed to swing in the Gang's favour. Mao refused to accept Deng's self-criticisms and asked the party's Central Committee to ‘thoroughly discuss Deng's mistakes’.

**10. 4.5. Second Purge of Deng Xiaoping:** The death of Chou En-lai died in January 1976 resulted in the loss of support to Deng Xiaoping within the Party's Central Committee. With the tacit support of Mao Tse-tung, the ‘Gang of Four’, began the so-called ‘Criticize Deng and Oppose the Rehabilitation of Right-leaning Elements campaign’. In spite of Chou En-lai wishing Deng Xiaoping to succeed him as the Premier of China, the Gang of Four saw to it that Hua Guofeng and not Deng was selected to become the next Premier. The Central Committee issued a Top-priority Directive, officially transferring Deng Xiaoping to work on ‘external affairs’, which was in fact a move to remove him from the party's power structure. Under these circumstances Deng Xiaoping stayed at home for the subsequent months, awaiting his fate. The political turmoil had brought to halt the economic progress that Deng Xiaoping had worked for in the past year. In March 1976, Mao Tse-tung issued a directive reaffirming the legitimacy of the Cultural Revolution and specifically pointed to Deng Xiaoping as an internal, rather than external problem. This was followed by a Central Committee directive issued to all local party organs to study Mao Tse-tung's directive and criticize Deng Xiaoping. Soon after, on the directives of Mao Tse-tung, Deng Xiaoping was branded as

counter-revolutionary and was stripped of all his leadership positions except the Party membership.

**10.4.6. Re-emergence of Deng Xiaoping:** In spite of his second purge, Deng Xiaoping gradually emerged as the *de-facto* leader of China in the few years following Mao Tse-tung's death in 1976. Prior to Mao's death, the only official position he held was that of First Vice-Premier of the State Council. By carefully mobilizing his supporters within the Chinese Communist Party, Deng Xiaoping was able to outmaneuver Mao's appointed successor Hua Guofeng, who had previously pardoned him, and then oust Hua Guofeng from his top leadership positions by 1980. In contrast to previous leadership changes, Deng Xiaoping allowed Hua Guofeng to retain membership in the Central Committee and later to quietly retire, thus setting a precedent that losing a high-level leadership struggle would not result in physical harm.

**10.4.7. Consolidation of Power:** After re-emerging as the supreme leader in China, Deng Xiaoping attempted to consolidate his political power with clever moves. First of all he repudiated the Cultural Revolution and in 1977, launched the 'Beijing Spring', which allowed open criticism of the excesses and suffering that had occurred during the Cultural Revolution. Meanwhile, he abolished the so called 'class background system' under which those Chinese deemed to have been associated with the former landlord class were forbidden to be employed. Removal of this barrier effectively allowed Chinese capitalists to join the Communist Party.

Deng Xiaoping gradually outmaneuvered his political opponents. By encouraging public criticism of the Cultural Revolution, he weakened the position of those who owed their political positions to that event, while strengthening the position of those like himself who had been purged during that time. Due to these liberalizing policies, Deng Xiaoping also received a great deal of popular support.

As Deng Xiaoping gradually consolidated control over the CCP, Hua Guofeng was replaced by Zhao Ziyang as Premier in 1980, and by Hu Yaobang as party chief in 1981. Though he did not occupy any high ranking position, Deng Xiaoping remained the most influential CCP cadre. After 1987, his only official posts were as the Chairman of the State and Communist Party Central Military Commissions.

The elevation of Deng Xiaoping to China's new 'number-one' figure meant that the historical and ideological questions around Mao Tse-tung had to be addressed properly. As Deng Xiaoping wished to pursue serious reforms, to continue Mao Tse-tung's hard-line 'class struggle' policies and mass public campaigns were

unreasonable. In 1982, the Central Committee of the Communist Party released a document entitled "On the Various Historical Issues Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China". In this historic document, Mao Tse-tung's status as a "great Marxist, proletarian revolutionary, militarist, and general", and the undisputed founder and pioneer of the country and the People's Liberation Army was retained. The document also absolved Mao Tse-tung from the prime responsibility of the Cultural Revolution and passed on the responsibility to the Gang of Four and Lin Biao.

**Check your progress :**

1. Trace the early career of Deng Xiaoping.
2. Why Deng Xiaoping was purged from the CCP during the Cultural Revolution?
3. How did Deng Xiaoping consolidate his power after the death of Mao Tse-tung?

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**10.5 IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH THE WEST:**

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After consolidating his political power within China, Deng Xiaoping undertook the task of improving relations with foreign countries especially with the West. He travelled abroad and held a series of amicable meetings with Western heads of the state and government, and became the first Chinese leader to visit the United States in 1979, meeting President Carter at the White House. The US administration had also prepared the diplomatic background for this visit. Shortly before Deng Xiaoping's visit, the US had broken diplomatic relations with the Republic of China (Taiwan) and established them with the People's Republic of China.

Another memorable achievement of Deng Xiaoping was the agreement signed by United Kingdom and China on 19 December 1984, by which Hong Kong was to be handed over to the People's Republic of China in 1997. With the 99-year British lease on the New Territories expiring, Deng Xiaoping agreed that China would not interfere with Hong Kong's capitalist system for 50 years. This arrangement was dubbed as 'one country-two systems'. A similar agreement was signed with Portugal for the return of their colony Macau.

Under Deng Xiaoping's initiative, Sino-Japanese relations also improved significantly. Deng Xiaoping used Japan as an example for introducing far reaching economic reforms in China. However, it is important to note that Deng Xiaoping did not try to improve relations with the Soviet Union.

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## 10.6. PROGRAMME OF REFORMS

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Along with improving the relationship with the outside world, Deng Xiaoping undertook the gigantic programme of reforms especially in the domestic social, political, and most notably, economic systems. The goals of Deng Xiaoping's reforms were summed up by the Four Modernizations, those of agriculture, industry, science and technology and the military. The strategy for achieving these aims of becoming a modern, industrial nation was the socialist market economy. Deng Xiaoping argued that China was in the primary stage of socialism and that the duty of the party was to perfect so-called 'socialism with Chinese characteristics', and 'seeking truth from facts'. This interpretation of Chinese Marxism reduced the role of ideology in economic decision-making and deciding policies of proven effectiveness.

Deng Xiaoping emphasized that "socialism does not mean shared poverty". His theoretical justification for allowing market forces can be summed up as the following: "Planning and market forces are not the essential difference between socialism and capitalism. A planned economy is not the definition of socialism, because there is planning under capitalism; the market economy happens under socialism, too. Planning and market forces are both ways of controlling economic activity." Further, Deng Xiaoping supports his views by quotes such as, "We must not fear to adopt the advanced management methods applied in capitalist countries ... The very essence of socialism is the liberation and development of the productive systems ... Socialism and market economy are not incompatible ... We should be concerned about right-wing deviations, but most of all, we must be concerned about left-wing deviations." Unlike Hua Guofeng, Deng Xiaoping believed that no policy should be rejected outright simply because it was not associated with Mao Tse-tung.

Although Deng Xiaoping provided the theoretical background and the political support to allow economic reforms to proceed in China, it has been generally believed by the historians that few of the economic reforms that Deng Xiaoping introduced were originated by himself. Premier Chou En-lai had initiated the 'Four Modernizations' years before Deng Xiaoping. In addition, many reforms were introduced by local leaders, often not sanctioned by the Central Government directives. Depending on their success, these reforms were adopted by larger and larger areas and

ultimately introduced nationally. Many other reforms were influenced by the experiences of the East Asian Tigers.

Deng Xiaoping's reforms actually included the introduction of planned, centralized management of the macro-economy by technically proficient bureaucrats replacing Mao Tse-tung's mass campaign style of economic construction. However, unlike the Soviet model, management was indirect through market mechanisms.

In spite of deviating from Mao Tse-tung's policies, Deng Xiaoping continued his legacy to the extent that he stressed the primacy of agricultural output and encouraged a significant decentralization of decision making in the rural economy teams and individual peasant households. At the local level, material incentives, rather than political appeals, were used to motivate the labour force, including allowing peasants to earn extra income by selling the produce of their private plots at free market.

In the main move toward market allocation, local municipalities and provinces were allowed to invest in industries that they considered most profitable, which encouraged investment in light manufacturing. Thus, Deng Xiaoping's reforms shifted China's development strategy to an emphasis on light industry and export-led growth. Light industrial output was important for a developing country coming from a low capital base. With the short gestation period, low capital requirements, and high foreign-exchange export earnings, revenues generated by light manufacturing were able to be reinvested in more technologically-advanced production and further capital expenditures and investments.

The capital invested in heavy industry largely came from the banking system, and most of that capital came from consumer deposits. One of the first items of the Deng's reforms was to prevent reallocation of profits except through taxation or through the banking system. Hence, the reallocation in state-owned industries was somewhat indirect, thus making them more or less independent from government interference. In short, Deng's reforms sparked an industrial revolution in China.

These reforms were a reversal of the Maoist policy of economic self-reliance. China decided to accelerate the modernization process by stepping up the volume of foreign trade, especially the purchase of machinery from Japan and the West. By participating in such export-led growth, China was able to step up the Four Modernizations by attaining certain foreign funds, market, advanced technologies and management experiences, thus accelerating its economic development. Deng Xiaoping attracted

foreign companies to a series of Special Economic Zones, where foreign investment and market liberalization were encouraged.

The reforms centered on improving labor productivity as well. New material incentives and bonus systems were introduced. Rural markets selling peasants' homegrown products and the surplus products of communes were revived. Not only did rural markets increase agricultural output, they stimulated industrial development as well. With peasants able to sell surplus agricultural yields on the open market, domestic consumption stimulated industrialization as well and also created political support for more difficult economic reforms.

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## **10.7. THE TIANANMEN SQUARE MASSACRE**

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The Tiananmen Square protests of 1989 culminating in the Tiananmen Square Massacre also referred to in Chinese as the June Fourth Incident, to avoid confusion with two other Tiananmen Square protests, were a series of demonstrations in and near Tiananmen Square between 5 April and 4 June 1989. They were mainly led by Beijing students and intellectuals. The protests occurred in a year that saw the collapse of a number of communist governments around the world.

The Tiananmen Square protests were sparked by the death of a pro-market and pro-democracy reformist official backed by Deng Xiaoping and ousted by his enemies, Hu Yaobang, whom protesters wanted to mourn. By the eve of Hu's funeral, the crowd had reached 100,000 people on the Tiananmen Square. While the protests lacked a unified cause or leadership, participants were generally against the government's authoritarianism and voiced calls for economic change and democratic reform within the structure of the government. The demonstrations centered on Tiananmen Square in Beijing, but large-scale protests also occurred in cities throughout China, including Shanghai, which stayed peaceful throughout the protests.

During demonstrations, Deng Xiaoping's pro-market ally General Secretary Zhao Ziyang supported demonstrators and distanced himself from the Politburo. Martial law was declared on May 20 by the socialist hardliner Li Peng, but no action was taken until 4 June 1989. The movement lasted seven weeks. Soldiers and tanks the People's Liberation Army were sent to take control of the city on 4 June, 1989. The resulting military response to the protesters by the government left many civilians dead or injured. Following the violence, the government conducted widespread arrests to suppress protesters and their supporters, cracked down on other protests around China, banned the foreign press from the country and strictly controlled coverage of the events in the Chinese press.



Many ordinary people in Beijing believed that Deng Xiaoping had ordered the intervention, but political analysts do not know who was the real person behind the order. However, Xiaoping's daughter defends the actions that occurred as her father's order. To purge sympathizers of Tiananmen demonstrators, the Communist Party initiated a one and half year long program similar to Anti-Rightist Movement. It aimed to deal "strictly with those inside the party with serious tendencies toward bourgeois liberalization" and more than 30,000 communist officers were deployed to the task.

Zhao Ziyang was placed under house arrest by socialist hardliners and Deng Xiaoping himself was forced to make concessions to anti-reform communists. Deng Xiaoping told privately to the Canadian Prime Minister that factions of the Communist Party could have grabbed army units and the country would have risked a civil war. Two years later, Deng Xiaoping endorsed Zhu Rongji, a Shanghai Mayor, as a Vice-Premier candidate. In spite of pressure from socialist hardliners, Zhu Rongji had refused to declare martial law in Shanghai during the demonstrations.

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## 10.8 END OF AN ERA

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**10.8.1 Retirement of Deng Xiaoping:** Officially, Deng Xiaoping decided to retire from top positions when he stepped down as Chairman of the Central Military Commission in 1989, and retired from the political scene in 1992. China, however, was still in the era of Deng Xiaoping. He continued to be widely regarded as the 'paramount leader' of the country, believed to have backroom control. Deng Xiaoping was recognized officially as "The chief architect of China's economic reforms and China's socialist modernization". To the Communist Party, he was believed to have set a good example for communist cadres who refused to retire at old age. He broke earlier conventions of holding offices for life. He was often referred to as simply Comrade Xiaoping, with no title attached.

**10.8.2 Southern Tour Of Deng Xiaoping:** Because of the Tiananmen Square protests of 1989, Deng Xiaoping's power had been significantly weakened and there was a growing formalist faction opposed to Deng's reforms within the Communist Party. To reassert his economic agenda, in the spring of 1992, Deng made his famous southern tour of China and spending the New Year in Shanghai, in reality using his travels as a method of reasserting his economic policy after his retirement from office. On his tour, Deng made various speeches and generated large local support for his reformist platform. He stressed the importance of economic construction in China, and criticized those who were against further economic and openness reforms.

His southern tour was initially ignored by the Beijing and national media, which were then under the control of Deng's political rivals. President Jiang Zemin showed little support. Challenging their media control, Deng penned several articles supporting reforms under the pen name 'Huang Fuping' in Shanghai's Liberation Daily newspaper, which quickly gained support amongst local officials and people in general. Deng's new wave of policy rhetoric gave way to a new political storm between factions in the Politburo. President Jiang eventually sided with Deng Xiaoping and the national media finally reported Deng's southern tour several months after it occurred. Observers suggest that Jiang's submission to Deng's policies had solidified his position as Deng's heir apparent. Behind the scenes, Deng's southern tour aided his reformist allies' climb to the apex of national power, and permanently changed China's direction toward economic development. In addition, the eventual outcome of the southern tour proved that Deng was still the most powerful man in China.

**10. 8.3 Death and Legacy of Deng Xiaoping:** Deng Xiaoping died on 19 February 1997, at age 92 from a lung infection and Parkinson's disease, but his influence continued. Even though Jiang Zemin was in firm control, government policies continued Deng Xiaoping's ideas, thoughts, methods and direction. Officially, Deng was eulogized as a "great Marxist, great Proletarian Revolutionary, statesman, military strategist, and diplomat; one of the main leaders of the Communist Party of China, the People's Liberation Army of China, and the People's Republic of China; The great architect of China's socialist opening-up and modernized construction; the founder of Deng Xiaoping theory".

There was a significant amount of international reaction to Deng Xiaoping's death. UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan said Deng was to be remembered "in the international community at large as a primary architect of China's modernization and dramatic economic development". French President Jacques Chirac said "In the course of this century, few men have, as much as Deng Xiaoping, led a vast human community through such profound and determining changes"; British Prime Minister John Major commented about Deng's key role in the return of Hong Kong to Chinese control; Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chrétien called Deng a "pivotal figure" in Chinese history. The Taiwan presidential office also sent its condolences, saying it longed for peace, cooperation, and prosperity.

As an important figure in modern Chinese history, Deng Xiaoping's legacy is very complex and opinion remains divided. Deng changed China from a country obsessed with mass political movements to a country focused on economic construction. In the process, Deng was unrelenting of the political clout of the Communist Party of

China, as evidenced by the 1989 Tiananmen Square Protests. Although some criticize Deng for his actions in 1989, China's significant economic growth in the 1980s and 1990s was largely credited to Deng's policies

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## 10.9 CONCLUSION

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Deng Xiaoping's policies are among some of the most successful industrializations in human history, comparable to only the rapid industrialization of Japan and the Soviet Union. In a little over 30 years, his policies were able to move China from the peasant society it once was to an industrial superpower whose industrial output is only second to that of the United States and is said to become world leaders in the economic market in just a few decades. Despite controversial incidents such as the June 4th incident and the corruption of his son, Deng Xiaoping is largely remembered as a heroic and able leader who brought the country from a peasant society to superpower.

Deng Xiaoping was an able diplomat, and he was largely credited with the successes of China in foreign affairs. Deng's period as China's leader saw agreements signed to return both Hong Kong and Macau to Chinese sovereignty. Deng's era, set under the backdrop of the Cold war, saw the best Sino-American relations in history. Some Chinese nationalists assert, however, that Deng's foreign policy was one of appeasement, and past wrongs such as war crimes committed by Japan during the World War II were forgotten to make way for economic partnership.

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## 10.10 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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4. Give an account of the programme of reforms introduced by Deng Xiaoping.
5. Write a note on the Tiananmen Square Massacre
6. Point out the legacy of Deng Xiaoping.

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## 10.11 BROAD QUESTIONS

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1. Trace the rise of Deng Xiaoping to political power in China.
2. Discuss the problems that Deng Xiaoping had to face in his political career.
3. Evaluate the contribution of Deng Xiaoping in reforming Chinese economy.
4. Examine the role of Deng Xiaoping in the history of modern China.
5. Write short notes on the following:
  - (a) Two Purges of Deng Xiaoping
  - (b) Programme of Reforms adopted by Deng Xiaoping
  - (c) The Tiananmen Square Massacre
  - (d) Legacy of Deng Xiaoping



## DENG XIAOPING ERA-II

### Outline to the Topic

- 11.0. Objectives
- 11.1 Four modernizations
- 11.2 Free Market Economy and Globalization.
- 11.3 China and the World Trade Organization.
- 11.4 Conclusion
- 11.5 Check Your Progress
- 11.6 Broad Questions

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### 11.0 OBJECTIVES

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1. *To understand the economic and technological progress of China based on the Four Modernizations introduced by Deng Xiaoping.*
2. *To study China's march towards free market economy and globalization.*

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### 11. 1. FOUR MODERNIZATIONS

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**11.1.1. Introduction:** Although the Four Modernizations are associated with Deng Xiaoping, this program was articulated by Chou En-lai in 1975. The Communist Party in Russia under Lenin's leadership was committed to industrialization, but Maoism took a different attitude. According to Mao Tse-tung modernization was a 'road to capitalistic restoration'. The Premier of China, Chou En-lai was suffering from cancer and was politically too weak to confront Mao's wife, Jiang Qing, on this issue. But Deng Xiaoping was more aggressive. In the fall of 1975 he published three documents which were to be the basis for the Four Modernizations. The Gang of Four labeled these documents as 'Three Poisonous Weeds' and made Deng Xiaoping the target of the 'Anti-rightist Deviationist Wind Campaign'. In his New Year's Message of 1976 Mao Tse-tung warned against emphasizing material progress. By April, 1976, Deng Xiaoping had been dismissed from all his official posts.

After the death of Chou En-lai followed soon after that of Mao Tse-tung in 1975, Deng Xiaoping assumed control of the Chinese Communist Party in late 1978. By that time the 'Gang of Four' was placed under arrest. In December 1978 at the Third Plenum of the 11th Central Committee, Deng Xiaoping announced the official launch of the Four Modernizations, formally marking the beginning of the reform era in China. The Four Modernizations were in the fields of: Agriculture, Industry, Technology and Defense.

**11.1.2. Aims of the Four Modernizations:** The Four Modernizations were designed to make China a great economic power by the early Twenty first century. These reforms essentially stressed economic self-reliance. The People's Republic of China decided to accelerate the modernization process by stepping up the volume of foreign trade by opening up its markets, especially the purchase of machinery from Japan and the West. By participating in such export-led growth, China was able to speed up its economic development through foreign investment, a more open market, access to advanced technologies, and management experience. In practical terms this meant "electricity in the rural areas, industrial automation, a new economic outlook, and greatly enhanced defense strength."

**11.1.3. Repudiation of the Policies of Mao Tse-tung:** The culmination of Deng Xiaoping's re-ascent to power and the beginning of political, economic, social, and cultural reforms were achieved at the Third Plenum of the Eleventh National Party Congress Central Committee in December 1978. The Third Plenum is considered a major turning point in modern Chinese political history. At this historic Plenum the mistakes committed before and during the Cultural Revolution were 'corrected', and the 'two whatevers' policy, that is, 'support whatever policy decisions Chairman Mao Tse-tung made and follow whatever instructions Chairman Mao gave' was repudiated. The most important outcome of the Plenum was that the classic party line calling for protracted class struggle was officially exchanged for one promoting the Four Modernizations.

**11. 1. 4. The Ten Year Plan:** In February of 1978 Chairman Hua Guofeng revealed a ten year plan for the period 1976-1985. The Plan involved 120 projects consisting of: Iron and Steel-10 complexes, Nonferrous Metals-9 complexes, Oil and Gas-10 fields, Coal-8 mines, Electricity-30 power stations, Railraod-7 trunk lines, Water Transportation-5 harbours.

The turmoil that Mao Tse-tung and the Maoists imposed upon China can be seen as through the statistics on iron and steel production. In 1960 steel production was almost 19 million tons, up from 1.35 tons in 1952. But the Great Leap Forward caused production to fall back to 8 million tons in 1961. After recovering and reaching a peak of 25.5 million tons in 1973, leadership of the Gang of Four during the Cultural Revolution brought a fall to 21 million tons in 1976, a net gain of only 10 percent over the 1960 figure.

**11. 1. 5. Steel Industry:** The Ten-Year Plan called for an increase in steel production to 60 million tons per year by 1985 and to 180 million by 1999. The leadership didn't expect to achieve such gains

by homegrown development. Deng Xiaoping believed in foreign investment and the Chinese government entered into a \$14 billion contract with a German steel company to build a major steel complex in eastern Hebei province and a \$2 billion contract with a Japanese firm to build another on the outskirts of Shanghai. There were also proposals to build other plants at different locations.

**11. 1. 6. Coal and Electricity:** Major petroleum discoveries were made in the 1960s and the Ten-Year Plan called for investing \$60 billion in ten new oil and gas fields. China relied heavily on coal for energy and the Ten-Year Plan called for doubling coal production to 900 million tons per year through the creation of eight new mines. China at the time of the formulation of the Ten-Year Plan was relatively weak in the use of electrical power. The Ten-Year Plan called for the development of 20 hydroelectric power plants and 10 other types of power plants.

**11. 1. 7. Reforms in Agricultural Sector:** In 1977 China was still a predominantly agricultural economy but the government had not supported institutional and technological measures to increase productivity and, as a consequence, per capita production of grains had remained at 1955 levels. The Ten-Year Plan called for a \$33 billion investment in the mechanization of agriculture and improvement of irrigation. One important side-effect of this programme was that if it worked there would be 100 million workers who would be released from farming and for whom the government would have to make provisions for in other sectors. The institutional structure was modified to encourage higher production through individual initiative and more flexible production arrangements. Commune farmers were encouraged to pursue sidelines of production on small plots.

The Ten-Year Plan called for the modernization of its military but with China already spending 7 to 10 percent of its GDP on the military in 1978 a modernization called for in the Plan would cost an enormous \$300 billion.

**11. 1. 8. Problem of Capital:** Capital was definitely scarce at the beginning of the Ten-Year Plan. It was estimated that the Ten-Year Plan goals would cost between \$350 billion and \$630 billion in 1978 prices. The government had been relying very heavily upon the revenue it gained by requiring the sale of agricultural products to the State at artificially low prices and selling them at a higher price. But this policy did not encourage productivity in agriculture and agricultural development stagnated. The per capita output of grains, as stated previously, was not any higher in 1977 than it was in 1955. The State Enterprises, instead of being a source of profit for the State, required large subsidies necessitating the milking of agriculture.

For the Ten-Year Plan the government sought other sources of revenues. One source it tried to develop was tourism. Hotels and other tourist facilities were built and there was some success, but notably the vast majority of the tourists were overseas Chinese.

**11. 1. 9. Foreign Investment:** In desperation China turned to encouraging foreign investment as a way of financing the development projects. German and Japanese companies provided the capital for major projects in return for a share of the benefits.

China also reversed its policy concerning foreign loans. In December of 1978 China arranged a \$1.2 billion loan from a consortium of British banks and by mid-April China had received or arranged for \$10 billion in foreign loans.

**11. 1. 10. Shortage of Technical Personnel:** China in 1978 had a serious shortage of technical personnel. The Cultural Revolution had disrupted the system of higher education for about twelve years. Estimates of the total size of the technical and scientific workforce in China in the 1970's were in the neighborhood of sixty thousand. For a nation of one billion people sixty thousand is a miniscule amount. By the early 1980's the scientific and technical workforce had grown to about 400,000, a substantial increase but still a quite small amount for a nation of over one billion people. There was even more of a shortage of middle level technicians and skilled workers.

**11. 1. 11. Problems of Implementation of the Ten-Year Plan:** In the first year of the Ten-Year Plan the government began 100,000 projects which would cost in total \$40 billion. The total investment the government committed itself to in 1978 was about 36 percent of China's GDP. It was not possible to sustain this level of investment financially or technically.

The \$2 billion steel complex that a Japanese company was to build in the vicinity of Shanghai ran into major difficulties. The site chosen by the Chinese government planners was in swamp land on the edge of the Yangtze River. The swampy character of the land required hundreds of thousands of steel pilings be driven into the ground before the steel complex could be built. After construction started in 1979, it was discovered that the electrical power supply in the area was inadequate for the steel plant and the site was not accessible by the ships that were to bring iron ore from Australia and Brazil. The first stage of the projected \$2 billion complex cost \$5 billion. The government stopped construction on the second stage leaving the Japanese firm which had agreed to build the steel plant in financial difficulty.



The larger steel complex, costing \$14 billion, which the Chinese government contracted to be built in Hebei by a German company was also in difficulty. The site was found to be at risk for earthquakes. Another planned development was located in the city of Wuhan. It was to process raw steel into higher quality steel but it was found to require so much electricity that if it operated there would have been no power left for anything else in the province. But even if there had been adequate power the area could not supply an adequate amount of the raw steel for its operation.

**11. 1. 12. Revision of the Ten Year Plan:** By 1979 even official government sources like the newspaper Renmin Ribao (People's Daily) acknowledged that the initial phase of the Ten Year Plan was seriously flawed by lack of proper preparation which led to enormous wastes. Hua Guofeng announced in June of 1979 a period of adjustment, reconstruction, consolidation and improvement for the economy. Priorities were shifted, away from heavy industry toward agriculture and light industry. Planned investment in agriculture was increased from \$26 billion to \$59 billion. The Ten-Year Plan target for steel production was cut from 60 million tons to 45 million. Light manufacturing industries, particularly those that could earn foreign currency, were to be encouraged. Construction as well as heavy industry was cut back. But the cuts were not uniform, across-the-board cuts. The production goals for several key sectors were also revised.

Altogether 348 major projects in heavy industry were halted, including specifically projects in steel, machine production and chemicals. Over four thousand smaller such projects were also stopped. China's shortage of investment capital was worsened by the high cost of its 1979 invasion of Viet Nam.

**11.1. 13. Institutional and Structural Reorganization:** Generally the 1980's brought a relaxation of control by the Communist Party. Communes and enterprises were allowed to sell surplus production at prices above the government-set prices. Workers were allowed more freedom in making decisions concerning their own welfare. Enterprises were allowed to borrow funds and in special areas seek foreign joint-venture partners. Five Special Economic Zones with power to negotiate arrangements with foreign businesses were created. China tried to model this institutional change on the Yugoslavian and Romanian experiences which were thought to have successfully blended socialist and capitalist systems.

**11. 1. 14. Problem of Unemployment:** With relaxed control, more internal migration began to develop and China began to experience unemployment problem. Previously any surplus labour in the cities was forced to go to the countryside. This may have solved the problem of people being without a job but to put people in

unproductive or underproductive jobs may simply have hidden the unemployment.

**Check your Progress :**

1. Trace the origin of the programme of Four Modernizations.
2. What were the chief aims of Four Modernizations?
3. Enumerate the objectives of the Ten Year Plan(1976-85)
4. Point out the drawbacks of the Ten Year Plan (1976-85)

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## 11. 2. FREE MARKET ECONOMY AND GLOBALIZATION

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**11. 2. 1. Introduction:** In the early 1970's, the People's Republic of China was an insignificant participant in the world market for goods. The value of its exports and imports was less than \$15 billion, and it was only the 30th largest exporting country. China was also a negligible participant in world financial markets.

However, by the turn of the millennium, China had totally transformed its role in the world economy. In 2000, China's exports and imports exceeded \$200 billion, and China was the world's 10th largest exporter, lagging behind only the major industrial countries. It is important to understand the circumstances that brought about this transformation.

**11. 2. 2. Background of the Free Market Economy in China:** The history of modern China began in 1949, when a revolutionary communist movement captured control of the nation. Soon after the communist takeover China instituted a Soviet model of central planning with emphasis on rapid economic growth, particularly industrial growth. The state took over urban manufacturing industry, collectivized agriculture, eliminated household farming, and established compulsory production quotas.

**11. 2. 3. Departure from the Soviet Model:** In the late 1950's, China departed from the Soviet model and shifted from large-scale, capital-intensive industry to small-scale, labour-intensive industry scattered across the countryside. Little attention was paid

to linking individual reward to individual effort. Instead, a commitment to the success of the collective plans was relied on as the motivation for workers. This system proved to be an economic failure. Although manufacturing output rose following the reforms, product quality was low and production costs were high. Because China's agricultural output was insufficient to feed its people, China became a large importer of grains, vegetable oils, and cotton. As a result of this domestic economic deterioration, plant managers, scientists, engineers, and scholars, who favored material incentives and reform, were denounced and sent to work in the fields.

**11. 2. 4. Deng Xiaoping's Initiative:** After 1976, Deng Xiaoping and other communist party leaders were hoping that rapid economic growth would satisfy the Chinese people and prevent them from demanding political reforms. The post-Mao leadership clearly placed economic performance over ideological purity. To stimulate the stagnant industrial sector, which had been under state control since the end of the New Democracy era, they reduced bureaucratic controls over state industries and allowed local managers to have more say over prices, salaries, and quality control. Productivity was encouraged by permitting bonuses for extra effort, a policy that had been discouraged during the Cultural Revolution. The communist regime also tolerated the emergence of a small private sector. Unemployed youth were encouraged to set up restaurants, bicycle or radio repair shops, and handicraft shops on their own initiative.

**11. 2. 5. Example of the Neighbours:** By the 1970's, China could see its once-poor neighbours such as Japan, Singapore, Taiwan, and South Korea-enjoying extraordinary growth of prosperity. This led to China's 'marketizing' its economy through small, step-by-step changes to minimize economic disruption and political opposition. In agriculture and industry, reforms were made to increase the role of the producing unit, to increase individual incentives, and to reduce the role of state planners. Most goods were sold for market-determined, not state-controlled-prices. Greater competition was allowed both between new firms and between new firms and state firms. By the year 2000, non-state firms manufactured about 75 per cent of China's industrial output. Moreover, China opened its economy to foreign investment and joint ventures. The Chinese government's monopoly over foreign trade was also disbanded. In its place, economic zones were established in which firms could keep foreign exchange earnings and hire and fire workers.

**11. 2. 6. Need for Further Reforms:** At the turn of the millennium, China had made all of the easy economic adjustments in its transition toward capitalism. The farmers were allowed to sell their

own produce and the doors of China were opened to foreign investors and salespeople. However, there were still other areas where reforms were necessary: (1) there was a need of massive restructuring of state-owned industries, which were losing money; (2) a number of bankrupt state banks had to be cleaned up; (3) a social security system had to be created in a society that once guaranteed a job for life; and (4) there was a need for the establishment of a monetary system with a central bank free of Communist Party or government control.

If China were to shut down money-losing enterprises, millions of workers would be laid off with no benefits. Their addition to the already existing over 100 million workers already adrift in China could create serious socio-economic problems.

**11. 2. 7. Lack of Political Freedom:** Although China has dismantled much of its centrally planned economy and has permitted free enterprise to replace it, political freedoms have not increased. The Chinese government's use of military force to end a pro-democracy demonstration in Beijing's Tiananmen Square in 1989, which led to loss of life, manifested the Communist Party's determination to maintain its political power. China's evolution toward capitalism had thus consisted of expanded use of market forces under a communist political system.

**11. 2. 8. Comparison Between China and Other East Asian Economies:** Important differences existed between China and the other East Asian economies. Public ownership and the share of public investment were much higher in China than in other East Asian economies. A significant share of China's state-owned enterprises had required government subsidies to remain in existence. Also, China had been more dependent on foreign capital to generate exports of manufactured products than other East Asian economies. Foreign-owned firms, or foreign-owned firms having joint ventures with Chinese firms, produced most of China's manufactured exports. A large portion of Chinese industry was thus not participating in China's export expansion. Finally, China was characterized by substantial income inequalities, especially between urban and rural living standards.

Concerning international trade, China had followed a pattern consistent with the principle of comparative advantage. On the export side, China had supplied a growing share of the world's demand for relatively inexpensive sporting goods, toys, footwear, garments, and textiles. These goods embody labour-intensive production methods and reflect China's abundance of labour. On the import side, China was a growing market for machinery, transportation equipment, and other capital goods that require higher levels of technologies than China can produce domestically.

Most of China's economic expansion since 1978 had been driven by rapid growth in exports and investment spending.

**11. 2. 9. Labour-intensive Economy:** China had been the most poorly endowed with land except for Singapore. Therefore, China's specialization in labour-intensive manufacturing relative to agriculture was expected to be the greatest. This might result in China's importing food and moving into manufacturing exports to feed and generate employment for an expanding population. Its high savings rate allows the buildup of capital necessary to make the transition. At the same time, China will likely lose market shares in primary products.

What manufactured goods China exported will also depend on the quality of the labour force. With more people educated up to the secondary-school level than to the tertiary level, and with low capital per worker, China is more likely to emphasize low-skilled manufactures and light industry. With its weaker higher-education base, China is unlikely to emerge as a major source of knowledge-based and complementary skilled-labour products.

**11. 2. 10. China's Failure to Protect US Intellectual Property:** Enforcement of laws to protect intellectual property rights of foreigners has been a problem in China. Among the largest and most obvious offenders in China have been factories producing CDs, audiocassettes, videos, and video games.

Although China passed laws in 1991 that were supposed to protect intellectual property rights, enforcement of the laws has been selective. National copyright offices, located in China's provinces, have often lacked authority to take effective action against bootleggers. Also, the courts have been reluctant to issue substantial judgments in civil cases against Chinese defendants or criminal convictions for major copyright infringers. Furthermore, factories that make pirated goods have often been owned, or run by, powerful members of the provincial governments who hold themselves above the law. These factors have led to U.S. threats of trade sanctions unless China enforces its laws to protect intellectual property rights.

Responding to U.S. pressure, the Chinese government has agreed to improve its protection of intellectual property rights by establishing anti-piracy task forces and stepping up raids on retail establishments; inspecting factories alleged by the United States to be producing pirated goods and imposing penalties against factories caught pirating intellectual property; and opening its market for audiovisual and published products, and making the censorship process more transparent. In spite of these pledges, there have been numerous U.S. complaints over the ineffective

enforcement of the intellectual property rights by the Chinese government.

**11. 2. 11. *Permanent Normal Trade Relations with U.S.:*** In 1979, the United States and China signed a bilateral trade agreement providing mutual normal trade relations. As a non-market-economy country, China's normal trade relation status was reviewed each year. Renewal of this status was routine throughout the 1980's, given China's willingness to allow as many as 10 million of its people to immigrate to the United States.

However, since the suppression of the Tiananmen Square demonstrations in 1989, renewal of China's normal trade relation status has been controversial. Widespread concern has existed about China's treatment of dissidents and political prisoners. China has also been accused of using prison labour to produce and export products including diesel engines, tea, socks, machine presses etc. Importing such products is illegal under U.S. trade law. Other concerns have involved China's proliferation of weapons, its failure to enforce intellectual property rights, and the restrictions that it applies to imports from the United States and other countries.

These concerns have resulted in proposals that the United States use its economic pressure to promote improvements in China's policies in areas such as human rights, trade, and weapons non-proliferation. Proponents of these proposals maintain that the United States should not extend normal trade relation status to China unless China improves its behavior in these areas.

As one of China's largest export markets, the United States purchases almost one-third of its exports. Revoking U.S. normal trade relation status for China would make duties on Chinese products extremely high. For example, tariffs on toys would increase from 6.8 to 70 per cent, those on cotton T-shirts would increase from 21 to 90 percent, and those on silk apparel would increase from 6.9 per cent to 65 per cent. Such tariff increases would diminish China's ability to provide certain products to the U.S. market at competitive prices. It is believed that these steps would give the Chinese incentive to become a responsible member of the world community.

Not everyone agrees that trade sanctions are effective devices to force progress on human rights and democracy in China. U.S. business leaders fear potential economic losses were China to retaliate against a U.S. withdrawal of normal trade relations by raising its own tariffs or taking other measures to limit U.S. access to the Chinese market. Such retaliation would especially hurt U.S. producers of aircraft, power stations, machine tools, and

communications systems. Revoking China's normal trade relation status would also hurt U.S. retailers relying on Chinese goods such as sporting goods, textiles, etc. for their livelihood, and employees of these enterprises would stand to lose their jobs. Finally, it is questionable whether trade sanctions would be effective in forcing a large, diversified nation such as China to modify its political behavior.

Supporters of granting normal trade relations status to China also contend that it promotes improving human rights. This is because increased foreign trade contributes to China's integration into the world community; as the Chinese economy grows and becomes increasingly decentralized, a new business society develops that is independent of the state. Moreover, with greater wealth and access to foreign goods and modern telecommunications, Chinese citizens are increasingly exposed to a broader set of ideas, undermining the government's monopoly on information. The result is a diffusion of economic power and information, creating the pre-conditions for a civil society, and with it more pluralistic forms of governance and a greater respect for human life.

A key question was whether to grant China normal trade relations on a permanent basis or subject the status to annual reviews. Proponents of permanent normal trade relations maintained that lasting status would provide China the stability needed to integrate into the world community. However, opponents argued that annual reviews of normal trade relations were necessary to pressure China on human rights, the environment, and labor conditions.

In 1999, the United States and China reached a bilateral trade agreement that resulted in China's agreeing to cut tariffs and remove non-tariff barriers on trade in agriculture, industrial products and services; eliminate various restrictions on foreign investment in China; and accept U.S. use of safeguard measures to temporarily guard against possible import surges that might harm certain U.S. industries, such as textiles. This agreement led to the U.S. government's considering whether to permanently normalize trade relations with China. After intense debate, the U.S. government granted permanent normal trade relation status to China in 2000.

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### **11. 3. CHINA AND THE WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION**

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An important goal of the economic reforms that were initiated by the Chinese government in the late 1970's was to open the economy to international trade and investment flows. To further the policy of opening, the Chinese government applied to become a member of the World Trade Organization (WTO). China has made

its accession to the WTO a major priority for a number of reasons: (1) it would represent international recognition of China's growing economic power; (2) it would enable China to play a major role in the development of new international rules on trade in the WTO; (3) it would give China access to the dispute-resolution process in the WTO, reducing the threat of unilaterally imposed restrictions on Chinese exports; and (4) it would make it easier for reformers in China to push for liberalization policies if they could argue that such steps are necessary to fulfill China's international obligations.

Most analysts felt that it was important to include such a major trading nation in the multilateral trading system. Allowing China to become a member of the WTO, they maintained, would further open China's economy to imports and ensure that Chinese exporters operate by the rules of the multilateral system. However, some analysts maintained that China's trade regime, which is heavily regulated by the central government, is incompatible with the multilateral system. The principles that underlie the WTO—nondiscrimination, national treatment, and adherence to negotiated tariff rates at fixed maximum levels—imply trade based on market forces rather than central planning in which government directly regulates what is produced, exported, and imported. Therefore, in the past, the centrally planned economic systems of China and other non-market-economy nations have been considered incompatible with the WTO. In other words in order to become a member of the WTO, China must change many laws, institutions, and policies to bring them into conformity with international trade rules. However, there was also an apprehension that placing too many conditions on China's accession could lead to the exclusion of China, and thus a significant part of world trade, from the discipline of multilateral rules.

For 30 years, the United States has worked to bring China more fully into the community of nations and to promote both economic development and a more liberal society. The policy has been working. Anyone who saw China in the early 1980's and compared it with the turn of the millennium must be amazed. Drab Mao suits and bicycles have transformed into bright fashions and traffic jams; the freedom and the range of individual choices available to the average citizen have increased dramatically.

China's transition, however, is far from complete. Despite recent reforms intended to encourage the remaining state-owned firms to operate on a commercial basis, many of them are either making no profits or losing money. The central government has been reluctant to allow bankruptcies because of fear that unemployment may lead to unrest. Consequently, the state-owned firms are supported with subsidies from the state budget. Moreover, while the reforms have allowed a greater role for market prices, the government continues



to play a role in fixing some prices. Furthermore, China lacks the kind of legal system necessary to support a market economy, a shortcoming that has created uncertainty in the enforcement of contracts and an environment conducive to corruption and criminal influence in business.

Another important issue concerning China's application for WTO membership is the pace at which China will conform to WTO laws. The measures required to gain membership will adversely affect domestic Chinese firms that currently rely on trade protection and government subsidies to survive. As a result, China wants WTO status as a developing economy and some flexibility in the time it will take to conform to WTO standards. The United States, however, does not view China as a typical developing nation, given its status as one of the world's major exporters, and thus presses for a relatively short time period for substantial trade liberalization.

The conclusion of the U.S.-China bilateral trade agreement of 1999 and the U.S. government's decision in 2000 to permanently normalize trade relations with China gave new momentum towards China's accession to the WTO. It was partly due to the fact that the United States plays an important role in the WTO, and because Chinese officials in the past used to complain that the U.S. position on China's accession to WTO was the main obstacle to China's admission. China's accession into the WTO was also supported by a bilateral trade agreement reached with China and the European Union in 2000. Final approval of China's accession would require China to complete talks with the WTO over the nature of its trade regime, before a final vote could be taken in the WTO on China's accession.

Accession to the WTO requires numerous policy changes in China, including significant reductions in China's tariff and non-tariff barriers that put restrictions on U.S. exports to China, the opening up of China's service sector, further protection of intellectual property rights, and the elimination of many barriers to trade in agricultural products. It is believed that China's accession to WTO would benefit many sectors of the U.S. economy, as China would remove certain trade barriers on such articles as agricultural produce, beverages, chemicals, plastics, electronic equipment, etc. However, on the other hand, trade liberalization would promote Chinese economy because of further investment in China, thereby expanding production. Also China would benefit from increased imports of capital goods, which would improve productivity. Therefore, some U.S. industries would lose ground to imports of Chinese goods such as, footwear, wearing apparel, wood products, and other light manufacturers. In general, analysts concluded that an agreement with China would provide positive but minor benefits for the U.S. economy.

China's reentry onto the world stage brought problems as well as achievements. As China's manufacturing sector became increasingly integrated into the global economy, the outside world put greater pressure on Chinese business and government officials to conform more closely to international standards of behaviour. Violations of human rights, particularly after the Tiananmen massacre in 1989, frequently threatened to disrupt economic and diplomatic relations between the United States and China. The brutal treatment of dissidents and Tibetan nationalists repeatedly alienated international opinion. Foreigners claimed, with irrefutable evidence that many Chinese companies exported products made by prison labour. Protection of intellectual property rights emerged as a major source of friction between China and foreign governments who alleged that only a small fraction of the computer software, music recordings, and videotapes sold in China were authorized. The huge trade deficit between the United States and China produced frequent charges that China excluded American products from the Chinese market. One former American ambassador accused China of "trying to export like a capitalist and import like a communist."

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#### **11 .4. CONCLUSION**

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The four Modernization were adopted by China under the leadership of Deng Xioping to make China a great economic power. This was a clear break way from the policies of Mao Tse-tung. The Chinese government also adopted the Ten Year Plan to make China industrially a stronger power before the turn of the twenty first century reaching reforms were introduced in every aspect of the Chinese economic life and foreign investment was invited to build and operate large scale industries especially steel industry. However, china faced certain problems in the implementation of the Ten year Plan which has to be revised later. There was also institutional and structural reorganization in China. The growing economy of China gradually led to the development of free market economy due to the impact of globalization. Deng Xiaoping gave up the Soviet model of free market economic growth and adopted the capitalistic system by introducing various reforms. The Chinese economy became labour intensive. The Chinese government took the advantage of the normalization of relationship between herself and the West to push the Chinese commodities in the world market. Due to the efforts of Deng Xiaoping, China became one of the leading economic power not only in Asia but in the world.

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### 11.5. CHECK OUR PROGRESS

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5. What was the background of the free market economy in China?
6. Point out the initiatives taken by Deng Xiaoping in developing free market economy in China.
7. Give an account of the normalization of trade relation between China and the US.
8. Write a note on China and the WTO.

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### 11.6. QUESTIONS

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1. Trace the circumstances that led to the introduction of Four Modernizations in China.
2. Discuss the programme of Four Modernizations introduced by Deng Xiaoping in China.
3. Give an account of the development of Free Market Economy in China.
4. How globalization led to the emergence of Free Market Economy in China?
5. Write short notes on the following:
  - (a) Four Modernizations
  - (b) Ten Year Plan (1976-85)
  - (c) China and WTO



## CHINA'S DEFENCE AND FOREIGN POLICY-I

### Outline of the Topic

- 12.0 Objectives
- 12.1 China's World View
- 12.2 China's Defence Policy
- 12.3 China's Relation with USA
- 12.4 Conclusion
- 12.5 Check your Progress
- 12.6 Broad Questions.

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### 12.0 OBJECTIVES

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1. *To understand the world view of China based on her historical past.*
2. *To analyze China's defence policy and study the importance of the Chinese military in the defence of the country.*
3. *To trace the Sino-US relations and understand their significance.*

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### 12. 2. CHINA'S WORLD VIEW

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**12. 1. 1. Introduction:** Since ancient times China had been following a policy of isolationism. The Chinese had been following a unique culture of their own being surrounded by mountains, seas and rivers. The Chinese had been proud of their own culture and considered it superior to other cultures of the world including that of Europe. For centuries the Chinese lived an isolated and self-reliant life. The contact with the West did have a profound influence on the world view of China.

**12. 1. 2. Historical Legacy:** China's long and rich history as the world's oldest continuous civilization has affected Chinese foreign relations in various ways. For centuries the Chinese empire enjoyed basically unchallenged greatness and self-sufficiency. China saw itself as the cultural center of the universe, a view reflected in the concept of the Middle Kingdom. For the most part, it viewed non-Chinese peoples as uncivilized barbarians. Although China was occasionally overrun and ruled by these 'barbarians,' as during the Yuan (1279- 1368) and Manchu (1644-1911) dynasties, the non-Chinese usually retained enough Chinese institutions to maintain a continuity of tradition.

**12. 1. 3. Belief in Sino Centrism:** Because the Chinese emperor was considered the ruler of all mankind by virtue of his innate superiority, relations with other states or entities were tributary, rather than state-to-state relations between equals. Traditionally, there was no equivalent of a foreign ministry; foreign relations included such activities as tributary missions to the emperor made by countries seeking trade with China and Chinese military expeditions against neighboring barbarians to keep them outside China's borders. The first Europeans who sought trade with China, beginning in the sixteenth century, were received as tributary missions and had to conform to the formalities and rituals of the tribute system at the Chinese court. China's view of itself as the undisputed center of civilization—a phenomenon called 'Sino centrism', remained basically unchanged until the nineteenth century, when the Manchu dynasty began to deteriorate under Western pressure.

**12. 1. 4. Policy of 'Leaning to One Side':** A traditional concept related to China's view of itself as the Middle Kingdom that continues to have relevance is the idea of 'using barbarians to control barbarians.' In modern times, this practice has taken the form of using relations with one foreign power as a counterweight to relations with another. Two examples are China's policy of 'leaning to one side' in the Sino-Soviet alliance of the 1950s for support against the United States and Beijing's rapprochement with the United States in the 1970s to counteract the Soviet threat China perceived at the time. China's strong desire for sovereignty and independence of action, however, seems to have made Chinese alliances or quasi-alliances short-lived.

**12. 1. 5. Tendency Towards Isolationism:** Another effect of China's historical legacy is its tendency toward isolationism and ambivalence about opening up to the outside world. In imperial times, China's foreign relations varied from dynasty to dynasty, from cosmopolitan periods like the Tang dynasty (A.D. 618-907) to isolationist periods such as the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), when few foreigners were allowed in the country. Overall, the Sino-centric worldview and China's history of centuries of self-sufficiency favoured isolation, which contributed to China's difficulty when confronted by expansionist Western powers in the nineteenth century. The debate over self-reliance and possible corruption by foreign influences or opening up to the outside world in order to modernize more quickly has continued for over a century and was still an issue in the late 1980s.

**12. 1. 6. Change in Chinese World View:** During her imperial period, China did not acknowledge any other nation as her equal. Until the establishment of the Communist government in 1949, China did not link her destiny with any other country. With the

growth of her economy and power, the Chinese leaders have begun looking at the world in the manner of the bygone Celestial Empire exercising influence in her part of the world. The Chinese have once again developed the feeling that once again China is the Middle Kingdom with a row of peripheral countries gladly acknowledging her superiority and feeding at the fount of Chinese civilization. She expects that her neighbours should submit to her transforming influence. Chinese invasion of China in 1962 and Vietnam in 1979 can be viewed as examples of this line of thinking. In order to understand the foreign policy of China, it is necessary to understand her 'world view'. The Chinese, like the Marxists, generally believe in world history. They believe that the many desperate events that characterize the day-to-day reality of world affairs are manifestations of a fundamental historical process which links the entire world into an interconnected whole. They believe that this process can be rationally analyzed, and long range trends in power relationships can be inferred from it. Moreover, they believe that neither harmony nor balance but struggle is the basic condition of mankind. In that struggle there always is a revolutionary 'left', a reactionary 'right', and a 'center' which is between the two. The Chinese see themselves as part of the revolutionary 'left'. The Chinese foreign policy changed as the circumstances relating to her security, nationalism and national economic needs changed. Thus, Chinese world view changed as her foreign policy changed.

**12. 1. 7. *Distancing Between Two Power-Blocks:*** The Chinese did not want to be the part of any of the two ideologically distinct power blocks that had developed since the end of the Second World War. From 1949 to 1956 China did believe that she and Russia belonged to the socialist block and was opposed to the capitalist block of the West headed by the United States. However, the break up between the two communist states that had begun since 1956 ultimately separated them in 1966, forcing China to adopt the policy of self-reliance. Since 1970s China once again broke its isolationist stance and improved her relations with the United States. In spite of her new equations, China believed in her own strength and did not want to belong to any of the two power blocks, but instead wanted to create her own block.

**12. 1. 8. *Changing Needs-Change of Friends:*** Chinese foreign relations and world view were directly related to her changing needs. During the initial period of its existence, the Chinese Communist government depended on Soviet Russia for the development of her industries. China sent young people to Russia to be trained as technicians to run the new industries. However, with the break up with Russia and improved relations with the United States, the Chinese government had been sending her young people to the United States for training in modern

technology. China has completely reversed her policy with regard to Japan, once her worst enemy in Asia. She had developed better relations and had signed a pact of friendship as he needed Japanese technology to refine her crude oil. The Chinese foreign policy has undergone a revolution since 1966, more so after she became a member of the UNO in 1972. Her former close ally Russia had become her bitterest enemy, and the United States, formerly her bitterest enemy, has become a friend. This clearly indicates the changing approach of China's world view and change in her foreign policy direction.

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## 12. 2. CHINA'S DEFENCE POLICY

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**12. 2. 1. Aim of China's Defence Policy:** The Chinese government firmly pursued a national defence policy that was defensive in nature. The Constitution of the People's Republic of China clearly specifies the tasks of the armed forces of China as being to consolidate national defense, resist aggression, defend the motherland, safeguard the people's peaceful labour, participate in national construction and strive to serve the people. China's state interests, social system, foreign policy and historical and cultural traditions postulate that China would inevitably adopt such a national defense policy.

China had always attached primary importance to safeguarding the state's sovereignty, unity, territorial integrity and security. Following the Opium War in 1840, China was gradually reduced to a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country, and the Chinese nation was subject to the imperialist powers' invasion, oppression, bullying and humiliation time and time again. After a protracted, persistent and heroic struggle, the Chinese people won the independence for their country and the emancipation of the nation. Thus, they held dear their hard-earned right to independence. Defending the motherland, resisting aggression, safeguarding unity and opposing split were the starting point and underpinning of China's defense policy.

**12. 2. 2. Subordination of Defence to Economic Construction:** China being at the primary stage of socialism, the fundamental task of the state was to concentrate its strength on the socialist modernization program. The situation in which China had a large population, a poor foundation, uneven regional development and underdeveloped productive forces would continue for a comparatively long period of time to come. China was confronted with the extremely heavy task of economic construction, so the work in defence was subordinated to and in the service of the nation's overall economic construction.

The development of China required an environment of long-term international peace, especially a favourable peripheral environment.

China unswervingly pursued an independent foreign policy of peace, advocated handling international affairs in light of the fundamental interests of the Chinese and other people of the world, and refrained from forming alliances with any big power or any group of countries. China believed that conflicts and disputes among countries should be solved in a peaceful way through consultation, and opposed the threat or use of force, hegemonism and power politics. China advocated establishing a new fair and rational international political and economic order, and developing relations of friendship and cooperation with all countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence

**12. 2. 3. Defence Policy Linked to Historical and Cultural**

**Tradition:** The defensive nature of China's national defense policy also sprang from the country's historical and cultural traditions. China had been a country with 5,000 years of civilization, and a peace-loving tradition. Ancient Chinese thinkers advocated "associating with benevolent gentlemen and befriending good neighbors," which showed that throughout history the Chinese people had longed for peace in the world and for relations of friendship with the people of other countries. In military affairs, this maxim meant solving disputes by non-military means, being wary of war and strategically gaining mastery by striking only after the enemy has struck. During the course of several thousand years, loving peace, stressing defense, seeking unification, promoting national unity, and jointly resisting foreign aggression had always been the main ideas of China's defense concept. The defense policy of New China had carried forward and developed such excellent Chinese historical and cultural traditions.

**Check your progress:**

1. Trace the historical legacy of the Chinese World View.
2. Explain the Chinese policy of 'Learning to one side'.
3. Examine the change of the world view of China in post-Mao Tse-tung era.
4. Enumerate the aims of China's defence policy.

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## 12. 3. CHINA'S RELATIONS WITH USA

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**12. 3. 1. Introduction:** China's relations with USA can be traced to the late nineteenth century. During the rule of the Manchu dynasty, the major world powers, France, England, Germany, Italy, Japan, and Russia, began carving out spheres of influence amongst themselves in China. In order to prevent the division of China into exclusive spheres of influence by the major powers, the United States proposed the 'Open Door Policy' in China. The Open Door Policy was challenged when Russia encroached upon Manchuria in the late 1890s which eventually led to the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05). However, the biggest setback to the Open Door Policy came in 1931, when Japan invaded and occupied Manchuria, setting up the puppet state of Manchukuo. The Americans, along with other countries, strongly condemned the action but did little at the time to stop it.

The outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937 saw aid flow into the Republic of China led by Chiang Kai-shek from the United States under President Franklin D. Roosevelt. A series of Neutrality Acts had been passed in the United States with the support of isolationists that forbade American aid to countries at war. However, since the Second Sino-Japanese War was undeclared, Roosevelt denied that a state of war existed in China and proceeded to send aid to Chiang.

China formally declared war on Japan in 1941 following the Japanese Attack on Pearl Harbour, which brought the Americans into World War II. Massive amounts of aid were given by the Roosevelt administration to Chiang Kai-shek's beleaguered government. However, a perception grew that Chiang's government was unable or incapable to effectively resist the Japanese, or that he preferred to focus more on defeating the Chinese Communist Party under Mao Tse-tung. The Nationalists and the Communists had been in conflict for years.

After World War II ended in 1945, the obvious hostility between the Nationalists and the Communists exploded into open civil war. General Douglas MacArthur directed the military forces under Chiang Kai-shek to go to the island of Taiwan to accept the surrender of Japanese troops, thus beginning the military occupation of Taiwan. American general George C. Marshall tried to broker a truce between the Nationalists and the Communists in 1946, but the attempt ended in a failure. The Nationalist cause was lost and in 1949 the Communists emerged victorious and drove the Nationalists from the Chinese mainland into Taiwan and other islands. Mao Tse-tung established the People's Republic of China

on the mainland, while the Nationalist government still remains on Taiwan and other islands.

**12. 3. 2. *Non-recognition of the People's Republic of China by the US:*** For 30 years after its founding, the United States did not formally recognize the People's Republic of China. Instead, it maintained diplomatic relations with the Nationalist government of China also known as the Republic of China (Taiwan), and recognized it as the sole legitimate government of all China.

As the People's Liberation Army moved south to complete the communist conquest of mainland China in 1949, the American embassy followed the Republic of China government headed by Chiang Kai-shek to Taipei later that year. U.S. consular officials remained in mainland China. However, the Nationalist Government was hostile to this official American presence, and all U.S. personnel were withdrawn from the mainland in early 1950.

**12. 3. 3. *Sino-US Relations During the Korean War:*** The hope of normalizing relations between the US and People's republic of China ended when the US and Nationalist government forces fought directly against each other in the Korean War starting on 1<sup>st</sup> November 1950. In response to the Soviet-backed North Korean invasion of South Korea, the United Nations Security Council was convened and passed the UNSC Resolution 82 condemning the North Korean aggression unanimously. The resolution was adopted mainly because the Soviet Union, a veto-wielding power, had been boycotting proceedings since January, in protest that the Republic of China (Taiwan) and not the People's Republic of China held a permanent seat on the council. Once the American-led UN forces counter-attacked and pushed the invading North Korean Army back past the North/South border at the 38th parallel and further into the north and began to approach the Yalu River on the Sino-Korea border, the People's Republic of China undertook a massive intervention into the conflict on the side of the Communists. Two years of continued and often locally bitter fighting ended in an overall stalemate that ensued while negotiations dragged on, until a cease-fire was agreed to on the 27 July 1953. The war officially had not ended, and the Korean issue had an important role in Sino-American relations ever since. The entry of the Chinese in the Korean War caused a shift in US policy toward Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist government from marginal support to full blown defense of Taiwan from any aggression by the People's Republic of China.

**12. 3. 4. *Sino-US Relations During the Vietnam War:*** The People's Republic of China's involvement in the Vietnam War began in 1949, when the Communists took over the country. The Communist Party of China provided material and technical support to the Vietnamese Communists. In the summer of 1962, Mao Tse-

tung agreed to supply Hanoi with 90,000 rifles and guns free of charge. China also sent anti-aircraft units and engineering battalions to North Vietnam to repair the damage caused by American bombing, rebuild roads and railroads, and to perform other engineering work. This freed North Vietnamese army units for fight in the South. Between 1965 and 1970, over 320,000 Chinese soldiers fought the Americans along side the North Vietnamese Army.

**12. 3. 5. China Becomes a Nuclear Power:** The United States continued to work to prevent the People's Republic of China from taking Nationalist China's (Taiwan) seat in the United Nations and encouraged its allies not to deal with the People's Republic of China. The United States placed an embargo on trading with the People's Republic of China, and encouraged allies to follow it. The People's Republic of China developed nuclear weapons in 1964 and, as later declassified documents revealed, President Johnson considered preemptive attacks to halt its nuclear programme. Ultimately he decided the measure was too risky and it was abandoned.

Despite this official non-recognition of the People's Republic of China, beginning in 1954 and continuing until 1970, the United States and the People's Republic of China held 136 meetings at the ambassadorial level, first in Geneva and later in Warsaw.

**12. 3. 6. Rapprochement Between China and the US:** Both the People's Republic of China and the US had issued feelers to try to improve relations between the two major powers. This became an especially important concern for the People's Republic of China after the Sino-Soviet border clashes of 1969. The People's Republic of China was diplomatically isolated and the leadership came to believe that improved relations with the United States would be a useful counterbalance to the Soviet threat. Chou En-lai, the Premier and foreign minister of China, was at the forefront of this effort.

In the United States, some were of the opinion that excluding Communist China from the world stage would be harmful for the interest of the US. Some Americans hoped that improved relations with the People's Republic of China could help them in Southeast Asia to deal with Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos and that if the People's Republic of China would align with the US it would mean a major redistribution of global power against the Soviet Union. It was also postulated that mainland China's market of over a billion consumers could be a boon to American business.

One of the American political figures most interested in the People's Republic of China was Mike Mansfield, the Democratic

Senate Majority Leader. He was contacted by the People's Republic of China and they proposed a meeting. Mansfield passed the note to the State Department and President Richard Nixon.

**12. 3. 7. President Nixon's Interest in Asia:** President Richard Nixon had long been interested in Asia. His National Security Advisor, Henry Kissinger believed approaching the People's Republic of China would be valuable. Nixon also weighed the domestic political concerns. He hoped that improved relations with China could help him greatly in the 1972 American presidential election. He also worried immensely that one of the Democrats would preempt him and go to the People's Republic of China before he had the opportunity. Meanwhile, communications were ongoing between the People's Republic of China and American leadership through the intermediaries of Pakistan and Romania.

**12. 3. 8. The Ping-Pong Diplomacy:** In 1969, the United States, thus, initiated measures to relax trade restrictions and other impediments to bilateral contact. China responded favourably to these overtures of the US. However, the rapprochement process was stalled by US actions in Indochina until on 6 April, 1971 the young American ping pong player, Glenn Cowan, who had missed his U.S. team bus was waved by a Chinese table tennis player onto the bus of the Chinese team at the 31st World Table Tennis Championship in Nagoya, Japan. Cowan spoke with the Chinese players in a friendly fashion, and the Chinese player, Zhuang Zedong, a three-time World Men's Singles Champion, presented him with a silk-screen portrait of the famous Huangshan Mountains. While this had been a purely spontaneous gesture of friendship between two athletes, China chose to treat it as an officially sanctioned outreach.

The friendly contact between Zhuang Zedong and Glenn Cowan, as well as the photograph of the two players in Dacankao, had an impact on Mao Tse-tung's decision making. He had earlier decided not to invite the US team along with teams of other Western countries that had been invited to play in China. Later known as the 'Ping Pong Diplomacy', China responded by inviting the American ping pong team to tour mainland China. The Americans agreed and on April 10, 1971 the athletes became the first Americans to officially visit China since the establishment of the Communist regime in China in 1949.

**12. 3. 9. Kissinger's Secret Visit to China:** In July 1971 Henry Kissinger, while on a trip to Pakistan, feigned illness and did not appear in public for a day. He was actually on a top-secret mission to Beijing to open relations with the government of the People's Republic of China. On 15 July, 1971, President Richard Nixon

revealed the mission to the world and that he had been invited to visit China and that he had accepted the invitation.

**12. 3. 10. Reaction to the Possible Visit of Nixon to China:** The announcement of a possible visit of Nixon to China caused immediate shock around the world. In the United States, some of the most hard-line anti-communists spoke against the decision. However, public opinion in the United States supported the move and Nixon's popularity increased which was evident from the jump in the popularity polls.

Within China there was also opposition from left-wing elements to the possible visit of Nixon to China. Lin Biao, the head of the military was the leading Communist leader who expressed reservation at the developing rapprochement between China and the United States. Lin Biao, however, died in a mysterious plane crash over Mongolia while trying to defect to the Soviet Union, silencing most internal dissent over the move.

Internationally, the reactions varied. The Soviets were immensely concerned that two major enemies seemed to have resolved their differences, and the new world alignment contributed significantly to the policy of détente.

America's European allies and Canada were pleased by the initiative, especially since many of them had already recognized the People's Republic of China. In Asia, the reaction was far more mixed. Japan was extremely annoyed that it had not been told of the announcement until fifteen minutes before it had been made, and feared that the Americans were abandoning them in favour of China. A short time later, Japan also recognized the People's Republic of China and would commit to substantial trade with the continental power. South Korea and South Vietnam were both concerned that peace between the United States and China could mean an end to support for them against their Communist enemies. Throughout the period of rapprochement both these states had to be regularly assured that they would not be abandoned.

**12. 3. 11. Nixon's Visit to China:** From 21 February to 28 February, 1972, President Richard Nixon travelled to Beijing, Hangzhou, and Shanghai. At the conclusion of his trip, the United States and China issued the Shanghai Communiqué, a statement of their respective foreign policy views. In the Communiqué, both nations pledged to work toward the full normalization of diplomatic relations. The United States acknowledged the position of the People's Republic of China that all Chinese on both sides of the Taiwan Strait maintain that there is only one China and that Taiwan is part of China. The statement enabled the United States and China to temporarily set aside the "crucial question (Taiwan)

obstructing the normalization of relations" and to open trade and other contacts.

**12. 3. 12. Consequences of the Rapprochement:** The rapprochement with the United States benefited China immensely and greatly increased its security during the rest of the Cold War. It has been argued that the United States, on the other hand, saw fewer benefits than it had hoped for. China continued to heavily support North Vietnam in the Vietnam War and also backed the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia. However, eventually, China's suspicion of Vietnam's motives would lead to a break in Sino-Vietnamese cooperation and, upon the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia in 1979, the Sino-Vietnamese War. Both China and the United States would back combatants in Africa against Soviet and Cuban supported movements. The economic benefits of normalization were slow as it would take decades for American products to penetrate the vast Chinese market. While Nixon's China policy is regarded by many as the highlight of his presidency, others such as William Bundy, have argued that it provided very little benefit to the United States.

**12. 3. 13. Formal Diplomatic Relations:** In May 1973, an effort to establish formal diplomatic relations between China and the United States was made. In this direction the US and China established the United States Liaison Office (USLO) in Beijing and a counterpart Chinese office in Washington, DC. In the years between 1973 and 1978, such distinguished Americans as David K. E. Bruce, George H. W. Bush, Thomas S. Gates, and Leonard Woodcock served as chiefs of the USLO with the personal rank of Ambassador.

In an effort to strengthen the relations between the United States and China, the US President, Gerald Ford visited China in 1975 and reaffirmed the interest of the United States in normalizing relations with Beijing. Shortly after taking office in 1977, President Jimmy Carter again reaffirmed the goals of the Shanghai Communiqué. The United States and the People's Republic of China announced on 15 December 1978 that the two governments would establish diplomatic relations on 1 January , 1979.

**12. 3. 14. Recognition of 'One China':** In the Joint Communiqué on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations dated 1 January, 1979, the United States transferred diplomatic recognition from Taipei to Beijing. The US reiterated the Shanghai Communiqué's acknowledgment of the Chinese position that there is only one China and that Taiwan is a part of China. Beijing also acknowledged that the American people would continue to carry on commercial, cultural, and other unofficial contacts with the people of Taiwan. The Taiwan Relations Act made the necessary changes

in US domestic law to permit such unofficial relations with Taiwan to flourish.

**12. 3. 15. Visit of Deng Xiaoping to the US:** Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping's January 1979 visit to Washington, DC initiated a series of important high-level exchanges, which continued until the spring of 1989. This resulted in many bilateral agreements - especially in the fields of scientific, technological, and cultural interchange as well as trade relations. Since early 1979, the United States and China have initiated hundreds of joint research projects and cooperative programmes under the Agreement on Cooperation in Science and Technology, the largest bilateral programme.

On March 1, 1979 the United States and China formally established embassies in Beijing and Washington, DC. In 1979 outstanding private claims were resolved and a bilateral trade agreement was concluded. The US Vice President Walter Mondale reciprocated Vice Premier Deng's visit by paying a return visit to China in August 1979. This visit led to agreements in September 1980 on maritime affairs, civil aviation links, and textile matters, as well as a bilateral consular convention.

As a consequence of high-level and working-level contacts initiated in 1980, US dialogue with the China broadened to cover a wide range of issues, including global and regional strategic problems, political-military questions, including arms control, UN and other multilateral organization affairs, and international narcotics matters.

**12. 3. 16. The Taiwan Issue:** The expanding relationship that followed normalization of relations between the US and China was threatened in 1981 by the objections raised by China to the level of US arms sales to Taiwan. The US Secretary of State Alexander Haig visited China in June 1981 in an effort to resolve Chinese questions about America's unofficial relations with Taiwan. Eight months of negotiations produced the US-China joint communiqué of 17, August 1982. In this third communiqué, the US stated its intention to gradually reduce the level of arms sales to Taiwan, and China described as a fundamental policy their effort to strive for a peaceful resolution to the Taiwan question. Meanwhile, Vice President George Bush visited China in May 1982.

**12. 3. 17. High Level Exchanges Between China and the US:** High-level exchanges continued to be a significant means for developing Sino-US relations in the 1980s. President Ronald Reagan and Premier Zhao Ziyang made reciprocal visits in 1984. In July 1985, President Li Xiannian travelled to the United States, the first such visit by a Chinese head of state. Vice President George Bush visited China October 1985 and opened the US Consulate General in Chengdu. Further exchanges of cabinet-level officials

occurred between 1985–1989, culminated by President Bush's visit to Beijing in February 1989.

**12. 3. 18. Cultural Exchanges:** In the period before the June 3–4, 1989 Tiananmen crackdown, a large and growing number of cultural exchange activities undertaken at all levels gave the American and Chinese peoples broad exposure to each other's cultural, artistic, and educational achievements. Numerous mainland Chinese professional and official delegations visited the United States each month. Many of these exchanges continued after the suppression of the Tiananmen protests.

**12. 3. 19. US Reaction to Tiananmen Massacre:** Following the suppression of demonstrators in June 1989 that led to the Tiananmen Massacre, the US and other governments adopted a number of measures to express their condemnation of China's violation of human rights. The US government suspended high-level official exchanges with China. The United States also imposed a number of economic sanctions and stopped weapons exports to China. In the summer of 1990, at the G7 summit meeting at Houston, Western nations called for renewed political and economic reforms in mainland China, particularly in the field of human rights.

**12. 3. 20. Cooling of Sino-US Relations:** Tiananmen Incident disrupted the Sino-US trade relationship, and US investors' interest in mainland China dropped dramatically. The US government also responded to the political repression by suspending certain trade and investment programmes. Some sanctions were legislated where as others were executive actions.

On 2 September, 1992, US President George Bush announced a decision to sell 150 F-16 fighter planes to Taiwan for 'defensive' purposes, a move in violation of previous promises made by the US government to China. In addition, he sent Trade Representative Carla Hills to visit Taiwan, further subverting Sino-US relations.

On 5 October, 1992, US President George Bush signed the 1992 US-Hong Kong Policy Act over China's strong opposition. The main contents established the authority of the US government to treat Hong Kong as a non-sovereign entity distinct from China for purposes of American domestic law. China lodged a stern protest, expressing strong dissatisfaction.

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## 12.4. CONCLUSION

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China's foreign policy was basically based on her world view. Historically China believed in the superiority of her history and culture and considered the rest of the world as 'barbarian'. China.



for many centuries believed in isolationism. However, the world view of China underwent a change following the end of the Manchu dynasty and the establishment of the republic in 1912 and later the establishment of the People's Republic of China under the Communist regime. For nearly two centuries, China tried to distance between two power blocks, though she depended on the Soviet Union initially for industrial progress and moral support; in the 1970s the relationship between China and the United States began to improve. The United States recognized the People's Republic of China and improved its relations during Nixon's presidency. Nixon became the first President of the United States to pay a state visit to China. Even the Chinese government dignitaries reciprocated with their visits to the United States. The high-level exchanges between the two countries led to the establishment of full diplomatic relations between the two countries.

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### 12.5 Check Your Progress :

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4. *Examine the relation between China and the US prior to 1971.*
5. *What factors led to the rapprochement between China and the United States,*
6. *Write a note on the 'Ping Pong Diplomacy'.*
7. *What were the consequences of the rapprochement between China and the US?*

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### 12.6 QUESTIONS

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1. Trace China's world view in relation to her foreign policy.
2. Discuss the aims and methods of the defence policy of People's Republic of China.
3. Examine the Sino-US relations up to 1971.
4. Give an account of China's relations with USA from 1971 to 1992.
5. Write short notes on the following:
  - a. China's world view
  - b. Defence policy of China
  - c. 'Ping Pong' diplomacy



## CHINA'S DEFENCE AND FOREIGN POLICY-II

### Outline of the Topic :

- 13.0 Objectives
- 13.1 China's Relation with USSR
- 13.2 China's Relation with India.
- 13.3 Conclusion
- 13.4 Check Your Progress
- 13.5 Broad Questions.

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### 13.0 OBJECTIVES

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1. *To trace China's relation with the USSR and analyze the reasons why the cordial relations between the two Communist countries deteriorated.*
2. *To study China's relation with India which were friendly during the first two decades but turned sour following the China's aggression on India in 1962.*

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### 13. 1. CHINA'S RELATION WITH USSR

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**13. 1. 1. Introduction:** After assuming political control over China following the civil war in 1949, the Chinese Communists sought diplomatic recognition. USSR was the first country to grant diplomatic recognition to the People's Republic of China. Within seven months, the entire Communist bloc including Yugoslavia and other countries such as Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Israel, the Netherlands, Switzerland, England, and six Asian countries, Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia and Pakistan recognized the People's Republic of China. China also claimed membership of the United Nations, and the right to the permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council.

**13. 1. 2. Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship:** Close relations with Russia marked the early years of Chinese foreign policy. Russia was one of the earliest countries to recognize the Communist regime in China. Immediately after the establishment of the new Chinese government in Beijing in October 1949, Mao Tse-tung undertook his first visit outside the Chinese territory, to Moscow in December 1949, to negotiate aid and trade agreements. Both China and Russia abrogated their old treaties and entered into a thirty year Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance in February 1950. Its terms were outwardly directed against a renewal of Japanese aggression. However, taking into

account the international politics, this treaty was actually designed to align Communist China with the Soviet Union against the United States. Both the signatories agreed, "To develop and consolidate economic and cultural ties between China and the Soviet Union, to render all possible economic assistance and to carry out necessary economic cooperation."

**13. 1. 3. *Russia Sends Advisers and Technicians to China:***

Following the Treaty of Friendship, the Soviet Union sent a large number of advisers and technicians into China to help her in economic development along Soviet lines. USSR also provided direct military and economic assistance to the People's Republic of China. On the other hand, the Russian-built railway across Manchuria from Siberia to the ports of Darien and Port Arthur were to be jointly managed by China and USSR. Russia was also to have port facilities under her control in Darien, and the right to use Port Arthur for naval activities. Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai, in a telegram to Malenkov and Molotov after the death of Stalin, acknowledged "the fraternal aid rendered by the Soviet Union to the Chinese people."

**13. 1. 4. *Weakening of Relations Between China and USSR:***

The alliance between China and the Soviet Union, apparently so strong in 1950, was cracking by 1960. The important reasons for the split were increasing Chinese self-confidence, which made China less willing to accept a subordinate role in the Communist bloc, increasing Chinese demands on its ally, and doctrinal shifts in both China and USSR, which weakened ideological unity between the two.

**13. 1. 5. *China's Reaction to De-Stalinization:*** The first source of public disagreement between China and USSR was de-Stalinization in Russia. When Stalin died in 1953, it was not clear who would succeed him. However, all of his potential successors were of the opinion that the Stalinist system needed some degree of reform. By 1956 Nikita Khrushchev, who was in favour of substantial reform of the Soviet system emerged as the new leader in Moscow. He decided that undoing Stalin's works required destroying Stalin's 'godlike' image. At the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of USSR, in February 1956, Khrushchev delivered a speech denouncing Stalin. At one stroke Khrushchev destroyed the image of the man who had ruled the Communist world for a quarter of a century. Thus, Chinese, especially Mao Tse-tung deeply resented the Soviet Union's change of policy in respect of Stalin. It was not that they loved the late dictator, but because they had not been previously informed or consulted about so great a transformation of the policy.

**13. 1. 6. Disagreement Between China and USSR Towards Eastern Europe:** Besides criticizing Stalin as an individual, Khrushchev was dismantling some of Stalin's policies. Soviet Union began to relax its hold over other Communist countries, especially in Eastern Europe. However, when the Hungarians took advantage of this relaxation and revolted against the Soviet Union in November 1956, the Soviet Red Army entered Hungary to restore it to the Soviet bloc. To the Chinese this seemed evidence of Soviet incompetence. USSR, on the other hand, resented Chinese presumption in trying to tell the Soviet Union how to run the Eastern Europe.

**13. 1. 7. Disapproval of the Policy of Peaceful Co-existence:** The bitterest controversy between China and USSR was over Khrushchev's policy of 'peaceful-coexistence'. Khrushchev felt that it was time to improve relations with the Western democracies to increase trade, and reduce the threat of war. As against the Marxist-Leninist theory of the inevitability of war, Khrushchev argued that the further expansion of Communism in the world would be achieved by peaceful political means, rather than by war. China disagreed with Khrushchev's doctrinal shift. Chinese Communists were of the opinion that violent means alone could offer a reasonable hope for success to the Communists especially in South-east Asian countries like South Vietnam.

The debate between the Soviet Union and China on the subject of how Communist Parties in general should act in the world as a whole, consumed much of their energy and time. The result was that the Russians came to the conclusion that the Chinese were dangerously insane, while the Chinese accused the Russians as cowards who were abandoning the traditional Communist theory of revolution and becoming 'revisionists'. China disapproved Russia's attempt at forging a separate peace between the Soviet Union and the United States, which left the United States free to continue its hostility towards China.

**13. 1. 8. Stress on Vigorous Policy Towards the West:** The Soviet Union tested an Inter Continental Ballistic Missile (ICBM) in August 1957 and launched the world's first space satellite in October the same year. The Chinese saw these technological successes as a manifestation of Soviet superiority over the United States. In October 1957, Mao Tse-tung attended a meeting of the worlds Communist parties held in Moscow following the celebrations of the Fortieth anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. He took the opportunity to re-stress his belief that 'the East wind prevails over the West wind', and pressed for a more forceful foreign policy, especially against the West. However, the Soviet leaders were unwilling to concede to his arguments.

**13. 1. 9. Russia's Silence During the 'Offshore Island' Crisis:**

Soviet Union's reluctance to support China's foreign policy objectives was clearly demonstrated during the 'offshore island' crisis. In August 1958, China decided to take the islands of Quemoy and Matsu from the control of the Nationalist government based in Taiwan. A massive bombardment from the nearby mainland was opened and continued for many days. The United States came to the rescue of the Nationalist government by threatening intervention to protect Taiwan and the offshore islands. China was forced to retreat. Khrushchev maintained silence on the issue of the offshore islands during the crisis. This manifested a complete lack of coordination between in the Sino-Soviet foreign policy.

**13. 1. 10. Differing Views on the 'Great Leap Forward':** The rift between China and USSR widened in 1958 by China's Great Leap Forward. China boasted the success of the communes as the 'buds of communism' and claimed that China would achieve communism before its economically more advanced rival, the Soviet Union. On the other hand, Khrushchev criticized Chinese communes as 'old fashioned, which would not work'.

**13.1. 11. Tibetan Crisis and Russian Neutrality:** There was anti-Chinese revolt in Tibet in March 1959. The revolt was ruthlessly suppressed by China and the Dalai Lama sought refuge in India. India denounced the Chinese action. However, Khrushchev studiously remained neutral during the Tibetan crisis and in the Sino-Indian border dispute of 1959, which annoyed China further.

**13. 1. 12. Chinese Disapproval of Khrushchev's Visit to the US:**

In September 1959, unmindful of Chinese criticism, Khrushchev went to the United States to confer with President Eisenhower at Camp David to protect Russian interests. Khrushchev flew from the United States directly to Peking to convince the Chinese leadership regarding the advantages of the idea of 'peaceful coexistence' and to suggest that the Chinese should adopt the *de facto* recognition of 'two Chinas' as a solution to the Taiwan problem, and to urge them not to 'test by force the stability of the capitalist system'. However, China strongly criticized Khrushchev's visit to the United States and Mao Tse-tung, who believed that all power grew out of the barrel of the gun, gave Khrushchev cold reception.

**13. 1. 13. Withdrawal of Soviet Experts From China:** From this time onwards, the gap between the Soviet Union and China widened further. In 1960 the Chinese launched bitter attack on Soviet policies. Following the strained relations between the two Khrushchev ordered the withdrawal of Soviet experts from China and cancelled all economic aid. Each accused the other of ideological deviation from the true Marxist-Leninist doctrine. Their

views regarding war and peace, disarmament, non-alignment and neutrality were diametrically opposed to each other.

**13. 1. 14. China's Disapproval of Khrushchev's Congratulatory Message to JFK:** When John F. Kennedy was elected the President of the United States, Khrushchev sent him congratulatory messages in February 1961. The Chinese, who continued to oppose the policy of 'peaceful co-existence', disapproved this gesture of the Soviet leader and his attempt to establish detente with Kennedy. The Soviet Union attacked Albania, a staunch ally of China, as dogmatist and broke off diplomatic relations with it. On the other hand China dubbed Yugoslavia as revisionist.

**13. 1. 15. Russian Neutrality in the Sino-Indian War (1962):** The rift between China and the Soviet Union deepened in 1962 with the Sino-Indian border war, in which the Soviet Union remained neutral, and then supplied fighter aircrafts to India. The Chinese considered the diplomatic support given by the Soviet Union to India as a 'treachery'.

**13. 1. 16. China's Reaction to Cuban Missile Crisis (1962):** When the Cuban missile crisis took place almost simultaneously with the Sino-Indian border conflict, China at first announced its support for the Soviet decision to place missiles in Cuba. However, when Khrushchev backed down due to the US pressure on 27 October, Chinese leaders denounced the Soviet decision to place missiles in Cuba as 'adventurism', and the decision to take them out as 'capitulationism'.

**13. 1. 17. The question of Sino-Soviet Border:** The question of Sino-Soviet border also became a major flash point in 1962. The Chinese accused Russia of incorporating into the Soviet Union more than 60,000 Chinese living in Sinkiang, and refused to let them return home. By raising the border question, the Chinese also referred to the 'unequal treaties' imposed on China by Tsarist Russia on China.

**13. 1. 18. China's Criticism of the NTBT:** The Chinese criticized the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, signed in Moscow by England, the United States, and the Soviet Union in July 1963. The Chinese leaders saw the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty as a Soviet-West plot to keep China and others out of the nuclear club. Mao saw this as a clear indication that Khrushchev had chosen the West over China. Still there were attempts at reconciliation between the two Communist countries. Boundary negotiations took place in Peking in 1964. But the negotiations were deadlocked due to disagreement between the two.

**13. 1. 19. Testing of the First Nuclear Device by China:** Khrushchev was ousted from power on 15 October 1964. On the following day the Chinese announced that they had tested their first nuclear device. This demonstrated the rapid advance of Chinese technology to the level of the most developed industrial countries, without the aid from any one of them, including Russia.

**13. 1. 20. Differences over the Vietnam War:** Increasing tension over the Vietnam War, and whether China and the Soviet Union should engage in 'united action', soon became the focus of Sino-Soviet relations. China decided to prohibit Soviet aid by air to Vietnam passing over Chinese territory. Mao Tse-tung strongly rejected Soviet proposals for united action. The Chinese and Albanians did not attend the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of Soviet Union in March 1966, as they dubbed it as 'revisionist'.

**13. 1. 21. China's Criticism of Russian Invasion of Czechoslovakia:** China criticized the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in the summer of 1968. Chou En-lai accused the Soviet Union of trying to create puppets with the help of guns and compared the Soviet 'act of aggression' with Hitler's past invasion of Czechoslovakia and with the United States aggression against Vietnam. The Brezhnev doctrine, asserting the right of the Soviet Union to take military action against any member of the socialist community was denounced by China as an 'outright doctrine of hegemony'.

**13. 1. 22. Clash Between Chinese and Russian Troops:** On 2 March 1969, fighting broke out over Damansky Island in the Ussuri River. From 1960 there had been numerous smaller incidents, but this was the first serious clash between Soviet and Chinese forces, resulting in heavy Soviet casualties. The conflict escalated along the Manchurian and Sinkiang frontiers. On 11 September 1969, Alexei Kosygin, the Soviet Premier, returning from the funeral of Ho Chi Minh in Hanoi, stopped in Peking for talks with Chou En-lai. These airport conversations resulted in an agreement for an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of troops. An agreement to hold talks on border questions was finally reached on 7 October, and the talks were held in Peking on 20 October. However, since 1969 there has been no resolution of the border question. The treaty of friendship between China and Russia was allowed to lapse with no new agreement to take its place.

**13. 1. 23. Rapprochement With the United States:** The bilateral Sino-Soviet relationship has not markedly changed in the period from 1969 to 1982. However, there has been significant change in the international environment. The worldview of Chinese leaders underwent a change. In 1970s China succeeded in breaking through her isolation. By the early 1970s most Western nations had

recognized her. In 1971, China was finally admitted to the United Nations on her own terms, which meant the exclusion of Taiwan. The great victory of Chinese diplomacy was the rapprochement with the United States in 1972. Mao Tse-tung met with President Nixon and then with President Ford, and significant steps were taken towards Sino-American normalization of relations.

**13. 1. 24. Russian Attempt to Improve Relations with China:** In January 1976 Chou En-lai died, followed by Mao Tse-tung, who died on 9 September, 1976. In October the 'Gang of Four' was arrested and China embarked upon a new political course. Soviet Union ceased its anti-Chinese propaganda in September 1976. Soviet Union also declared readiness to hold talks with China on the settlement of border question. However, China continued her anti-Soviet propaganda. A message of congratulations sent by the Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev to Hua Guofeng on his appointment as Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party was rejected. Thus, Sino-Soviet relations continued to remain static. Tension between two Southeast Asian client states, Cambodia and Vietnam, further damaged relations between China and USSR. In 1979 China invaded Vietnam to defend Cambodia from the Vietnamese incursion of 1978. The Soviet Union condemned the invasion and increased arms shipments to Vietnam. Competing goals in Southeast Asia remained a key issue for nearly a decade.

**13. 1. 25. China's Reaction to the Soviet Invasion on Afghanistan:** A new set of bilateral negotiations began in 1979, but the Chinese ended talks shortly after the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in late 1979. Thereafter, China added withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan to its conditions for renewing the two nations' 1950 friendship treaty. Talks on the Sino-Soviet border situation finally resumed in late 1982, but relations remained static until Gorbachev began making conciliatory gestures in 1986 and 1987. In 1988 two major obstacles were removed when the Soviet Union committed itself to removing troops from Afghanistan, and Vietnam did likewise for Cambodia. The Sino-Soviet summit meeting of June 1989 was the first since the Khrushchev regime.

**13. 1. 26. Improvement in Relations Between China and Russia.** In the early 1990s, relations got a boost from China's interest in renewed weapons imports from Russia and other forms of military cooperation. In 1992 an exchange of visits by high defense officials established defense ties and included the signing of a major arms technology agreement with a reported value of US\$1.8 billion. In 1993 another series of defense exchange visits yielded a five-year defense cooperation agreement between the two countries. A strategic partnership, signed in early 1996, significantly strengthened ties.



**13. 1. 27. Normalization of Relations:** In December 1992, Yeltsin went to China and signed a nonaggression declaration that theoretically ended what each called the other's search for regional hegemony in Asia. Another treaty included Russian aid in building a nuclear power plant, the first such provision since Sino-Soviet relations cooled in the late 1950s. Chinese party chairman Jiang Zemin visited Moscow in September 1994 and concluded a protocol that resolved some border disputes and generally strengthened bilateral ties. During Yeltsin's visit to China in April 1996, both sides described their relationship as evolving into a 'strategic partnership', which included substantially increased arms sales. At the April meeting, new agreements made progress toward delineating and demilitarizing the two countries' 3,645 kilometers of common border. Although border security and illegal Chinese immigration into the Russian Far East were controversial issues for Russian regional officials, Yeltsin demanded regional compliance with the agreements. Russia had respected China's claim that Taiwan is part of its territory, although Russia's trade with Taiwan increased to nearly US\$3 billion in 1995 and Russia planned to open trade offices on the island in 1996.

In 1994-96 China emerged as a major market for Russian arms, having bought several dozen Su-27 fighter aircraft and several Kilo-class attack submarines. Russia also had a positive trade balance in the sale of raw materials, metals, and machinery to China. A series of high-level state visits occurred in 1994 and 1995. Both countries pursued closer ties, in each case partly to counterbalance their cooling relations with the United States. In March 1996, Russia announced that it would grant China a loan of US\$2 billion to supply Russian nuclear reactors for power generation in northeast China, and further cooperation was proposed in uranium mining and processing, fusion research, and nuclear arms dismantlement.

**Check your knowledge:**

1. *How did China gain from USSR during the early years of the Communist regime in China?*
2. *On which issues there were differences between China and USSR?*
3. *Since when the relationship between China and USSR improved?*

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## 13. 2. CHINA'S RELATION WITH INDIA

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**13. 2. 1. Introduction:** Cultural contacts between India and China go back to ancient times. Over two thousand years ago Buddhist *bikshus* crossed the snow clad peaks of the Himalayas to preach the gospel of peace to Tibet, China and Japan. Following Buddhist missionary activities many Chinese were converted to Buddhism. Thereafter, a number of Chinese travellers and pilgrims visited India. The most famous among them were Fa-hien, Hieun Tsang and I-tsing. Some of the Chinese pilgrims stayed in India for many years and have left detailed accounts of social, economic and political conditions of this country. These accounts spread over hundreds of years indicate that both China and India had good relations.

**13. 2. 2. Mutual Support During the National Movement:** During the nineteenth century, China, like India became a victim of foreign imperialism. The Indians hailed the rise of nationalism in China culminating in the Revolution of 1911 leading to the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty. The emergence of Chinese nationalism served as an inspiration to the Indian nationalists. With the establishment of the Kuomintang India felt more and more drawn to China. Dr. Sun Yat-sen supported Gandhiji's non-cooperation movement during 1920s. Chiang Kai-shek and his wife paid several visits to India. Indian National Congress gave moral support to China in its determined fight against Japan from 1931 to 1945. Jawaharlal Nehru visited China in 1939 and expressed a sincere desire to have relationship with China. The Chinese gave Ravindranath Tagore a warm welcome when he visited their country in 1942. But with the end of the Second World War, China was engulfed in a civil war between the Nationalists and the Communists leading to the victory of the latter led by Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai.

**13. 2. 3. Establishment of Diplomatic Relations:** Following their success in the Civil War, the Communist leaders set up the Peoples' Republic of China in October 1949. India was one of the first countries to grant *de facto* recognition to the new Chinese government in December 1949. India re-established diplomatic relations with China by re-appointing Sardar K.M. Pannikar as India's ambassador to China.

**13. 2. 4. Chinese Action in Tibet and Indian Response:** India's friendship with China came under strain when the latter invaded Eastern Tibet in October 1950. The Chinese authorities ordered the People's Liberation Army to 'liberate three million Tibetans from imperialist aggression' and complete the unification of China. The Tibetans sought Indian help. The Government of India protested

against the Chinese action in Tibet. On the other hand China asserted that Tibetan issue was her domestic affair. Later India denied any attempt at interference on her part in the domestic affairs of China. However, India pointed out that the Tibetan problem should be settled by peaceful methods and that Tibet's legitimate claim for autonomy should be respected, as Tibet was a weak and peaceful country.

On 23 May 1951, China entered into an agreement with Tibet by which regional autonomy was granted to the Tibetans and China took control of the defense and foreign relations. Tibet, which had been a buffer state between India and China, could no longer play the role. Though India disapproved the way China had settled her affairs with Tibet, she had no other alternative but to adjust her relations with Tibet.

**13. 2. 5. The Panchasheel:** A desire to maintain good relations prompted India to demonstrate her sincerity towards China. India strongly advocated China's membership to the United Nations. During the Korean War (1950-52) India condemned the West for branding China as an aggressor. In order to strengthen her relations with China, India even surrendered her special rights over Tibet. On 29 April, 1954, China and India entered into a Sino-Indian Agreement on Trade and Intercourse between India and Tibet. The terms of the agreement were criticized in and outside the Indian Parliament. However, Nehru justified the agreement with China on Tibet.

By the Agreement of 1954, which was to be valid for eight years, Tibet was recognized as 'the Tibetan region of China'. The Agreement specified markets and pilgrim routes and laid down regulations for trade and other relations between Tibet and India. India permitted China to establish trade agencies at New Delhi, Calcutta and Kalimpong. On the other hand China permitted India to establish similar agencies at Yatung, Gyantse and Gartok. Trade, pilgrimage and travel between the two countries were also regulated. India also transferred to China some rest houses and postal, telegraphic and telephonic services with their equipment owned by the Government of India in Tibet.

The most important part of the Agreement of 1954 between India and China was its preamble. The preamble explained the principles and considerations that governed mutual relations between the two countries. These five principles of peaceful co-existence came to be known as the *Panchasheel*. These principles are: (1) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty. (2) Mutual non-aggression. (3) Mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs. (4) Equality and mutual benefit. (5) Peaceful co-existence.

Jawaharlal Nehru was of the opinion that China and India should live in mutual peace and understanding. The agreement ensured to a large extent peace in certain areas of Asia. Nehru believed that the area of peace could spread to the rest of Asia and to the rest of the World.

**13. 2. 6. Chou En-lai's Visit to India:** In June 1954, the Chinese Prime Minister Chou En-lai visited India. According to the Nehru-Chou En-lai Statement issued on June 28, 1954, the two Prime Ministers discussed many matters of common concern to India and China. The chief issues discussed by them included the prospect of peace in the South-east Asia and the developments that had taken place in the Geneva Conference with regard to Indo-China. Both Nehru and Chou En-lai re-affirmed the five principles laid down in the Indo-China agreement on Tibet.

**13. 2. 7. Nehru's Return-Visit to China:** Believing sincerely that China would be faithful to the commitments made with India, Jawaharlal Nehru returned the compliment by paying a fortnight's visit to China in October 1954. Nehru and his advisers were aware of the fact that his visit to China might be misunderstood and that there was a danger of the gulf between the United States and India widening. But Nehru risked all this because he earnestly believed that he could contribute to world peace if he could keep China out of war.

**13. 2. 8. China and India At The Bandung Conference (1955):** The friendship thus, apparently cemented between India and China bore fruit at Bandung where the leaders of the Afro-Asian countries met in 1955 with President Sukarno as their host. This was the first conference of this kind. Though Nehru introduced Premier Chou En-lai to the Afro-Asian leaders, it was the latter who stole the show and projected the claim of China as the leader of the East.

**13. 2. 9. Dispute Over the McMahon Line:** During his visit to China in October 1954, Jawaharlal Nehru had raised with the Chinese leaders the question of some maps published in China which had shown an incorrect boundary alignment between the two countries and incorporated about 50,000 square miles of Indian territory in China. However, Chou En-lai, in reply, sought to treat these Chinese maps as merely a reproduction of old Kuomintang maps and pointed out that the Communist Government had no time to revise them.

**13. 2. 10. The 'Cartographic Aggression':** The first official repudiation by the Chinese government of the traditional boundary between India and China (McMahon Line) came on 23 January 1959. Nehru had drawn the attention of Chou En-lai in a letter of 14 December 1958, about the wrong representation of the Sino-Indian

boundary in an official Chinese journal. In his reply to Nehru, Chou En-lai contended that the Sino-Indian boundary had never been formally marked. He pointed out that there were certain differences between the two sides over the issue and that the government of China had not raised the issue in 1954 because 'conditions were not then ripe for settlement'. Arguing further, the Chinese Premier stressed that the Chinese government had never recognized the McMahon Line. As for the Chinese maps, Chou En-lai claimed that the boundaries drawn on them were consistent with those on earlier maps. Thus, going back on all their assurances and violating the Agreement of 1954, the Chinese laid a claim to about 50,000 square miles of Indian territory. This 'cartographic aggression' by China resulted in considerable stresses and strains in the Sino-Indian relations.

**13. 2. 11. The Tibetan Revolt:** The Dalai Lama came to India in 1956 to participate in the 2500th anniversary of Buddha's *nirvana*. After the end of the celebrations the Dalai Lama was reluctant to return to Lhasa for the fear of the Chinese. However, Nehru persuaded him to return to his homeland. Chou En-lai, who was also at that time in Delhi promised the Dalai Lama that the Tibetan grievances would be redressed. But unfortunately Chou En-lai did not keep his promise and in early March 1959 the Tibetans rose in an open revolt against the Chinese authority. The warlike Khampa tribesmen of Eastern Tibet started the revolt. The uprising was ruthlessly crushed by the Chinese troops, and the Chinese government terminated Tibetan autonomy. The Dalai Lama fled to India in April 1959 and was granted 'political asylum' by the Indian Government. The Dalai Lama established a 'government-in-exile'. The Tibetan revolt and its aftermath deteriorated Sino-Indian relations further.

**13. 2. 12. Sino-Indian Border Dispute:** The Tibetan crisis precipitated the Sino-Indian border dispute. While chasing rebel tribesmen, Chinese troops clashed with Indian border guards. The Indian government demanded that the Chinese should withdraw from the disputed areas. The Chinese in turn offered to negotiate the issue on the basis of the *status quo*. As early as 1957, Indian authorities had discovered that the Chinese had for several years been operating a highway cutting across territory that was marked part of India on Indian maps. There were two areas of significant size in dispute. At the eastern end of the Sino-Indian border was an area of over 35,000 square miles, loosely administered by India, called the North-Eastern Frontier Agency (NEFA). At the western end of the border was an area of about 14,000 square miles, consisting mostly of the deserts of the Aksai Chin Plateau, but stretching south and west into some thinly settled regions under Indian influence.

After appropriating a large barren chunk of Indian territory, the Chinese proposed to construct a road connecting Tibet with South-western China. This was unacceptable to Nehru, who was being pressurized to settle the issue with China through war. The Chinese, in order to show their 'good faith', concluded border treaties with Burma (January 1960), Nepal (March 1960), Pakistan (December 1962), Outer Mongolia (December 1962) and Afghanistan (November 1963).

**13. 2. 13. The Sino-Indian War (October, 1962):** India regarded any compromised settlement of the border dispute with China as an offence against the national pride. The Indian army began pushing forward. The Indian leaders hinted that they might eventually evict the Chinese from the whole of the disputed area by force. In August Nehru reported to the Parliament that part of the 12,000 square miles of Ladakh overrun by the Chinese had already been recovered and that the Indian army had been instructed to 'expel the Chinese from NEFA'. The Sino-Indian War broke out in October 1962, when Chinese and Indian troops confronted one another at close range on the western end of the border. On the northern edge of the NEFA the Indian government ordered its troops to attack Chinese positions that even according to Indian maps lay in Chinese territory.

Chinese reprisal was swift. Charging the Indians with aggression, the Chinese launched a counter-offensive, which pushed back the Indian troops to the southern part of NEFA. In a few weeks of the campaign, the Chinese expelled the Indian army from the whole of the disputed area. However, the Chinese were careful not to advance beyond the area, which China had claimed.

**13. 2. 14. Unilateral Ceasefire by China:** The Chinese unilaterally ceased fighting on 21 November 1962, and withdrew behind the McMahon Line. This might have been a move to convince the world opinion that the sole purpose was to maintain her legitimate border and that she had no intention to wage an all-out war with India. China handed back to India NEFA, and all prisoners of war and weapons taken in the campaign. India acquired somewhat more than two-thirds of the disputed area following a roughly imposed compromise between the two countries. Thereafter, the Sino-Indian relations remained extremely hostile for about twenty years.

**13. 2. 15. Impact of the Sino-Indian War:** The Sino-Indian War seriously harmed China's international image. China was already known to be attacking the doctrine of 'peaceful co-existence' in its dispute with the Soviet Union, while India had a good reputation as the largest and most prestigious of the countries maintaining neutrality in the Cold War. Most of the international community accepted the Indian claim that the war had been unprovoked

Chinese aggression. The Sino-Indian War further deteriorated the Sino-Soviet relations due to Russian neutrality during the war fought between a Communist and a non-Communist power. Sino-Indian relations were further strained by China's support of Pakistan in the Indo-Pakistan War of 1965 and during the Indo-Pakistan War of 1971, which established the independent state of Bangladesh.

**13. 2. 16. Process of Normalization of Sino-Indian Relations:**

The gradual improvement of relations between the two great Asian powers assumes considerable significance in contemporary international political relations. As early as 1969, India, in an attempt to end the deadlock in Sino-Indian relations, offered to hold talks with China without setting any preconditions. In spite of this the process of normalization remained slow. China did not respond immediately to Indian Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi's offer for resumption of a dialogue.

**13. 2. 17. Chinese Criticism of India's Role in Bangla Desh and Sikkim:**

India carefully maintained low profile despite China's harsh criticism of India's role in the liberation of Bangladesh as well as Sikkim. Calling the merger of Sikkim with India as yet another of India's expansionist acts after dismembering Pakistan, China declared full support to the people of Sikkim in their 'just struggle' for national independence. Chinese media kept up its hostile propaganda against India, accusing her of harbouring hegemonist and expansionist ambitions towards her neighbours, indulging in nuclear blackmail and aspiring to become a sub-super power in collusion with the Soviet Union. In spite of harsh criticism from China, Indian Government, showed remarkable restraint, as she was eager to normalize her relations with China. India's policy of combining flexibility with firmness bore fruit in 1976, when diplomatic ties between the two countries were upgraded to the ambassadorial level after a gap of nearly fifteen years.

**13. 2. 18. Atal Bihari Vajpayee's Visit to China:** During the Janata Party's government, Foreign Minister, Atal Bihari Vajpayee visited China in 1979, in response to the Chinese Foreign Minister Huang Hua's invitation. It was the first high-level meeting between the leaders of the two countries since the Sino-Indian hostilities in the sixties. However, Vajpayee was quite unhappy with the Chinese blatant reference to the 1962 attack on India and conceded that it 'created hurdles in the path of normalization'. He reiterated that national interests would remain supreme and the question of surrendering any Indian territory to China did not arise.

**13. 2. 19. Efforts to Improve Relations with China:** After her return to power in 1980, Mrs. Indira Gandhi also continued efforts to keep up the political dialogue with China in the course of a meeting

between the Chinese Premier, Hua Guofeng and Indira Gandhi in Belgrade in May 1980. Chinese Foreign Minister, Huang Hua, visited India in June 1981. The only tangible gain from the visit was the decision to hold official level talks regarding both 'bilateral problems and bilateral exchanges'. It was agreed by both sides that an understanding between the two sides on border settlement, although central to full normalization of relations, need not be made a precondition for improvement in relations in other areas. Thus, the first official talks, in twenty years, were held in December 1981. At this meeting five sub-groups were formed to deal with matters concerning boundary, trade and economic co-operation, cultural exchange and science and technology.

In 1985, China came forward with a proposal for reciprocal opening of missions in the two countries and resumption of Indo-Tibetan border trade as meaningful steps towards an overall improvement in Sino-Indian relations. Though India did not have any objection to the proposal in principle, her response remained visibly cool in view of lack of any tangible progress on the border question, which she considers central to any normalization.

**13. 2. 20. Rajiv Gandhi's Visit to China:** The end of 1988 saw the visit of Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi to China, which brought the relations of the two countries into a new stage of development. The two sides agreed that pending the solution of the boundary questions, the two countries would maintain peace and tranquility in the areas along the Line of Actual Control (LAC), and make efforts to improve and develop bilateral relations. The two countries also decided to establish joint working group on boundary questions, joint committees on economics and trade and science and technology. The two sides also signed the agreements of cooperation on science and technology and on civil aviation.

**13. 2. 21. Li Peng's Visit to India:** During Premier Li Peng's visit to India in December 1991, the two countries signed the consular treaty, agreement on resuming establishment of consulate-generals, Memorandum on resuming border trade and MOU on cooperation in science and technology for the peaceful use of outer space. This visit, having promoted an all-round improvement and development of the Sino-Indian relations, was followed by successive exchanges of high-level visits. The Chinese Consulate General in Mumbai and the Indian Consulate General in Shanghai were reopened respectively at the end of 1992 and early 1993. The Indian side also abrogated the discriminative and restricted laws and regulations against the Chinese nationals in India in 1992.

**13. 2. 22. Narasimha Rao's Visit to China:** In September 1993, Indian Prime Minister Narasimha Rao visited China. The two countries signed the agreement on the maintenance of peace and



tranquility along the LAC in the Sino-Indian border areas, agreements of cooperation in environment, in radio and television and protocol on opening more border trade points, which have added new contexts to the friendly cooperation between the two countries. In the same year, Li Ruihuan, Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) visited India. In 1994, Indian Vice President K. R. Narayanan paid a visit to China and Qian Qichen, Chinese Vice Premier cum Foreign Minister, visited India. The two countries signed agreements on avoiding double taxation, agreements of cooperation on health and medical science, on simplifying the procedure for visa application and on banking cooperation between the two countries. In 1995, Qiao Shi, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress (NPC), visited India and had extensive contacts with Indian leaders. The visit has further promoted the bilateral relations

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### 13.3. CONCLUSION

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China's relation with USSR was cordial during the initial period of the People's v Republic of China. The CCP was the product of the moral and logistic support provided by the Soviet • Union through Comintern Following the Communist revolution of 1949, China and the Soviet Union signed the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship by which Russia sent advisers and technicians to China. However, by 1860 cracks appeared on the Sino-Soviet relations. There were a ntjamber of disagreement\* between the two countries regarding the Soviet Union's approach towards the Eastern European countries. Mao Tse-tung especially disapproved Khrushchev's policy of 'peaceful coexistence'. Mao was in favour of vigwous policy towards the West and was opposed to improvement of relation between the Communist world and the Western democracies. Differences between the two major cxsuntrieis M^rious issues finally ted to tne break up of relations between them. Following the death of Mao Tse-tung efforts were made to improvfe the relation between the& vocduntjes fne relation between China and India had been cordial in 1950s and was guided by the principle Panehashe^ (Five PnnQiplfso^ Peaceful Co-existence). However, the Chinese action in Tibet and later Chinese aggression on Wdia'M 1962 led to the break up of relations between China and India. Efforts to improve relations between two countries were undertaken during tne later part of 1970s which bore.

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### 13,4. Check Your Progress:

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4. *write a note on die Panchasfteei.*
4. *Explain the 'Cartographic Aggression.*
- o. *Trace mo Sino-inctian 6ord©r dispute.*
7. *What factors led to tne Stno-tnctian*

5'. Examine the factors taken into account by China and India in improving relations

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**13.5 BROAD QUESTIONS**

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1. Discuss the various stages in the relationship between China and USSR.
2. Point out the factors that led to the straining of relationship between China and USSR.
3. Examine the Sino-Indian relations from 1949 to 1962.
4. Give an account of the normalization of relationship between China and India from 1962 to 1992.
5. Trace the various stages in the relationship between China and India.

