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| **Bahir Dar University**  **Faculty of Social Sciences**  **History and Heritage management Program**  **Course Guide Book-Survey of Asian History, 1850-1945** | | | | | | |
| Course code | | HiHm2045 | | | | |
| Course Title | | Survey of Asian History, 1850-1945 | | | | |
| Degree program | | BA in History and Heritage Management | | | | |
| Module Name | | Global History HiHm1041 | | | | |
| Module No. | | 04 | | | | |
| CP | | 3 | | | | |
| **Contact hours(per week)** | Lecture | | LAB/Practical | Tutorial | Home Study | **CP** |
| 2 | | 0 | 0 | 4 | **3** |
| Lecture days, Hours and Room: | |  | | | | |
| Target Group | | Second year History and Heritage Management major students | | | | |
| Year/semester | | Year II, Semester, II | | | | |
| Pre-requisites | | None | | | | |
| Statues of the course | | Compulsory | | | | |

**Course Description**

This course is designed to equip students with the basic historical themes and philosophical thoughts of Asia in the period between 1850s and 1945. The course will help students to develop analytic skill through providing a myriad of issues dealing with the impact of Chinese and Indian traditional institutions over the rest part of Asia since time immemorial. Yet, it will let them to evaluate how the basic historical and philosophical developments in various parts of Asia did influence (and still have continued to influence) the daily life of the people. Moreover, the discourse over the Europeans intrusion in to this part of the world did disrupt the indigenous institutions and customs or did benefit the people is given due concern to make students develop the skill of evaluating historical developments as per the scholarly arguments.

In studying Survey of Asian History, 1850s - 1945, there are basic themes that deserve critical and analytical explanations and interpretations. Hence, in this course the major themes and contents within the wider context of Asian history will be assessed very critically. The main focus will be: How the local religious and political institutions of Asians played a role in the development of nationalism relative to the influence of the Western political theories and institutions? How the rise and fall of dynasties in the Chinese history didn’t alter the socio-political and cultural edifies of China for over two millennia? How the current political, socio-cultural and economic interactions, integrations, and disintegrations of Asians can be examined from the point of view of history? Did past interactions and integrations assist the people to develop common experience of changes and continuities?

**OBJECTIVES OF THE COURSE**

At the end of this course, students will be able to:

* Explain the Socio-economic and political realities of Japan in the period before and after its modernization
* Point out the main dynastic systems that ruled China for over two millennia
* Analyze the fundamental causes behind the process of dynamisms among the Japanese society
* Mention some of the most important motivating factors for the beginning of nationalistic movements in South East Asia
* Understand the difference between nationalistic movements of the 1920s and 1930s from the previous period resistance movement in Southeast Asia.
* Explain the basic principles of Confucianism and Buddhism
* Pin point the main pressing problems that the Chinese had faced because of the integration of state to the capitalist world and the Western penetration since the 19th century
* Describe the reasons why Communism essentially influenced the nationalistic movements in China and Vietnam while it was not as such a significant force in the rest part of the Far East.
* Reason out why Thailand maintained its independence while most part of East Asia was colonized by the Europeans in the 19th century
* Appreciate how the Japanese had triumphed over the well trained and armed soldiers of the various European countries in different part of East Asia during the Second World War
* Evaluate the outcome of the Japanese Modernization
* Figure out the pretexts taken by the various European countries to colonize the South East Asian Countries
* Appreciate the skills displayed by the 19th c Japanese generation in building modern Japan

**Schedule of Lecture Topics, Activities and Readings**

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| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Date | Key Topics | Activities/Tasks | References |
| Week 1 | **UNIT ONE:A Glimpse to Chinese History**  A Brief Outline of the Chinese Imperial History  -The Confucian Thought of State Administration  -Attempts at Reform and Modernization of China  -The Chinese Nationalistic Revolution, 1911-1937  The Disintegration of China and the Warlord Era, 1916-1926 | * Listen to and take notes on a lesson that the course manager will deal with; * Ask explanations on points that trainees may have found ambiguous; * Pay attention to a lesson summary and answer to stabilizing questions   Take in to account the focus areas of a reading assignment for the next session   * Trainees will reflect on their findings about the lesson topics of the day as per the orientation in the preceding session * Listen to and take notes on a lesson that the course manager will deal with; * Ask explanations on points that trainees may have found ambiguous; * Pay attention to a lesson summary and answer to stabilizing questions   Take in to account the focus areas of a reading assignment for the next session | Stavrianos, L.S. *The World since 1500: a Global History*. 2nd ed. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1971; Stavrianos, L.S. *Global Rift: The Third World Comes of Age* (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1981), pp. 309-332, 403-408, 521-525 |
| Week 1 | **UNIT ONE:A Glimpse to Chinese History**   * The May Fourth Era, 1919-1929   The Origin of the CCP (Chinese Communist Party) and the Communist Movement  The Commintern (Communist Third International) and the First United Front of the CCP and the Nationalist Party (Kuomintang) | * Trainees will reflect on their findings about the lesson topics of the day as per the orientation in the preceding session * Listen to a lecture that will be addressed by the course leader and take notes on the lesson; * Ask explanations on points that the trainees may have found ambiguous; * Pay attention to a lesson summary and answer to stabilizing questions |  |
| Week 2 | CHAPTER TWO:SOUTHEAST ASIA BETWEEN 1850S AND 1945   * European Penetration of the Mainland States: * Burma * Vietnam * Cambodia * Laos * European Penetration of the Maritime States * Indonesia * Malaysia * Singapore * Brunei   Philippines | * Take part in group reading activities using a guiding questions and a reading material that the course leader will distribute; * Put forward what trainees understand from the reading materials;   Pay attention to a lesson summary and answer to stabilizing questions Embark, both individually and in group, on readings to do on the 7th and 8th weeks assignments   * Put forward what trainees understand about the topics of the day from the reading materials administer to them in the preceding session; * Pin point and ask for explanation if there is any ambiguous ideas which the learners may have encountered; * Pay attention to a lesson summary and answer to stabilizing questions ;   Embark, both individually and in group, on readings to do on the 9th and 10th weeks assignments  Group A) Presents on the Economic Impact of the Europeans in South East Asia  Group B) Outline the main Administrative Techniques of the European Powers and Local Responses  Group C) Explain about the Second World War in South East Asia | SarDesai, D.R. *South East Asia: Past and Present*. San Francisco: West View Press, 1994; Stavrianos, L.S (1981), pp. 141-168, 361-364, 372-375, 711-729  SarDesai, D.R. (1994); Stavrianos, L.S (1981), pp. 141-168, 361-364, 372-375, 711-729 |
| Week 2 |  | Group D) Presents on the Evolution of Feudalism in Japan  Group E) explains on the general developments that led to Western intervention and Meiji Restoration Group F) Outlines the Political and Economic Revolutions of the Japanese from Above  Group J) Presents on Japanese Imperialism  Group H) Explains on the Successive Japanese Victories over the European Imperialists   * Each group leader will present the findings of the group members on the specific topic given to the group; * Trainees will listen attentively to a lecture presents to them by the concerned group; and ask for clarity on the points that they find vague or give comments and feedbacks for the presenters. * Pay attention to a lesson summary and answer to stabilizing questions by the course manager |  |
| Week 3 | Unit3: BRITISH CONQUEST OF INDIA AND LOCAL RESISTANCE   * The British Conquest of the Mogul Empire * British Control Techniques * India’s Traditional Economy * British Impacts: Finances, Agriculture, and Craft | * Listen to and take notes on a lesson that the course manager will deal with; * Take part in group reading activities using a guiding questions and a reading material that the course leader will distribute; * Put forward what trainees understand from the reading materials; * Pin point and ask for explanation if there is any ambiguous ideas which the learners may have encountered | Raghavan, G.N.S., *Introducing India.* New Delhi: Indian Council for Coultural Relations, 1983; Stavrianos, L.S. (1981), pp. 230-250 |
| Week 4 | Unit 4: A Brief Survey of Korean History | * Listen to and take notes on a lesson that the course manager will deal with; * Pin point and ask for explanation if there is any ambiguous ideas which the learners may have encountered * Pay attention to a lesson summary and answer to stabilizing questions by the course manager |  |

**Teaching and Learning Methods**

To pursue the intended objectives of the course, various course delivery methods be employed. This includes the use of lecture, class discussion, questioning and answering, private and group readings, paper work, and presentation.

**Mode of Assessment**

1. Quiz (12%)
2. Individual Assignment (11%)
3. Group Assignment (12%)
4. Mid Exam (25%)
5. Final examination (40%)

Grading: As per the University’s regulation

**COURSE POLICY**

All students are expected to abide by the code of conduct of students (article 166 and 166.1.1, of The Senate Legislation of Bahir Dar University May 20, 2005) throughout this course. Academic dishonesty, including *cheating*, *fabrication*, and *plagiarism* will not be tolerated and will be reported to concerned bodies for action. If you need to read it you can get a copy (to be copied by yourself) of it from your academic advisor.

Class activities will vary day to day, ranging from lectures to discussions. Students will be active participants in the course. You need to ask questions and raise issues. I expect you to do all the assignments you are supposed to accomplish. You are required to submit and present the assignments provided according to the time table indicated. I’ll give out the directions, if I find necessary, for the assignments one week prior to their due date though they are explained at each contents of your course guidebook.

Note on class attendance and participation: You are expected to attend class regularly. I will take attendance on random days during the semester to ensure that students are coming to class, and if you miss class repeatedly, your grade will be affected. If you miss more than 85% of the class attendance you will not sit for final exams. Please try to be on time for class. I will not allow you enter if you are late more than five minutes. I will often ask questions during my lectures and active participation in class is essential

Cell phones: Cell phones MUST be turned off before entering the class as they are disruptive and annoying to all of us in the class. So please make sure your cell phone is turned off before entering the class. You are responsible for all class announcements and changes.

**BASIC REFERENCE BOOKS**

Dower, John. *Japan in War and Peace.* London: Harper Collins Publishers/Fontana Press, 1995

Raghavan, G.N.S., *Introducing India.* New Delhi: Indian Council for Coultural Relations, 1983

SarDesai, D.R. *South East Asia: Past and Present*. San Francisco: West View Press, 1994;

Stavrianos, L.S. *Global Rift: The Third World Comes of Age* (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1981),

Tsuji Masanobu, *The Mastermind of Japan’s Greatest Victory, Britain’s Worst Defeat: The Capture of Singapore 1942.* UK: Spellmount Limited, 1997;

**CHAPTER ONE**

1. **A Glimpse to Chinese History**
   1. **A Brief Outline of the Chinese Imperial History**

**Development of Dynasties in China**

* The first great dynasty in China was Chou.
* It ruled the country almost for 800 years, from about 1000 BC to around 256 BC. The kingdom was made up of the king and over 1000 feudal lords. Government officials were selected based on intelligence rather than social class. Consequently, Chinese government became more efficient and basically well run.
* The Chou dynasty had some successes in developing the country.
* Towns and cities grew;
* The middle classes such as merchants and artisans became rich;
* Farming methods showed improvement;
* Coins that served for almost 2000 years developed; and
* Art and literature flourished.
* Confucius which influences Chinese culture to the present time was introduced in the period.
* In around 221 BC, Ch’in (Qin) dynasty:
* The basic form of government established by the Ch’in dynasty, with its military governors of provinces continued to be practiced up to the 20th century.
* The Great Wall of China built to protect the country from invaders.
* Han dynasty:
* The country blocked the expansion of invaders from north which helped Chinese to preserve their way of life.
* Chinese border was expanded by Han dynasty.
* Sui Dynasty:
* Renewed many of the traditions which had been accepted during of the Han Dynasty.
* Organized public works and projects such as the rebuilding of the former Han capital at Changan; the repair of the Great Wall, and the construction of a Grand Canal to link northern and southern China.
* The Tang Dynasty:
* Came to power under its first emperor Li Yuan in 118.
* The land saving system of the dynasty benefited peasants which resulted in the increase of crop yield production in the country in the period. The rulers of Tang also devoted resources to the construction of roads and waterways. These routes made voyage within China and neighboring countries much easier. During this period, Buddhism became especially popular in China.
* Taxes were relaxed. Tang established a civil service system to run government activities. Government workers were hired in the civil service based upon the scores they received on a test.
* In addition to these the invention of printing played important role in improving education, art and literature in the period.
* Sung Dynasty:
* The invention of gunpowder along with mechanical clock and magnetic compass;
* The improvement of sciences;
* The introduction of abacus for doing arithmetic which is still in use;
* Historians wrote about the actual events based on facts rather than folklore;
* Artists and educators were invited in the cities to teach others;
* External trade increased;
* Paper money was introduced which reduced the burden of peoples in caring many coins in their movement;
* Ming dynasty:
* Imposed new law codes, reorganized the tax system, restructured local governments, and restored the old Confucianism as an official doctrine of the country. Ming brought economic prosperity to the country. Chinese ships were able to explore regions of South East Asia and sometimes as far as East African coasts. But Confucius negative attitude towards trade discouraged the potential for further economic development of China.
* Qing Dynasty:
  1. **The Confucian Thought of State Administration**

1. **Confucius and His thoughts**

Confucius lived just prior to the Warring States Period (551-479 BCE). What little we know about his life comes primarily from the Analects, a record of conversations Confucius held with his students compiled after he died. In later centuries, in China, Confucius was revered as a sage and teacher. However, in the context of his time, Confucius was anything but stiff and rather a dynamic individual who believed he was mandated by Heaven to return the world to a more socially and politically harmonious time. The Analects not only shows a serious and learned man, but also someone capable in archery and horsemanship, who loved music and ritual, and who untiringly travelled the feudal states in the hopes of serving in a lord’s retinue.

Confucius was born to a family of minor nobility and modest means in the feudal state of Lu. His father died about the time Confucius was born, and he was raised by his mother, who also passed away when Confucius was young. Like other young men of similar background, he had access to an education and could aspire to serve in some capacity in a feudal state, perhaps at the lord’s court, or as an official or soldier. Confucius chose to become learned and seek office. To his mind, he was living at a time when civilization was collapsing and society was decaying. He believed that, during the early Zhou, the nobility was honorable, observed moral codes, and upheld social standards. He believed that a golden age existed in the past and wished to transmit the ethical values of that time. However, in the course of doing so, he reinterpreted the past and imbued the virtues he stressed with rich, new meanings. Here are a few of the important statements Confucius made, and what they meant:

1. “**The noble person is concerned with rightness, the small person is concerned with profit**.” Confucius redefined the meaning of nobility. For him, nobility was defined not by birth but rather by character and conduct. A truly noble person is one who puts what is right before personal gain and the desire for wealth and fame.

2. “**Young men should be filial at home and respectful to their elders when away from home.”** Filial piety is central to Confucius’s thought. He taught how a person becomes moral because a good society only develops when composed of and led by virtuous people. He saw the practice of morality in the family as the root. Should a young man learn to be respectful and reverent towards parents and elders, he will become a humane person, and humane people are far more likely to contribute in a positive way to society.

3. **“The noble man does not abandon humaneness for so much as the space of a meal.”** For Confucius, the highest virtue is humanity, and many of his conversations center upon defining what it is that makes a person humane. A person of humanity is, for instance, one who is capable of empathy and unselfish concern for the welfare of others. They know the golden rule: “what you would not want for yourself,” he taught “do not do to others.” Confucius emphasized that a society cannot function if people are incapable of taking other’s perspectives and doing their best for them. In addition, he insisted that such virtues as humanity are most fully demonstrated when individuals observe good etiquette. Decorum was important to Confucius.

4. “**Heaven has given birth to the virtue that is in me**.” Interpreters of Confucius have rightly noted that he is quite silent about the supernatural and what happens after death, rather emphasizing the life we have and serving others. Yet, it would be wrong to conclude that he wasn’t religious in any sense, because he frequently spoke of Heaven. He believed that Heaven ordains a certain course of life for each individual, including becoming a moral person. This Heaven, however, is less a deity than a higher moral order, a kind of beneficent presence.

5. “**To govern is to rectify. If you lead the people by being rectified yourself, who will dare not be rectified?”** Confucius believed that good governing flows from good men. The first qualification for a ruler or one who serves is moral rectitude. If those who lead do so by virtue and conduct themselves according to rules of propriety, people will learn from them and develop a sense of honor and shame. Consequently, society will become more orderly.

* The noble person, filial piety, humaneness, etiquette, Heaven, and government by men of virtue are just some of the ideas Confucius discussed as he traveled the feudal states seeking to advise their lords. However, he only managed to hold some minor offices in Lu and generally failed in his political aspirations. Instead, he gained an avid following of 70 students, whom he accepted regardless of their social status. After he died, they passed on his teachings, and a school of thought emerged from his teachings known as Confucianism. Those who belonged to it are Confucians–individuals distinguished by their commitment to the ideas articulated by Confucius, classical learning, and the value they place on character and conduct as the key to a good society and political order.
* Confucius had one overriding concern: to restore social order and moral propriety in an age of growing political anarchy and social chaos. Confucius believed that social and moral order rested on universal recognition and acceptance of social and political hierarchy. It was essential that everyone should know their place in the world, accept their duties and responsibilities, and recognize their superiors and inferiors. Moral example should be provided by those at the apex of the hierarchy, and emulated by their inferiors. Confucius believed that social anarchy and political immorality happened because the rulers of states refused to recognize that the powerless Zhou kings still possessed the mandate of Heaven.
* Confucius was not in a position to dictate to princes. What Confucius taught as the basis of good government was ‘the rectification of names’, summed up in a famous saying: ‘Let the lord be a lord; the subject a subject; the father a father; the son a son.

An ordered society, Confucius believed and taught, required three things: the inculcation of moral qualities; a defined social hierarchy; and the proper example of those who stood at the apex of society.

Confucius was no democrat. There is never the slightest notion of social equality in his thinking. For him, the proper and harmonious ordering of society required the recognition and active reinforcement of social hierarchy.

1. **Confucian ways of Administration**

Government and society in China were grounded in the Confucian philosophy, which held that there was a basic order in the universe and a natural harmony linking man, nature, and the cosmos (heaven); it also held that man was by nature a social being, and that the natural order of the universe should be reflected in human relations. The family unit was seen as the primary social unit; relationships within the family were fundamental to all others and comprised three of the "five relationships" that were the models for all others: sovereign-subject; husband-wife; parent-child; elder brother-younger brother; friend-friend. In this hierarchy of social relations, each role had clearly defined duties; reciprocity or mutual responsibility between subordinate and superior was fundamental to the Confucian concept of human relations. The virtue of filial piety, or devotion of the child to his parents, was the foundation for all others. When extended to all human beings, it nurtured the highest virtue, humaneness ("ren" or "jen"), or the sense of relatedness to other persons.

In traditional China it was assumed by adherents of all schools of thought that government would be monarchical and that the state had its model in the family. The ruler was understood to be at once the Son of Heaven, and the father of the people, ruling under the Mandate of Heaven. Traditional thinkers, reflecting on the problem of government, were concerned primarily not with changing institutions and laws but with ensuring the moral uprightness of the ruler and encouraging his appropriate conduct as a father-figure. The magistrate, the chief official of the lowest level of government and the official closest to the people, was known as the "father-mother" official. Even today, under a radically different form of government, the Chinese term for state is "guo-jia" or "nation-family", suggesting the survival of the idea of this paternal and consensual relationship. The first and third of the "five relationships" — i.e., emperor and minister, father and son — indicate the parallels between family and state.

The notion of the role of the state as guarantor of the people's welfare developed very early, along with the monarchy and the bureaucratic state. It was also assumed that good government could bring about order, peace, and the good society. Tests of the good ruler were social stability, population growth (a reflection of ancient statecraft where the good ruler was one who could attract people from other states), and ability to create conditions that fostered the people's welfare. The Mandate of Heaven was understood as justifying the right to rule, with the corollary right to rebel against a ruler who did not fulfill his duties to the people. The state played a major role in determining water rights, famine control and relief, and insuring social stability. The state encouraged people to grow rice and other grains rather than commercial crops in order to insure and adequate food supply; it held reserves in state granaries, in part to lessen the effects of drought and floods, particularly common in northern China. For fear of losing the Mandate of Heaven governments levied very low taxes which often meant that the government could not provide all the services expected of it, and that officials ended up extorting money from the people.

The dominant strain of Confucian thought stressed the perfectibility of man. He expressed a belief in the fundamental similarity of all persons and in the perfectibility and educability of each individual. Mencius and Hsun Tzu, two of his prominent successors, held different views on human nature, Mencius arguing that it contained the seeds of goodness, and Hsun Tzu that, in its uncultivated state, human nature tended to evil. Both, however, believed that human beings were perfectible through self-cultivation and the practice of ritual. From the 11th century onward, Neo-Confucian philosophers, engaged in the renewal and elaboration of Confucian thought, subscribed to the Mencian line, stressing the potential goodness of human nature and the importance of developing that goodness through education.

Belief in the innate goodness and perfectibility of man has had strong implications for the development of the Chinese political system. The ruler's main function in the Confucian state was to educate and transform the people. This was ideally accomplished not by legal regulation and coercion, but by personal rule, moral example, and mediation in disputes by the emperor and his officials. Confucian political theory emphasized conflict resolution through mediation, rather than through the application of abstract rules to establish right and wrong in order to achieve social harmony.

The belief that the state was the moral guardian of the people was reflected in a number of institutions. Most important among these was the merit bureaucracy, or civil service, in which all officials were to be selected for their moral qualities, qualities that would enable them not only to govern, but to set a moral example that would transform the people. Because Confucianism was a moral system, the Confucian classics had to be mastered by prospective officials. Official position and examination degree, not wealth or business acumen, were universally recognized marks of status.

* 1. **Attempts at Reform and Modernization in China**

Pressured from the outside, they were troubled also by their own explosive population growth, unpredictable economic swings and internal rebellions throughout the century. The Chinese were at first fearful of major changes, believing that they would poison their traditions if they adopted too much from the West. Before they agreed on reform, leaders in the scholar-official class had first to accept the need for change. Many of them instead held to the status quo which not only protected their position and power but also, they felt, had been the source of China's greatness in the past. Others argued that this was impossible, faced with the challenge on Western arms. Much of the 19th century, therefore, was a time of debate about whether or not to modernize, and if so, how much?

Throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, Chinese thinkers were immersed in debates about how to change China's technology while retaining traditional values and culture. Only gradually did some thinkers come to believe that just bringing in Western guns and machines was not enough. The ineffectiveness of reform efforts led them to believe that the traditional system itself was hindering both China's modernization and her ability to deal with the foreigners.

After China's defeat in the Opium War, there was great concern about the superiority of the West and fierce debate about how to respond. In 1842 Wei Yuan (1794-1856), a scholar and adviser to the government, concluded that the West had beset China because of the West's more advanced military technology. He outlined a plan for maritime defense which included "building ships, making weapons, and learning the superior techniques of the barbarians." In the decades that followed, other scholars went further than Wei, calling not only for the purchase and eventual manufacture of Western arms but also for the establishment of translation offices and institutions where students could study Western languages and mathematics in addition to Chinese classics. This approach came to be known as "self-strengthening;" its principle goal was to maintain the strong essence of Chinese civilization while adding superior technology from abroad.

Still later, scholars like Li Hongzhang (1823-1901) in 1872, argued that self-strengthening programs should be widened to include industrial ventures and transport facilities, focusing on increasing China's "wealth and power" by establishing profit-oriented ventures. The construction of modern coal mines and railroads followed. But for many reasons these projects did not succeed: many of them were not central to the state's concerns, scholars were still bound by the traditional examination system based on the Confucian classics, and growing foreign imperialism was taxing China's economy and society as much as it’s military.

After 1895, with the disastrous defeat of China by the Japanese over dominance in Korea and the subsequent "scramble" by foreign powers for Chinese concessions and spheres of influence, the more conciliatory and pragmatic programs of the "self-strengtheners" were discredited as fears for China's survival mounted. It was in this period that Chinese nationalism developed, along with urgent appeals to the Qing court for more radical reform. The reform program designed by the scholars Kang Youwei (1858-1927), Liang Qichao (1873-1929), and Tan Sitong (1865-1898) had a brief trial in the so-called "Hundred Days of Reform" of 1898, but it was not until after the Boxer Rebellion defeat in 1900 that wide-ranging reforms in education, military, economics and government were actually implemented.

A brilliant Confucian scholar, Liang came to believe that the source of Western wealth and power lay in democracy. He held that the energy generated by popular participation in the political process was what drove any dynamic society forward.

The reform program after 1901 did begin to address structural reforms, with changes in and the eventual abolition of the examination system, the establishment of more schools throughout the country which were to include Western subjects, support for student study abroad, the establishment of a new national army under a new army ministry, along with a new ministry of commerce, reform of the currency, and the promulgation of a commercial code.

By 1900 the leading revolutionary in China was Sun Yatsen (1866-1925), a man very different from previous Chinese reformers. Born to a peasant family in the Guangzhou region, Sun was educated in missionary schools in Hawaii and Hong Kong and developed a world view as much Western as Confucian. In 1894 he founded his first revolutionary organization, and by 1905 he was made head of the Revolutionary Alliance (Tongmenghui) in Japan by representatives from Chinese secret societies, overseas Chinese groups, and Chinese students abroad. After sixteen years of traveling, planning, writing and organizing, his dreams were realized when the revolution of 1911 led to the end of the Qing dynasty. He gave up the presidency in favor of General Yuan Shikai, whose death in 1916 led to an era of local warlord rule. Sun died in 1925. His "three principles of revolution" were first articulated for the Revolutionary League and later formed the foundation for the Nationalist (Guomindang) Party; they included:

1. Nationalism. Finding evidence of proto-nationalism throughout Chinese history, Sun believed that he had enlarged and modernized the principle to include opposition to foreign imperialism and a firm sense of China as an equal among the nations of the world. He also addressed the need for self-determination for China's minorities.
2. Democracy. Finding important Chinese precedents for the notion of the voice of the people, Sun introduced the new notions of a republican government and a constitution as the best way to articulate and protect people's rights. Sun advocated popular elections, initiative, recall and referendum, but he felt that China was not yet ready for full democracy, requiring instead a preparatory period of political tutelage.
3. Livelihood. Sun believed in both economic egalitarianism and economic development. He sketched out a complicated plan to equalize land holdings and ensure that taxation was both widely and fairly implemented. Dedicated to industrialization but concerned about China's difficulty in securing investment capital and also about social unrest, Sun advocated nationalization of key industries as the best way to ensure both economic development and political stability.
   * 1. **China and the West**

The international trade significantly developed after the Napoleonic war of 1815. With this the trade link between Chinese and British merchants grew since the beginning of the 19th century. The vast population of China offered a large market to European goods. The expansion of the trade on the other hand developed tensions between Britain and Qing rulers which finally led the two powers to the first Opium War of 1839-1842.).

* **The Unequal Treaties**

The victory of Britain over China in the first Opium War of 1839-1842 and the treaty signed at Nanjing made it to get reparation payments and were allowed unrestricted access to five of Chinese ports. Hong Kong Island was also given to Britain in the treaty. All these humiliating demand of Great Britain made the Chinese to call the treaty as “unequal”. The war showed the inadequacy of Qing rulers to the people.

On the contrary, Great Britain was unsatisfied by the Nanjing treaty, henceforth supplied reluctant support to the Qing rulers to suppress the above mentioned Taiping and other revolts. This absence of proper support made the war to destroy vast areas of farmland, take the life of millions which intern damaged the income of China. To exploit this weakness of the Qing rulers, Britain demanded to revise the Nanjing treaty in 1854. In the negotiation Britain requested to get access of its ships in Chinese rivers and to open Embassy at Beijing.

Qing rulers however, were annoyed and rejected those demands. This refusal led to the Second Opium War of 1856-1860 which still resulted in the defeat of Chinese army by two allied European forces. In the war, the combined forces of Britain and France numbering about 25,000 troops invaded Beijing, the capital temporarily in 1861.

This Second Opium War led to the second “un equal treaty” signed at Tientsin. As to Nanjing, the Treaty of Tientsin contained deeply offensive demands to the Chinese. The most humiliating were the demand which requested all Chinese official documents to write in English, and to get grant of unrestricted access for British warships in all navigable rivers of China. Since then British, France, Germany, Japan, Russia and the USA signed the Unequal treaties with China for the next sixty years. All these treaties made China vulnerable to western influence and weakened the Qing Dynasty.

During the last years of the 19th century, China was quickly changed into semi-colonial region. By then imperialist nations had won their struggle for power in China. Great Britain, France, Germany Russia and Japan claimed large section of China as spheres of influence-areas where they had exclusive trading rights.

As a late comer, the USA did not claim a sphere of influence. Instead, it tried to open China to the trade of all nations through the Open Door Policy. Deadlocked by their own intense rivalry, the European nations reluctantly agreed to this policy in 1899.

* + 1. **The Taiping Rebellion**

It was regarded as the first revolt of China in anti-Manchu sentiment held in the mid-19th century. The Taiping Rebellion threatened the stability of the Qing Dynasty which significantly led to its decline. The immediate cause of the revolt was the worsening famine accompanied by wide spread social unrest.

The Taiping Rebellion was begun in Guizhou province in 1851 by the leadership of Hong Xiuquan, abortive candidate of civil service. First the rebellions established the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom by crowning Hong Xiuquan as their king. The king claimed to be the brother of Jesus Christ and enforced the order of Christ in his rule. Therefore, he banned slavery, judicial tortured, concubinage, opium smoking, arranged marriage, foot binding and the worship of idols for some times.

In the early phase of the Taiping rebellion, they scored decisive victory over the forces of the Qing and captured one of the regional capitals, Nanjing in 1853. In the attack the rebels massacred entire Manchu garrison and their families in the city. Then making Nanjing their capital the expeditionary forces penetrated as far north as the suburbs of Tianjin in what was considered as the imperial heartlands.

In a desperate situation the Qing rulers ordered Zeng Guofan, a person with no prior military experience, to organize a regional and village militias into a standing army called as Tuanlianto suppress the revolt. The strategy of Guofan to raise army in the rebel provinces became depending on local gentry.

The name of this army became known as the Xiang Army called after the region where the army was raised, Hunan. The Xiang Army was established by the amalgamation of local militia and a standing army with professional training. It was paid from the regional treasury. Most commanders of the army were members of Chinese gentry.

Gradually, internal crises accompanied by defections and corruptions grew among the members of the revolt. Meanwhile Europeans, mainly Great Britain and France equipped with modern fire arms rendered their support to the Qing government to suppress the revolt. The war between the Taiping Rebellion and the Qing rulers is registered as the worse bloodiest civil war and the second bloodiest war in the world only surpassed by World War II. The revolt was finally crushed after fourteen years of resistance taking the life of 20 to 30 million peoples.

Others such as Muslims, Miao people of China, launched the next rebellion against the Qing rulers in the Dungan revolt of 1862-1871 in the northwest China. And the Panthay Rebellion followed as the third revolt from 1856-1873 in Yunan Province. All these three wars devastated mainly the south half of China.

In the post war period, the Xiang Army was succeeded by Huai Army, collectively called as “Yongying”.This new army was organized by student and colleague of Guofan, Li Hongzhang. The Yongying Army symbolized the end of Manchu dominancy in Qing army. This was because the army was made Qing’s de facto first-line troops. Moreover, the army commanders were regional lords and the source of its finance became regional treasury.

This decentralization of power further weakened the strong control of the central government. The technological and ideological changes of the western world eventually developed a tremendous and revolutionary impact on the declining Qing Dynasty. It was aggravated by external influence contend to carve up autonomous colonial territories in different parts of China in the “unequal treaties”.

* + 1. **The Boxer Rising/rebellion**

Parallel with the growth of foreign influence in China, resentment grew particularly among Chinese youths. Henceforth, Chinese antiforeigner groups gathered in secret to plot ways of driving out the imperialists. One of such groups called itself the Society of Righteous and Harmonious Fists because it also practiced a Chinese form of boxing its members were called as Boxers.

The Boxers gained strength from their belief in Chinese ritual and the traditions and their hatred of foreigners. In June 1900, they launched attacks and killed several hundred foreigners of eight nations including the German ambassador to China and thousands of Chinese Christians. They besieged the remaining foreigners in Beijing, the capital of China.

The governments of those foreigners formed a combined army of 25,000 troops and launched attack on Beijing and suppressed the rebellion with a hail of bullets which left thousands of Chinese dead in the streets. In this way foreign troops crushed the Boxers in a few weeks. This western threat together with the civil wars such as the Taiping Rebellion (1850-1864) eroded the dynasty’s control in the country ever before.

* 1. **The Chinese Nationalistic Revolution**

The Manchu rulers clung tenaciously to their 2,000 year old institutions but two types of pressures hastened the collapse of imperial China. The first was the increasing power and ambitions of the West. English, Dutch, Spanish, French and Portuguese all had colonial empires in Asia as well as America and were calling for free-trade. By 1800 and after, westerners found they could sell the Chinese abundant quantities of opium, even if illegally and get tea, silk, porcelains and silver back. By 1839 this had provoked war with England - the Opium War of 1839-42 - chiefly coastal skirmishes, which went badly for China, nevertheless.

The second factor leading to the collapse of imperial China was the growing domestic discontent. For 2,000 years China had sustained a highly advanced culture, although static. Regardless of various foreign invader-rulers, the huge majority of its people lived on the land in self-sufficient and contained villages, living by ancestral precept. Although at the mercy of nature, in some ways their technology was well advanced with city walls, efficient irrigation systems and grand palaces and they lived-with dignity, rich and poor. In the first part of this l9th century travelers reported that the Chinese "have tranquility without happiness, industry without improvement, stability without strength and public order without public morality". This was soon to change again. Anti-Manchu secret societies became more active, with the White Lotus Society rebellion, which had actually started in 1793.

The government made some concession to the progressives, by providing the first beginnings of parliamentary rule. In 1910 a national assembly was convoked. It had a Lower House with representatives of the provinces (provincial diets were also set up), and an Upper House, in which sat representatives of the imperial house, the nobility, the gentry, and also the protectorates. The members of the Upper House were all nominated by the regent. It very soon proved that the members of the Lower House, mainly representatives of the provincial gentry, had a much more practical outlook than the routineers of Peking. Thus the Lower House grew in importance, a fact which, of course, brought grist to the mills of the revolutionary movement.

In 1910 the first risings directed actually against the regency took place, in the province of Hunan. In 1911 the "railway disturbances" broke out in western China as a reply of the railway shareholders in the province of Szechwan to the government decree of nationalization of all the railways.

The modernist students, most of whom were sons of merchants who owned railway shares, supported the movement, and the government was unable to control them. At the same time a great anti-Manchu revolution began in Wuch'ang, one of the cities of which Wuhan, on the Yangtze, now consists.

The revolution was the result of government action against a group of terrorists. Its leader was an officer named Li Yüan-hung. The Manchus soon had some success in this quarter, but the other provincial governors now rose in rapid succession, repudiated the Manchus, and declared themselves independent. Most of the Manchu garrisons in the provinces were murdered. The governors remained at the head of their troops in their provinces, and for the moment made common cause with the revolutionaries, from whom they meant to break free at the first opportunity. The Manchus themselves failed at first to realize the gravity of the revolutionary movement; they then fell into panic-stricken desperation.

As a last resource, Yüan Shih-k'ai ( military general) was recalled (November 10th, 1911) and made prime minister. Yüan's excellent troops were loyal to his person, and he could have made use of them in fighting on behalf of the dynasty. But a victory would have brought no personal gain to him; for his personal plans he considered that the anti-Manchu side provided the springboard he needed. The revolutionaries, for their part, had no choice but to win over Yüan Shih-k'ai for the sake of his troops, since they were not themselves strong enough to get rid of the Manchus, or even to wrest concessions from them, so long as the Manchus were defended by Yüan's army. Thus Yüan and the revolutionaries were forced into each other's arms. He then began negotiations with them, explaining to the imperial house that the dynasty could only be saved by concessions. The revolutionaries--apart from their desire to neutralize the prime minister and general, if not to bring him over to their side--were also readier than ever to negotiate, because they were short of money and unable to obtain loans from abroad, and because they could not themselves gain control of the individual governors.

The negotiations, which had been carried on at Shanghai, were broken off on December 18th, 1911, because the revolutionaries demanded a republic, but the imperial house was only ready to grant a constitutional monarchy. Meanwhile the revolutionaries set up a provisional government at Nanking (December 29th, 1911), with Sun Yat-sen as president and Li Yüan-hung as vice-president. Yüan Shih-k'ai now declared to the imperial house that the monarchy could no longer be defended, as his troops were too unreliable, and he induced the Manchu government to issue an edict on February 12th, 1912, in which they renounced the throne of China and declared the Republic to be the constitutional form of state. The young emperor of the Hsüan-t'ung period, after the Japanese conquest of Manchuria in 1931, was installed there. He was, however, entirely without power during the melancholy years of his nominal rule, which lasted until 1945.

In 1912 the Manchu dynasty came in reality to its end. On the news of the abdication of the imperial house, Sun Yat-sen resigned in Nanking, and recommended Yüan Shih-k'ai as president.

* 1. **The Disintegration of China and the Warlord Era, 1916-1926**

The situation of the Republic after its foundation was far from hopeful. Republican feeling existed only among the very small groups of students who had modern education and a few traders. And even in the revolutionary party to which these groups belonged there were the most various conceptions of the form of republican state to be aimed at. The left wing of the party, mainly intellectuals and manual workers, had in view more or less vague socialistic institutions. Whereas, the liberals, for instance the traders, thought of a liberal democracy, more or less on the American pattern. And the nationalists merely wanted the removal of the alien Manchu rule. The three groups had come together for the practical reason that only so could they get rid of the dynasty. They gave unreserved allegiance to Sun Yat-sen as their leader. He succeeded in mobilizing the enthusiasm of continually widening circles for action, not only by the integrity of his aims but also because he was able to present the new socialistic ideology in an alluring form.

The anti-republican gentry, however, whose power was not yet entirely broken, took a stand against the nationalist party. The generals who had gone over to the republicans had not the slightest intention of founding a republic, but only wanted to get rid of the rule of the Manchus and to step into their place. This was true also of Yüan Shih-k'ai, who in his heart was entirely on the side of the gentry, although the European press especially had always energetically defended him. In character and capacity he stood far above the other generals, but he was not republican.

Thus the first period of the Republic, until 1927, was marked by incessant attempts by individual generals to make themselves independent. The Government could not depend on its soldiers, and so was impotent. The first risings of military units began at the outset of 1912. The governors and generals who wanted to make themselves independent sabotaged every decree of the central government; especially they sent it no money from the provinces and also refused to give their assent to foreign loans. The province of Canton, the actual birthplace of the republican movement and the focus of radicalism, declared itself in 1912 an independent republic.

Within the Peking government matters soon came to a climax. Yüan Shih-k'ai and his supporters represented the conservative view, with the unexpressed but obvious aim of setting up a new imperial house and continuing the old gentry system. Most of the members of the parliament came, however, from the middle class and were opposed to any reaction of this sort. One of their leaders was murdered, and the blame was thrown upon Yüan Shih-k'ai; there then came, in the middle of 1912, a new revolution, in which the radicals made themselves independent and tried to gain control of South China. But Yüan Shih-k'ai commanded better troops and won the day. At the end of October 1912 he was elected, against the opposition, as president of China, and the new state was recognized by foreign countries.

Meanwhile, Yüan Shih-k'ai had made all preparations for turning the Republic once more into an empire, in which he would be emperor; the empire was to be based once more on the gentry group. In 1914 he secured an amendment of the Constitution under which the governing power was to be entirely in the hands of the president; at the end of 1914 he secured his appointment as president for life, and at the end of 1915 he induced the parliament to resolve that he should become emperor. This naturally aroused the resentment of the republicans, but it also annoyed the generals belonging to the gentry, who had the same ambition.

Thus there were disturbances, especially in the south, where Sun Yat-sen with his followers agitated for a democratic republic. The foreign powers recognized that a divided China would be much easier to penetrate and annex than a united China, and accordingly opposed Yüan Shih-k'ai. Before he could ascend the throne, he died suddenly--and this terminated the first attempt to re-establish monarchy.

Yüan was succeeded as president by Li Yüan-hung. Five provinces had declared themselves independent. Foreign pressure on China steadily grew. China was forced to declare war on Germany, and though this made no practical difference to the war, it enabled the European powers to penetrate further into China. Difficulties grew to such an extent in 1917 that a dictatorship was set up and soon after came an interlude, the recall of the Manchus and the reinstatement of the deposed emperor (July 1st-8th, 1917).

This led to various risings of generals, each aiming simply at the satisfaction of his thirst for personal power. Ultimately the victorious group of generals, headed by Tuan Ch'i-jui, secured the election of Fêng Kuo-chang in place of the retiring president. Fêng was succeeded at the endof 1918 by Hsü Shih-ch'ang, who held office until 1922. Hsü, as a former ward of the emperor, was a typical representative of the gentry, and was opposed to all republican reforms.

The south held aloof from these northern governments. In Canton an opposition government was set up, formed mainly of followers of Sun Yat-sen; the Peking government was unable to remove the Canton government. But the Peking government and its president scarcely counted any longer even in the north. All that counted were the generals, the most prominent of whom were: (1) Chang Tso-lin, who had control of Manchuria and had made certain terms with Japan, but who was ultimately murdered by the Japanese (1928); (2) Wu P'ei-fu, who held North China; (3) the so-called "Christian general", Fêng Yü-hsiang, and (4) Ts'ao K'un, who became president in 1923.

At the end of 1924 Sun Yat-sen with some of his followers went to Peking, to discuss the possibility of a reunion between north and south on the basis of the program of the People's Party. There, however, he died at the beginning of 1925, before any definite results had been attained; there was no prospect of achieving anything by the negotiations, and the south broke them off. But the death of Sun Yat-sen had been followed after a time by tension within the party between its right and left wings. The southern government had invited a number of Russian advisers in 1923 to assist in building up the administration, civil and military, and on their advice the system of government had been reorganized on lines similar to those of the soviet and commissar system. This change had been advocated by an old friend of Sun Yat-sen, Chiang Kai-shek, who later married Sun's sister-in-law. Chiang Kai-shek, who was born in 1886, was the head of the military academy at Whampoa, near Canton, where Russian instructors were at work. The new system was approved by Sun Yat-sen's successor, Hu Han-min (who died in 1936), in his capacity of party leader. It was opposed by the elements of the right, who at first had little influence. Chiang Kai-shek soon became one of the principal leaders of the south, as he had command of the efficient troops of Canton, who had been organized by the Russians.

The People's Party of the south and its governments, at that time fairly radical in politics, were disliked by the foreign powers; only Japan supported them for a time, owing to the anti-British feeling of the South Chinese and in order to further her purpose of maintaining disunion in China. The first serious collision with the outer world came on May 30th, 1925, when British soldiers shot at a crowd demonstrating in Shanghai. This produced a widespread boycott of British goods in Canton and in British Hong Kong, inflicting a great loss on British trade with China and bringing considerable advantages in consequence to Japanese trade and shipping: from the time of this boycott began the Japanese grip on Chinese coastwise shipping.

The second party congress was held in Canton in 1926. Chiang Kai-shek already played a prominent part. The People's Party, under Chiang Kai-shek and with the support of the communists, began the great campaign against the north. At first it had good success: the various provincial governors and generals and the Peking government were played off against each other, and in a short time one leader after another was defeated. The Yangtze was reached, and in 1926 the southern government moved to Hankow. All over the southern provinces there now came a genuine rising of the masses of the people, mainly the result of communist propaganda and of the government's promise to give land to the peasants, to set limits to the big estates, and to bring order into the taxation. In spite of its communist element, at the beginning of 1927 the southern government was essentially one of the middle class and the peasantry, with a socialistic tendency.

Generally, the years that followed the revolution until 1927 were marked as the collapse of the political power of the Peking government--years of dissolution. In the south Sun Yat-sen had been elected generalissimo in 1921. In 1924 he was re-elected with a mandate for a campaign against the north. In 1924 there also met in Canton the first general congress of the Kuomintang ("People's Party"). The Kuomintang (in 1929 it had 653,000 members, or roughly 0.15 per cent of the population) is the continuation of the Komingtang ("Revolutionary Party") founded by Sun Yat-sen, which as a middle-class party had worked for the removal of the dynasty. The new Kuomintang was more socialistic, as is shown by its admission of Communists and the stress laid upon land reform.

* 1. **Intellectual modernization**

The intellectual modernization of China goes under the name of the "**Movement of May Fourth",** because on May 4th, 1919, students of the National University in Peking demonstrated against the government and their pro-Japanese adherents. When the police attacked the students and jailed some, more demonstrations and student strikes and finally a general boycott of Japanese imports were the consequence. In these protest actions, professors such as Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei, later president of the Academia Sinica (died 1940), took an active part. The forces which had now been mobilized, rallied around the journal "New Youth" (\_Hsin Ch'ing-nien\_), created in 1915 by Ch'en Tu-hsiu. The journal was progressive, against the monarchy, Confucius, and the old traditions. Ch'en Tu-hsiu who put himself strongly behind the students, was more radical than other contributors but at first favoured Western democracy and Western science; he was influenced mainly by John Dewey who was guest professor in Peking in 1919-20.

This revolution was the logically necessary application of the political revolution to the field of education. The new "vernacular" took place of the old "classical" literary language. The language of the classical works is so remote from the language of daily life that no uneducated person can understand it. A command of it requires a full knowledge of all the ancient literature, entailing decades of study. The gentry had elaborated this style of speech for themselves and their dependants; it was their monopoly; nobody who did not belong to the gentry and had not attended its schools could take part in literary or in administrative life. The literary revolution introduced the language of daily life, the language of the people, into literature: newspapers, novels, scientific treatises, translations, appeared in the vernacular, and could thus be understood by anyone who could read and write, even if he had no Confucianist education.

As a consequence of it, a great quantity of new literature has been published. Not only is every important new book that appears in the West published in translation within a few months, but modern novels and short stories and poems have been written, some of them of high literary value. At the same time as this revolution there took place another fundamental change in the language. It was necessary to take over a vast number of new scientific and technical terms. As Chinese, owing to the character of its script, is unable to write foreign words accurately and can do no more than provide a rather rough paraphrase, the practice was started of expressing new ideas by newly formed native words. Thus modern Chinese has very few foreign words, and yet it has all the new ideas. For example, a telegram is a "lightning-letter"; a wireless telegram is a "not-have-wire-lightning-communication"; a fountain-pen is a "self-flow-ink-water-brush"; a typewriter is a "strike-letter-machine". Most of these neologisms are similar in the modern languages of China and Japan.

**1.7. Nationalist China**

With the continued success of the northern campaign, and with Chiang Kai-shek's southern army at the gates of Shanghai (March 21st, 1927), a decision had to be taken. Chiang Kai-shek, through his marriage with Sun Yat-sen's wife's sister, had become allied with one of the greatest banking families. In the days of the siege of Shanghai Chiang, together with his closest colleagues, decided on the second alternative. Shanghai came into his hands without a struggle, and the capital of the Shanghai financiers, and soon foreign capital as well, was placed at his disposal, so that he was able to pay his troops and finance his administration. At the same time the Russian advisers were dismissed or executed.

The decision arrived at by Chiang Kai-shek and his friends did not remain unopposed, and he parted from the "left group" (1927) which formed a rival government in Hankow, while Chiang Kai-shek made Nanking the seat of his government (April 1927). In that year Chiang not only concluded peace with the financiers and industrialists, but also a sort of "armistice" with the landowning gentry. "Land reform" still stood on the party program, but nothing was done, and in this way the confidence and co-operation of large sections of the gentry was secured. The choice of Nanking as the new capital pleased both the industrialists and the agrarians: the great bulk of China's young industries lay in the Yangtze region, and that region was still the principal one for agricultural produce; the landowners of the region were also in a better position with the great market of the capital in their neighbourhood. Meanwhile the Nanking government had succeeded in carrying its dealings with the northern generals to a point at which they were largely out-manoeuvred and became ready for some sort of collaboration (1928).

As early as 1928, when there seemed a possibility of uniting China, with the exception of Manchuria, which was dominated by Japan, and when the European powers began more and more to support Chiang Kai-shek, Japan felt that her interests in North China were threatened, and landed troops in Shantung. There was hard fighting on May 3rd, 1928. General Chang Tso-lin, in Manchuria, who was allied to Japan, endeavoured to secure a cessation of hostilities, but he fell victim to a Japanese assassin; his place was taken by his son, Chang Hsüeh-liang, who pursued an anti-Japanese policy. The Japanese recognized, however, that in view of the international situation the time had not yet come for intervention in North China. In 1929 they withdrew their troops and concentrated instead on their plans for Manchuria.

Until the time of the "Manchurian incident" (1931), the Nanking government steadily grew in strength. It gained the confidence of the western powers, who proposed to make use of it in opposition to Japan's policy of expansion in the Pacific sphere. On the strength of this favourable situation in its foreign relations, the Nanking government succeeded in getting rid of one after another of the Capitulations. Above all, the administration of the "Maritime Customs", that is to say of the collection of duties on imports and exports, was brought under the control of the Chinese government: until then it had been under foreign control. Now that China could act with more freedom in the matter of tariffs, the government had greater financial resources, and through this and other measures it became financially more independent of the provinces. It succeeded in building up a small but modern army, loyal to the government and superior to the still existing provincial armies. This army gained its military experience in skirmishes with the Communists and the remaining generals.

It is true that when in 1931 the Japanese occupied Manchuria, Nanking was helpless, since Manchuria was only loosely associated with Nanking, and its governor, Chang Hsüeh-liang, had tried to remain independent of it. Thus Manchuria was lost almost without a blow. On the other hand, the fighting with Japan that broke out soon afterwards in Shanghai brought credit to the young Nanking army, though owing to its numerical inferiority it was unsuccessful. China protested to the League of Nations against its loss of Manchuria. The League sent a commission (the Lytton Commission), which condemned Japan's action, but nothing further happened, and China indignantly broke away from her association with the Western powers (1932-1933). In view of the tense European situation (the beginning of the Hitler era in Germany, and the Italian plans of expansion), the Western powers did not want to fight Japan on China's behalf, and without that nothing more could be done. They pursued, indeed, a policy of playing off Japan against China, in order to keep those two powers occupied with each other, and so to divert Japan from Indo-China and the Pacific.

China had thus to be prepared for being involved one day in a great war with Japan. Chiang Kai-shek wanted to postpone war as long as possible. He wanted time to establish his power more thoroughly within the country, and to strengthen his army. In regard to external relations, the great powers would have to decide their attitude sooner or later. America could not be expected to take up a clear attitude: she was for peace and commerce, and she made greater profits out of her relations with Japan than with China; she sent supplies to both (until 1941). On the other hand, Britain and France were more and more turning away from Japan, and Russo-Japanese relations were at all times tense. Japan tried to emerge from her isolation by joining the "axis powers", Germany and Italy (1936); but it was still doubtful whether the Western powers would proceed with Russia, and therefore against Japan, or with the Axis, and therefore in alliance with Japan.

Japan for her part considered that if she was to raise the standard of living of her large population and to remain a world power, she must bring into being her "Greater East Asia", so as to have the needed raw material sources and export markets in the event of a collision with the Western powers; in addition to this, she needed a security girdle as extensive as possible in case of a conflict with Russia. In any case, "Greater East Asia" must be secured before the European conflict should break out.

* 1. **Rivalry between the Kuomintang and Chinese Communist Party (CCP)**

**1.8.1.** **The communist movement**

Though, Sun Yat-sen continued to rebuild Kuomintang, promoted economic development by building schools, roads and railways. However, the government did very little to raise the living standards of peasants who comprised the majority of Chinese population.

As a result of this, many peasants, intellectuals and urban workers supported the rival of Kuomintang, Chinese Communist Party (CCP). The CCP was established in 1920. During the war of Kuomintang against the warlords, communist soldiers provided crucial military support to Kuomintang.

The Chinese Communist Movement came into being in 1920–1921 through the confluence of a number of international factors, domestic political crises and micro organizational exigencies.

1. On the international stage, the ending of the catastrophic First World War brought forth the Russian Revolution (and the revolutionary wave immediately after it in Europe), which initially felt rather distant to the Chinese intelligentsia, and the Wilsonian doctrine of national self-determination, which found immediate repercussions in China as elsewhere as the doctrine raised nationalist aspirations. Yet, by ceding the German colony of Qingdao to Japan instead of turning it back to China, the Versailles peace treaty negotiation in 1919 quickly disappointed those aspirations and provoked the May Fourth student demonstration that galvanized a young generation into political and social activism. This situation made it possible for the Communist International to send its emissaries to China in early 1920 and find an eager audience ready to examine the alternative path they would deliver.
2. In domestic politics, after consecutive efforts of monarchical restoration both quickly collapsed and the humiliating diplomatic mission in Versailles, the young republican state along with its parliamentary politics was widely perceived to be incompetent and precarious. Moreover, “local self-government” a popular notion associated with the liberal constitutional movement since the last years of the Qing in the early 1900s that May Fourth activists like Mao Zedong had also hailed briefly seemed already bankrupt, as decentralized local power had now fallen into the alliance of predatory militarists and local gentry elites instead of the commoners. Opposition parties seemed able to accomplish nothing more than joining the fray. This widespread distrust of existing political institutions thus sent a young generation of students and graduates of modernizing educational institutions in search of non-institutionalized ways of redressing their concern: social activism. Such was the context that spawned over a hundred youth activist groups across China during the late teens and early 1920s. These groups generally called themselves “study societies,” exploring and practicing new ideas in an atmosphere of change. While sharing an anti-traditionalist attitude, they varied in their political militancy, internal cohesion, and life span.
3. At the micro organizational level, the Chinese Communist Movement really took off in recruiting among these activist groups when the emissaries of the Communist International managed to convert Chen Duxiu and Li Dazhao, two prominent radical intellectuals at the time, who then mobilized their networks among these groups to forge the nascent Communist movement. Notably, among the May Fourth activist groups, it was those that practiced “collective self-cultivation”—a hybrid organizational identity that combined neo-Confucian notions of self-cultivation with Christian-influenced group methods modeled by the YMCA in China—that favored Communist recruitment in comparison to non-joiner groups. And while there were academics interested in socialism and fringe elements in the Nationalist (KMT) circles involved in the beginning of the Communist movement, most of them soon left the movement. It was the “bloc recruitment” of these May Fourth activist groups that brought the first batch of committed participants into its fold. Their organizational trajectory suggests that Communism appeared attractive to these students because it seemed to provide a convincing explanation for the inadequacy of their earlier practices of character building and an effective prescription to eradicate the structural causes of moral decay and corruption through class struggle.

This conversion trajectory from moral vanguard to revolutionary vanguard shaped the solidarity of the movement and its commitment to expand their reach in labor, youth, and women activists in its early three years. It also partly explained the Communists’ initial reluctance to collaborate with Sun Yat-sen’s Nationalist Party (KMT, hereafter), despite the prodding of the Communist International, since these early comrades considered the latter too corrupt to work with. Due to the insistence of the Communist International as well as the deep distress caused by the violent crackdown of its labor movement on February 7, 1923, the nascent Chinese Communist Party finally took on Sun Yat-sen’s offer to establish an alliance and participated in the reform and reorganization of the KMT in 1924. Members of the CCP could join the KMT as individuals but were not expected to form caucus groups within it. Under these terms, the CCP sought to expand its social movement infrastructure under the legal protection of the KMT government in Guangzhou and often in the KMT’s name, particularly by collaborating with its left wing.

The strength of the mass movement infrastructure of the CCP and its fellow travelers in the KMT’s left wing was well on display in the wave of anti-imperialist strikes, boycotts, demonstrations, and riots during the May 30th Movement in 1925, which further boosted its growth enormously. As a reflection of the dominance of the intelligentsia in the CCP during this phase, most of its involvement in the KMT concentrated on the “soft” side, such as mass movements, propaganda, and political work, while the right wing of the KMT held pillars of “hard” powers—government, army, finance, and foreign affairs.

The subsequent months were a period of shock, confusion, and major policy changes, especially after Stalin’s plan to help the Communists take over the KMT’s left-wing government in Wuhan backfired in another round of purges in July, when many in the KMT already felt that their interests were threatened by the radical peasant policies that the Communists were promoting. Thus ended the phase of social movement and began a second phase characterized by violent and clandestine struggles.

Because in its first phase, the movement was mainly engaged in open and semi-open struggles and because the intelligentsia ethos was still dominant, its internal organization was generally quite loose. Its approach to expansion often did not differ significantly from social clubs’ membership drive. Its membership experienced enormous growth in the favorable atmosphere after the May 30th movement yet contracted dramatically immediately after the KMT’s two purges in 1927. At its peak in early 1927, it could claim influence on 3 million industrial workers and 9 million peasants, yet such influence was quickly decimated.

Chen Duxiu, the general secretary, was heavily attacked by a younger generation of Soviet-trained leaders at this pivotal moment and ousted in August 1927 both for his policy failure and for his “patriarchal” and “undemocratic” leadership style. Notably, this style tells not so much about Chen’s bad temperament—although it was certainly the case —as about the party’s coordination structure. Because its commanding structures were often ad hoc and not clearly formulated, these loosely connected networks and systems had to rely on a central arbitrator to use his personal authority to coordinate and adjudicate. One telling example is the governance of “libidinal economy.”

As a continuation of the May Fourth “free love” movement and attack on patriarchy, the early years of the Chinese Communist movement saw tremendous experiments of sexual relationships that emphasized voluntary consummation. Yet jealousy and resentment soon tested the limit of this principle. Chen Duxiu often found himself called upon to intervene in order to harness conflicts over romantic relationships.

As a younger leadership took over after the emergency meeting of August 7, 1927 and tried to introduce tighter forms of “democratic centralism” that they were lectured about in the Soviet Union, they were confronted with a movement that was often too fragmented and volatile to implement them.

Once the Communist movement was outlawed, loyal participants had to struggle for a viable path forward. This was initially driven more by survival instincts than by coherent plans. This scrambling process was further complicated by the conflict between Stalin and Trotsky from the Soviet side over the responsibility for the misjudgments about the KMT that caused the CCP’s disastrous suppression. Some, such as Chen Duxiu, Peng Shuzhi, and Liu Renjing, definitively took Trotsky’s side and became the first cohort of the left opposition. The majority who stayed in the CCP, however, had little clue about that debate yet bore its consequences when Stalin, as if to disprove Trotsky’s accusations, advocated a series of drastic military actions and strikes that turned out to be adventurist and unproductive. This reflects an ongoing structural reality for the CCP: the domineering authority of the Comintern and from the late 1920s, Stalin himself. Nevertheless, the KMT’s counterrevolutionary violence now justified revolutionary violence. Armed struggle became a necessity. Thus a Red Army was established after the Soviet model.

After a series of failed attacks on major cities such as Guangzhou and Changsha, a bifurcated system gradually emerged: while clandestine struggles were fought in the cities where the nerve center of the movement still lay, Red Army bases sprouted in a few places in the countryside where traditional social control had deteriorated and a new mechanism was not in place. Particularly notable was the overlap of these bases with mountainous Hakka (“guest people”) areas in South China, where longstanding rift between the “locals” and the Hakka provided a fertile ground for the Communists to take root.

In these bases, land reform was carried out to secure the support of poor peasants. Yet policies toward middle peasants fluctuated across time and varied across bases and were often implicated in “white scares” (fears of KMT infiltration) and internal purges. Among these bases, the mountainous south Jiangxi and west Fujian where Zhu De and Mao Zedong initially found shelter was the most consolidated and was declared the Central Soviet when the Communists established a formal Soviet government in November 1931 during the KMT’s crisis in the wake of the Japanese occupation of Manchuria. By early 1934, the Central Soviet had control over 66 county seats in the border area between Jiangxi, Fujian, and Guangdong provinces.

Up until 1930, the communication between the rural bases and the Party Central was sporadic. The rural bases were either left to develop on their own or called upon to support urban insurgences. The Party’s power center still resided underground in Shanghai and occasionally in Moscow, where the sixth congress of the CCP was held due to the risk of convening so many people in cities in China. Urban clandestine activities

had toughened up the rank and file but in most cases they were so unproductive in terms of expanding the Communist organizational clout that Liu Shaoqi would later accuse them of “adventurism” and “close-doorism.” Its labor movement—its alleged justification —dwindled and paled in comparison to the “yellow unions.” Defectors and dissent became a serious problem. Despite its endemic instabilities, the KMT’s state-building efforts during this period did bear fruit, including its rapidly expanding intelligence system led by the spymaster Dai Li. By January 1933, the CCP Party Central had found it impossible to operate in Shanghai and was forced to relocate to the Central Soviet. Its underground networks in major cities were all shattered by late 1934. Despite this devastating failure, the Communists scored impressive success in ideological domains, which would pay off in the long run. The League of Left-Wing Writers, a Communist front organization established in 1930 and nominally headed by the preeminent writer Lu Xun, swayed the literary and artistic field leftward. Around the same time, the “Chinesesocial history debate” in the late 1920s and early 1930s galvanized the fields of social sciences and history, in which Marxism emerged as a formidable intellectual current. The plight of the peasantry had also attracted more attention than ever, giving the Communist experiment of land reform a curious if distant audience. Paradoxically then, by 1934, the Communists as visible organized action seemed to have virtually disappeared from the urban scene yet the ideological milieu had become ever more favorable.

When the Party Central relocated to the Central Soviet in January 1933, it had already undergone three rounds of leadership change, with the Soviet-trained Bo Gu and Zhang Wentian now in command and the seasoned Zhou Enlai having the most extensive control. A reshuffling of leadership in the Central Soviet government and military ensued. Although Mao retained his position as Chairman of the Council of People’s Commissars, he was divested of actual leadership roles in the government and the army, partly because of his implication in the white scare of the Futian Incident, which had led to the execution of thousands of his own comrades.

By this point, the Communist movement had developed its four pillars—the party, the government, the military, and the mass organizations. Yet, it had barely managed to blend the hitherto bifurcated system before it was forced to evacuate from the Central Soviet on October 14, 1934, due to its failure to withstand Chiang Kai-shek’s fifth campaign to encircle and annihilate it (the first four campaigns were successfully repelled). Thus began the Long March as well as a new phase characterized by exploration, innovation, and openness.

**1.8.2. The Phase of Exploration and Innovation (1934–1940)**

In the course of time, the communists made unsuccessful attempt to take power of the government from the Kuomintang in 1927. Since then Chiang turned his face against the communists and tried to wipe them out. In the city of Guangzhou alone, Kuomintang soldiers killed 6,000 Communists and suspected Communists within three days. As Kuomintang began its purge, tens of thousands of Communists fled to the mountains in the southern province of Jiangxi. At Jiangxi the Communists gathered their forces and formed the Red Army under the leadership of Mao Zedong.

The Red Army gained popular support in rural areas of the country by overthrowing local landlords and distributing their land to peasants. Before the Long March, the number of the Red Army reached to about 250,000. The success of the Red Army worried Kuomintang and ordered a series of “extermination campaigns” to destroy this rival army. Mao fought back using his own strategies. “the enemy advances, we retreat., the enemy camps, we harass., the enemy tires, we attack., the enemy retreats, we pursue.”

At the beginning, Mao’s mentioned strategy worked properly. But, in October 1934, the Kuomintang troops had nearly surrounded millions of the Red Army. This forced Mao to retreat once again with his 100,000 peasant troops from Jiangxi province in a desperate gamble for survival. Mao’s retreat from Jiangxi covered about 6,000 miles or 9,600 kms lasted for one year. In the Long March the Red Army travelled an average of 16 miles (26 kms) a day across rivers and mountains. This movement was accompanied by a series of wars. On their march the Communist Army defeated ten provincial armies. Besides the battles thousands of troops froze or starved to death in the Long March. Out of 100,000 troops, fewer than 8,000 remained at the end of the march in 1935.

Edgar Snow’s *Red Star over China* was instrumental for casting a heroic image on the arduous resettlement journey known as the Long March and turning it into a metaphor of the Chinese people’s struggle. Not to diminish its accomplishment, the Long March was nevertheless driven less by grand visions than by the will to survive, facilitated by structural opportunities, and punctuated by strategic adjustments and disputes. After initial major battles in Hunan with Chiang Kai-shek’s forces, when the 80,000-men strong Communist forces were reduced to 30,000, direct military engagement became rare. In most instances, the Communists managed to survive between warlords in southwest China, who were more concerned with preserving their own forces and who with mutual understanding would let them pass with minimal fighting, and Chiang Kai-shek’s central government forces, who sought to penetrate into warlords’ turfs by chasing the Communists into these territories instead of destroying them once and for all. Most Communist casualties after Hunan, therefore, did not result from direct fighting but from extreme natural circumstances when crossing the snowy mountains and wild grasslands.

Two examples of strategic and organizational reshuffling occurred along the way. In January 1935, after the Communists reached the temporary haven of Zunyi, an enlarged Politburo meeting criticized the military strategies under Bo Gu and Otto Braun and incorporated Mao into the military command, assisting Zhou Enlai. The Politburo was also reorganized, with Zhang Wentian, a staunch ally of Mao, in charge and Mao becoming a standing member. For the first time, Mao was transformed from a guerrilla base developer and obtained influence on the overall direction of the movement. The second organizational change was Zhang Guotao’s demand for a larger share of power in August–September, after his stronger Fourth Front Army, retreating from Sichuan Shaanxi Soviet base, finally met up with the debilitated First Front Army led directly by the Politburo. Now, after some concessions made to accommodate Zhang’s demand, disputes emerged between Mao and Zhang—the two most vocal military leaders— regarding the direction of their movement. While Mao and the Politburo majority decided to go north, Zhang insisted on going south with the Fourth Front Army and set up a separate Party Central. The First Front Army eventually reached an already existing Soviet base in Shaanxi whereas the Fourth was almost decimated, after which a small contingent survived to reach Shaanxi. Although the Zhang-Mao dispute was a major blow to the movement overall, one of its consequences was that Mao, because of his determination and assertiveness in standing up to Zhang, emerged as the main strategy maker.

When they arrived in Shaanxi in October 1935, the Chinese Communist leadership found a dramatically different national and international environment than a year ago, before the Long March. The Japanese attempt to encroach on north China instigated a tide of patriotic sentiment that would soon sweep the nation. The Communists were adept at taking advantage of this set of contingent events. Just two months earlier, Wang Ming had issued a declaration in the name of the CCP and called upon the nation to organize a united front to resist Japan, following the Communist International’s new policy (partly to forestall Japan’s attack on the Soviet Union). In this context, Chiang Kai-shek’s policy to exterminate the Communist forces before resisting Japan had little popularity. This turn of events pushed the Communist leadership to adopt a united front policy appealing to a wide public. They negotiated a secret truce with the KMT military units who were charged to eliminate them. And once students in Beiping (Beijing) took on street in December 1935 and galvanized a National Salvation Movement nationwide, party veterans like Liu Shaoqi were quickly sent in to rebuild clandestine networks and sway the movement. Edgar Snow’s visit to the Communists in Northern Shaanxi in 1936 and the widespread circulation of his account, *Red Star Over China*, further helped to win over public sympathy. Eventually, the positive role that the Communists played in the peaceful resolution of the coup in Xi’an in December 1936 helped to bring the Communists and the KMT back on the negotiation table, in order to fight Japan together in a second United Front.

From then on, the Communists regained some space for legal activities. Tens of thousands of leftist intellectuals and idealist youth poured into Yan’an and, from there, many went into Communist bases that were quickly sprouting behind enemy lines (the Japanese). Various cultural and artistic innovations to incorporate and speak to peasant cultures flourished. The loss of communication with the Communist International during the Long March helped to consolidate a leadership team who were able to coordinate with each other to make decisions closer to the dynamism on the ground and more independent from Moscow’s dictations. The independent spirit and local initiative of these years of guerilla warfare had yet to be replaced by the centralized Soviet *nomenklatura* system. The reorganization of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border region government (over which the Communists had control), tax reform, and interest reduction manifested advanced policies that were both progressive and flexible (combining state and private ownership). The battle of Wuhan saw the resurgence of the Communists’ enormous influence in urban social movements. And while there was clear disagreement between Mao and Wang Ming (the CCP leader who returned from Moscow in October 1937) regarding the scope of the United Front and the degree of the CCP’s autonomy in it, it was largely reckoned with in a spirit of civility and tolerance. Wang, following the Communist International’s prescription, pursued an “all through the United Front” policy, whereas Mao was distrustful of the KMT’s will to resist Japan and believed in a broader conception of the United Front in which the CCP had more autonomy and was able to draw more allies to pressure the KMT to stay in the war.

One important way Mao ascended to his leading position was through establishing textual authority. Although Zhang Wentian was nominally the general secretary after Zunyi conference, Mao quickly took upon himself the seemingly tedious task of drafting directives, circulars, announcements, and telegrams. He usually took great care in the precise wording of these documents. Rarely can one find a political leader in world history who was more mindful of the politics of interpretation in bureaucratic communication and invested so much energy in it. It is also the reason why one of his objectives during theYan’an Rectification Campaign (1942–1944) when he finally took full control of Party leadership, was the transformation of the “literary style” (*wenfeng*) of the CCP. Although he is often seen as a grand strategist with little patience for bureaucratic detail, his meticulousness in the wording of documents was a consistent feature throughout the rest of his life.

When Mao was finally recognized as the Party’s core leader, with Stalin’s blessing, in the enlarged Central Committee plenary session in late 1938, his policy gained upper hand over Wang Ming’s. Yet the spirit of experiments and openness persisted. While the Japanese army was quickly advancing in major cities and along railways, they left behind rear areas largely unoccupied. The Communist and KMT guerilla forces quickly moved in. By early 1939, the Communists had control of large areas in north China, where they had set up functioning governments, as well as newly established bases and guerrilla zones where their control was less stable and exclusive. Scholars have debated about whether their success resulted from “peasant nationalism” in face of foreign aggression or from progressive socioeconomic reforms that materially benefited them. In reality, while both were important, it was their organizational hegemony forged in combining both that mattered. It was the struggle to consolidate and expand organizational hegemony that brought this experimentation to an end in the 1940s and which characterized the next phase of the movement.

**1.8.3. The Struggle for Hegemony (1940–1949)**

After taking Wuhan, the Japanese began to make efforts to consolidate their rear areas. In early 1939, a series of military campaigns were launched to attack and contain Chinese guerilla forces. Local elites and powerful notables were sought after to set up “peace maintaining” collaborator governments. Such a move quickly upset the Communist–KMT rapprochement, which so far had been able to coordinate action to fight Japan yet now had to scramble for diminishing territories and resources. Frictions thus ensued between them. By late 1940, those had developed into major military battles in central China. Negotiations broke down and eventually the KMT troops annihilated the 7,000-strong Communist New Fourth Army in south Anhui in January 1941.

The New Fourth Army incident had three major consequences that shaped the ethos and character of the Communist movement in the years to come.

First, by foreclosing the possibility of direct cooperation between the Communists and the KMT, it seemed to vindicate Mao’s policy of autonomy in the United Front and lent him the authority to overhaul the Party’s strategic thinking and policy approach.

Second, in openly defying the KMT, the Communists suffered from the latter’s retaliation, specifically military and economic blockades and the termination of subsidies, which made its openness no longer viable and resulted in severe economic hardships. The Communists resorted to tightening their internal control to confront the situation.

Third, the public relation campaign in the aftermath of the incident to win over public sympathy and to accuse the KMT of internecine struggle initiated a strategic pattern of public flexibility and reasonableness to undercut the KMT’s support and sway public opinion, including among upper social strata. These twin efforts proved extremely effective over time. The economic hardships were so severe that they began to shake peasant support as trade was disrupted and the tax burden increased in Communist-administered areas. The leadership thus launched the “great production movement” to ameliorate the condition. Some base areas even began to join in the illicit opium trade to survive. Coupled with this condition was the need to appeal to public opinion and win over upper classes from the KMT. This led to the strategy to tighten internally and soften externally (*waikuan neijing*). In other words, the Party needed to establish clear boundaries between the internal and external constituencies and enforce strict discipline in its own rank and file while externally projecting a liberal and open-minded image on its leadership. The goal was to exercise control over the politics of interpretation.

At this point, to outdo the KMT’s rising personality cult of Chiang Kai-shek as the savior of the nation, the CCP needed its own sun to shine. Through the New Fourth Army incident, Mao seemed to demonstrate his unrivaled wisdom. At this juncture, Liu Shaoqi provided crucial justification for major ideological revamping of the Party. According to him, because of the influx of individuals from diverse social backgrounds since 1937, the Party needed more intense internal ideological struggle to consolidate and strengthen its unity. Thus, during the Rectification Campaign of 1942–1944, Mao used his personal authority to revamp the Party by transforming the “three styles” (in party work, study, and writing). Through rituals of group study, mutual criticism, public confessions and self-criticism, and reconstruction of both individual and Party history (and persecutions for those who refused to give themselves up to group pressure), the campaign helped to ideologically tighten up the Party ranks internally while decentralizing practical decision making by giving local cadres greater latitude. Although it did not turn local cadres into selfless followers of the official ideological lines and there was always room for them to twist official policies for other purposes, the campaign did forge hegemony in intraparty discourse and communication. This resulted in clear boundaries from outside constituencies and projected a concerted image of the movement, with Mao as the benign and progressive leader.

Therefore, the Rectification Campaign and the accompanying rise of Mao’s personality cult was not just Mao’s personal contrivance, but was facilitated by structural circumstances and, in the process, began to be interpreted by many of his colleagues as an effective solution to the movement’s immediate structural problems. Nevertheless, the organizational mythology, ethos, and artifacts it generated gave an independent life to the Party, transcending the will and interests of all of its constituencies and social classes and being able to dispense with any when chance arose. In this sense, the analytical practice of reducing the movement to any of its constituencies, such as interpreting Chinese Communism as a peasant revolution, misses its most essential feature. And because the CCP’s organizational transcendence was so tied up with Mao’s personal authority, it would be a long and arduous—and in some sense still unfinished—process to disentangle them in the four decades to come.

Tightening up internally while engaging in a charm offensive externally gave enormous strategic advantage in a triadic conflict with Japan and the KMT. As the war dragged on, the Communists were gaining ground both locally in north and central China and nationally among educated urban elites. Toward the end of the war with Japan, the KMT was already losing public support. In contrast, the Communists now had effective front organizations and a united front with diverse social sectors. The incompetence and corruption of the KMT government was so blatant that even the US government sent the “Dixie Mission” to Yan’an in 1944 and considered providing aid to the Communists.

When Japan surrendered on August 15, 1945, the enmity between the KMT and CCP was so entrenched that both sides knew a showdown was impending. There were American efforts, under Patrick Hurley and George Marshall, to make peace between them, but those only occasioned disaffections from both sides. Eventually, the truce broke down and small skirmishes escalated into all-out confrontations in early 1947.

On one side, the Communists’ military discipline and land reform (whose excessive violence had to be reined in to prevent it from antagonizing the middle and rich peasants) proved generally popular. Their proposals of “New Democracy” and coalition government—while more strategic than sincere—were attractive to the urban political society. On the other side, corruption, failed currency reform, and a series of strategic blunders led to cascading disaffection with and defections from Chiang Kai shek’s government. The rapid crumbling of the KMT military and government surprised even the Communists. It convinced them of the superiority of the Yan’an paradigm of synthesizing ideological justification of socialist transition and the extreme organizational flexibility of New Democracy to forge ideological hegemony. As they took over state power and monopolized it, tensions between ideological justification and organizational pragmatism began to be the major source of uncertainty, which would eventually manifest in the conflict between Mao and Liu Shaoqi—his right-hand man since Yan’an—whom he later accused of revisionism.

Exploration and openness Military defeat and united front 1940– 1949 Internal tightening and external softening Triadic conflict structure with Japan and KMT, KMT crisis Narrating the development of a movement often runs the risk of teleological construction, in which movement participants’ interests and identities are presumed to be stable and consistent and are often anachronistically attributed. Yet genuine existing movements are often as much shaped by their environments as they attempt to shape them. Moreover, this mutual constitution unfolds precisely through actors deploying collective symbols, inventing interactional rituals, and integrating rules of feeling, through which emergent interests and identities are created (as in the case of the Yan’an Rectification Campaign). When these cultural styles and repertoires are stabilized, the movement can be considered to have become an institution. There were many social movements active in the first two decades of republican China yet only the Chinese Communist movement came to dominance. Of course, many of the other movements never aimed to seize state power. Nevertheless, the trajectory of the Communist movement was stunning and was never predestined. Rather, it was the focus on the politics of interpretation—along with some lucky breaks and mistakes by their competitors—that contributed especially to the CCP’s ability to capitalize upon the opportunities and to survive the disasters that human error and contingent events brought upon them. This was even though, or perhaps precisely because, the Party’s very ideological foundation—historical materialism— adamantly denied its primacy in social change.

Thus, from a social movement steered by a loose intellectual vanguard, Chinese Communism managed to transform into an institution, the Party, which has become ontologically irreducible to its composite constituencies. Although the movement began with the vision of a group of intellectuals to transform society, it turned intellectuals into its victims as much as its participants, until after the Cultural Revolution, when it finally made peace with them, if only temporarily and in a limited fashion. It professed to be the proletariat’s movement, but the proletarian power was more on paper—as an expression of vanguardism—than in practice, given the visible lack of labor activist participation. It claimed that political power grows out of the barrel of a gun; yet it was the Party that commanded the gun and the gun was never allowed to command the Party. It drew its mandate heavily from the peasantry; yet the peasants had to be educated by the Party before they could make history. In each case, it resorted to formulas like “unity-struggle unity” to ascertain its autonomy. Out of the movement thus grew a political party that transcended its composite constituencies and realized through collective symbols, interactional rituals, and rules of feeling, the amalgamation that amounted to what Franz Schurmann once called the CCP’s “practical ideology.”

**CHAPTER TWO:**

1. **SOUTHEAST ASIA BETWEEN 1850S AND 1945**
   1. **Beginning of European settlements and Colonial rule in the South and South-East Asian regions**

The interruption of Euro-Asian trade through Constantinople, capital of Eastern Roman Empire, by Ottoman Turkey diverted the inland Euro-Asian trade link into maritime. Portugal became the first to rich India through the Indian Ocean by Vasco da Gama in 1498. Soon many other European explorers and missionaries followed his foot print which resulted in the establishment of European trading posts in the region. These trading posts gradually developed into colonial rule.

* + 1. **Establishment of Portuguese settlement and colonial rule in South and South-East Asia**

Portugal conquered most of Ceylon in 1505. Then it inaugurated the establishment of colonial rule in Malacca in 1511. Gradually the Portuguese founded the trading settlement of Goa in the west coast of India. The coming of Spain as the second European power to establish colonial rule in the region opened rivalry between the two Europeans particularly at Malacca. The victory of Portugal over its rival facilitated the expansion of its colonies to the nearby regions.

In 1514, Portuguese caravels landed near Guangzhou. But the Chinese by then became unfriendly to Europeans and called them “ocean devils”. Nonetheless, in 1557, the Portuguese built trading base at Macao, mainland of China near Hong Kong. Beyond this, the Portuguese landed at Japan in 1543 and began trading temporarily.

In the meantime, Portugal was incorporated into the Spanish rule under Philips the II since 1580 following the death of its reigning king. The Spanish rule in Portugal lasted for sixty years, until 1640. But its result became the decline of Portuguese preeminence in the region since the last quarter of the 16th century. In this declining phase, Portugal controlled Taiwan which they called it as For Mosa in 1590. It however failed to establish Portuguese settlement in the area, instead, both Dutch and Spaniards settled in Taiwan in the 17th century until their expulsion by China.

* + 1. **Spanish settlement and colonial rule in South-East Asia**

In 1519, Ferdinand Magellan made Spain the first European country to reach Philippines in circumnavigating the world. After 20 years of war, Spain controlled Philippines in 1565. Soon the Spaniards gave the name of their king, Philips the II to the new colony. The capital, Manila established in the island of Luzon became Spanish fortress settlement.

Within a century the local inhabitants mainly the descendents of Malay and Chinese were converted into Roman Catholic with all other western culture. With this, Spaniards introduced new crops such as maize (corn) and cocoa from the Americans to the Philippines. The infiltration of European culture to the native might have contributed to prolong Spanish rule in the Philippines for more than three centuries, until 1898.In spite of its damage by the long civil war of Europe.

Unlike Belgium, the Netherlands declared independent from the Spaniards in Europe in 1608, after forty years Spain recognized their independence in 1648. The competency of the Dutch in the sea navigation played the decisive role for their independent.

* + 1. **Establishment of Dutch settlement and Colonial Rule in South-East Asia**

Long before the end of the war, adventurous of Dutch were sailing far and wide in search of the spice trade routes as far as East Indies. This was because Spain closed the port of Lisbon for the Dutch following the fall of Portugal under its rule.

The Netherlands first established the Dutch East Indian Company in 1600. This development enabled the Dutch to be the third in establishing colonial rule in the region. Beyond this, they soon displaced the Portuguese as a dominant trading power in the east.

Between 1595 and 1620, Holland set up trading posts in Java, Moluccas, Celebes, Timor, Sumatra and Borneo. Through it’s the Dutch East Indian Company: The Netherlands established the city of Batavia (Jogjakarta), and made their main settlement at Batavia in Java. The city served as a base for the future trade and colonial expansion into other parts of Java, Indonesia and its surrounding territories. Currently it is serving as the capital city of Indonesia.

By expanding its conquest, the Dutch drove out the Portuguese from Malacca in 1641, from the costal ports of Sri Lanka in 1658, and from Ceylon in 1688. In the meantime, China took Macao and British Goa and some islands of Timor in the East Indies from Portugal. In addition to Dutch and China, Britain and France also came into the region as colonial powers and rival of Portugal. Consequently, Dutch, France and British surpassed Portugal in acquiring a vast colonial empire in the region. By 1818, it retained only a few settlements of the region around Goa and South Bombay, which were encircled by the British threat in the period.

Since 1650, the company used troops and great finance to command naval force and involved in a series of wars against England and France for the maritime supremacy. In the course of the conquest, they also aggravated conflicts of native local rulers by supporting one against the other. In return they took territories from their allied native rulers. Accordingly, the Dutch controlled the spice export of Sri Lanka in 1707, and much of Java in 1755. Moreover, the remaining native states of the region such as Mat aran and Kandy became dependant on Dutch with different power level, the former weaker and smaller than the latter.

In their territories of the region, the Dutch ordered peasants to pay tribute in cash and forced farmers to sell their products to Dutch. With this, Indonesian farmers were forced to produce sugar cane for the sugar factories of the Netherlands. This made Indonesia major producer of sugar in the world since 1800.

In general, the Dutch used military force, helping collaborators and loans to monopolize the South East Asian region in their rival against Britain and France. As a result, they succeeded to control the monopoly power of the region throughout the 18th century, and they also remained prosperous power in spite of its collapse in the post 18th century.

* + 1. **Establishment of French Settlement and Colonial Rule in Indochina**

The French merchants began limited trade with Vietnam and other peoples of south East Asian region of Indo-China since 1600. In 1664, French merchants of the region established the French East Indian Company (FEIC) and expand its trade relation mainly in Indo-china. In the process the French Roman Catholic missionaries settled in Indochina and converted many Vietnamese to Christianity. But the limited relation only to trade link helped local states of the region to retain their independent for long.

In the early 1800s, most of Indochina was ruled by local rulers, of Annam, the present-day Vietnam. During this time, Indochina was predominantly Chinese in culture. Devoted to Confucian ideas, the Annamese emperors persecuted their Christian subjects in an attempt to keep Indochina detached from Europeans.

French forced marched to the region to give protection for the local Christians since 1858. With this France established colonial rule in the region since 1860s. In 1887, French controlled Indo-china, Cambodia, Vietnam and Laos.

* + 1. **Establishment of British Settlement and Colonial Rule in South and South-East Asian Regions**

The British first established a counter company, the British East Indian Company (BEIC) by the assembly of merchants and knights of London in 1602 to monopolize the trade of the region. The company immediately secured to get the grant of the Royal Charter from Queen Elizabeth I. Weakening the spice supply of Dutch became too difficult for the company at the beginning. But established fortified trading centers, “factories” mainly at Calcuta, Madrasa Bombay and other strategic cities of Indian coasts.

These factories served as a base to establish a colonial empire in the region. But the British were late to the colonial conquest in the region in comparison to other European countries. However, through its British East Indian Company, Britain developed a great colonial empire in South East Asian and South Asian regions gradually in five phases: from 1700-1740, from 1740-1792, from 1792-1820, from 1820-1848 and from 1848-1914.

In each phases, Britain had changed the shape of these regions dramatically. It was during the first phase (from 1700-1740) that the British East Indian Company established those factories in Indian coast of the aforementioned areas.

In the second phase (from 1740-1792), the expansion of the company to the different parts of the region was challenged by its counter French Company, the French East Indian Company. The two companies fought indirectly through their representatives, local chiefs. In the process, British’s agent, Mohamed Ali got the upper hand on its rival at the battle of Plassey in 1757. Due to this Mohamed Ali gave share of tax revenue to British company for its support rendered in the battle.

This experience launched a scramble for native allies by British and French companies which led them to the seven years’ war launched by the two powers in the region in the years from 1756-1763. In the course of the war, British acquired considerable territories as tax revenue from their native local rulers.

The British East Indian Company also bought the island of Penang, west coast of Malay Peninsula from the local Sultan of Kedah in 1790. Then the company continued expanding its colonial empire in the south-east Asian region.

During the third Phase (from 1792-1820), British measures in South and South East Asian regions became truly imperial. Following the fall of Holland under France since 1795, the British took over Malacca, Sumatra, Java and Ceylon from the Dutch. In the period, the British East Indian Company also conquered Delhi in 1803, parts of Nepal in 1816, and large territories of India in 1820.

In 1813, the British Parliament renewed the Company’s Charter by avoiding its trading monopoly in the region. This act opened British India to private merchants and missionaries along with the British East Indian Company. With this the territories of the company with their capitals were called as “Presidencies”. In those areas British citizens were granted the right to operate in India by the crown protection. With the restoration of Dutch independent after twenty years of rule by the end of the Napoleonic war, Britain restored all except Ceylon to Holland. In this brief time of British administration Singapore became British possession by the Sultan of Johore. Singapore had been practically abandoned with the destruction of Temasek before three centuries. Due to this, the British settled in a swampy jungle island.

Since 1819, however, the British administrator of the island, Stanford Raffle made it open port of all trading nations with no restrictions. His measure helped Singapore to grow rapidly. It outstripped Malacca, and became the leading port and strategic center of South East Asian region during the 19th century.

During the fourth phase, (from 1820-1848), British entered into a new period of expansion penetrating deep into sovereign states of the region. In the period Britain introduced protected tariffs in its colonies that pushed Indian textiles and other business families in the export trade. In addition to this, British followed import substitution policy which aimed at the replacement of Indian cloths by British made cloths. Apart of this the silver rupee of the company became important currency of India by increasing its value in relation to Indian commodities. The objective was to increase the value of remittance of India to Britain. Besides Indian land lords were ordered to pay tax in cash. Due to this Indian farmers brought much of their products into markets for sale.

All these measures made British company the sole actor of the trade. The profit from the sale of the supplies and transport of south Asian export commodities in world market, made Britain imperial business power. On the contrary, the value of Indian commodity prices continued to decline steadily for 30 years, from 1820-1850.

Since then Indian exports shifted to primary products such as cotton and opium. Due to this Indians were forced to produce opium to sale to China which brought the scarcity of wheat production in India. Besides the increase of the price of raw materials in London forced peasants of Bengal and Bihar to lose their lands for rent.

In the Anglo-Dutch treaty of 1824, British took over Malacca by exchanging with Dutch from its trading posts in Sumatra. The treaty cooled down the Anglo-Dutch rivalry in the region by settling their respective interests.

Since 1826, British established a “Straits Settlements” over three islands of Penang, Singapore and Malacca. This new situation helped Britain to involve in the political affairs of neighboring native Malay states. In a similar historical development, the British met with the expanding Burmese troops from 1824-26. In this first Anglo-Burmese war, Britain annexed Arakan and Tenasserim. The latter is the long strip territory between Siam and the western coast From Burma.

With the expansion of its colonial empire in South and South-East Asian regions Britain broke China’s trade barrier and began an illegal but profitable trade with Chinese merchants since 1800. In this smuggling trade, British merchants sold to their Chinese Mets opium obtained from its colony India and Turkey in exchange for Chinese silk, tea, and ceramic. The attempt of China to control the trade led Britain and China to the first Opium War of 1839-1842.

In these three years of war British came out victorious. Due to this Chinese were forced to sign the first of the many “un equal treaties” with Britain at Nanking in 1842. In the treaty Britain got five ports for free trade with right of extra territoriality from China as an indemnity.

* 1. **European Penetration of the Mainland States:**

1. **Vietnam**

During the early 19th century, the Vietnamese ruler built a Chinese-style court; internally he was called emperor, though in tributary relations with China he was called king. Before long, though, as elsewhere in East Asia, the Western powers exerted increasing pressure to secure rights to trade and proselytize on Vietnamese soil. Vietnam was the only country in East Asia to become a colony of a Western power France by century's end, leading to a partition of the country.

The reign of **Emperor GIA-LONG** (born **Nguyên Anh** in 1762) began after his rebellious forces took Saigon with French help, won a number of victories, and finally captured Huê (1801). He established the **Nguyên dynasty**—with its capital at Huê—which would last, in name, until 1945. He had been supported in his struggles by the French missionary **Pierre Pigneau de Béhaine** (1741–99), bishop of Adran. He moved to build a centralized monarchy on the Chinese model, with a Confucian bureaucracy, and he instituted sanctions against Buddhist and Daoist religious practices. Two regional rulers, one in Hanoi and the mighty Lê Van Duyêt (1763–1832) in Saigon, exercised considerable local authority, but their power was withdrawn under Gia-long's successor. The population of the country was roughly 8 million. Administrative sites, aside from those that were major cities or ports, did not become centers for trade; commerce was conducted, as before, at river confluences. The all-important commerce with China tended to be dominated by Chinese émigré merchants, numbering some 40,000 at this time. Land registers were updated annually beginning in 1807 as a part of Gia-long's reforms, but there were still many poor peasants and many with no land to till. Corvée requirements also fell with a heavy burden on the peasantry. Gia-long also enacted a law code (1812) patterned closely after that of Qing China. Both Gia-long and his successor sought Western technology to build their military capacity as well as to modernize other sectors of the economy. Yet, for all his efforts, the Gia-long reign witnessed roughly 100 uprisings—caused by the devastations of natural disasters and the government's inability to respond. Catholic missions had been active in the country since the early 17th century (See 1624) and with considerable success. The French, excluded from India by the British, focused their attention ever more on Vietnam. Gia-long, while interested in Western technology, was not open to giving either the French or the British free rein in his country.

The **reign of Emperor MING-MANH** (b. 1791) witnessed a continuation of many of the trends set in motion by his father, Gia-long. The power of the government was further centralized, and, as if by exchange, local administrative autonomy grew stronger, especially with the emergence of the *van than* class, a middle-level local stratum of intellectuals who were charged with local administration. Unlike the seemingly similar locally resident *yangban* of Yi dynasty Korea, the *van than* never became wealthy landlords. The state's inability to address problems of the poor masses also continued to plague it. There were over 200 uprisings during Ming-manh's reign. Despite these problems, he furthered use of Chinese-style civil service examinations as the means of bureaucratic recruitment. He fashioned his court in the Confucian Chinese model, and he took measures against Christianity, proscribing it as heterodox, for he suspected that Christians supported rebellious provincial lords. There were some 300,000 Vietnamese converts to Catholicism. Following an uprising in 1833 in which Christians had been involved, he began serious repression, including the execution of missionaries and converts. He was openly derisive of Buddhism as well, and Buddhist-oriented popular religions were frequently responsible for local insurrections. He refused so much as to meet with a British envoy (1822). With the dissolution of the British East India Company's monopoly of trade with China (1834) and the Opium War (1839–1842) (See 1841–42), commercial relations of the Western powers within East Asia changed.

Ming-manh sent missions to London and Paris to try to reach some measure of compromise with the powers supporting Christianity, but missionary animus crushed these efforts.

During the short **reign of Emperor THIÊU-TRI**, the sanctions against Christians continued, as did the will of the ruler not to meet with foreign missions. The party of former missionary Karl Gutzlaff (1803–51) in 1847 was a complete failure. On several occasions during these years, U.S. and particularly French naval commanders intervened militarily on behalf of Catholic missionaries. In 1847 the French bombarded Danang (Tourane).

The **reign of Emperor TU-DUC** (b. 1830) witnessed the exacerbation of problems with the Western powers and domestic troubles as well. Despite all of these problems, the deeply Confucian Tu-duc encouraged cultural development to an unprecedented extent, making his reign a high point of literary culture in Vietnamese history. He also relentlessly suppressed Christianity, sanctioning thousands of executions primarily of Vietnamese converts and of 25 Western priests.

A joint French-Spanish expedition under Adm. Rigault de Genouilly, attempting to end the Nguyên court's intransigence, bombarded Danang on the coast. Unable to proceed by land to the capital at Huê, the expedition turned south and occupied Saigon in early 1859. Britain registered no objections.

The **Treaty of Saigon** was signed, following French fighting and pressure along the Vietnamese coast. It stipulated that Vietnam would relinquish to the French control over the three southern provinces of “Cochin China,” as the French and other Westerners came to call the southern part of Vietnam, and pay an indemnity of 20 million francs over ten years. Long associated by Westerners with the whole of Vietnam, the name Annam became associated henceforth with central Vietnam; and Tonkin (or Tongking) became associated with the north (taken over by the French, 1884). Free exercise of the Catholic religion was to be allowed, and three ports in the central and northern parts of the country were to be opened to French trade. Tu-duc had little choice but to go along with the French; he was fighting to suppress rebellion in the north. There was much popular resistance to the French incursions, such as the “righteous army” of peasants organized by Truong Dinh (1820–64) in the Mekong delta area. Although they and similar forces raided and irritated the French, their efforts failed to sustain an effective movement.

Adm. Pierre de la Grandière served as governor of Cochin China. He organized a governmental system through “admirals,” but most of the actual governing was done through Vietnamese officials.

French explorations were carried out along the Mekong River as far as the Chinese province of Yunnan. It was hoped that this would prove a useful route into southwestern China, but the river was shown to be unnavigable along its upper reaches, and the French therefore began to turn their attention to the Red River of Tonkin. The Mekong delta was to become the site of massive public works projects under the French, with irrigation canals dug and large tracts of land reclaimed for rice agriculture; immense rice plantations emerged, and rice exports grew tenfold between 1860 and 1900.

Resistance movements led by the van than class in the mountains had been mollified by the French colonial administration's willingness to allow van than local control and village autonomy, creating a sort of feudal system. Aside from guerrilla leaders like De Tham (d. 1913), insurgency in the Red River delta came to an end. In Cochin china to the south, the rice plantation economy grew rapidly and produced widespread tenancy among the farming populace. Both systems were typical of colonial regimes in the 20th century.

Following World War I, foreign investment in Vietnam mushroomed. As a result, coal mines in the north, rubber plantations in central and South Vietnam, and the rapid increase of production for rice farmers in the south spawned a working class, as well as a landlord class, rice exporters in Saigon, and a modern intelligentsia. Japan's conclusion of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, together with its victories over China (1894–95) and Russia (1904–5), was extremely impressive to many Vietnamese in that an East Asian state had successfully modernized, become technologically sophisticated, and forged equal ties with Western states. A knowledge of French became a necessity for entrance into the traditional civil service in Annam and Tonkin.

Phan Boi Chau (1867–1940), influenced by the reformist movements of late Qing China, especially that of Kang Youwei (1858–1927), founded the Viêt Nam Duy Tan Hoi (Vietnam Restoration Party) with the aim of building a constitutional monarchy in Vietnam. The next year he traveled to Japan, where he met Liang Qichao (1873–1929), and wrote The History of the Demise of Vietnam. He began the Eastern Travel movement to get Vietnamese students to come and study in Japan, there to be trained to promote reform back home.

Phan Chu Trinh (1871–1926), having earlier passed the civil service examinations and awaiting bureaucratic appointment, became disaffected by the system and began traveling primarily in southern Vietnam, calling for the revival of the country. The next year (1906), he went to Japan and met Phan Boi Chau, but they differed on many things, tactics among them: Chau was readier to adopt revolutionary means, while Trinh's thinking was more in the enlightenment reformist vein. Also, Chau still wanted to use the monarchy as a symbol of the united anti-French movement, while Trinh was a republican much taken with aspects of French culture. Trinh then returned to Vietnam and proposed an educational system based on the vernacular, quôc ngu, which was effected when the Tonkin Free School opened that year. The school was shut down by the colonial authorities the same year. For his participation in an antitax movement of Vietnamese farmers (1908), Trinh was transported to a penal colony on Poulo Condore Island. He was later released (1910). When Japan signed a treaty with France, Phan Boi Chau was expelled from Japan, and he took refuge in Thailand. From that point, he showed sympathy for the populist thought of Sun Zhongshan (Sun Yat-sen, 1866–1925).

After the success of the 1911 revolution in China, Phan Boi Chau traveled to Guangdong (China), where he met the Chinese revolutionary leader Hu Hanmin (1886–1936) and founded the Viêt Nam Quang Phuc Hoi (Vietnam Restoration Society), with the intent of creating a republic in his native land. Japan was rapidly discrediting itself as a model, after seizing Taiwan (1895) and Korea (1910) as colonies. The Chinese revolution seemed the next best hope for Vietnamese radicals. With help from the Chinese Revolutionary Alliance, Chau planned for an armed revolution in Vietnam. He was arrested and imprisoned in 1914 by the governor of Guangdong, and when released in 1917 he worked out of Shanghai and Hong Kong, still planning to rise in revolt.

During World War I, some 100,000 Vietnamese troops and workers were sent to France. Through contacts with Europeans and their writings, some acquired a taste for current ideas of national autonomy, revolutionary struggle, and the like. By this time, all three sectors of Vietnam had daily newspapers written in the Romanized quôc ngu script. The University of Hanoi, founded by Vietnamese, was permitted by the French. The Confucian examination system, traditionally used as the means for entrance into the civil service, was finally abolished throughout the entire country.

The Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth League was secretly founded by HÔ CHI MINH (1890–1969) in Guangzhou (Canton). Through it, the basis was laid in many areas for the founding of the Indochina Communist Party (1930). The Youth League issued a propaganda organ, Thanh nien (Youth), weekly for nearly two years and had a political training institute in Guangzhou. Hô had been in France prior to World War I and had participated in the founding of the French Communist Party (1920); in 1923 he traveled to Moscow and took part in the Fifth Congress of the Communist International (Comintern, 1924) before returning to Guangzhou in 1925.The young Bao Dai (b. 1914) acceded to the Nguyên throne. He “reigned” until 1945.

During the Japanese occupation of Vietnam a Nationalist-Communist Organisation, the Vietminh, was formed under the leadership of the Communist Ho Chi Minh. The Vietminh fought against the Japanese, and when the latter withdrew in 1945 Ho proclaimed the independent republic of Vietnam, consisting of the former French provinces of Tonkin, Annam and Cochin China. In 1946 the French returned. They quickly re-established themselves in Cochin China, but failed to reach agreement with the Vietminh. Then, for eight years, they fought an unsuccessful war to recover the north. In 1954 the French forces suffered a decisive defeat with the fall of the besieged fortress of Dien Bien Phu. An international conference negotiated an armistice, and the country was divided into two: North Vietnam under Ho Chi Minh's Communist government, with its capital at Hanoi; and the anti-Communist state of South Vietnam under Ngo Dinh Diem, with its capital at Saigon. There was to be a general election designed to bring about unification, but the election was never held. The regime of Ngo Dinh Dien in the south became widely unpopular, through nepotism and intolerance of opposition. His family, devout Roman Catholics, were accused of persecution of the Buddhist majority; and in 1963 he was killed in a military coup d’état. After a series of crises General Nguyen Van Thieu established a constitutional government in 1967.

Meanwhile Ho Chi Minh's objective was to take over the south and unite the whole country under Communist rule. From 1960 onwards he sent arms and troops to support Communist guerillas (the Viet Cong) in South Vietnam, and a war between North and South developed. Ho had the backing of material aid from Communist China and Soviet Russia, while the South relied increasingly on American support. By 1965 the United States was committed to trying to save the South from collapse, and was involved in a full-scale war with the Vietminh. In 1968, by when there were over half a million American troops in Vietnam, peace negotiations were started in Paris. The United States began to withdraw her troops, but the war went on for another four years. Eventually a cease-fire was agreed in 1973. The United States withdrew the last of her forces, hoping that South Vietnam was now strong enough to stand on her own, and that the country might be peacefully re-united by negotiation. This hope was not fulfilled. Hostilities were soon resumed, and with the fall of Saigon in 1975 the North won virtual control of the whole country. Vietnam became a Communist state, with Ton Duc Thang as president. (Ho Chi Minh died in 1969.)

Before this war, and American intervention, probably not many people in the West could say with certainty where Vietnam was and what it consisted of. Then, for several years, they were confronted almost daily with pictures of happenings in Vietnam on their television news programmes; and the war in Vietnam became, in Western eyes, a decisive battle to prevent the further spread of Communism in Asia.

During the Cold War years, the region was thrust into the middle of the superpower contest and suffered because of regional hostilities. The ongoing struggle between Communists and anti-Communists brought instability and to much war mainly in Indochina.

Vietnamese nationalist in the Indochinese Communist party, known as the Vietminh, established the independent Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh in 1945. The Vietminh was supported by the Soviet Union and the Communist China.

However, its former colonial ruler, France claimed to restore its colonial rule in Vietnam and went to war to remove the Communist government in 1946. The United States supported its Ally France by providing military and financial aid. In May 1954, the Vietminh defeated French forces at Dien Bien Phu decisively. After the defeat, France agreed to recognize the independence of Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The meeting between France, United States, and Vietnam held at Geneva in Switzerland divided Vietnam into north and South along the 17th parallel. The North became Communist and the south became pro-western. This arrangement was to last in 1956, until elections would be held. But the proposed electioncollapse which led to the civil war of the two Vietnamese powers. USA provided logistic support until 1960s. Later, learnt from the weakness of South Vietnam, America fought against North Vietnam. But the USA lost the war after eight years of fighting. The defeat of the United States preserved the unity of Vietnam.

On the other hand, the Battle of Dien Bien Phuforced France to grant its colonies of Indochina their independence. Accordingly, Cambodia became independent from France in 1953. The country became a constitutional monarch led by King Norodom Sihanouk, a member of Cambodian ruling family. The other country of Indochina, Laos became independent from France in 1954.

1. **BURMA**

Myanmar (Burma) is the northern most country of South-East Asian region. In Burma the Toungoo dynasty collapsed after a Mon revolt in 1740, but the country was re-united in 1752 by Alaungpaya, who made Rangoon his capital. His successors repelled a Chinese invasion, temporarily conquered Siam and encroached westwards and northwards into Indian Territory. Early in the 19th century this brought Burma into conflict with the British East India Company.

Burma followed expansion policy towards the west, threatening Bengal, seizing Manipur and Assam. This soon brought King Bagyidaw up against the British East India Company and in the next 62 years there were three Burmese Wars with the British. Burmese advances into Arakan towards the end of the 18th century, and then into Manipur and Assam in 1822, led to the first Anglo-Burmese War in 1824- 26. This ended with the British annexation of Arakan and Tenasserim (the latter is the long strip of territory between Siam and the western coast) to British India.

Burmese interference with British trade caused a second war in 1852-54. As a result of this, Britain annexed Lower Burma, including Rangoon and Pegu. The British occupied the Irrawaddy delta region and stimulated great rice production there, as well as opening up the great teak forests. Then a revolution in Burma led to the deposition of the king; and a new king, Mindon Min (1853-1878), friendly to the British, came to the throne. He built a new capital, Mandalay, near Ava.

His successor, Thibaw, reverted to anti-British trade policies, causing a third Anglo-Burmese War in 1885. (India itself was now directly under British government rule, East India Company rule having ceased in 1858.). This third war ended the Kingdom of Burma. Thibaw was deposed, and Britain took over the rest of the country, though the Shan states in the east were not subdued for several years. For the next fifty years Burma was governed as a province of British India. After the 3rd war in 1886 Upper Burma was added to the British domain, although guerrilla activity continued for years, with 32,000 British troops still involved between 1886 and 1891. The Shan states were not subdued until 1887 and the Chin Hills not until 1890s.

It was made part of British Indian colony since the second half of the 19th century. In Burma, nationalist activity first came mainly from Buddhist monks, and then from English-educated students. Britain agreed to a gradual handing over of power; and in 1937 the administration of Burma was separated from that of India, a considerable measure of self-government being given to the Burmese. But before the start of the Second World War the Nationalists were demanding full independence. Following the independence of British India, British granted in dependence to Myanmar in 1948.

1. **CAMBODIA**

After the long conflict with Burma had ended, Siam secured part of Cambodia through division of that state with Annam and finally, in 1844, the whole of Cambodia passed under the protection of Siam’s King Mongkut. Rama IV (1851-1868), ruler and monk, philosopher and scientist, who taught himself English and Latin, made a study of western governments and began the work of modernizing Siam. After new treaties were drawn up with Great Britain in 1855, consuls were established and trade agreements initiated. In 1861 a rebellion in Cambodia led the King to seek foreign aid. In 1863 the French established a protectorate over Cambodia and Siam gave up its claims to that region. . In 1884 another treaty with Cambodia gave the French more extensive control.

The real founder of modern Siam was Rama V, Chulalongkorn. Under him the old feudal system was abolished, slavery was reduced and there was administrative reform with new taxation and finance methods, better postal service, the telegraph (1883) and the first railway in 1893. But the French had long been trying to extend their dominions westward to the Mekong River and finally, after an acute Anglo French crisis and some gunboat activity and blockades, the Siamese yielded and abandoned all claim to territory east of the Mekong. In 1897 the King of Siam paid an extended visit to the European capitals.

The formation of the Protectorate of Cambodia dated to August 11, 1863. The French wished to define their new colony and its people, giving it a national identity, and so implemented a form of stage theory in which the state of Cambodia they witnessed was compared to the wonders of the past. This led the French to view Cambodia as a fallen nation that could be projected to the outside world as needing to be civilised.

This ideology was then extended to the formation of ethnic types. The French claimed that the Khmer had ‘Aryan’ blood that made them morally superior to the ‘yellow’ Chinese and Vietnamese. This French interpretation of the Khmer as “the descendants of a magnificent civilisation”  was in stark contrast to earlier Vietnamese colonizers’ interpretation of the Khmer as “savages whose nature is evil and vicious”.

The return of lower Cambodia and the Angkor Temple Complex to Cambodia during colonial rule in 1907 bolstered a sense of territorial entitlement amongst the Cambodian elite based on the territorial supremacy of the ancient Angkorians.The French stimulated the historic conflict between Cambodia and Thailand in an unintended way through the promotion of Thai immigration to Cambodia. The new colonial system required a host of bureaucrats but deemed Cambodians under‐educated to fill these positions and subsequently turned to the more educated Thai population.

Cambodians who were educated could not work outside Cambodia.This led to a view of Cambodia as under threat from the Vietnamese and the Thais. Hence, as early as French colonial rule we can see the beginnings of the formation of an ‘other’ within Cambodian borders.

Ironically, the nationalism that the French created to help them stabilize and define their colony would turn against them and result in a new political system. At the conclusion of the Franco‐Siamese conflict, on January 15, 1941, Thailand led a successful campaign against Cambodia and reclaimed Battambang and Siem Reap provinces. The French signed the Tokyo Convention on May 9, 1941,  giving Thailand control of the two provinces, and anti‐French nationalist sentiments began at the end of 1941 and the beginning of 1942.

Though both provinces were returned with the signing of the Franco‐Siamese Agreement in 1946. These nationalist sentiments were caused by France’s abandonment of Khmer entitlement to their ancestral territory and were then the starting point for King Sihanouk’s gaining of power. The French chose to keep the monarchy in place because they felt the king was the embodiment of the nationalism that they hoped would stabilize their colony.

Sihanouk quickly adopted these anti‐French sentiments and used them as a way of garnering public support. In 1953 he succeeded and Cambodia became a ‐ still colonial ‐monarchy.  He then defined himself as a nationalist in the 1950s by changing citizenship laws so citizenship was limited to people who could speak Khmer and identified with Khmer customs.This solidified the conception of the ethnic ‘other’ that was formed by the French. However, sihanouks controlled any form of nationalism that was not aligned with his own proving that his nationalism was vertically imposed. Starting in 1955, Sihanouk banned and harassed newspapers and banned a number of Khmer books.

During the Second World War Cambodia, under pressure from the Japanese occupying forces, declared its independence of France. But when the French returned after the war King Sihanouk negotiated with them. The result was a considerable degree of self-government. (Sihanouk had been elected king in 1941, before the Japanese invasion.) With the French defeat in Vietnam in 1954 Cambodia became fully independent. Sihanouk then abdicated the throne (in favour of his father) to become Prime Minister, as leader of the "Popular Socialist Community Party", which won all elections. In 1960, on the death of his father, Sihanouk assumed the title "Head of State".

At first Sihanouk adopted a neutral attitude in foreign affairs, accepting economic aid from both the United States and Communist China. But from 1963 onwards, when he refused further American aid, he became more closely associated with China and with Communist North Vietnam. He allowed the use of Cambodian territory by the Vietminh and Viet Cong as bases for their troops in the war against South Vietnam. Due to the activities of the Vietnamese Communists, and to the economic stagnation caused by his nationalisation policies, Sihanouk's rule became unpopular. In 1970 he was ousted in a pro-American coup led by General Lon Nol. Cambodia became the Khmer Republic, and Lon Nol was later elected President. Sihanouk set up a rival government-in-exile in China.

From 1970 Cambodia became actively involved in the Vietnam war. American and South Vietnamese forces attacked the Vietminh bases in Cambodia; and during the next three years a general civil war developed. On one side were the Khmer Republican forces assisted by the Americans, and on the other Communist guerillas (the Khmer Rouge) with their North Vietnamese allies. Large areas of the country fell to the Khmer Rouge; and in April 1973, soon after the "cease-fire" in Vietnam and the American withdrawal, the Khmer Rouge took Phnom Penh, the capital. The Khmer Republic became a Communist state under Khieu Samphan, the Khmer Rouge leader. A reign of terror followed. Thousands of former government supporters were massacred, and there was a forcible evacuation of the towns. Huge numbers were sent to build new villages in the countryside where - whatever their skills - they were made to work on the land. In September 1975 Sihanouk returned to Cambodia, but he resigned in April 1976. Khieu Samphan became Head of State.

1. **Laos**

Laos in the 17thcentury was comparatively peaceful, but at the end of the century an internal struggle split the country into three separate kingdoms. They were centred and Luang Prabang in the north, Vientiane in the centre, and Champassak in the south.

The French also at this time challenged Siamese Nomination in Laos, and in 1893 Laos too became a French protectorate. The French then set about administrative reform and economic development in their new expire of Indo-China (Cochin China, Annam, Tonking, Laos and Cambodia) though they encountered recurrent opposition to their rule, particularly in Tonkin and Cambodia. Their cultural influence was strongest in Cochin China (southern Vietnam).

Nationalism in Laos grew slowly over the first half of the twentieth century. Laos remained a colonial backwater within the French empire of Indochina, experiencing little economic, social or political change.

Opium, which became a major source of revenue for the colonial government, caused rifts in the highlands and revolts by Chinese traders and Hmong people. But overall the country was calm, and Laos was for many French considered a kind of ‘Shangri-la’. Colonial society was racist and sexist, but only mildly so. The challenge of a strident Thai nationalism in the 1930s, and war in the 1940s, prompted the growth of a small Lao nationalist movement which, in 1945, sought unsuccessfully to expel the French. France tried to hold onto its Indochinese colonies, and the Royal Lao Government was established in 1947 within the French Union. But by 1954 French colonialism in Indochina had collapsed.

When the French returned after the Second World War Laos, like Cambodia, became a largely self-governing kingdom within the French Union. (The King was of the royal house of Luang Prabang which had survived throughout the period of the French Protectorate as rulers of the "Protected Kingdom of Luang Prabang”.) In 1953, during the struggle between the North Vietnamese and the French, Laos was invaded by Vietminh forces, backed by a left-wing Nationalist Organisation, the Pathet Lao. When the war ended in 1954 with the defeat of the French, Laos became fully independent, but strife within the country continued. In 1959 a three-way civil war developed between the neutralists, a right wing party, and the Pathet Lao.

A coalition of these three factions formed in 1962 was short lived; and for ten years from 1963 the civil war continued, between the neutralist government backed by the United States and the Pathet Lao and North Vietnamese. The government forces gradually lost ground, and the North Vietnamese used the "Ho Chi Minh trails" through eastern Laos in their prosecution of the war against South Vietnam. The Americans retaliated with bombing raids on the Communist forces in Laos. In 1973 the cease-fire in Vietnam was followed by a cease-fire in Laos, with an agreement for the formation of a new government in which the old government and the Pathet Lao would have equal power. But after the fall of Saigon in 1975, and the consequent unification of Vietnam under Communist rule, the Pathet Lao forces occupied the whole of Laos. The King abdicated, and the country became the People's Democratic Republic of Laos.

* 1. **European Penetration of the Maritime States**

1. **Malaysia**

When Holland fell to French revolutionary troops in Europe, the British usurped Malacca and various southeastern Asian islands from the Dutch. Lt. Governor Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles founded Singapore in 1819 and it was soon to become a strategic and commercial center of the region. The Dutch, of course, were unhappy and all was not settled until the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1824, drawing a line through the straits of Malacca, with the English holding Singapore and Malacca, but giving up a west Sumatran settlement. There was a steady influx of Chinese laborers into the peninsula after 1850, with some working in the tin mines and some turning to piracy. The British abolished import duties on tin in 1853 and by 1900 Malaya furnished nearly 1/2 the world’s supply. The rule of the British East India Company ended in 1867 and thereafter the Malayan Straits settlements had the status of a crown colony. Rubber was first grown there experimentally in 1894.

Nationalist agitation was least in British Malaya, where the population was mixed in race and where the native states had always retained a degree of self-government. In view of the unsettled condition of the Far East Singapore was developed into a seemingly impregnable base for the British Navy.

During the Japanese occupation of Malaya the Malays did not suffer unduly. But the captured British suffered from "loss of face" as well as the hardships of imprisonments and the Chinese and Indians were treated harshly. Many Chinese took to the jungle, where they formed guerilla bands, often working with the remnants of the British army. The most effective of the guerillas were those who were Communist-led. After the war these Chinese Communist guerillas turned against the returning British planters, and started a terrorist campaign in which plantation workers, as well as owners and managers, were murdered and harassed. It took the British Army twelve years, until 1960, to clear up this "Emergency".

Meanwhile Britain went on with plans for the transfer of power. In 1948 Malaya was formed into a loose federation, the old Sultanates (of which there were nine) being left with considerable powers. The other members of the Federation were the old British Straits Settlements (see previous) excluding Singapore, i.e. Penang and Malacca. Singapore was excluded because of Malay fears that the million Chinese in Singapore would dominate the Federation. During the early post-war years the Malays took more interest in politics than they had previously, realizing that independence would remove the British presence which shielded them from the commercial dominance of the Chinese. This independence was granted to the Federation of Malaya in 1957, as one of the nations of the British Commonwealth. The Supreme Head of the Federation was to be elected every five years from among the Malay rulers. The first Supreme Head was the Rajah of Perlis, the smallest of the states. In 1963 the Federation was extended to include Singapore, Sarawak and Sabah.

1. **INDONESIA**

The British took Java from the Dutch in 1811, although after the fall of Napoleon in 1815 they restored many of the Dutch possessions, as noted above, retaining chiefly Singapore. It was during the English occupation in 1814, however, that the governor of Java, Thomas Raffles, learned of the ruins of Borobudur and he initiated some minor cleaning work that was carried on later on a small scale by the Dutch for the remainder of the century. The first real reconstruction work was not carried out until the 20th century. In 1825 the Javanese revolted against the Dutch under the native leader, Dipo Negora, and it took 5 years for the Dutch to quiet things down. They then extended their control into the interior, forcing a new culture system, which involved government contracts, crop control and fixed prices, all very lucrative to the westerners.

The Dutch, having agreed with Britain in 1824 on their respective spheres of interest, continued to rule the Dutch East Indies. The Netherlands government was now in control, the Dutch East India Company having been closed clown in 1798.

Owing to a decline in the spice trade in the 18th century, the Dutch had started to exploit the other natural resources of the islands. This brought them into conflict with the remaining semi-independent native rulers. In 1825-30 there was a revolt against the Dutch in Java, which was put down with great difficulty. It led to the further extension of Dutch rule into the interior; and in 1830 also the Dutch introduced the unpopular "culture system" under which the natives had to devote some of their land to the production of coffee, tobacco, sugar and cotton, to be sold at fixed prices to the Dutch firms - which sold them in Europe at a substantial profit. The system was later (1870) relaxed, and a more liberal colonial policy introduced, which led to considerable economic development in the last quarter of the 19th century. There were, however, further revolts in Java during the 19thcentury; and it was not until after the end of the century that the Dutch finally subdued the Sultan of Acheh in northern Sumatra (after a struggle lasting some thirty years), and the island of Bali.

In the East Indies the Dutch were faced both with Islamic nationalists and with Communists. Communist revolts in Sumatra and Java in 1926 were quickly put down; but the Indonesian Nationalists, from 1927 led by Ahmed Sukarno and Mohammed Hatta, caused so much trouble that they and other leaders were in jail or exile for such of the time until the Second World War.

Modern Indonesia comprises the ex-Dutch possessions in the East Indies - Sumatra, Java, Celebes (now Sulawesi), the Moluccas, Bali, and part of Borneo (Kalimantan), of New Guinea (West Irian) and of Timor - and some 3000 other small islands. It has the fifth largest population in the world - about 124 million - only China, India, Soviet Russia and the United States having more. During the war-time occupation from 1942 to 1945 Sukarno (see previous) cooperated with the Japanese, and at the end of the war he proclaimed Indonesian independence. The Dutch were faced with the task of virtual re-conquest. After four years of guerilla warfare they abandoned the struggle. Except for Dutch New Guinea Indonesia became independent, with a nominal union with Holland.

Indonesia gained its independence from nearly 300 years of Dutch rule in 1949. The New state of Indonesia was established by string of 13,000 islands stretching 3,000 miles with 200 million multi ethnic and multi religious peoples. Shmed Sukarno became the first president of independent Indonesia. He adopted a national language in the way to enable all Indonesians equal and united.

1. **Borneo.**

During the 19th century the island of Borneo, until then the preserve, with little European interruption, of Malay sultanates on the coast and the primitive Dayak tribes in the interior, became divided politically into several parts. The Dutch had intermittently set up trading stations in Borneo in the 17th and 18th centuries. Then, when Holland regained her independence after the interregnum during the Napoleonic Wars, she resumed her interest in Borneo, and the Dutch became firmly established in the southern part of the island.

The British also were showing an interest. In 1841 James Brooke, a young officer of the East India Company, led a private expedition to northern Borneo, where he helped the Sultan of Brunei\* to suppress a revolt. He was rewarded with the grant of the region of Sarawak, and the title of Rajah. For a hundred years the Brooke family remained the white Rajahs of Sarawak. In the 19th century the British also acquired the (then uninhabited) island of Labuan, off the coast of Borneo, and a protectorate over Sabah in north-eastern Borneo. The little that was left of the Sultanate of Brunei remained independent, protected by the British. (It was indeed protected - against pirates.) Development in Brunei was slow until, in 1929, large oil fields were discovered there, which made it financially secure. In 1891 the British and Dutch agreed upon their respective possessions and spheres of interest in Borneo.

1. **The Philippines.**

In the 1890s a growing nationalist movement in the Philippines resulted in a revolt in 1896 against Spanish rule. The revolt was unsuccessful; but in 1898 United States' intervention in Cuba, which had long been in a state of insurrection against Spain, led to a Spanish-American war - and as part of their war strategy the Americans attacked the Philippines. They destroyed a Spanish fleet in Manila Bay and, helped by Filipino insurgents under their leader Aguinaldo, they quickly conquered the islands. By the peace treaty the Philippines were ceded by

Spain to the United States for 20 million dollars. The Filipino nationalists expected the United States to agree to their immediate independence. In this they were disappointed, and a revolt against the Americans broke out. The revolt lasted several years before the country was finally pacified. The United States then gradually increased Filipino participation in the administration - and the Filipinos continued the struggle for independence, but by parliamentary instead of military means.

In the Philippines the Filipino struggle for independence of the United States has already been mentioned (see previous). In 1935 the islands were given internal self-government as the “Philippine Commonwealth". The first president of the Commonwealth was Manuel Quezon, who had long been the Nationalist leader. The Filipinos were promised complete independence in ten years’ time.

1. **Siam.**

For most of the 17thcentury Siam after her wars with Burma in the 16th century was also peaceful and prosperous. In this century Europeans made trading contacts in Siam, resulting in rivalry between the Dutch and the French the latter were taking their first steps into South East Asia. (The English also entered the competition. The East India Company had a factory at Ayuthhia for some years, but they withdrew in favour of the Dutch, as they did from the East Indies.) The French went further than trade, and tried to get Siam to accept Christianity. In this endeavour, and in their attempts to secure a privileged position in Siam, they had the support of a Greek adventurer Constantin Paulkone, who had become the King's adviser and first minister. This led to a palace revolution in 1688, in which Paulkone was assassinated, and a period of civil war. For the next 150 years Siam tried to keep aloof from Western influence.

In the 18th century Siam's power declined. The decline culminated in a Burmese invasion in the 1760s when Ayuthhia, the capital since 1350, was totally destroyed. The Thais rallied from this disaster, and in 1782 General Chakri became King Rama I of the Chakri dynasty, with a new capital at Bangkok. (The Chakri dynasty, in which the kings all take the name Rama, still continues at the present time.) Under the new dynasty Siam expanded once more, at the expense of Burma, Cambodia, Vientiane (Laos) and northern Malaya.

With the British taking over Malaya and Burma, and the French controlling Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, the only native kingdom which retained its independence in the 19th century was Siam. In the middle of the century, King Mongkut (Rama IV, 1851-68) started the modernisation of the country, opening it to foreign trade, and bringing to it some of the advantages of Western education and medicine. His work was continued by his successor Chulalongkorn (Rama V, 1868- 1910). He abolished the feudal system, reformed the administration, and modernised the financial system, the army, and communications. This programme was assisted by European and American advisers.

During this second half of the century Siam came under increasing pressure from French advances in the east, but her resistance to this pressure was helped by Britain's desire to keep Siam as a buffer between the British and French possessions. Though conceding French possession of Cambodia and Laos, Siam succeeded in surviving within her traditional borders, and in 1896 both Britain and France guaranteed her independence.

In Siam King Vajiravudh (Rama VI, 1910-25), who was educated in England, continued the policy of modernisation and westernisation. Siam took her place in world affairs by becoming one of the founder members of the League of Nations after the First World War; and her complete independence was underlined by treaties with the major powers abolishing extra-territorial rights which the nationals of those powers had previously enjoyed in Siam. Siam was still an absolute monarchy; and, in spite of the reforms brought in by the rulers since 1850, absolutism was not in accord with the Western ideas now flowing in to the country. In 1932 a coup d’état established constitutional government. In 1935 King Prajadhipok (Rana VII), dissatisfied with the new regime, abdicated. He was succeeded by his ten year old nephew, and the government was carried on by a council of regency.

The two chief figures in Siamese politics were now the civilian leader Pridi Phanomyong and the military leader General Pibun Songgram. Both had played prominent parts in the 1932 revolution. Pridi was ousted from power by Songgram, who was then the dominant personality in Siam for most of the time until his overthrow in 1958. During that period political coups of one sort or another averaged about one per year; but this gives a rather misleading picture of Siamese instability.

The coups affected few people, and were rarely accompanied by violence. In 1939 a programme of economic nationalism was started, aimed at replacing foreigners (especially Chinese) in commerce and industry. And the name of the country was officially changed to Thailand - "The Land of the Free".

**CHAPTER THREE**

1. **BRITISH CONQUEST OF INDIA AND LOCAL RESISTANCE**
   1. **The European powers and the declining Mughal empire**

Europe was the scene of many wars in the first two decades of the eighteenth century. In India itself, meanwhile, this was the period of the dissolution of the Mughal empire. Baji Rao and Nadir Shah raided Delhi and in Bengal a highly competent Mughal governor, Murshid Quli Khan, ruled as if he were an independent prince. Murshid, a Brahmin converted to Islam, had had a meteoric administrative career in the service of the Great Mughal. Following the eclipse of Delhi, he did pretty much what he liked. He built

a new capital of Bengal, Murshid abad, and annexed Bihar and Orissa. He organised an efficient centralised administration, eliminated many of the Mughal fiefs and collected the revenue in cash. It may sound paradoxical, but it was he who prepared the ground for British rule in India. Without his efficient system of administration and a large revenue in cash, Bengal would have been useless to the British.

Of course, while Murshid was still alive, the British remained marginal figures in Bengal and were entirely dependent on his pleasure. In 1717 the East India Company had been granted the privilege of free trade and free coinage in Bengal by the Great Mughal, but this grant was an empty promise as far as Murshid was concerned. In order to get along with him, the British had to deal with Murshid’s banker, Fatehchand, called Jagat Sheth (‘Merchant of the World’). Jagat Sheth obstructed the British by denying them free access to the Mughal mint. He made a good profit by controlling access to the mint and buying up silver at prices dictated by him. But the British wisely decided to work with him and not against him.

In this way they gained a key position in the trade of Bengal by making clever use of the existing power structure. In western India the British position was quite different. Gujarat was of prime importance for international trade, but there was no Murshid Quli Khan in that province, and the dissolution of the Mughal empire immediately affected this region. Surat, the great port of the empire, lost its importance within a few decades. Many merchants fled from this proud imperial port to Bombay where the British offered protection against Mughal and Maratha depredations. Bombay had a good natural port, but its connection with the hinterland was blocked by the Western Ghats and, therefore, it was much less suited for international trade than Surat.

Nevertheless, the Indian merchants preferred a safe port to a place where one’s life and property were at stake, as the death of Muhammad Ali in 1733 had so clearly shown to everybody concerned. The tragic fate of this last great merchant of Surat stands in striking contrast with the good fortune of his Bengal contemporary, Jagat Sheth. Muhammad Ali had inherited a veritable trading empire from his grandfather, Abdul Ghaffur. Dozens of ships carried his goods to all the ports of the Arabian Sea. Even the British governor of Bombay envied him because he was a keen competitor. In order to protect himself against the risks of his day Muhammad Ali built a fortified port of his own near Surat.

The Mughal commander of the port of Surat did not like this, but had to acquiesce as he owed Muhammad Ali a great deal of money. However, they finally fell out with each other and the Mughal commander imprisoned Muhammad Ali. The great merchant who had lived like a prince died a miserable death in this Mughal prison.

One year after Muhammad Ali’s death the British organised a blockade of the port of Surat. They did not mind that they would thus forfeit the privileges bestowed upon them by the Great Mughal. In the following year (1735) the Sidis who commanded the small Mughal navy raided Surat and captured all the ships which were just about to set sail for the Red Sea. They claimed that they did this only because the Great Mughal had not paid them their dues—and thus they abducted the merchant fleet which they were supposed to protect.

The chaotic situation of the declining Mughal empire was such that merchants became an easy prey for robbers and government officers alike.

The great web of trade which the Indian merchants had spun was torn apart with a vengeance. The small pedlar who accompanies his goods can escape such depredations more easily. But the great merchant who dispatches huge consignments, maintains agents in many countries, grants and receives credit and places advance orders—he depends very much on political stability. He can survive the sacking of his town as long as the network of trade is not destroyed and stability can be restored. Thus Shivaji’s raid on Surat in 1664 remained a mere episode, soon forgotten. The city prospered once more and its maritime trade actually experienced its greatest phase of expansion in the early decades of the eighteenth century. In the years from 1720 to 1729 about fifty ships arrived at Surat every year: thirty-three of them belonged to Indian merchants. Of these Indian ships about nine came from the Red Sea, seven from the Malabar coast and five from Bengal and the rest from various other places. After the crucial events of the years 1733 and 1734, which have been described earlier, Surat’s maritime trade was reduced by about 50 per cent. In the five years from 1734 to 1738 only about twenty-eight ships arrived at Surat per year; eighteen belonged to Indian merchants. Six of the Indian ships came from the Red Sea, one from the Malabar coast and three from Bengal. The reduction affected almost all routes, but the connection with the Malabar coast seems to have suffered most. This dwindling trade was a symptom of the decay of political stability.

The individual Indian merchant who tried to protect himself after the fashion of Muhammad Ali could find no salvation from this decay: on the contrary, he incited the wrath and the covetousness of those against whom he wanted to protect himself. Only the European companies with their armed ships and fortified factories were able to insulate themselves—very well indeed. Moreover, they could easily shift the scene of their operations to areas which appeared more attractive and profitable. Thus the British trade with Bengal, which was rather marginal in the seventeenth century, suddenly increased in the eighteenth. The boom of British trade with Bengal began in the second decade of the eighteenth century. In the first years of that decade the British sent annually about £150,000 to Bengal; in the last years the total was about £250,000. Altogether about £2m were transferred to Bengal in the 1710s yet this great influx of silver did not lead to a price inflation. There were several reasons for this. First, many of the Mughal officers as well as the great merchants transferred funds from Bengal to northern India. Furthermore, the increasing cash base of the land revenue tied down a great deal of money in the countryside, where it circulated rather slowly.

Due to the decay of the central power of the Great Mughal at Delhi, it became more and more difficult for him to get his share of the revenue from Bengal. Later the British were to profit from this situation when, in the second half of the eighteenth century, they extracted the silver from Bengal which they had pumped in in the early 1700s. The increasing trade with Bengal also led to the erection of British factories in the interior of the country, where the agents of the company established direct contact with the weavers and so influenced the process of production. Even British artisans were sent to Bengal in order to train their

Indian counterparts in the art of producing for the European market. The changing currents of European fashion demanded that the Indian producers adapted their output to the latest fashion as quickly as possible.

In spite of this demand there was no investment in the means and methods of production. The weavers remained poor, and the middlemen made the profit. In due course the British eliminated these Indian middlemen and sent their own agents directly to the weavers.

The rulers of Bengal regarded these British activities with mixed feelings: while greatly appreciating the stream of silver which the British brought into the country, they looked askance at the fortified factories and the increasing participation of the foreigners in the inland trade. Even a strong ruler like Alivardi Khan, who governed Bengal from 1740 to 1756, feared the influence of the British and did not trust them. But in his lifetime they could not subvert the political order in Bengal and had to operate within the limits imposed upon them. However, when Alivardi Khan’s weak and impetuous successor demanded that the British should remove their fortifications, they defied his order, repulsed his subsequent attack and defeated him. He had feared that the East India Company would grow into a state within the state; now this state within the state soon took over the state itself. The British seapower became an Indian landpower.

* 1. **The British control techniques.**

Prior to British colonialism, previous conquerors could not control India completely. However, within four years of the *Plassey Battle*, the British conquest unprecedentedly broke Indian social structures, basic institutions, and the self-sufficient village system. The consequences of the *Battle of Plassey* influenced the rule and the modes of the British cultural contact in the subcontinent. “The peculiar multicellular character of Indian society made it both highly resistant to change in its social and cultural aspects and *ipso facto* subject to constant political change and to conquest from within highly resistant to change”. In the post-colonial period (1956-1987), British areas were found to have higher levels of investments in agriculture and production, but lower levels of investments in schools, roads, canals, and health centers. The public goods in terms of the access to schools, health centers, and roads was minimal in areas that experienced British direct rule because of the heavy taxation and extraction of resources. Poor policies were installed in areas remote to the colonizers. On the other hand, areas that experienced indirect rule exhibited opposite developments. Native rulers had longer tenure to invest in public goods provision, than British administrators. The native rulers’ families played an important role in post-colonial politics by manipulating elections and controlling resources. The British used India to supply raw materials and provide a rich market for Britain. The Permanent Settlement Act introduced in India undermined the land ownership of the peasants. British colonizers forced Indian cultivators to provide goods for export to Britain and the new railway system, and whilst being beneficial to the local population, it also served the economic interests of the colonial power. Famines were deliberately created by the colonizers who forced the Indigenous population to seek relief work, such as road-building, so that goods could be transported from factories to ports and shipped to Britain.

The formulation of Anglo-Indian law toward having a unified and predictable modern legal system was meant to regulate economic, political, and social relations between individuals and groups. However, the British justified their codification of laws in India to show that they would guarantee the rule of law and justice, yet in reality, those laws were also used to discriminate between Indians and Europeans. The “Legal” legacy of the British Raj continues in India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh today. The Police Act, the Evidence Act, the Penal Code, the Jail Code, and many other laws have been inherited from the British. While the Indian sub-continent has been independent for seventy years, the continued existence of these laws may depict the utility that sub-continental rulers may find in using them to govern their populations. The British introduced Western education, the English language and culture, literature, and philosophy to strengthen their power in India. The British demonized Indians, viewing the natives as “incapable of understanding what was in their best interests”. They succeeded in creating an elite class that worked for the British and helped prolong colonial rule, and they provided a legacy that survives to this very day.

Unlike other colonies such as Canada, British rule in the Indian sub-continent can be viewed as being somewhat beneficial to the local populace, particularly in the fields of education and law. Learning the English language empowered the native population, and local elites (zamiders/babus) were very happy about this system. The positive “side effects” of British colonial rule also deserve appreciation for bringing about an impressive awakening in cultural, social, and scientific fields in India in the late 19th and mid-20th centuries. The colonial measures addressing Sati, widow remarriage, infanticide, witchcraft, child marriage, polygamy, and dowry had some remarkable effects. Because of social movements and significant roles played by individuals like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, many of these superstitions and iniquitous practices were removed from the society. In India, the British colonizers faced several resistance and nationalist movements. Britain established institutions to justify and secure colonial rule, and used force to curb any challenges to its rule. Ultimately, these repressive measures empowered Gandhi’s nonviolent resistance against the British, which culminated in their departure in 1947, as divide and rule became divide and depart.

Despite some positive social transformative steps, the British policy of divide and rule fueled and nurtured conflict in the Kashmir valley, the port city of Karachi between Mohajirs and other ethnicities, and the Rohingya and Bihari ethnic conflicts in Bangladesh. These conflicts are a legacy of British colonialism that have claimed many lives and abused the human rights of hundreds of thousands of innocent people in the Indian subcontinent. Given the direct, structural, and cultural violence of colonial policies of divide and rule, education, and laws, the postcolonial states must not sustain the legacy of British colonial policy of forced assimilation, division, and subjugation by imposing the dominant language, religion, and culture against ethnic and religious minorities. For example, state policies in the CHT in the name of development, security, and environmental conservation must not create, and promote structural and cultural violence against the Indigenous communities. Positive peacebuilding approaches are imperative for addressing the ongoing religious divide and regional conflicts in Kashmir valley, Arakan State of Myanmar, and the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) of Bangladesh, by granting the right of self-determination to the natives of this region.

Those three elements are divide and rule, colonial education, and British laws. The British took some reformative initiatives that ostensibly deserve appreciation such as the development of a predictable legal system, investment in infrastructure development, and education in the late nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries. However, most colonial policies and reforms were against the will and welfare of the people of India. The British took away India’s resources and introduced the English educational system to create an educated and elite buffer class for its own interests. It also introduced positivistic and predictable laws and repressive and discriminatory measures, including force, to control the natives and prevent anti-British agitation, protests, and armed uprisings in India.

**THE BRITISH IN INDIA**

After British had controlled Delhi, the capital, and most parts of India in four phases up to the end of the first half of the 19th century. In the second half of the 19th century, Great Britain launched the fifth phase expanding its colonial empire in the years (1848-1914).

In the period, the United Kingdom directed to the hills and rest parts of India. By this time, Lord Dalhousie conquered the Sikh kingdom in Punjab, which opened the door to the Great Game of imperial competition with Russia in Central Asia. In 1857, the majority part of the empire became in the hand of British East Indian Company. In the same year revolt against the colonial rulers began by Indian soldiers.

**The Sepoy Rebellion**

The attempt of Britain to abrogate the property rights of *Zamindars* in Awadhstoked resulted in a vast revolt that began with a mutiny among sepoys (Indian soldiers) around Delhi in 1857.The resentment of Sepoyshad been aggravated by the attempt of British soldiers to impose Christianity and European customs on them. With this sepoys were forced to change their way of living in the European style of life.

The revolt spreadthrough out the old warrior regions from Haryana across Bundelkhand into central India for two years. Some rebels fled to the Red Fort in Delhi and got the support of last ruler of Mughal. Many writers considered the Sepoys Rebellion of 1857 as the first revolt of Indian soldiers against their British commanders.

British soldiers suppressed the revolt of the entire colonial empire by guns in the years up to 1859.The suppression measure was accompanied by extreme punishments and conquests. With this the British troops removed the last king of Mughal in 1858.

**Administration**

The uprising however, forced the British government to relax its control over India. In 1858, the British Parliament dissolved the British East Indian Company and sent a viceroy, governor as royal representative, to take over the company’s territory. The viceroy soon made the few remaining independent Indian states his vassals by signing agreements with their rulers. In 1877, Prime Minister Disraeli conferred upon Queen Victoria the title of “Empress of India.”

In the British colonial empire, they established urban hierarchy ranks of towns in imperial order. The imperial order put English imperial society, major cosmopolitan centers which were the crux of empire in South Asia. Regional cultures mingled intensely.

The metropolitans’great cities grew in south Asia with their monumental buildings, ethnically segregated residential quarters, and grand public events. In 1911, seven cities-Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Hyderabad, Lucknow, Delhi, and Benares appeared with many more residents. The most developed of them were Calcuta and Bombay. Outside the biggest cities, scores of lower-tier centers were established along the railways. They comprised 95% of the South Asian region urban population.

British imperial administration included tiny London elite, small British enclaves in south Asia, soldiers, polis, and bureaucrats. Consequently English became cosmopolitan language of South and South-East Asia mainly to India and Ceylon since 1833.

With the expansion of urbanization, the British installed telegraph lines in India. Since then, schools and universities were also opened. British colonial officials also built paved roads and extensive railway systems. In addition to this irrigational canals were dug in India by the British colonial rulers.

**Indian Nationalism**

The British government tried to suppress further unrest of India by spending vast amount of money on the above mentioned huge projects to bring economic development in India there by to absorb large number of Indians in the work force. On the contrary, British colonial officials continued their harsh rule which developed Indian nationalist view.

They still discriminated against Indians, which often helped colonies to develop Indian identity. Farmers were ordered to grow cotton instead of wheat, to meet the demand of British textile mills. The lack of wheat then led to severe shortage of food which killed millions of Indians during 1800s.

In the meantime conquest was still spread to north-east of Indian states in the years between 1859 and 1893. In the course, Bhutan in 1865 and Sikkim in 1890 failed under the British rule. British troops had also conquered Baluchistan in the years between 1877 and 1896.

Irritated by these shortages of food and many other problems, many Indians demanded more power for Indian leaders. In 1885, some of them formed the Indian National Congress, (INC).it becamethe main political group that eventually led the long struggle of Indiansfor independence. The political group continued protests and scattered violence which forced colonizers to introduce few political reforms. In 1906, All-India Muslim League (AIML) founded with in the Indian National Congress at Dhaka.

But up to the beginning of 1900s British rule in India was firm. Due to this, British India continued to serve as the corner stone to the expansion of British colonial empires in the rest of the world in those years.

**Indian Struggle for Independence**

During WWI, the most important colony of the British empire was India. In the war Indian nationalists supported Great Britain and its allies. More than million Indian soldiers fought on the battle fields of the Middle East and Africa. Beyond this Indian wheat fed the Allied troops, and Indian cotton kept them clothed. In return for this support, Great Britain promised to grant “the gradual development of self-government institutions” in India in 1917.

In the post war period, nationalism grew in India as in the rest of the world. But Great Britain refused to keep its promise. This led to nationalist movement and conflict between Indians and colonial rulers.

**The Amritsar Massacre**

Soon after the war the Indian National Congress (INC) staged demonstrations to protest British colonial rule. But nationalist movement did not show proper development in India in the period for two factors. Religious differences became the first delaying factor to the development of nationalist movements. The majority Hindus and minority Muslims did not thrust each other. The British colonial officials encouraged that distrust. The second delaying factor was the unwillingness of British to see the reduced power of their empire.Therefore, they issued series of harsh laws to suppress the growing nationalist movements in India.

In 1919, Great Britain imposed harsh rule on India to suppress oppositions. According to the new law, British officials could arrest Indian nationalists without cause and jail them without trial. The repression became extreme in the northern city of Amritsar in April 1919. In the city the colonial officials outlawed all large gatherings. With this they warned to respond by force for any kind of violation.

Meanwhile, 10,000 unarmed Indians assembled in a walled garden in Amritsar for a political meeting in April 1919. In the meantime, the local commander blocked the only entrance to the garden without warning. Then,the colonial army began to fire into the trapped crowd. At the end of the attack, nearly 400 peoples, including many children, lay dead. About 1,200 peoples were wounded. The massacre brought international critics to the colonial rulers of the region.

The response of the British commander to the critics was as:

“I fired and continued to fire until the

crowddispersed, and I consider this is the

least amount of firing which would produce the necessary moral effect….

If more troops had been at hand, the casualties would have been greater.”

The entire Indians were shocked by the brutal massacre and the justification of the general. But they determined to drive out the British from their land. Therefore, they made together repeated meetings in large numbers. The continuity of the struggle however, demanded a strong leader, Gandhi.

**The Rise of Gandhi**

Gandhi was born in the middle class family of India in 1869. He was educated in England,and then practiced law in South Africa until 1914. In South Africa, he observed the mistreatment of the natives because of their dark skin. Besides he led protests against racial discrimination. But he was pacifist, a person who opposed using war and other violence to settle disputes.

With this his beliefs, Gandhi used protest methods based on civil disobedience,means refusing to obey laws which he considered them unjust. After returning home, he began to work with the Indian National Congress.

In the months following the Amritsar Massacre, Mohandas K. Gandhi became the leader of Indian Nationalist Congress.Soon he started to lead a nonviolent movement for self-government and for greater tolerance among the country’s many social and religious groups. Gandhi urged Indians to reject much of Western civilization for its use of brutal force, its worship of money, and its prejudicial attitudes towards non-Western peoples.

Gandhi’s understanding of Indian problems made him popular throughout India. Indians called Gandhi *Mahatma,* meaning“great soul.” At the same time, his doctrine of moral nonviolent protest also won him international attention. He believed that, one could force an evil person or government to change by challenging it directly without violence. Gandhi used the term*satyagraha,* means“ truth force,” to describe the nonviolence protests he launched after the Amritsar Massacre.

One effective form of protest was the boycott, in which Indians refused to buy British cloth and other manufactured goods. As a step towards independence, Gandhi urged Indians to begin spinning their own cloth. Gandhi practiced what he ordered Indians to do by spinning cloth for a half hour every day. Besides, he made the spinning while the symbol of the INC, and he wore nothing except simple homespun cloths for the rest of his life.

Gandhi’s courage inspired millions of Indians to join the nationalist movement in protests. However, the British forces arrested Gandhi in 1922. Since then he disappeared from active protest for eight years. However, the Indian National Congresscontinued to protest undisturbed with a very little success until the return of Gandhi in 1930.

**Towards Independence**

Upon his return, Gandhi planned his next major protest around salt. The British controlled the salt mines and the ocean salt fields. They taxed every grains of salt they sold and jailed Indians who gathered salt on their own.

In 1930, Gandhi protested the salt tax. First he led thousands of his followers on a 200-miles (322 kms) march from Ahmadbad to the sea, where they made salt from the water of the sea. After a month, Gandhi openly protested British Authority by wading into the sea and picking up a lump of salt.

The British arrest thousands of his followers leaving him free to quell the mounting protests. They also prison him after a month. Still, the protest increased. Such a march continued throughout the 1930s. But the British responded with guns and clubs for every Indian protest. Their measure could not stop millions of Indian nationalists.

**Self-Rule**

The pressure of nationalists forced British colonial power to grant more political power for Indians.In 1935, the British parliament passed the Government of Indian Act. The act created a constitution for India.

The constitution gave provincial legislatures the power to control over the making of law in the provinces. According to the constitution agriculture, education, public health, and public works became under the control of provincial government. The British government retained control of national law making, finance, defense, and foreign affairs.

The majority of Indian nationalists still rejected the act, demanding complete independence. However, the Indian National Congress finally accepted the act as the first step towards self-rule by the initiation of Gandhi. Some writers like the Indian historian, K. M. Panikkar considered the act as the sign of full retreat of British colonial officials in the administrative field. Nonetheless, independence was not yet won until the end of World War II.

The road to independence in India was delayed mainly by religious conflicts of Hindus and Muslims. The conflict reached to its peak in 1930s. The ratio of Muslims from the entire population was one third. Muslim worried about their future treatment by the Hindus in the post liberation period. Therefore, many Muslims joined the Muslim League.

Beyond this, in 1936, the Hindu dominated Indian National Congress won election of majorities in seven out of eleven provinces. Muslims won only the rest. This developed bitter feelings on Muslim members of Indian National Congress. The Muslims League headed by Muhammad Ali Jinnah split from the Congress party and demanded a separate Muslim nation for the millions of Muslims in India. The Hindus led by Jawaharlal Nehru, a follower of Gandhi still wanted a united India. During World War II the nationalist movement continued separated into two uncontrolled to Gandhi.

**India**

Following the agreement of Britain to grant independence for India soon after the end of Second World War, violent riots between Hindus and Muslims erupted across the country. This led to the creation of two countries, India and Pakistan out of British Indiancolony in August 1947.

Muslim dominated areas of far-westand far-east regions became Pakistan. The vast area in between Pakistan, dominated by Hindu peoples became India. Following their separation, Hindus from Pakistan flocked to India, while Muslims from India moved to Pakistan.

This migration of nearly 10 to 12 million peoples led to violence that resulted in the death of hundreds of thousands peoples. The tragic incidence of the conflict was the assassination of Hindu leader, Mohandas Gandhi by Hindu extremist on January 30, 1948. The migrations and the killings did not end the conflicts between Hindus and Muslims. More than 60 million Muslims remained in India, ensuring future tensions between Muslims and Hindus at home and between India and Pakistan in the international politics.

The first prime minister of India became Jawaharlal Nehru. He was aristocratic and British-educated.He led the struggle for independence for long along with Gandhi. He stayed in the position of prime minister until 1964.

**Pakistan**

In post liberation era, Pakistan faced difficulties in administrating two distinct regions separated by over 1,000 miles of Indian Territory. West Pakistan was a dry mountainous region. Most people of this region spoke Urdu language. East Pakistan was a wet lowland region. Most peoples of East Pakistan spoke Bengali. The only common bond for the two regions of Pakistan was the Islamic Religion.

In March 1971, civil war broke out between the two regions. In December 1971, India joined the war supporting East Pakistan. The war ended quickly by granting independence to East Pakistan. The newly independent state of East Pakistan was established as the republic of Bangladesh.

In 1948, a year after the independence of British India, Great Britain granted independence to Ceylon known as Sri Lanka since 1972. It is situated on the southeast coast of India.

The Philippines is a group of islands located East of Vietnam. It gained independence from the 60 years of colonial rule of the United States in 1946.

**CHAPTER FOUR**

1. **A BRIEF SURVEY OF KOREAN HISTOR**
   1. **Background**

Korea is a peninsula on the east coast of Asia, extending south towards the western tip of Japan. This geographical location made Korea to serve as a bridge between its two neighbors of mainland China and the island Japan.

Their legend told us that, the Koreans descent from Tangua, the son of a bear and a god who supposedly founded the first kingdom of Korea 5,000 years ago. According to historical sources, the first peoples of Korea were immigrants of northern Asia. These settlers lived in villages, grew rice, and made tools. They were animists and practiced shamanism. It is a belief that god and evil spirits inhabit both living and nonliving things. Shamans or priests intermediate between the spirit world and humans.

* 1. **Koreans Under Chinese Rule**

In 109 BC, Korea was invaded by Han Dynasty of China. Since then Korea remained under Chinese rule until the fall of Han Dynasty. During the period of Chinese rule, since 109 BC, the Korean adopted many elements of Chinese culture. Among these were Confucianism, Buddhism, calligraphy, and ideas of government.

They also used Chinese art and sciences to make their own unique creations. For example, in 300s Koguryo produced mammoth cave art murals. In Silla Queen Sondok built an astronomical observatory that still stands today as the oldest observatory in Asia.

* 1. **Establishment of independent states in Korean Peninsula**

Korea regained its independent in 229 AD. In 313 the peninsula was divided into three separate kingdoms of Silla, Paekche, and Koguryo.

In 668, the Kingdom of Silla united all of Korean peninsula. This brought a period of peace and prosperity and creativity. Korean potters produced superb porcelain decorated with flower designs. They also created a unique mask dance that expressed their sentiments to shamanism and Buddhism. Over sixteen years, Korean scholars produced a *TripitakaKoreana,* the largest collection of Buddhist scriptures in the present world. The *TripitakaKoreana* has 81,258 large wooden printing plates.

In 1392, the Yi Dynasty controlled power in Korea. The yi called its kingdom Choson and built Hanyang the present city of South Korea, Seoul as their capital. They opened schools to teach Chinese classics to civil service candidates and made neo-Confucianism, the state doctrine.

The adoption of Korean neo-Confucianism deeply affected the role and relationships of peoples. According to this doctrine, the eldest son of each family was expected to serve parents until his death.

What was the position of women in Korea by Buddhism, shamanism, and Confucianism? (use the space below to write your responses)

Korean women were accorded high status by both shamanism and Buddhism. However, were given much lower status under Korean Confucianism.

One of the greatest Yi rulers, King Sejong, had two significant accomplishments. He ordered bronze instruments to be used in measuring rain. This made Korea to have the oldest record of rainfall in the world at present. His second significant accomplishment was he together with his advisers created simplified writing system to spread literacy and devised *hangul,* and alphabet with 14 consonant and ten vowels to represent Korean sounds.

In 1592 Koreans under the leadership of Joseon Dynasty defended their country from Japanese invasion power. Since then they decreased contact with the outside world. The isolationist policy made Korea the Hermit Kingdom.

On the other hand, Korea was forced to host foreign invaders in some occasions even in this period of isolation. In the mid of the 17th century for instance, rulers of China and Mongolia had ruled Korea temporarily. During much of this period it became tributary state of China together with Vietnam and Nepal.

Korea.

* 1. **Early contact with Europe**

The Korean's initial encounters with Europeans took place at the close of the sixteenth century. The first Westerner to set foot on Korean soil was Father Gregorio de Cespedes, a Spanish Jesuit priest who visited southern Korea as a chaplain in the train of Japanese soldiers during 1593-1595. The next Western visitors to Korea were thirty-nine shipwrecked Dutch seamen, three in 1628 and thirty-six in 1653. One of the Dutchmen who was forcefully detained in Korea by the Chosǒn government was Hendrik Hamel. He escaped from Korea in 1666 and eventually wrote An Account of the Shipwreck of a Dutch Vessel on the Isle of Quelpart, together with the Description of the Kingdom of Corea. Published in 1668, the book introduced Korea for the first time to wide Western readership. Korean envoys who regularly visited Beijing came under the influence of Western science and Christianity early in the seventeenth century and shared their newly-acquired knowledge with Koreans at home. For example, religious and scientific tracts written by Matteo Ricci, an Italian Jesuit missionary stationed in Beijing, were brought home by the Korean envoys as early as 1608. By 1620, information on various aspects of Western civilization had been carefully considered by Korean intellectuals. The information thus acquired of the West gave rise to the so-called Western Learning among the yangban scholars who had fallen out of political favor with the royal court. One such enthusiast of Western Learning, Yi Sung-hun, journeyed to Beijing in 1783 and was baptized a Catholic by the French missionary Father Louis de Grammont.

The Catholic movement in Korea was launched in 1784 with the organization of the first Catholic church in Seoul by Yi Sung-hun and his fellow converts. The conversion of Koreans to Catholicism first took place among the declassé yangban, but it soon became popular with the commoners and the lowborn. The first French missionary to Korea selected three Korean youths and sent them to Macao in 1836 for theological training at a seminary operated by La Société des Missions Étrangères de Paris. Two of these Koreans, Alexander Kim and Thomas Ch'oe, were ordained as priests in 1844 and 1849, respectively.

In 1785 the Korean government proscribed Catholicism as heterodoxy through a special royal edict and continued to persecute its followers. Despite such persecution from the government, the Catholic community in Korea continued to expand. By 1865, there were some 23,000 converts under the care of twelve French missionaries. It was against this group that a massive, final purge was launched by the xenophobic regent, the Taewǒn'gun ("Prince of the Great Court") from 1866 to 1867. Some 8,000 Korean converts and nine French missionaries are said to have been killed as a result of this persecution. Korea maintained an isolationalist policy and kept its land borders and seacoasts sealed until 1876. Despite the French, British, American, and Russian ships that frequented its borders, foreign contact was kept to a minimum during the 1850s and 1860s. In 1860, Russia became Korea's neighbor by acquiring Maritime Province from China, and this only further reinforced Korea's exclusionist tendencies. The Taewǒn'gun's mistrust and dislike of foreigners were clearly evident in his 1866 order to burn down an American merchant schooner, the General Sherman, which had dared to sail into the Taedong River without the consent of Korean authorities. A French naval squadron that invaded Kanghwa Island at the estuary of the Han River in 1866, intending to chastise the Korean government for its persecution of the French missionaries, was peremptorily dispelled. In 1871, the Taewǒn'gun similarly repulsed an American naval expedition to Kanghwa Island. As the late 1800s progressed, it proved more and more difficult for Korea to remain a hermit among the imperialist nations. This is evident in the near collision with Japan that occurred in 1873 when the expansionistic Meiji government, indignant of Korea's refusal to open its doors, seriously considered a "conquest" of Korea. This occurred completely unbeknownst to the Korean government, and although the proposal was abandoned, it illustrated the intensity of the peninsular country's vulnerable isolationist policy.

Korea's stance toward the outside world changed after-December 1873 when the Taewǒn'gun relinquished control of the country to his son, King Kojong (r. 1864-1907). Kojong was an enlightened but weak-willed monarch who relied heavily on the advice of his consort, Queen Min (Empress Myǒngsǒng). In February 1876, under the threat of Japanese gunboat diplomacy, Kojong's government reluctantly signed the Treaty of Kanghwa with Japan. This was the first modern unequal treaty that Korea entered into with an imperialist power.

After 1880, King Kojong tried to implement reforms for the "self-strengthening" and "enlightenment" of the country. He also developed a keen interest in establishing diplomatic ties with the United States, an ideal potential ally which could help fend off the growing Russian threat to the Korean Peninsula. Negotiations for a Korean-American treaty were conducted at Tianjin, China between Chinese Viceroy Li Hung-chang (Li Hongzhang) and Commodore Robert W. Shufeldt. These negotiations resulted in the Korean-American Treaty of Amity and Commerce, which was consummated at Inch'ǒn in May 1882. This was Korea's first treaty with a Western power, and it was followed by subsequent treaties with Great Britain and Germany in 1883, Italy and Russia in 1884, France in 1886, Austria-Hungary in 1892 and Denmark in 1902. Korea, as the last East Asian country to be opened to the West, thus entered into the realm of modern diplomacy. The Korean government immersed itself in a flurry of self-strengthening activities after forging treaties with Japan and the Western nations. A group of some thirty Koreans visited Tokyo in 1876 to learn about Japan's Westernization efforts. This was the first official Korean mission to the Japanese capital since the last Korean Communication Envoy had visited Edo in 1763. In 1881, the Korean government dispatched another group consisting of some sixty representatives to study Japan's political structure. Another team of forty students and artisans was sent to China to acquire the methods and skills needed for self-strengthening. In 1883, the American government sent Lucius H. Foote as minister to Korea, and in 1885 and 1888, Korea established diplomatic legations in Tokyo and Washington, DC, respectively.

Although the string of unequal treaties Korea signed with Japan and the Western powers did not bring tangible diplomatic or economic benefits to the Chosǒn dynasty, the influx of Western ideas and goods after the country's opening had a revolutionary impact on Korean life. Of the Westerners who entered Korea at this time, the Protestant missionaries from America contributed significantly to the future of Korea by propagating modern concepts of human equality and political democracy. The Protestant educational and medical institutions, in addition to their successful evangelism of the gospel, bore visible fruits of their attempts to actuate the above values. The first modern schools for boys and girls in Seoul were founded in the mid-1880s. The Protestant missionary institutions, such as the Paejae [Boys'] School and the Ewha [Girls'] School, were the mentoring grounds for a large number of leaders who would later distinguish themselves in the national independence movement. As a result of the endeavors of these missionaries, South Korea is today the leading Protestant nation in East Asia. This does not mean, however, that Western ideas and goods were well received by the majority of the Korean population. In fact, the opposite was the case. The open-door policy that King Kojong and Queen Min pursued in the early 1880s provoked the Soldiers' Riot of 1882 (Imo kullan), a violent military uprising of conservative soldiers who felt threatened by the influx of foreign practices and political norms. Qing China, Korea's suzerain, then used the incident as an excuse to intervene in Korean affairs militantly for the first time since 1636. China dispatched a large-scale expedition to restore order to Seoul, suppressed the riot, and then kidnapped the Taewǒn'gun, their suspected ringleader, to China. China then unilat-erally forced an unequal trade agreement on Korea, taking it upon itself to appoint foreign affairs advisers to the Korean king. The subsequent Chinese domination of Korean politics was supported by the 3,000-strong Chinese garrison force that remained in Seoul.

* 1. **Period of Japanese domination**

In December 1884, the unprecedented Chinese intervention in Korean affairs prompted members of the Enlightenment Party, a nascent political party of pro-Japanese and pro-American inclination, to stage a coup d'état against the Chinese-dominated regime. The coup leaders had obtained a verbal promise of support from the Japanese minister in Seoul. The attempted sabotage of Kojong's court, which is remembered as the Kapsin Political Turbulence (1884), was aborted after three days because of the unanticipated mobilization of the Chinese garrison to suppress the coup and because the Japanese minister reneged on his promise of support. In October 1885, China tightened its control over Korea by appointing Yuan Shikai as Chinese "resident" in Seoul to oversee Korea's internal and external affairs. Japan, another power with a vested interest in the Korean Peninsula, acquiesced to this arrangement after signing a treaty, the Li-Itō Convention, at Tianjin in early 1885. In this agreement both China and Japan consented to withdraw their troops and military advisers from Korea. Japan deferred to China on this matter because it sought China's cooperation in checking Russia's territorial ambitions in Northeast Asia. The precarious balance of power on the Korean peninsula was disrupted in the spring of 1894 with the outbreak of a massive Tonghak-affiliated peasant uprising. The Tonghak Peasant Uprising provided an opportunity for the Japanese to involve themselves once again in the affairs of Korea. Under the pretext of preserving order in Korea, the Japanese government sent a military expedition to Korea. This action provoked the Chinese to defend their interests in Korea. The ensuing Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895 marked a major turning point in modern Korean and East Asian history. As a result of the war that China ignominiously lost, the balance of power in Korea tilted decisively in favor of Japan, and the Sinocentric world order that had dominated East Asia met its demise, never to be restored.

A pro-Japanese modernization movement, known as the Kabo (1894) Reforms, was initiated during the war by Korean officials receptive to modern ideas. With Japanese backing, the Korean reformers attempted to make major institutional changes that were regarded as crucial for Korea's survival in the modern world of great power imperialism. The traditional Chinese-style bureaucratic system was discarded, and the structure of government was reorganized along the Western and Japanese models. The time-honored delineation between the yangban and the commoners was abolished, together with the institution of slavery. Modern military and police systems were instituted to bolster the authority of the newly organized central government. Monetary and taxation systems were modeled after their Western equivalents, and a modern judicial system was introduced. The traditional Confucian academies whose primary purpose had been to prepare students for the Chinese-style government examinations were replaced with modern educational institutions.

Among the great world powers only Russia challenged Japan's newfound influence in Korean politics. In October 1895, as part of an effort to maintain Japan's power in Korea, Japanese officials plotted and carried out the murder of the pro-Russian, pro-American Queen Min. Then, in February 1896, King Kojong fled from the Japanese-controlled palace to the Russian legation. Korea was temporarily run from the Russian legation and, accordingly, under Russian supervision.

After 1896, the kingdom of Korea was like a ship adrift at sea without a compass. King Kojong decided to declare Korea an empire in 1897, thereby making himself an emperor, but the aggrandizing title was in name only for the monarch had lost what little direction he had had, surrounded as he was by a coterie of inflexible and conservative officials with no clear vision for Korea. In frustration, a group of reform-minded officials and intellectuals in Seoul had organized an incipient political party, called the Independence club, in April 1896. Its leader was Sǒ Chae-p'il (Philip Jaisohn), a former member of the unsuccessful Kapsin coup and a medical doctor who had been educated in the United States.

The Independence Club and its members became the voice of reform in Korean society and demanded that Emperor Kojong implement changes in government similar to those outlined in the Kabo Reforms. The club also clamored for the establishment of a national assembly that would launch Korea's transformation into a constitutional monarchy. Although initially tolerant, Kojong and his entourage began to feel increasingly threatened by the activities of the group, and in December 1898, the emperor disbanded the club, mobilizing soldiers and mobsters and strong-arming the demonstrators. This proved to be self-defeating because in destroying the club, the emperor had unwittingly quelched the only political body capable of rejuvenating the declining Chosǒn Dynasty. Accordingly, when the RussoJapanese War broke out in 1904. The emperor and his coterie were not in a position to call upon the more enlightened members of the Korean society to help withstand foreign encroachment. Japan provoked the war with Russia because it wanted to be the only world power to have a voice in Korean politics. In September 1905. Japan defeated Russia in a series of land and sea battles and then in November imposed a protectorate treaty on the helpless Korean government. The United States and Great Britain upheld Japan's expansionist policy toward Korea: the former by entering into the secret Taft-Katsura Agreement between the U.S. Secretary of War William Howard Taft and Japanese Prime Minister Katsura Taro in July 1905, and the latter by renewing the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in February 1905. Patriotic Koreans demonstrated against the protectorate treaty by forming "righteous armies" (ŭibyǒng), a volunteer force of guerrilla fighters who harassed the Japanese aggressors. Some 20,000 righteous army volunteers died fighting the Japanese military in numerous skirmishes from 1905 to 1912. Unfortunately, this resistance effort on the part of the Koreans did little to stymie the Chosǒn dynasty's rapid decline, and its fate was sealed by the imperialist powers who fashioned a string of policies toward Korea without consulting the Koreans themselves.

In 1905, in the wake of the Russo-Japanese War, the Japanese government unilaterally declared that Korea would henceforth be a Japanese protectorate. In August 1910, this status was altered, and Korea became a formal colony of the Japanese empire. This was the first time in Korea's long history that the entire country and its people were subjugated under alien rule. What made this situation even more galling was the fact that historically the Korean people had always considered themselves Japan's cultural mentors.

The untimely Japanese occupation stymied Korea's modernization process just as the country was taking steps to implement self-initiated reforms. Some historians who condone Japanese policy towards Korea claim that considerable progress was made in Korea's economic and educational systems during the colonial period. They argue that the Japanese occupation was in the long run beneficial to the modernization of Korea. Although it cannot be denied that there was some degree of economic progress between 1910 to 1945, the main beneficiaries were the Japanese and a handful of Korean collaborators. The majority of the Korean populace was reduced to a state of impoverishment and illiteracy. Japan ruled Korea through the office of a Governor-General, who was usually a military man from the Japanese army or navy. During the first stage of the occupation (1910-1919), the Koreans were controlled by a draconian gendarmerie-police system, which deprived them of many basic civil freedoms. The stringent social controls finally produced a massive, nation-wide demonstration on 1 March 1919, referred to as the March First Movement. It compelled the Japanese to loosen their constricting grip on the Korean populace. During the second phase of colonial rule (1919-1932), the Government-General permitted the Korean people a degree of freedom of expression and assembly. In the early 1920s, for example, three Korean newspapers were published in the vernacular, and in 1927, a Korean political party composed of both rightist and leftist nationalists, the Sin'ganhoe (New Korea Society), was established.

Because of the relatively tolerant political climate, even the socialists were able to get away with forming a clandestine Korean Communist Party in Seoul in 1925. It was also during this period that some modern colleges, including the Japanese-sponsored Keijo [Seoul] Imperial University and a half a dozen private Korean colleges were organized with public or private funding. The third phase of Japanese rule (1932-1945) saw a return of draconian rule to Korea as the Japanese ruthlessly exploited Korean manpower and resources to support their war efforts in Manchuria (after 1932), mainland China (after 1937), and the Pacific (after 1941). The Korean people were forced to stop using their own language, to adopt Japanese names and to worship at Shinto shrines. In the end, however, such ruthless measures served only to further incense the Korean population and to fuel nationalist fervor.

* 1. **Struggle for independence**

The Japanese occupation period was marked by Korea's refusal to accept its protecterate status and annexation. The massive March First Movement inspired people from all rungs of society to fight for independence; its leadership was heterogeneous and consisted of members from Ch'ǒndogyo (formerly, Tonghak), Protestant, and Buddhist organizations. The size and intensity of the movement stunned the Japanese who had assumed that their brutal policies would eventually break the backbone of the Korean national spirit, not strengthen it. Although the movement subsided after 1919, Korean resistance at home continued in many forms: student demonstrations, labor strikes, tenancy disputes, and boycotts against Japanese goods. Despite renewed Japanese efforts to quelch political resistance, Korean nationalists and communists continued to agitate against the Japanese in scattered movements throughout the country. In August 1944, for example, a clandestine political coalition, the Korean Independence League, was formed under the leadership of Yǒ Un-hyǒng, a leftist nationalist. It was this league that later formed the Committee for the Preparation of Korean Independence (CPKI), the interim government that was established in Seoul immediately after the Japanese surrender in August 1945.

Korean expatriates in Shanghai, China, organized the Korean Provisional Government (KPG) in the wake of the March First Movement with Dr. Syngman Rhee as president. The KPG was the center of nationalist rightist activity, and it received financial support from Chiang Kai-shek's (Jiang Jieshi's) Nationalist Government in China as well as from Korean emigrant communities in the United States and Russia. It functioned from the 1930s until Korea's liberation in 1945 under the leadership of Chairman Kim Ku. When Japan attacked Pearl Harbor in 1941, the KPG tried to gain formal Allied recognition of its legitimacy. Its representatives in Washington, D.C., including Syngman Rhee, lobbied the U.S. government. The KPG also enthusiastically supported the U.S. Army Office of Strategic Services in north China. Unfortunately, all this proved futile and the government-in-exile was largely ignored by world powers until the end of World WarII.

The communist Yenan Faction was another expatriate Korean group in China, which had fought the Japanese with Mao Zedong's Red Army in northwestern China. This group shaped the Korean Independence League and the Korean Volunteer Army in 1941 under the leadership of Kim Tu-bong and Mu Chǒng. Like the KPG, it also held as its ultimate objective the restoration of Korean independence.

There was also another group of Koreans in China, identified in history as the Kapsan Faction or the Partisan Faction. This group conducted guerrilla attacks against the Japanese Kwantung Army in southwestern Manchuria after 1932, and the group's activities were part of the Northeast Anti-Japanese Allied Forces organized by the Chinese Communist Party. One of its leaders was Kim Sǒng-ju, later known as Kim Il-sung. Kirn's guerrilla unit, which numbered about three hundred at most, was composed mainly of Korean residents of Jiando (Kando in Korean) in southeastern Manchuria. In the early spring of 1941, it sought refuge from the Kwantung Army attacks in Vladivostok in the Russian Maritime Province. There, Kim and his band were incorporated into the 88th Regiment, a special task force of the Far Eastern Command of the Soviet Army. They received special training at the Okeanskaya Field School in Vladivostok and later at other similar institutions in Khabarovsk while awaiting the end of World War II.

* 1. **The Korean War**

When the war ended with the Japanese surrender on 15 August 1945, the Korean people received the news of their liberation with both jubilation and dismay: they were overjoyed that they were freed from the Japanese yoke but dismayed because their country was to be divided along the 38th parallel into two military occupation zones. The 38th parallel decision was masterminded by U.S. policy-makers in Washington, D.C. throughout the nights of 10-11 August as the best means of preventing the Russians from occupying the entire peninsula of Korea (a likelihood considering the fact that the Soviets had declared war on Japan on 8 August, one day after the first atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima).

President Harry S. Truman secured Marshal Joseph Stalin's promise to honor the 38th parallel on 16 August without ever having consulted a Korean. Apparently, neither of these Allied leaders fathomed that their rash decision would result in the permanent division of the country, which had been a unified political entity since 668, nor that it would pave the way for a devastating war within five years. Below the 38th parallel, South Korea was occupied by the United States' armed forces in September, a month after the Soviet military had begun to occupy the North. The U.S. occupation forces organized a military government, the United States Army Military Government in Korea (USAMGIK) in Seoul and ruled South Korea for three years with the support of the Korean Democratic Party, a conservative party comprising of landlords and the bourgeoisie. The USAMGIK refused to recognize the Korean People's Republic, an indigenous Korean government that had been hastily formed on 6 September by leftist nationalists and communists to replace the CPKI, which had been under the leadership of Yǒ Un-hyǒng. Consistent with the virulent distrust of communism, which characterized U.S. foreign policy at the time, the USAMGIK outlawed the Korean Communist Party, which had emerged under the leadership of Pak Hon-yong, a veteran communist agitator of the so-called Domestic Faction. It also refused to recognize the KPG and its leaders were allowed to return to Korea as private citizens, not as government officials. (Kim Ku and his group returned to Korea in November 1945, three months after the liberation.) In the Cairo Declaration, issued on 1 December 1943 by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Prime Minister Winston Churchill and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, the three Allied leaders, in anticipation of Japan's defeat, promised to grant independence to the Korean people "in due course."

Marshal Stalin showed his support of this declaration in July 1945 when he signed the Potsdam Declaration. Although the world powers professed to give priority to Korean independence, it was never clear just how Korean autonomy was to be reinstated, as the phrase "in due course" connoted. During World War II, American leaders had entertained the idea of placing Korea under a joint trusteeship of four powers, the U.S., the USSR, China, and Great Britain, for an unspecified period of time before granting Korea full-fledged independence. It was this idea that ultimately became the basis of the Moscow Agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union. Finalized in December 1945, four and a half months after the end of World War II, the Moscow Agreement clarified the procedure by which the Korean transition to autonomy would be conducted. The initial stage was entrusted to a U.S.-Soviet Joint Commission, which was to meet in Seoul to consult with Korean political leaders. The Joint Commission's mandate was to organize a provisional Korean democratic government.

All Koreans, with the exception of communists under Soviet influence, opposed the trusteeship plan as it was seen as a new type of colonialism. The Korean nationalists demanded immediate independence and engaged in various campaigns to frustrate it. Unperturbed, the U.S.-Soviet Joint Commission met in Seoul in the spring of 1946 and again in May 1947. It failed to agree on a feasible model for a unified Korean government because the U.S. and Soviet delegations could not agree on which Korean political group should be consulted in creating a new Korean government. In retrospect, it seems clear that the intensifying distrust in the Cold War between the U.S. and the Soviet Union made a negotiation of a bilateral agreement in Seoul unlikely. Finally, unable to break the impasse in the Korea situation through the Joint Commission, the United States opted to refer the issue to the United Nations. This was done in September 1947, forsaking its trusteeship plan in toto. The General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a resolution in November 1947 calling for the establishment of a united Korean government through a general election that the UN would supervise. It organized a nine-nation commission, the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea (UNTCOK), and authorized it to take necessary measures to hold a nation-wide election in Korea. The Soviet Union, which had vetoed the UN resolution, refused to cooperate with the UNTCOK's activities on the peninsula.

UNTCOK nevertheless recommended that the proposed election be held in the areas where it was feasible, that is, only in the southern half of Korea. The Interim Committee (Little Assembly) of the UN General Assembly approved this recommendation in February 1948, and the proposed general election was eventually held in South Korea in May 1948. A Korean National Assembly thus formed and adopted the constitution in July and elected Syngman Rhee as the first president of the Republic of Korea (ROK). President Rhee proclaimed the birth of the ROK on 15 August 1948. The UN recognized the ROK on 12 December 1948 as "a lawful government having effective control and jurisdiction over the part of Korea where the [UN] Temporary Commission was able to observe and consult." The United States recognized the ROK on 1 January 1949 and withdrew its troops from the peninsula by late June of that year.As an attempt to bring unity of the country,North Korea under the communist government, invaded South Korea on June 25, 1950. The United Nations Security Council, in the absence of the Soviet Union, voted to condemn the invasion and organized an army to defend South Korea. 16 countries including Ethiopia contributed troops to the UN force. The United States covered more than 90% of thetotal UN soldiers.

In the first months of the war, North Korea march southward conquered almost all of South Korea. However, on September 15, 1950, UN troops led by General Douglas Mac Arthur of the USA counterattacked. The UN launched a surprise invasion at Inchon, along Korea’s west coast and far behind the North Korean front lines. With in six weeks, the troops of Mac Arthur had reoccupied all of South Korea and most of North Korea.

China then supported their ally, Korea. The Chinese troops forced the UN army to retreat southward. By the middle of 1951, each army dug in along a line not far from the 38th parallel. On July 27, 1953, the two sides agreed to stop fighting and accept a temporary armistice line that divided Korea along the existing battlefront. After the death of 5,000,000 Koreans the war ended leaving Korea divided.

* 1. **North Korea**

Kim Il Sung, leader of Communist became the first president of North Korea in 1948. The North Koreans revered him as a god-like figure. They called him as the “Great Leader.” Kim established a dictator government that largely isolated North Korea from the rest of the World. It prepared a Communist program of economic development like its neighbors, the Soviet Union and China. As a result North Korea registered some progress in developing economy but less than the economic development of its rival South Korea. Improvements in the standard of living however, remained limited.

* 1. **South Korea**

Since its establishment, 1948, it was led by successive military dictator leaders for long. They used the Communist threat as a pretext to play dominant role in the government politics. Speech, press and the right of organization were therefore limited in South Korea.

On the contrary the military leaders of South Korea scored an impressive economic growth since the mid 1960s. in the 1980s its economic development became ten Percent a year. the South Korean gave emphasis to export trade in order to promote rapid economic development. At present, South Korean electronics products, automobiles, and other goods are competing with Japan in World market.

In the political sector, the massive students’ protests of 1980s, led South Korea to greater democracy. In 1987, a new constitution was adopted by referendum in South Korea. The constitution allowed almost complete political freedom. Accordingly South Korean voted for a new president for the first time in their history. Roh Tae Woo became the first elected president of South Korea.