

1.1

Japanese expansionism:

- Shogun (military leader) ruled from 1192
- Portuguese entered in 1542; Introduced technology. Change of warfare of handguns & canons led to Oda Nobunaga to unify Japan
- 17th century: Dutch trade from one port
- Feared christianity (threat to internal security)
- 1633-1639 forbid japanese trade or build; Only chinese and dutch could trade with them

1850s

- 1853 Commander matthew perry arrived. By force, steamships opened up trade from Japan with America.
- 1858 forced japan to open up trade with America; Britain, france & russia signed similar treaties. No match to perry's "black ships"
- Treaty of kanagawa (1854): ended japanese seclusion, first treaty since 17th century. Foreigners exempted from japanese law: Foreigners don't need to bow to the shogun.

The meiji restoration

- Emperor meiji:
- Modernization & Westernization
- Political power back to emperor from shogun
- Desired: equal power with the west, believed that they were destined to be leader in Asia, raw Resources, strategic security (national security), western actions, growing nationalism (militarism)
- Removed feudal societies
- National unity; Patriotism
- German tactics
- Defeated China in the first sino-japanese war 1894-1895

Sino-Japanese war:

- Liaodong peninsula, Korean independence, pescadores islands, formosa, pay indemnity from China

Anglo-japanese alliance 1902-1922

- Prevent Russia from extending further influence into Manchuria

Russo-Japanese war 1904-1905

- Russia's defeat
- Accept the treaty of Portsmouth
- Some Japanese expected more (a little disappointed)
- South of Manchuria (Port Arthur)
- Railway rights along the southern half of Sakhalin Island
- Earned respect & affirmed itself in its belief as leader of Asia

WW1

- Versailles conference: Demanded German colonial territory of China (Shandong peninsula in 1914) -> political dominance in Asia
- Navy occupied Germany's South Pacific possessions
- Distracted allies allowed Japan to make China sign the "Twenty-One Demands"
- Allowing Japan to have commercial rights in Manchuria
- China could not lease coastal territories to other countries.
- China had to accept political, financial, & military advisors from Japan.
- These demands angered the UK & the US and was modified because some members of the Japanese government believed damaged their reputation
- Japan became self-sufficient: exporting to Asian countries of which the allies could not yield
- Failed to get charter of the League of Nations: not yet a part of the "Western"
- Fear of immigration to the US from Japanese people

Bolshevik revolution in 1917

- Japan sent 70,000 soldiers to support the Whites against the Red Army (originally only planning on sending 7,500)
- Stayed longer than allies
- Forced to retreat in 1922 after defeat
- Attacks on government because of the loss of **prestige** and failure to control the army

The time of international cooperation

Washington conference 1921-1922

- Anglo japanese alliance replaced by four power treaty: All countries must confer if rights of France, the UK, the US and Japan were to be threatened
- Five power naval treaty (Washington treaty system): Restricted competition of naval power by setting a ratio of aircraft carriers (5:5:3) (Japan being three). France & Italy would be allowed a 1.75 ratio. -> Japan could not expand much further.
- Nine power treaty: China, Belgium, the Netherlands, the US, the UK, Japan, France & Portugal: Respecting territorial & administrative integrity in China (Japan agreeing to return German concessions)

Taisho democracy:

- **Shidehara Kijuro** (Ambassador to Washington in 1921, foreign minister in 1924-27, 1929-31)
- Prime minister's position was given by one of the two main political parties
- Anyone one with skill to become president
- 1925 all male adults were allowed to vote
- Society is more open, more media influence

Military dictatorship in the 1930s

- **Fragile democracy** - Corruption, fear of left wing radicalization (clamped down anyone who opposed its political structure)
- Communists were oppressed in the 1920s. Opened up what is called the Meiji dilemma as to how much political freedom to allow.
- **Opposition to Shidehara's internationalism & the growing influence of the military on foreign policy** - Washington treaty system prevented expansion
- Growing racism in US for immigrants
- Hirohito revived Japanese nationalism
- **Growing economic crises**
- Boosts of economy only lasted to the mid of 1921
- Great depression in America Wall Street crash in USA 1929. Highest tariffs on Japanese goods. Silk raised in prices significantly.
- Prices of rice fall (bad for farmers)
- Unemployment; industrial unrest
- Farmers suppressed by police
- Manchuria had those resources

Influences of chinese political instability

- China was forced to open trade with the west.
- China's biggest defeat in opium wars (1839-42, 1856-60)
- Europeans had legal priviledges in chinese soil
- Officially still "independent"
- Warlords after 1911 revolution
- Nationalist: Jiang jie shi: Against foreign powers
- Communist in 1921

1.2

Jiang jie shi and communist party created a united front taking power from warlords in the northern expedition. Ultimately leading to a civil war in 1927.

War between US & Japan (Perspectives)

- Inevitable
- Negotiations could be achieved; still preparing for war
- Forced because japan was in oil embargo, etc...

Quick timeline:

- 1931 Manchurian crisis
- 1932 bombs chinese districts killing many: Prime minister Inukai was assassinated. Army officer revolt
- 1933 manchukuo established with puyi as puppet
- 1934 repeal of navy treaties of washington & london by the japanese navy
- 1936 anti comintern act with germany; elections result in minseito party
- 1937 marco polo bridge incident - second sino-japanese war
- 1938 kodoha attempted to overthrow but tosei ha won at the end; National mobilization bill proposal for east asia for co-prosperity sphere is announced
- 1939 imperial rule assistance association is formed
- 1940 wang ching wei puppet ruler
- Tripartite pact with germany & italy
- Demands access to bases in vietnam from the french
- 1941: Non-aggressive act with soviet union
- July: japan invades indo-china
- December: Pearl harbor attack

Japanese domestic issues:

Growing influence of the military; political crisis

- **Zhang zhuolin: warlord**; expanded into northern China which could make him a target for Jiang and thereby impede Japanese interests,
- Kwantung army disarmed Zhang and forced him to retreat before getting defeated by Jiang.
- (Kwantung) They stopped the northern expedition at Jinan. Assassinated Zhang on June 4, 1928.
- The Emperor instructed Prime Minister Tanaka to enforce discipline. They did not punish perpetrators because it would ruin the prestige of the army.
- July 1929 Tanaka forced to resign due to not meeting the Emperor's wishes. -> army can ignore governmental decisions, undermining Japanese liberal democracy.
- **Hamaguchi Yuko**: won elections in 1930 due to his policies of maintaining good relations with China, disarmament and an end to corruption. Great Depression made it impossible to cut salaries for both military and civil sectors. London naval disarmament conference limited Japanese naval growth and Hamaguchi Yuko agreed. Shot by right-wing radical which forced his resignation in April 1931 and his subsequent death in August.

Economic crisis:

- Great Depression (Wall Street crash 1929) -> doubts on US and Japanese parliament
- Japan was dependent on world trade
- Smoot-Hawley tariff Act (President Herbert Hoover 1930): highest protective tariffs in US peacetime industry. Duties of Japanese goods rose by as much as 200%
- 1932: silk was 1/3 of price in 1923; farmers relied on silk production
- Unemployment rose to 3 million
- Manchuria had resources (coal, iron & timber)
- Space for the overpopulated Japan
- Diplomat **Yosuke Matsuoka (foreign minister in 1940)** regarded Manchuria as a "lifeline" & "our only means of survival"
- Serves as a buffer to Russia
- Instability in Manchuria was unsuccessful after the assassination of Zhang Zhuolin as his son, Zhang Xueliang succeeded the throne and allied with Jiang.
- Kwantung Army wanted to seize Manchuria through force, while Prime Minister Wakatsuki warned the plan to the Emperor, who ordered the Minister of War, General Minami, to restrain the Kwantung Army.

- The general tasked to deliver the message by Minami was intentionally held back. The Japanese emperor never expected the army to undermine his authority

Events in Manchuria, 1931

The impact of nationalism and militarism on Japan's foreign policy

- Explosion in Manchurian railway owned by Japan in Mukden. Said to be blown up by the Chinese according to Japanese propaganda but evidence showed that the perpetrators were members of the Kwantung army.
- Within hours Japan made China retreat from Mukden
- Japan entered Changchun the following day
- Watanabe attempted to regain authority but the Kwantung army was so happy with their victory that they began to seize more territory. 24 September the government declared a retreat to the railway zone immediately but the army ignored its orders.

Results for Japan's international relations

- Japan left the League of Nations due to condemnation from the west and broke relations with the US and Britain in 1931 due to the Manchurian crisis.
- "Turning point", isolation and abandonment of the Washington Treaty system
- The Japanese compared it with the Triple Intervention of 1895
- Foreign Minister **Uchida** claimed that "recognition of the new state [Manchukuo] in no way conflicts with the Nine-Power Treaty".
- They saw the West as upholding international law only when it suited themselves, claiming that it was due to racist reasons.
- In the 1930s, admiration for Nazi Germany who had also walked out of the League of Nations.
- The Soviet Communists were ideologically and territorially wise a threat to Japan with its interests in Manchuria - viewed by the Japanese as key opponent in the region
- Due to the increasing positive relation between China and the Soviet Union, Japan signed the Anti-Comintern Pact with Nazi Germany in November 1936. Japan had a fascist (anti-liberal, anti-democratic, anti-communist) party lead the government unlike Italy and Germany

Results for Manchuria and China

- Beginning of 1932 Manchuria was fully under control of Japanese forces
- Set up a puppet state ruled by Pu Yi (last emperor of China)
- Fighting broke out in Shanghai between the Japanese and Chinese in January of 1932
- Bombed, causing widespread devastation
- Densely populated Chapei, causing thousands of casualties and refugees led to an intensified Chinese outrage and turning of the world's opinion against Japan
- Four divisions assisted navy stationed in Shanghai and after six weeks the Chinese withdrew

Results for the Nationalist Party in China

- China called on the League of Nations
- Jiang Jieshi focused on defeating the Chinese communists and did not want to be involved in another conflict.
- He knew that support from the west would be limited but hoped that he had time to organise defences
- He used the non-direct negotiation approach with Japan
- This method was not effective according to Immanuel Hsü: Relying on the League of Nations and protests to Tokyo is not as effective as organizing the northeastern army to resist (be more active) Japanese invasion allowing the moderate civilian government in Japan to have a greater voice on Chinese affairs.
- Chinese people responded to the Japanese with fury-> boycott on American products (reducing sales to China by two thirds).
- Did not change Japanese expansion or Jiang Jie Shi's priority to fight the communists over the Japanese
- Japanese control of Manchuria was accepted in May 1933 in the Treaty of Tanggu. Jiang agreed to cede Inner Mongolia and in June 1935 agreed to move all troops from Hebei province.
- Jiang believed that given the outsized land of China, Japan would be exhausted in the process of trying to occupy it.
- **Jiang Jie Shi:** the Japanese "were a disease of the skin while the communists were a disease of the heart"; Selling space to buy time was a viable strategy to him

Results for the Japanese government

- Economic benefits from occupation of Manchuria
- Increase in taxation in Japan in order to maintain a sizable army in China

- Protect itself against the soviet army and the US navy & make the Chinese government accept its position in Manchuria and northern China
- Results from the impulsive decision from the army
- Asian “Monroe doctrine” preventing Europ from intervening with Asia. similar to the original monroe doctrine which prevented europe from intervening with north and south america
- Japanese government had to celebrate the heroes of Manchuria
- Foreign condemnation galvanised Japanese nationalist sentiments.

Years of turmoil: The descent into “the Dark Valley”

- After 1932, division was created within the military itself. This led to the military government and what the japanese call “the dark valley”
- Kodo-ha (imperial way faction): More radical, military dictatorship (and thereby deliver state socialism) with emperor, USSR = enemy (war with them was inevitable, while Manchuria was the first step) and spiritual training of army (national spirit over material force)
- Tosei-ha (control faction): Legal means to get military influence in government, USSR = good relations and modernization of army; Against terrorism and the use of force to remove the government
- Both believed in japanese expansion
- Three major plots destabilised the government between 1932 and 1936.
- Army and navy officers attacked banks, party officers and the police in tokyo.
- Prime minister Inukai was shot and killed
- Internal conflict further undermined the democratic government
- **Admiral Saito’s** government (May 1932-1934): favoured the Kodo-ha faction pointed three of its leaders into high positions
- However he took firm stance against Kodo-ha’s radical factions
- Promoted a member of Tosei-ha minister of war
- **Admiral Okada** became admiral in july 1934. He promoted the ideo that the army should control the economy.
- Kodo-ha minister sacked for not controlling young officers, Kodo-ha officer **Aizawa (later executed in court)** assassinated the leader of Tosei-ha, General Nagata.
- In response, kodo-ha **attempted to seize power** in february 1936
- 1500 soldiers marched into Tokyo. Took over parliament buildings and headquarters & prime minister’s residence. Many officials were murdered
- Fifteen conspirators were tried in secret and shot. The kodo-ha discredited, tosei-ha gained more power in developing army planning. The army had a firmer control over the country

- Okada resigned after the attempted coup. Hirota Koki -> prime minister
- Hirota compromised with the military, agreeing to pursue a strong foreign policy.
- Hirota agreed that ministers for the army and navy had to be serving officers.
- Seven-point programme (basically handed control of the government to the military)
- Signed the anti-comintern pact with Hitler November, 1936.
- Government brought down after the National Diet declared its alarm at the direction the military was taking.
- General Hayashi in power between February and June 1937
- The Diet was the only that could limit the military's power
- June, Prince Konoye Fumimaro took over as prime minister (had experience)
- Konoye wanted to restrain the army; Tosei-ha faction was too dominant in the government.
General Tojo Hideki (Tosei-ha) became chief of staff of Kwantung Army in July 1937.
- Six weeks of Konoye taking power, army commanders ordered the invasion of China. Konoye was powerless in the decision.

The Sino-Japanese War of 1937

- Marco Polo Bridge, near Beijing, fighting broke out on 7 July 1937
- Army drawn forces into China from Korea without consulting the government.
- Reinforcements were sent despite Prince Konoye's attempts -> full-scale war with China.
- End of July; Beijing taken.
- Fight in and around Shanghai (and north) (two fronts) in the following month
- Air raids. Forces drove inland along the Yangtze River. Chinese refugees fled to the interior
- Largest human exodus (largest fleeing) in History

The Rape of Nanjing

- Nanjing fell to Japan on the 13 December
- Chinese were subjected to appalling atrocities
- Robbery, wanton destruction and arson

Results of the Sino-Japanese War for Japan?

- Prepared for a war with the soviets.
- Kanoye called for an all-out campaign to “annihilate” the nationalist regime after the Marco Polo incident
- Underestimated chinese nationalism and the outrage caused by such events
- China refused to agree to terms for peace despite lack of effective weapons and industrial support.
- Supply lines were stretched, and more vulnerable to chinese guerilla attack (unorganised attack)
- Jiang Jie shi under chongqing (most intensively bombed cities)
- Mao zedong in north west China.
- 1938 declaration of creation of a new political, cultural and economic union between Japan Manchukuo and China - a New Order in East Asia. Prince Kanoye declared the cooperation between China, Japan & Manchukuo. Jiang rejected this idea.
- How to end the war? Setting up a chinese regime that would agree terms with them.

Reasons for the escalation for conflict after 1938

The militarists take control

- Konoye returned in July 1940; Aimed to limit power creating a unity party called the imperial rule assistance association. Led to failure
- Multi-party politics were destroyed because of the establishment of the imperial rule assistance association.
- Military in total control in October, 1941, Koneye resigned & replaced by general tojo

The impact of war in Europe

- After success in Europe by hitler, Japan pressured france to allow japanese forces to occupy troops and airfields in indo-china --first conquest in south asia. However pressure to the dutch failed.

1940 - 1941

- Foreign Minister **Matsuoka Yosuke** signed the tripartite axis pact in september 1940 (germany & italy in europe, japan in east asia [western colonies])
- Secured the northern border after signing a pact with the soviet union. April 1941 despite two clashes previously, 1938 and 1939, the neutrality pact was signed with the soviets. (so soviets could concentrate in europe)
- July 24 they moved to thailand (siam) malay and the dutch east indies.

- USA and UK froze all Japanese assets and deployed reinforcements to Jiang in China
- Started attacking western colonies in November 1941

Why did Japan attack Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941?

- Key war supplies may be cut off, so going to war with European colonies seemed to be the only option.
- 1941, Washington wanted Japan to agree to respect territorial sovereignty of its neighbours and maintain trade policy in the areas under its control.
- Japan did not agree despite Prince Kōmei's attempt to negotiate
- Attempts of negotiations were made, but a final attempt was sent, but secretly prepared to the navy should negotiations fail.
- November 2, final imperial conference privy council president **hara**: It is impossible, from the standpoint of our present political situation and of our self-preservation, to accept all the American demands. On the other hand we cannot let the present situation continue. If we miss the present opportunity to go to war, we will have to submit to American dictation. Therefore, I recognize that it is inevitable that we must decide to start a war against the United States. I will put my trust in what I have been told, namely that things will go well in the early part of the war; and that although we will experience increasing difficulties as the war progresses, there is some prospect of success.
- 7 December 1941, Japanese bombers US ships at Pearl Harbor in an attempt to destroy the US Pacific fleet
- 90 percent of the mid-Pacific air and sea power were destroyed or badly damaged.
- Aircraft carrier capability; Many had been on manoeuvres
- Air assault killed 2403 and injured 1178 of US military personnel and civilians before declaration of war
- Historian **Michiko Hasegawa** argues that Japan was forced into attacking because of the oil embargo (purposeful ban)
- Revisionist historians argue that Roosevelt provoked Japan into making the attack.
- Japan simultaneously attacked Hong Kong and Singapore during the attack (**needed oil**)
- Malaya and the Philippines on 8 December.
- End of December, Japan had seized control of Guam, Hong Kong and Wake Island.
- Sunk the "Prince of Wales" and the "Repulse" British warship. Singapore, Siam, the Dutch East Indies, Malaya, Singapore and the Philippines by mid-1942.

Results:

- Japan paid a terrible price
- Cost the lives of 3 million Japanese
- Lost overseas empire
- Destruction of one quarter of its mechanics, equipment, buildings, and houses.

HP JH.Boyle.1983 “If historians have excused Japan from the charge of premediating the Marco Polo Bridge affair, they have not exonerated it from the more serious charge that it created by its actions a climate of animosity in China in which a trifling incident could escalate into an eight-year war.”

HP Iriye 1987 “The rape of Nanking would make it all but impossible for Japan to still be accepted as a respectable member of the international community”.

HP Pyle “Was not a war that the army General Staff wanted”.

Journalist Akira Yamaguchi:

It is typical of the hypocrisy of western powers. They have had a colonial presence here in asia for centuries. They call it benign partnership or some other euphemism. But when we japanese do the same they call it nakedition and condemn us.

Leftenant ewale okubo

stationed in mukden: we must take control ourselves, if we wait for tokyo nothing will happen, it is a our duty to act decisively in the interest of our homeland, it is our destiny.

Bix, 2000 “Set the stage for the triumph of Communism in China, and [would] end only after having given seed to Japanese involvement in World War 2, and Japan’s ultimate defeat”.

Japanese government “Our empire will [1] for the purpose of self defence and self-preservation complete preparations for war, [2] concurrently take all possible diplomatic measures vis-a-vis the USA and Great Britain and thereby endeavour to attain our objectives. [3] In the event that there is no prospect of our demands being met by the first ten days of October ... we will immediately decide to commence hostilities against the United States, Britain and the Netherlands.

Japanese left wing historians

- Blame the “militarist capitalist clique” for the responsibility for a “15-year war”. (indoctrinated by their pre-war education)
- Right wing historians in Japan: December 1941 is the start for “great east asia war”. Japan was “freeing” Asia from western exploitation. They argue that No invasion = no successful independence post war. “Japan had been forced into war” Masaaki Tanaka argued that the rape of Nanjing was “fiction”. Hayashi: “the holy war” struggle with the west following the arrival of the Americans in 1853
- Orthodox historians: war began in 1937 after the Marco Polo Bridge incident. Japan caused the war, and Pearl Harbour was evidence to support this. Japan was responsible for all events in the Pacific. Saburo Ienaga especially critiques Japan’s aggression and attributes imperialism and militarism to it (1968)
- Michiko Hasegawa: Japan went to war due to oil embargo, starting point was December 1941
- Revisionist US historians believe that Japan was purging Asian countries from western corruption. Some believe that because the US did not act in the 1930s, it increased Japanese aggression. Boyle identifies Roosevelt’s role in provoking the Japanese.: “[Roosevelt] ignored or even suppressed warnings of military commanders in Hawaii so as to ensure a successful surprise attack on the US fleet (Boyle, 1993)”
- Traditionalist historians argued that the emperor was forced to submit to the militarists. Stated that Hirohito was passive but also aggressive.
- Sterling Seagrave in his book The Yamamoto Dynasty supports that the emperor had no choice but to submit to Japanese expansionism.

Conclusions:

Kenneth Pyle: Japan’s gamble had huge consequences. Generations were scarred by the trauma.

Socio-democratic revolution at home, and the rise of communism in China. First time Japan in history that it had been occupied by an enemy force

Thinking skills page 51

The international response to Japanese aggression, 1931-1941

Brief timeline:

- 1931: the League of Nations decides to set up a commission under Lyod Lytton to investigate the Mukden incident
- 1932: The USA issues Stimson non-recognition doctrine, the Lytton commission publishes its report

- 1933: Japan leaves the league of Nations
- 1936: Second United Front established between the GMD and the CCP in China.
- 1937: China appeals to the League of Nations after the Marco Polo incident. USS Panacy is sunk by the Japanese
- 1938: The USA gives loans to the GMD
- 1939: The USA starts an embargo on Japan and the trade deal is cancelled
- 1940: July-september: the burma road is closed. In september churchill reopens the burma road following the tripartite pact
- 1941 July: Japan occupies southern Indo-China. The USA freezes Japanese assets. A total trade embargo is imposed by ABD powers.
- 1941 November: A total oil is embargo imposed on Japan by the USA
- 1941 December: Japan attacks Pearl Harbor

The league of nation's response to events in Manchuria 1931-36

- Japan's action in mukden was the first significant challenge by a major power to the new international system after world war 1.
- League of nations centered around the concept of "collective security" stating that states would take joint action to deal with aggression. 1919 League of nations was created to facilitate this joint action efforts
- Other treaties such as the washington conference system, the nine-power treaty and the kellogg-briand pact reinforced the idea of peaceful international cooperation.
- **Kellogg-Briand pact:** Signed in 1928 and promised not to use **war** to resolve "disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or of whatever origin they maybe, which may arise among them". Instead, it called for the peaceful settlement of disputes. Japan signed this pact in 1928 along with 14 other nations. Ultimately, the pact was signed by 62 nations.

The organization and aims of the league of nations

- Structure: Assembly and the council of the league
- Assembly: Representative councils of each member. Met yearly and each state had one vote
- Council consisted of the major powers britain, france, italy and japan plus four other members elected by the assembly. Made key decisions; in particular it was the body that could take action against a member of the league who resorted to war.
- The covenant: Document which set out how the league was to achieve its aims of promoting international cooperation and maintaining international peace and security

Actions in response to the mukden incident from the league

- China appealed to the league of nations; China hoped to invoke the principle of collective security and thus get action taken against japan as set out in Article 16 of the Covenant

- The league acted cautiously; Several meetings to discuss what actions should be taken. Both Japan and the USA came (even though not a member but still invited)
- Japan seemed to cooperate with the league but army continued to expand its influence over manchuia in defiance of a request from the league that japanese troops should withdraw to the railway zone.
- The league send a fact-finding commision led by lord lytton to Manchuria. This commission took several months to arrive in Manchuria and then several months to complete its report on the situation. During this time, the kwantung army was able to continue expanding throughout manchuia. In March 1932, Manchuria was declared the state of manchukuo.
- The japanese claimed that the manchurians were now free from chinese domination.