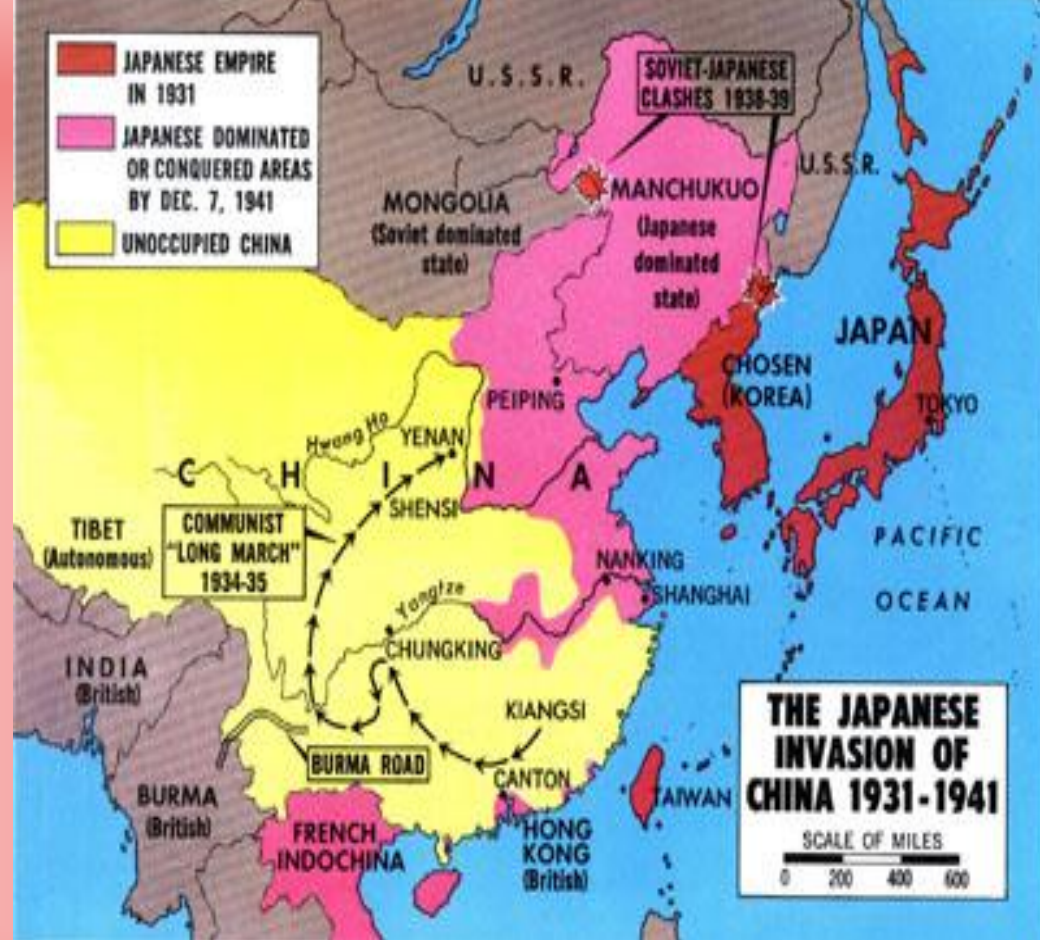


International Response to Japanese Aggression 1931-1941



CONSEQUENCES AND SIGNIFICANCE

League of Nations Response to Manchuria 1931-1936

- ▶ New international system built around concept of **collective security**
 - ▶ States will take joint action to deal with aggression
 - ▶ League of Nations (LoN) established 1919 – all states could be represented



Covenant of the League of Nations

- ▶ Art. 10 – Members will protect territorial integrity of all members
- ▶ Art. 11 – Matter of war is a concern for the whole league
 - ▶ League shall take any action to safeguard peace of nations
- ▶ Art. 12 – if there is a dispute members promise to submit the matter to arbitration, **decision made within 6 months.**
- ▶ Art. 16 – should any member resort to war it is war against the entire league. **Immediately subject to severance of all trade, financial relations with all other nations**
 - ▶ It shall be the duty of the council to recommend to the several governments what effective military to contribute.

Possible Weaknesses?

Organization of the League

- ▶ **Assembly** - director of League activities
- ▶ contained **representatives from all Members** of the League with one vote each
- ▶ **tasks** carried out by this group were to accept new members, elect non-permanent Members of the Council, the election with the Council of the judges of the Permanent Court and manage money.



League of Nations Organization

▶ Council – executive branch

It was in charge of the Assembly's business.

▶ Permanent members were Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Germany (later)

▶ Met more frequently than the assembly

▶ Secretariat – Civil Service/Bureaucracy

▶ in charge of organizing the Council and Assembly's agenda,

▶ group had many functions. Some aspects concerning them were political, financial and economic matters, administration and minorities, mandates, disarmament, health, social, legal and information.





Secretariat

The permanent 'civil service' of the League. It carried out decisions taken by the Council.



Assembly

Met once a year. All member nations of the League had one vote here.



Council of the League

A committee that took major decisions. Most major nations were members.

International Labour Organisation

Each member nation sent two government ministers, one employer and one worker. They discussed working conditions and got countries to make improvements.

Permanent Court of Justice

Fifteen judges met at the Hague in the Netherlands. They settled international disputes, e.g. over frontiers or fishing rights.

SPECIAL COMMISSIONS



Drug addiction



Health



Slavery



Help for undeveloped nations



Refugees



Minorities



Mandates



Women

Paper 1 Practice – Questions 9 A

Source A:

Extract from Akira Iriya. *The Origins of the Second World War in Asia and the Pacific* (1987)

The term “the Washington Conference system”, or the “the Washington system” for short, was not in current use in the 1920s, nor was it subsequently recognized as well-defined legal concept. None the less, immediately after the conference there was much talk of “the spirit of the Washington conference”, and a country’s behavior in Asia tended to be judged in terms of whether it furthered or undermined that spirit... it expressed the powers’ willingness to co-operate with one another in maintaining stability in the region and assisting China’s gradual transformation as a modern state. It was opposed to a rapid and wholesale transformation of Asian international relations, such as was being advocated by the Communist International and by an increasing number of Chinese nationalists. Rather, the Washington powers would stress an evolutionary process of change so as to ensure peace, order and stability.

What according to source A, were the aims of the Washington System?

Source B:
Paper 1 Practice
– Question 9 B

What is the message of Source B concerning Japan's actions in Manchuria?





How did the League of Nations respond to Japan's expansionism?

Crisis over Manchuria

- ▶ Second half of the 1920s – improvement in international relations; however in the early 30s due to economic situations following the Great Depression, there was **increased adoption of aggressive expansionist foreign policies**
- ▶ After the **Mukden Incident**, China went to the League of Nations and asked for collective response

Mukden Incident – Review

- The Japanese Imperial Army had the permission of the Japanese government to launch retaliatory actions if the Chinese attacked any Japanese property in the area.
- **Japanese troops responded to the explosion at Mukden by attacking the nearby Chinese Garrison, taking and securing it with ease**
- The Incident was a masterstroke by Japanese officers determined to **begin the process of territorial expansion**. The explosion at Mukden was very probably staged by Japanese troops to enable a retaliatory attack. **Following the seizure of Mukden Japanese troops began occupying other towns and cities in the area.** Within 5 months the whole of Manchuria was under the control of the Japanese army.

The Chinese Response to the Invasion of Manchuria

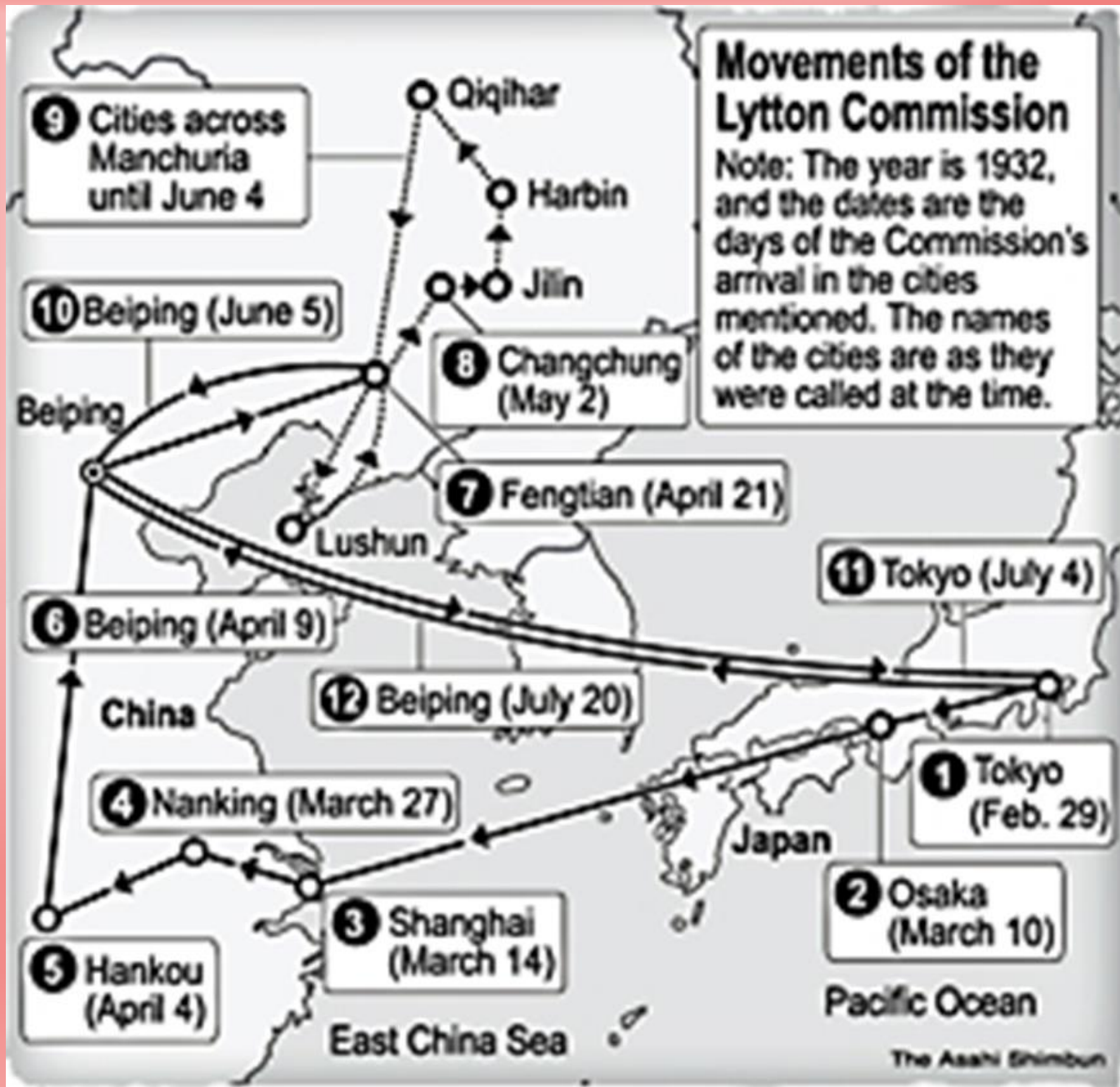
- ▶ The policy of the Chinese Government at the time of the Mukden Incident was one of **non resistance towards Japanese troops in this area**. This was primarily because they wanted to concentrate their **efforts on defeating Communism in China**
- ▶ As a consequence **the small Japanese force of some 11,000 men** were able to take control of much of Manchuria very easily, despite the presence of a quarter of a million Chinese troops in the area.
- ▶ **Chinese appealed to the League of Nations.**
- ▶ In October the **League of Nations passed a resolution saying that Japanese troops should withdraw** and established a commission, **Lytton Commission**, which would investigate the claims of both sides.
- ▶ The **Japanese rejected the League of Nations resolution** and insisted on direct negotiations with the Chinese Government. These negotiations failed and the Japanese proceeded, to take control of the remainder of Manchuria.

- ▶ Difficult situation for LoN: **both China and Japan were members** of the League
- ▶ **Also Britain and France** – most important members of the League in 1931 **had colonies in Asia** and were determined to safeguard their interests in the region
- ▶ Japan claimed that their **initial military actions were to protect their interests and investments from attacks by “bandits”** – it was clear that Japanese were aggressors in this situation
- ▶ Several countries, including **Britain, were partly sympathetic to Japan’s actions in Manchuria**, which were presented as “merely an attempt to restore order”
- ▶ Japan made a suggestion to the League to gather a Commission of Inquiry
- ▶ Overall, League’s **response could be considered a failure** – that was noted not just by Japan alone (which continued its expansion), but also by Italy and Germany, who realized that neither Britain nor France were prepared to take joint action to prevent expansions.

Lord Lytton – c1906 (Vanity Fair)



The Lytton Commission was headed by **V. A. G. R. Bulwer-Lytton, the second Earl of Lytton of the United Kingdom**, and included four other members, one each from the **US** (Major General Frank Ross McCoy), **Germany** (Dr. Heinrich Schnee), **Italy** (Count Aldrovandi-Marescotti), and **France** (General Henri Claudel). The group **spent six weeks in Manchuria** in spring 1932 (despite having been sent in December 1931) on a fact-finding mission, after meeting with government leaders in the Republic of China and in Japan. **It was hoped that the report would defuse the hostilities between Japan and China** and would thus help maintain peace and stability in the Far East.



League response to Mukden Incident

- ▶ Sends a fact finding commission – Lytton Commission
- ▶ Takes several months to arrive, several months to report
- ▶ Kwangtung army expands through Manchuria during this time
 - ▶ Declares **Manchukuo** independent (puppet state of Japan)

1 year later Lytton Commission reports

- ▶ 1. Japan **did have interests** – but the use of the army was **unjustified**
- ▶ 2. Japan **should give up territory** and withdraw
- ▶ 3. **Manchukuo was not a state**
- ▶ 4. Manchuria should become independent under Chinese sovereignty



The Lytton Report - details

- ▶ The Lytton Report contained an account of the situation in Manchuria before September 1931.
- ▶ It devoted **particular attention to the origins and development of the State of Manchukuo**, which had already been proclaimed by the time the Commission reached Manchuria.
- ▶ It also **covered the question of the economic interests of Japan** both in Manchuria and China as a whole, and the nature and effects of the Chinese anti-Japanese boycott.
- ▶ However the **report did not directly address one of its chief goals: the cause of the Mukden Incident**. Instead it simply **stated the Japanese position (that the Chinese had been responsible)** - with no comment as to the truth or falsity of the Japanese claims.
- ▶ Japanese actions seen as “not self-defence”
- ▶ Japan gave formal notice of its withdrawal from the League of Nations on March 27, 1933.

Paper 1 Practice – 9 B



What is the message of this cartoon concerning the League of Nations' role in the Manchurian crisis?

- ▶ A cartoon by David Low published in the UK newspaper the Daily Mail on 17 November 1931, "Will the league stand up to Japan"

Cartoons - Manchuria



- ▶ EveningStandard April 1934

Paper 1 Practice – 9 A

Extract from R.J. Overy. *Origins of the Second World War* (2008)

In 1933 Japan left the League and effectively removed the Far East from the system of collective security. In 1934, in violation of international agreements to preserve an “open door” policy in China, the Japanese government announced the Amai Doctrine, a warning to other powers to regard China as Japan’s sphere of influence and to abandon trade with the Chinese and the provision of technical aid to them. There is no doubt that Japanese leaders, spurred on at home by the military, were encouraged to go further after 1932 than they might otherwise have done because of the weak response from the major powers.

What, according to this source, was the result of the Manchurian crisis for Japan’s future actions in China?

Paper 1 Practice – 9 B



What is the message of this source?

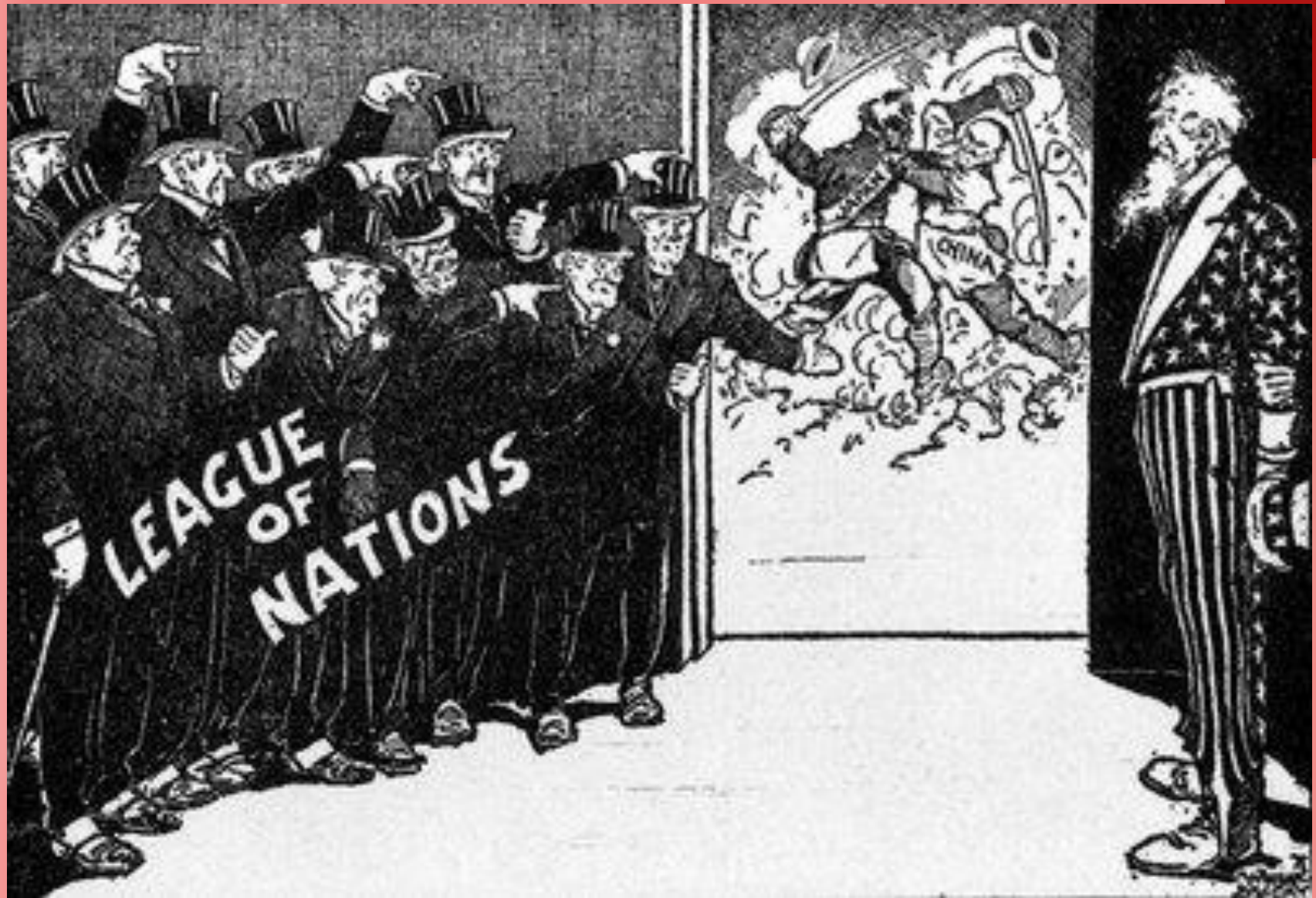
A Cartoon by David Low, “the Doormat” published in the UK newspaper *Evening Standard* Jan 1933

Why did the LoN not take stronger action against Japan?

France had no reason to fall out with Japan

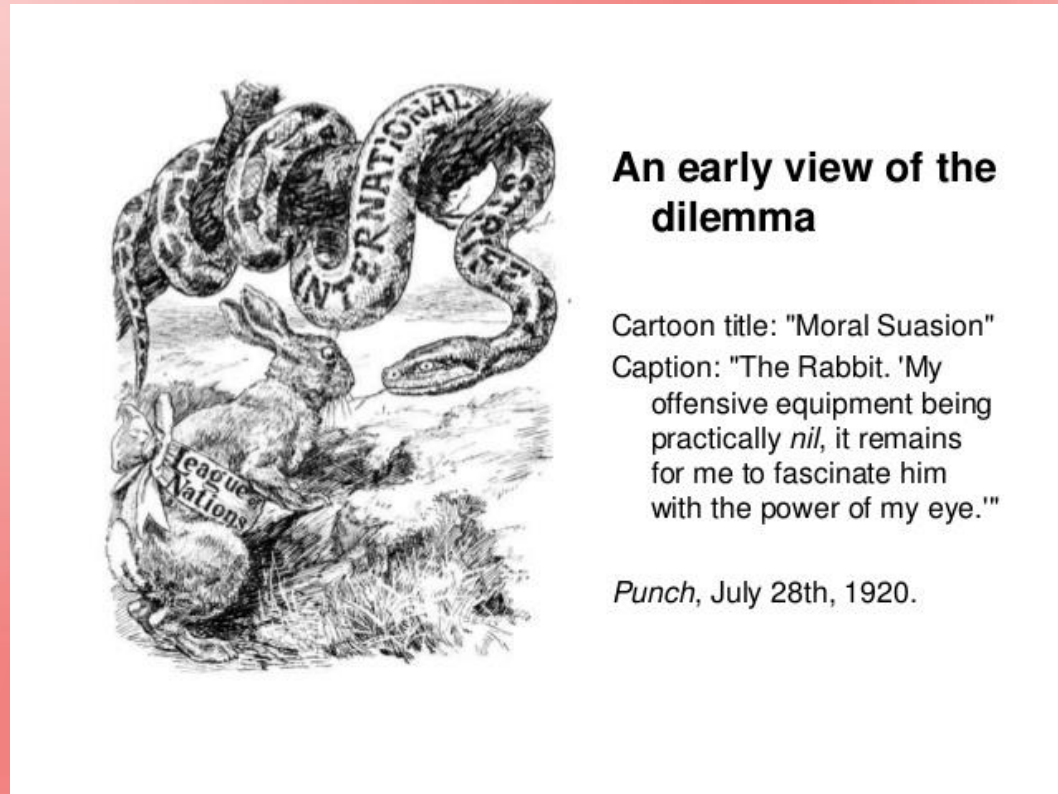
- ▶ As colonial power in Indo-China it stood to gain from a weak China
- ▶ Britain also responded cautiously
 - ▶ Its own interests were not at stake
 - ▶ Did not have military means to resist Japan
- ▶ Both countries suffering from the Great Depression
- ▶ Both countries blinded by the issue of Communism in East Asia
 - ▶ Saw Japan as helping contain communist Russia





Impact of League's Failure?

- ▶ Contributes to **Mussolini's decision to invade Abyssinia (1935)**
- ▶ **Hitler's remilitarization of the Rhineland**
- ▶ China's later appeal in 1937 now presented to an **impotent LoN**
- ▶ Britain and France preoccupied with events in Europe
- ▶ Britain repeatedly ask for US diplomatic pressure on Tokyo but it refuses



An early view of the dilemma

Cartoon title: "Moral Suasion"
Caption: "The Rabbit. 'My offensive equipment being practically *nil*, it remains for me to fascinate him with the power of my eye.'"

Punch, July 28th, 1920.

Paper 1 Practice – question 10

Japanese Government statement, 24 September 1931

For some years past...unpleasant incidents have taken place in the regions of Manchuria and Mongolia, in which Japan is interested in a special degree... Amidst the atmosphere of anxiety a detachment of Chinese troops destroyed the tracks of the South Manchurian Railway in the vicinity of Mukden and attacked our railway guards, at midnight on 18 September. A clash between Japanese and Chinese troops then took place... Hundreds and thousands of Japanese residents were placed in jeopardy. In order to forestall and imminent disaster the Japanese army had to act swiftly... The endeavors of the Japanese Government to guard the SMR (South Manchurian Railway) against wanton attacks should be viewed in no other light... It may be superfluous to repeat that the Japanese government harbors no territorial designs on Manchuria.

With reference to the origin, purpose, and content, assess the value and limitations of this source for historians studying the Manchurian incident.

Response of the LoN and Europe to events post 1932



- ▶ One **obvious consequence** of the League's failure to taken action over Manchuria was that **Japan continued to expand into mainland China** – resulting in Second Sino-Japanese War of 1937
- ▶ **China again appealed after the Marco Polo Bridge incident and bombing of Shanghai**
- ▶ The **LoN condemned Japan for breaking the 9 Powers Treaty** – but in reality they could do nothing- gave China “spiritual support”

Paper 1 Practice – Questions 9 A, and 12

- ▶ Copied (P. 65)



What political developments occurred within China as a result of Japanese aggression?

China's Response

- **Jiang Jieshi insisted to fight the Communists** instead of the Japanese – the Nationalist government was unable to halt Japan's incursion into Manchuria
- Civil War in China temporarily halted- Jiang formed **Second United Front together with the Communists**- but clashes between the communists and Nationalists still occurred – due to Jiang's sole focus on crushing the communists
- **The Second United Front** was the brief alliance between the Chinese Nationalists Party (Kuomintang, or KMT) and Communist Party of China (CPC) to resist the Japanese invasion during the Second Sino-Japanese War, which suspended the Chinese Civil War from 1937 to 1941.
- Jiang's forces mainly in the South; Communists advancing in the north of China
- Communists' determination to fight the Japanese, and economic and social reforms they implemented in the areas they liberated won them increasing support – by 1949 Nationalists were defeated (despite US Backing of Jiang)

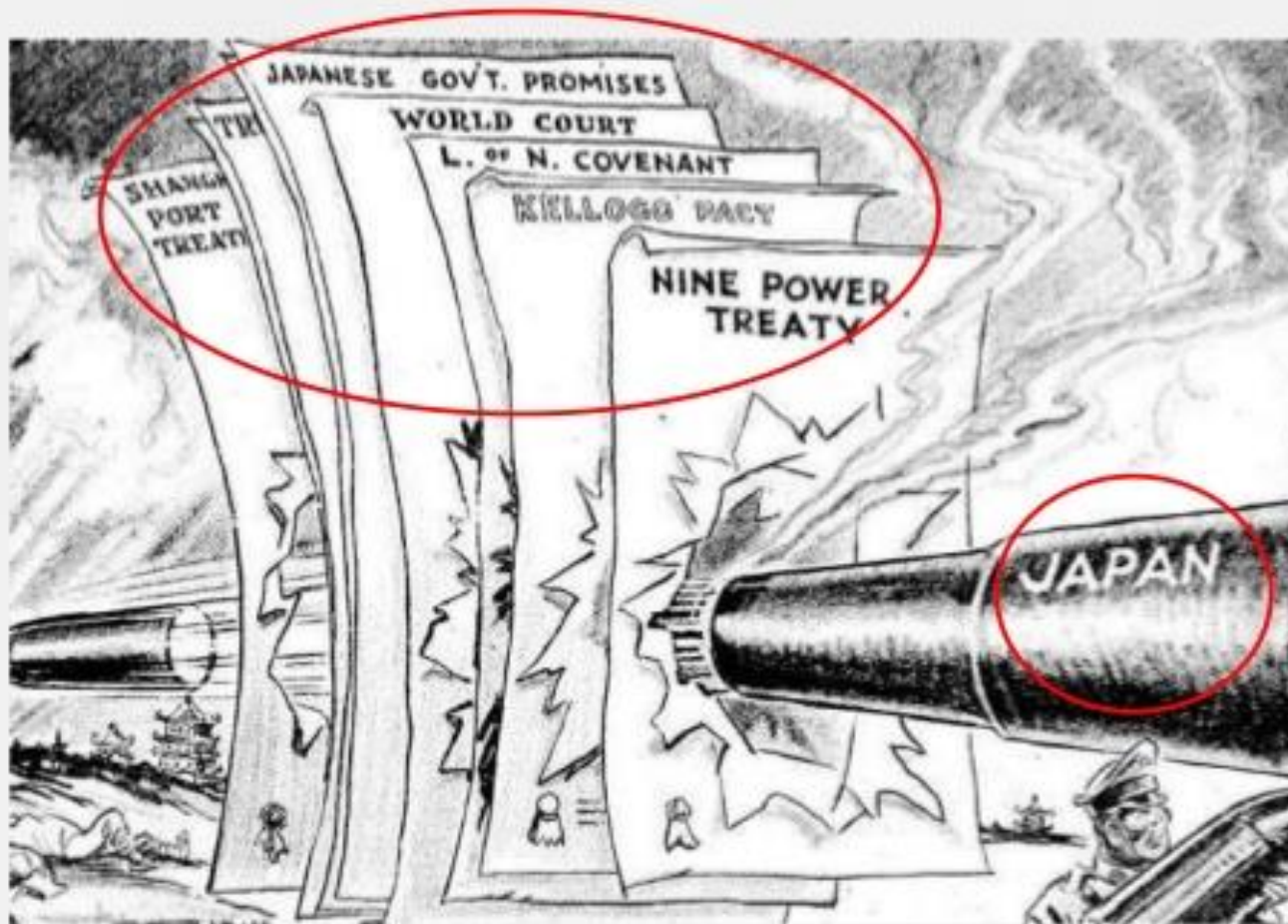




China after Marco Polo Bridge

- ▶ Jiang announced 'the limits of endurance have been reached'
- ▶ But things went badly – Chinese National Army withdrew to a new capital at **Chongqing**
- ▶ **China by 1940** – 3 sections: China, Occupied China, Communist China
- ▶ War goes badly, most major cities fall – including Beijing
- ▶ **War was not one Japan wanted, did not have resources to maintain**
- ▶ By 1940 – **750,000 Japanese troops in China**
- ▶ Still could not win the war - Began a policy of living off land and adopting puppet governments.

Failures of the League of Nation

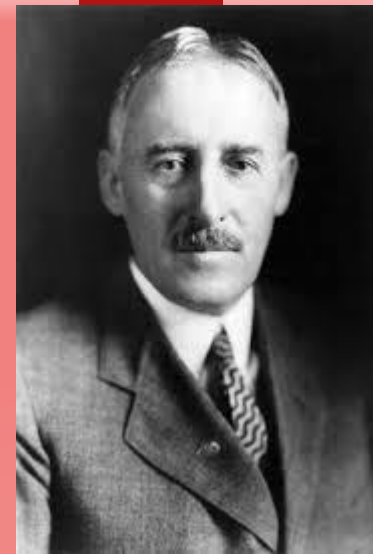


What is the cartoonist saying about the invasion of Manchuria?

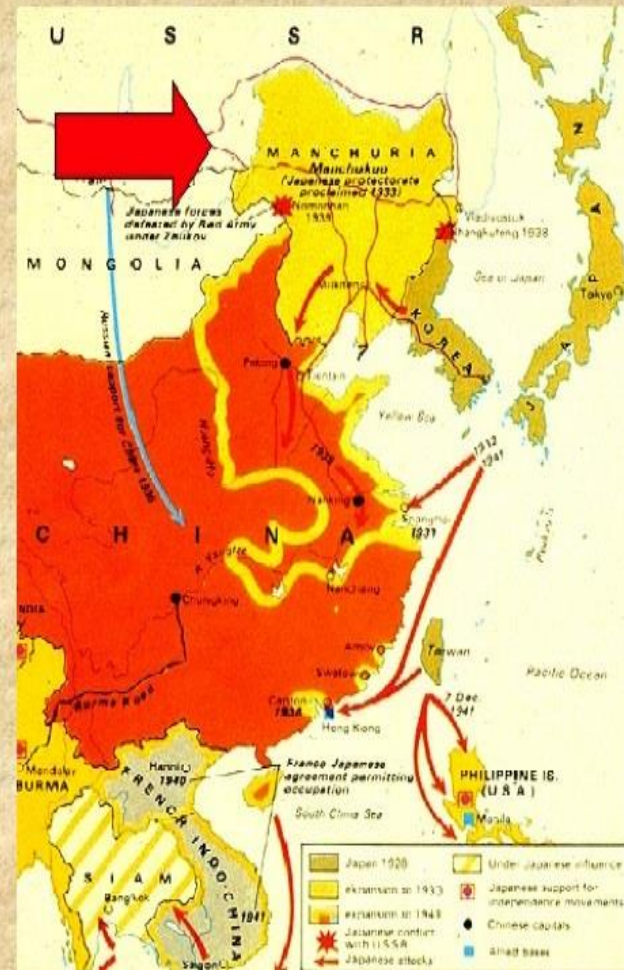
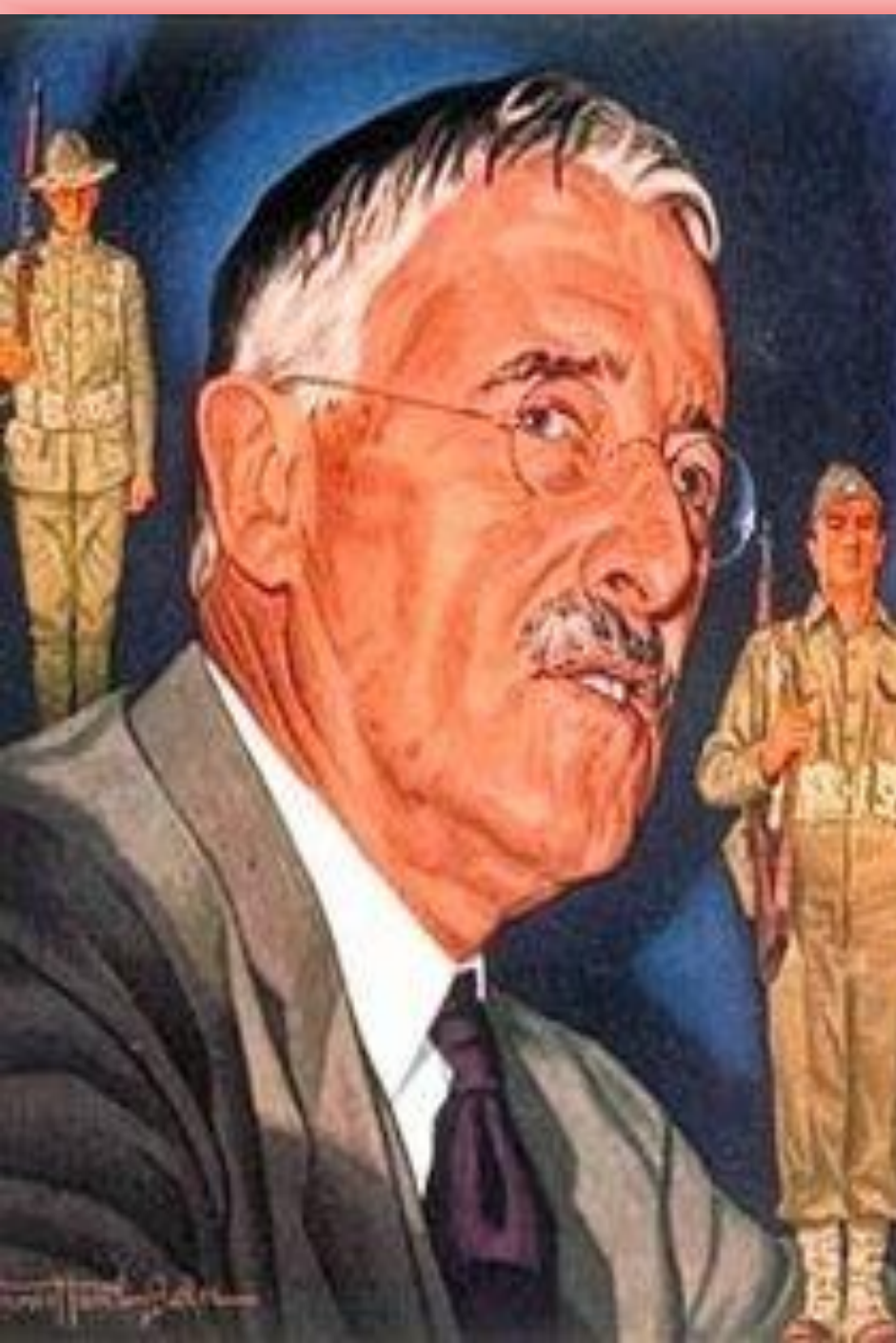


**What was the
international response
to Japanese
aggression?**

USA Response to Japanese Action 1931-37



- ▶ **Main objective of USA was to stay out of international affairs**
- ▶ **USA view:**
 - ▶ **USA lacked credible naval force** in the Pacific
 - ▶ **Great depression to deal with-** Given the 1930s worldwide depression, there was **little support for economic sanctions** to punish the Japanese.
 - ▶ **US interests not affected** - there was little sense that U.S. interests in the area were anywhere near profound enough to make military intervention necessary or desirable
 - ▶ **Stimson Non-Recognition Doctrine:** allowed USA to not recognize any agreement that violated China's laws, but at the same time they **did not have to enter into sanctions**. This doctrine of non-recognition **proved incredibly ineffectual** in the face of on-going Japanese aggression and expansion.
 - ▶ **Trade with Japan, which they did not want to jeopardize** – far more important trade ties with Japan than with China
 - ▶ Desire to avoid another WWI – no interference in other nations- **isolationism**



Manchuria
Crisis
leads to
Stimson
Doctrine,
1931

USA response 1937-38

- ▶ USA continued hesitant approach after 1937 despite increasing Japanese aggression
- ▶ **Roosevelt was sympathetic to China.** USA provided some financial aid to Chinese – but that **did not translate into political intervention.** USA rejected ten British appeals for participation in a joint offer of mediation of Sino-Japanese conflict.
- ▶ Roosevelt's actions were limited by “**Neutrality Acts**” – which enforced US isolationism by preventing US participation in conflicts that did not directly involve the USA.
- ▶ **Dec. 1937** - A Japanese attack sunk a USA gunboat, **the Panay**, but there were apologies and compensation, and USA public was happy that a conflict was avoided.
- ▶ In fact, not only did the USA NOT impose sanctions, but it could be argued that Japan's war effort was supported in some way by the USA trade that kept on.

Paper 1 Practice: Q 10

Below is an extract from the Quarantine Speech given by President Roosevelt in Chicago on 5 October 1937.

“War is a contagion, whether it be declared or undeclared. It can engulf states and peoples remote from the original scene of hostilities. We are determined to keep out of war, yet we cannot insure ourselves against the disastrous effects of war and the dangers of involvement. We are adopting such measures as will minimize our risk of involvement, but we cannot have complete protection in a world of disorder in which confidence and security have broken down.

If civilization is to survive the principles of the Prince of Peace must be restored. Trust between nations must be revived.

Most important of all, the will for peace on the part of peace-loving nations must express itself to the end that nations that may be tempted to violate their agreements and the rights of others will desist from such a course. There must be positive endeavors to preserve peace.

America hates war. America hopes for peace. Therefore, America actively engages in the search for peace.”

Q: According to its origin, purpose, and content, analyze the value and limitations of the source for historian studying Roosevelt’s foreign policy.

Neutrality Acts



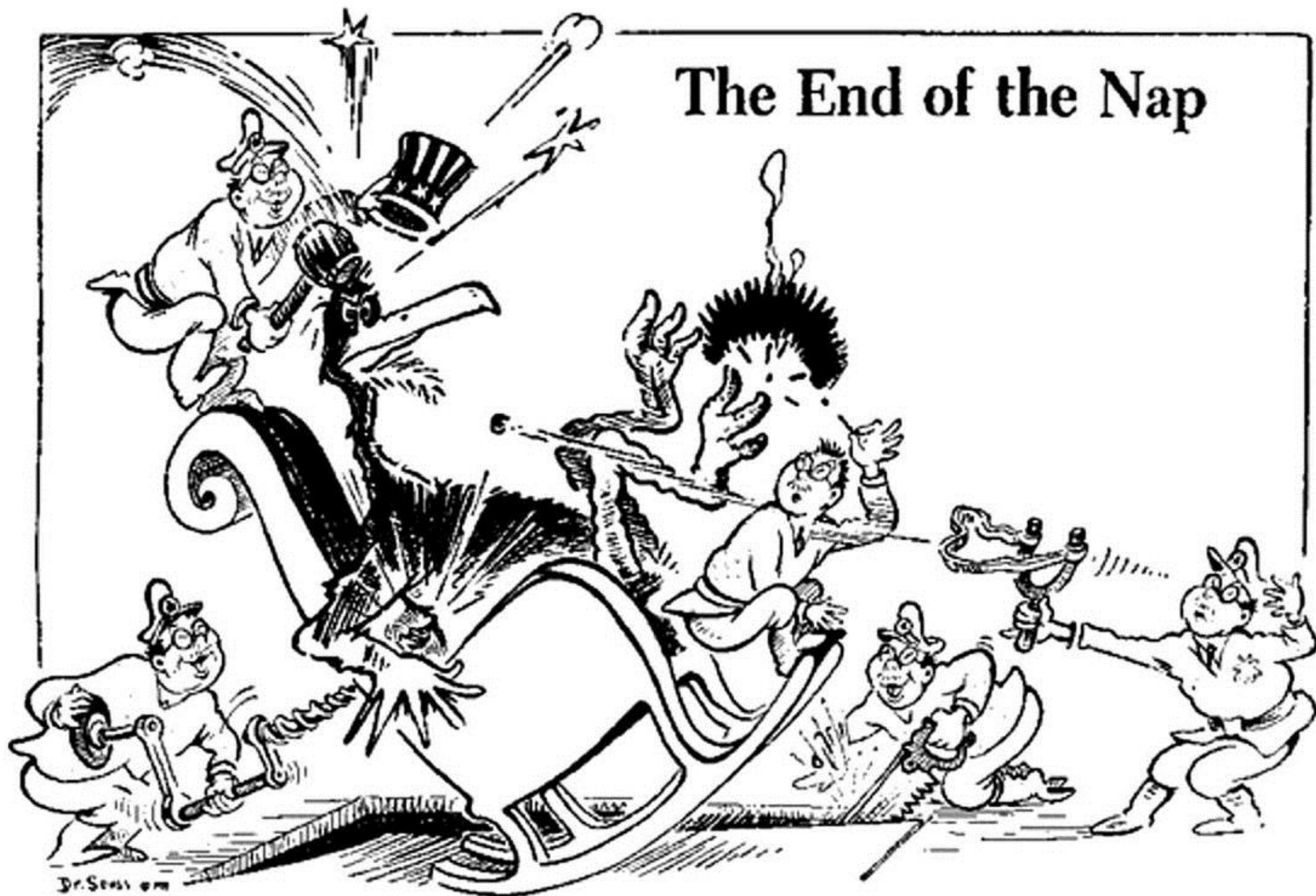
Ho Hum! No chance of contagion.

By Dr. Seuss

USA Post 1938

- ▶ During 1938, USA policy towards Japan changed to more aggressive
- ▶ Roosevelt was not an isolationist- did not like Neutrality Acts
- ▶ 1938 – Roosevelt used presidential powers Oil loan to China (to nationalists) of \$25 million
- ▶ The change in policy was a reaction against Japan's statement of '**a new order in east Asia**'
- ▶ USA worried that Jiang might capitulate, which would further enhance Japanese strength
- ▶ Worry that USSR might support Chinese communists thus increasing its influence in China
- ▶ The growing war in Europe and Japan's alliance with Germany put the Asian and European wars in the same boat – **1940 Tripartite Act with Germany and Italy** (stated that if Japan, Italy or Germany was attacked by any third power , the other two Axis powers would aid the victim)

The End of the Nap



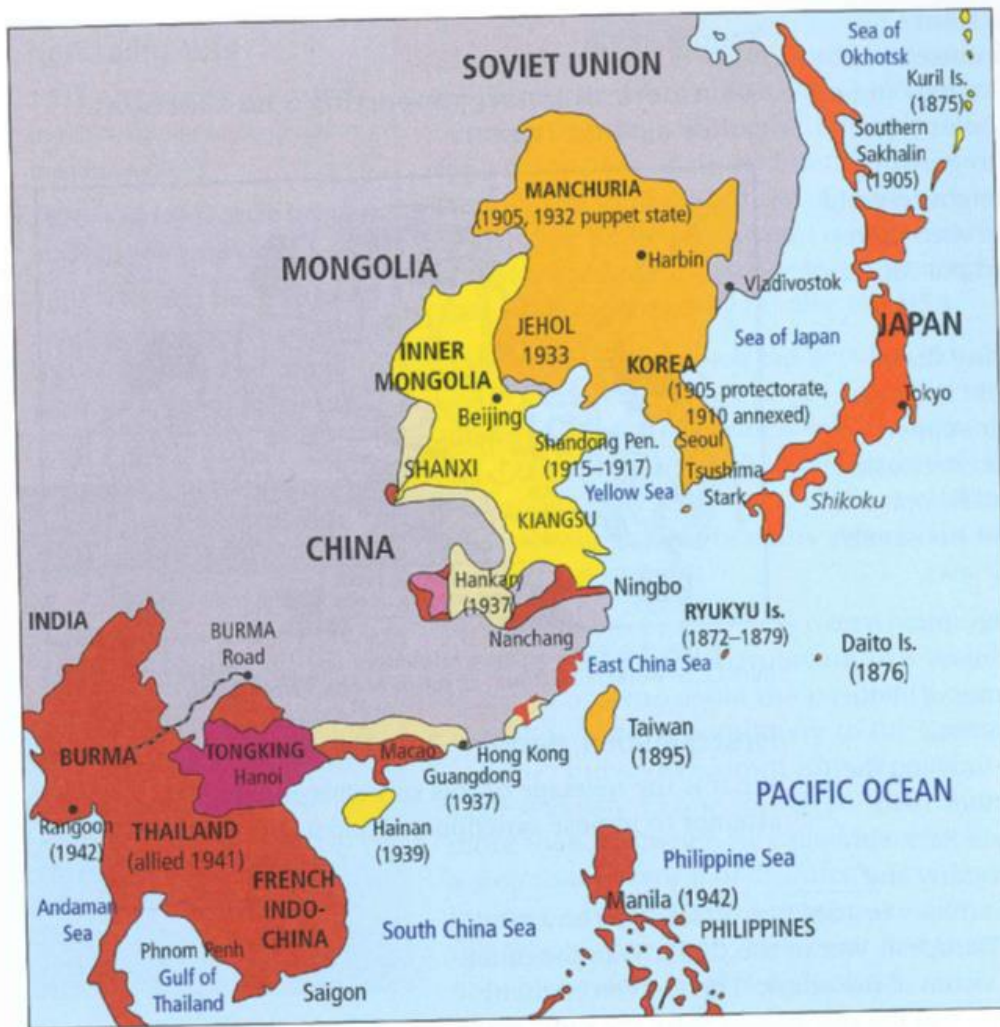


The Advance to War – US Pressure on Japan

- **Jan 1939** a moral embargo was placed on Japan – planes and aviation parts sales stopped, and credit to Japan was stopped; **In July** trade-agreement with Japan was suspended.
- ▶ **1940-41** as Japan advanced the USA gave \$millions to China – USA even sent planes to replenish Chinese air force.
- ▶ July 1941 Japan moved south to attack more of Chinese territory and conquered piece of French Indochina (with French permission), rather than North to attack Russia – USA froze all Japanese assets, then froze oil trade
- ▶ Japan now feared encirclement as Netherlands and UK followed suit- Japanese believed that the Western powers were **attempting to destroy Japan’s “rightful place” in the world**
- ▶ Japan now needed a **war of conquest** to acquire the resources they needed
- ▶ The attack on Pearl Harbor united American public opinion for a war against Japan.

Dependence of Japanese Economy on Foreign Imports in 1941

Steel industry raw materials	88%
Petroleum	93%
Zinc	50%
Tin	80%
Cotton	100%
Wool	99%
Rubber	100%



- Japanese Empire in 1870
- Acquisitions until 1932
- Additional occupation by 1937
- Additional occupation by 1938
- Additional occupation by 1939
- Additional occupation by 1940
- Additional occupation by 1942



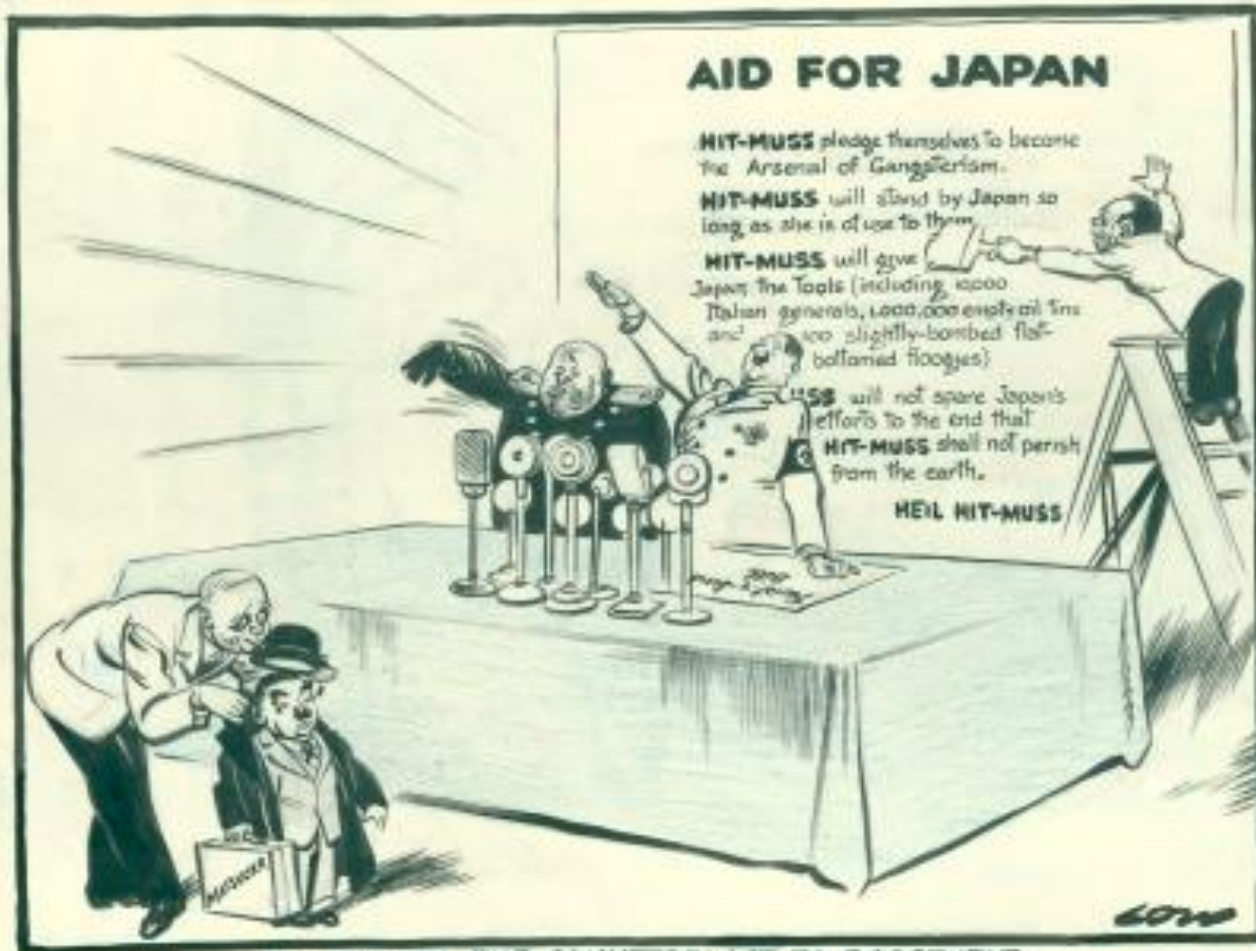
▶ Japanese Empire



▶ Japan 1931-1938

What was The Three Power/Tripartite Pact

- The Tripartite Pact was a piece of **propaganda** directed primarily at the United States. Its practical effects were limited, since the Italo-German and Japanese operational theatres were on opposite sides of the world and the high contracting powers had disparate strategic interests.
- Some technical cooperation was carried out, and the Japanese declaration of war on the United States propelled, although it did not require, a similar declaration of war from all the other signatories of the Tripartite Pact.



ALL SET FOR THE COUNTERBLAST TO ROOSEVELT

- ▶ David Low (1891-1963)
- ▶ Evening Standard, 14 March 1941



TRIPARTITE PACT

"Hear no good!" "See no good!" "Speak no good!"

- ▶ **The Tripartite Pact**, also known as the **Berlin Pact**, was an agreement between Germany, Italy and Japan signed in Berlin on 27 September 1940 by, respectively, Adolf Hitler, Galeazzo Ciano and Saburō Kurusu. It was a defensive military alliance that was eventually joined by others.

Three-Power Pact Between Germany, Italy, and Japan, Signed at Berlin, September 27, 1940.

- ▶ The governments of Germany, Italy and Japan, considering it as a condition precedent of any lasting peace that all nations of the world be given each its own proper place, have decided to stand by and co-operate with one another in regard to their efforts in greater East Asia and regions of Europe respectively wherein it is their prime purpose to establish and maintain a new order of things calculated to promote the mutual prosperity and welfare of the peoples concerned.
- ▶ Furthermore, it is the desire of the three governments to extend co-operation to such nations in other spheres of the world as may be inclined to put forth endeavours along lines similar to their own, in order that their ultimate aspirations for world peace may thus be realized.
- ▶ Accordingly, the governments of Germany, Italy and Japan have agreed as follows:

▶ ARTICLE ONE

- ▶ Japan recognizes and respects the leadership of Germany and Italy in establishment of a new order in Europe.

▶ ARTICLE TWO

- ▶ Germany and Italy recognize and respect the leadership of Japan in the establishment of a new order in greater East Asia.

▶ ARTICLE THREE

- ▶ Germany, Italy and Japan agree to co-operate in their efforts on aforesaid lines. They further undertake to assist one another with all political, economic and military means when one of the three contracting powers is attacked by a power at present not involved in the European war or in the Chinese-Japanese conflict.



▶ ARTICLE FOUR

- ▶ With the view to implementing the present pact, joint technical commissions, members which are to be appointed by the respective governments of Germany, Italy and Japan will meet without delay.

▶ ARTICLE FIVE

- ▶ Germany, Italy and Japan affirm that the aforesaid terms do not in any way affect the political status which exists at present as between each of the three contracting powers and Soviet Russia.

▶ ARTICLE SIX

- ▶ The present pact shall come into effect immediately upon signature and shall remain in force 10 years from the date of its coming into force. At the proper time before expiration of said term, the high contracting parties shall at the request of any of them enter into negotiations for its renewal.