Paper 1: Move to Global War
Japanese Expansion in East Asia
Case study 1: Japanese expansion in East Asia (1931–1941)

Causes of expansion
- The impact of Japanese nationalism and militarism on foreign policy
- Japanese domestic issues: political and economic issues, and their impact on foreign relations
- Political instability in China

Events
- Japanese invasion of Manchuria and northern China (1931)
- Sino-Japanese War (1937–1941)
- The Three Power/Tripartite Pact; the outbreak of war; Pearl Harbour (1941)

Responses
- League of Nations and the Lytton report
- Political developments within China—the Second United Front
- International response, including US initiatives and increasing tensions between the US and Japan
Section One: Background

- Before 1868, Japan was in theory ruled by an emperor, but in practice power was wielded by a military government known as the shogunate or bakufu.
- Since 1603 until 1868, the Tokugawa had been the dominant clan of military leaders. Its head was called the shogun; below the shogun in rank were the daimyo, the feudal overlords with territory that they ruled.
- Emperor (mikado) ruled in name only.
  - Actual power held by the shogun.
Japanese History leading to Militarism

- Isolated from rest of the world during Shogunate (1192-1854)
- Feudal dictatorship with Emperor as figurehead only
- Shield civilization from perceived threat of Christianity
1.1 The impact of nationalism and militarism on Japan’s foreign policy: the origins

- Japanese followed an **isolationist policy** directed by shogun since 1192; contact with the western powers changed their policy

**What were the origins of Japanese nationalism and militarism?**

- It started in the middle of 19th century
- **Contributing factors** to growth of Japanese nationalism:
  - The determination to **transform Japan into a Western-Style power** – linked to a **desire for equality** with Western powers
  - Japan’s belief in its destiny as the **leader of Asia**
  - Economic: need to obtain **raw materials** and secure markets
  - Need to **strategic security**
  - Actions of Western powers
  - **Growing popular support** for nationalism and militarism
- Linking nationalism with **imperialist foreign policy**, as well as dependence on military and their actions to secure land
The Meiji Restoration

- When the Japanese heard what the British did to China (in the Opium War) and how China was forced to endure unequal treaties, Japan knew the West would soon come.
- Japanese fears were realized in the summer of 1853.
- American President Millard Fillmore wanted to open ports of trade, wanted better treatment of shipwrecked sailors, and wanted to open foreign relations between the two countries.
- The American request was delivered by Commodore Perry and four American warships.
The Meiji Restoration

- **Commodore Perry** brought examples of Western technology to leave with the Japanese in order to impress them with Western power and science.
- A telegraph link was set up between Perry’s flagship and the Japanese royal palace.
- He even set up a miniature railroad along the Japanese coast and whirled Japanese officials around on its tracks.
- The technological and military significance of these gifts was not lost on the Japanese.
- Perry was told to come back later for an answer to President Fillmore’s requests (Perry was not pleased)...

Commodore Perry meeting the Japanese representative of the emperor.
Several months later Perry came back, bringing with him the entire Pacific fleet (7 warships) as a sign of American naval power.

Perry sailed into Edo (Tokyo) harbor and ordered his guns to be trained on the city.

The Japanese got the message.

The Japanese government of the Tokugawa realized that their country was in no position to defend itself against a foreign power, and Japan could not retain its policy of isolation without risking war.

Two Japanese ports were opened to American ships and trade.
End of Japanese Isolation

- U.S. Commodore Matthew Perry (1794-1858)
  - 1853 – US Naval Officer Matthew Perry, came to Japan and demanded that Japan opened up for trade – “gunboat diplomacy”
  - 1854 – Ruling shogun Tokugawa Yoshinobu, signed trade treaty with the United States – Treaty of Kanagawa
What does this source convey about how the Americans were perceived at the time in Japan?

This Japanese print from around 1930 shows commodore Perry’s marines “testing the girth” of a sumo wrestler.
Effects of the treaty of Kanagawa

- Political power returned to emperor known as Meiji
- Modernization followed: dismantling of the feudal system and establishment of **limited form of democracy**
  - Diet – Japan’s bicameral legislature, First convened – 1889
    - **Meiji (Imperial) Constitution** - Adopted – 1890, Followed until the end of World War II
- reforms took place in education, industry, fashion, military
- Meiji government promoted national unity and patriotism; “rich country – strong military”
Economic Reforms

- Abolition of feudalism
- Currency (yen) adopted, 1872
- Encouragement of foreign trade
- Expansion and encouragement of industrialization
- Growth of factories
  - First large factories manufactured textiles
  - First textile factory workers were girls and women
- Land reform
- Zaibatsu (large conglomerates) built and expanded
The Meiji Emperor

- The Meiji Restoration lasted from 1868-1912.
- The Meiji period ended the series of military governments that had dominated Japan since 1185.
- It marked the birth of a new Japan.
Political Change

- Authority of the emperor was enhanced, and the emperor presented a new constitution in a ceremony.
- A very small percentage of population could vote for the members of the **National Diet** (a bicameral system made up of the House of Peers (made up of nobility and elite) and the House of Representatives (elected)).
- The purpose of the Diet was to assist the emperor in his decision-making.
- One very important aspect of the constitution was that the military was responsible directly to the emperor.
1. When created, the cartoon in Source A would have been aimed at a European audience: What kind of image of the Japanese emperor do you think it was trying to convey?

2. Source B is a print of the Imperial Diet in 1890. What impression does this convey of the kind of body that governed Japan at this time?
Social changes - education

- Soldiers recruited from ordinary citizens – they would be taught how to obey only the emperor (as opposed to their feudal lord) – a basic level of literacy was necessary to learn all the new technology and read all the orders. To help this new system of elementary schooling system was introduced in 1872.

- Education also became means by which nationalism was instilled into the population
Military Reforms

- Before the Meiji era: Armies were run by local daimyo and thus not subservient to a central government
- **Meiji era**: Modern army and navy established which were loyal to the Japanese Emperor
- Used Prussia (Germany) as primary model
- Firm belief that if Japan was to be taken seriously by Western powers, and was to avoid China’s fate, Japan would have to compete militarily
- Conscription (1873) – all men had to serve for three years after turning twenty-one
- Establishment of the new navy (with British help)
- **The results of the modernization were significant:**
  - **Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95** – Japan defeated China, thus positioning self as a world power with an empire
  - **Treaty of Shimonoseki** gave Japan Formosa, Pescadores islands, and Liaodong Peninsula, forced China to open ports and China had to recognize Korean independence

Background to Japan
Colonial Takeover in SE Asia

- By the early 20th century virtually the entire region of Southeast Asia was under Western control.
First Sino-Japanese War, 1894

- As Japan entered a new age of militarization, it aimed to establish its control over Korean peninsula – inevitably, this would bring Japan into direct conflict with China, seeing as Korea was a tributary state of China.

- In 1894, an uprising in Korea prompted its government to ask for assistance from China, but Japan sent troops before the Chinese arrived, leading to conflict. At the heart of this conflict was the question of which army had modernized most effectively and accordingly which country would dominate East Asia.

- Japan prevailed, and in Japan, this victory was seen as confirmation of Japan’s superiority over China.
The effects of the First Sino-Japanese War on nationalism and militarism:

- **International response:**
  - Germany, Russia, and France forced Japan to give up the Liaodong Peninsula in Triple Intervention, after which Russia took control over the peninsula (to Japan’s fury), and Germany took over Shandong province.
  - France and Britain took advantage over weakened China and seized port cities and expanded their spheres of influence.
  - The military success of the war encouraged the growth of nationalism and militarism in Japan – it reinforced the idea that strong military meant world power.
  - Japanese military expansion increased 1895 – 1905 and ministerial representatives of the army were drawn from the upper ranks, this kept military presence at the heart of the government.
  - Focus to strengthen Japan: increased industrial production.
  - **Amur River Society formed:** founded to promote idea of the expansion of the mainland.
What is the message of this source? Look carefully at the dress of the Japanese soldiers receiving the surrender of the Chinese. What impression does it give about the difference between the two groups?
Japan after 1900: How did international events contribute to the growth of nationalism and militarism?

- **Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902** (alliance with GB) – ended Japanese isolation; it was the first military alliance signed between a Western and non-western nation; it further strengthened Japan’s position.

- **Japan launched a surprise attack on Russians in 1904** (due to a conflict in regards to Korea and Manchuria), and they won - particularly sea battles against Russian navy led by Japanese **Admiral Togo** led Japanese to a win (at Tsushima Strait).

- **Treaty of Portsmouth**: Russians were forced to sign this treaty; war against Russia earned Japan respect in the west and among other Asian countries. Japan gained Korea, South Manchuria, and south Sakhalin island (HW – webquest).
Russo-Japanese War
1904-1905
Fighting the War

- In 1898 Russia secured permission from China to extend the Trans-Siberian Railway and to build South Manchurian Railway. Furthermore, it secured 20-year lease on the Liaodong Peninsula and Port Arthur, all of which led to worsening relations with Japan.

- Japanese Preemptive strike at Port Arthur starts the war
  - Inconclusive, no ships lost
  - Russian fleet held up in (mined) port

- Japanese Army takes hills surrounding Port Arthur
  - Bombard Russian fleet in Port

- Battle of Mukden – largest battle since Napoleonic Wars
  - 500,000 men, largest in Asia until WW2
  - Russia retreats, loses 100,000 men, Japan fails to finish Russia

- Battle of Tsushima – Major Japanese victory on the water, defeat Russia’s Baltic Fleet
How did Japan Win?

- Russian overconfidence
- Inefficiency of Trans-Siberian Railway
  - No connection across oft-frozen Lake Baikal, only single track
  - Russian forces begin appearing in large numbers near the wars end
- Japanese proximity to battle
- Japanese modern Navy (supplied by British)
Japan and Russia after the war in 1905 agreed to respect each other’s holdings in Asia. Russia relinquished the lease on the railway – in which Japan then invested furiously.

It linked 20 towns over a distance of 1,100 km. This encouraged relocation and by 1910 26,600 Japanese resided in China, by 1920 there were 133,930. When the 1914 war broke out in Europe trade improved and Japan took advantage of the slowdown of production in Europe.

Japan’s special interests in China challenged US and European access to Chinese markets and placed Japan on a collision course with them.

Japan’s foreign policy in China was designed to protect investments – most importantly the South Manchurian Railroad – leased to Japan after the Russo-Japanese war in 1905.
Treaty of Portsmouth 1905:

- Required Russia and Japan to remove all troops from Manchuria and restore it to China’s control
- Allowed Japan to lease the Liaodong peninsula and Port Arthur from China
- Granted Japan the right to lease the Russian-built Southern Manchurian railway from China
- Granted Japan the southern half of Sakhalin Island
- Japan acquired land and international respect and authority; however, Japan believed that it should have received an indemnity from Russia to pay for the war, all of Sakhalin Island, and outright control over Port Arthur, the Liaodong Peninsula and parts of Manchuria (instead of having to lease them).
Russo Japanese War – overview

- https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6l8--S_cCWo
The Taisho era: World War I and aftermath

- The Meiji era came to an end with the death of the emperor in 1911. Emperor Meiji was succeeded by his son Prince Yoshihito, who became Emperor Taisho, and the Meiji era gave way to Taisho era (era of great righteousness). Japan had become a successful modern empire with a modern army, a constitution, and a democracy of sorts.

- However, freedom of expression was severely limited, and political ideas, such as socialism, and demands for greater equality for women were suppressed.
How did Japan benefit from the First World War?

- Japan expanded further its influence in Asia:
  - Japan demanded Germany’s territories in China – then seized them anyways; it seized German military bases on the **Shandong Peninsula in 1914**, and occupied Germany’s south pacific possessions
  - Issued the **21 Demands to China**, while Europe was occupied with the war in Europe, to gain more presence and commercial privileges in Manchuria; demands were modified after Britain and USA reacted. It demanded, among other things it demanded that
    - China cease leasing territory to foreign countries other than Japan, agree to Japanese control over the Shantung Peninsula and Manchuria, allow Japanese advisors to work with Chinese government on their policies, agree to Japan building railways connecting various ports, extend Japan’s lease on the South Manchurian Railway, etc.
  - Japan **supplied goods to both sides in the WWI** – therefore their exports flourished
The 21 Demands sought to expand Japan's economic interests:

- 1. Recognition of Special rights in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia
- 2. Joint Sino Japanese mining company with monopolies along the Yangzi
- 3. Restriction of European powers leasing harbours
- 4. Mandate to build railroads
- 5. Deployment of own Police force
- 6. 50% of military expenditure must come from Japan.

This flew in the face of the USA demand for open door policy on China.
Results of WWI for Japan:

- At the Versailles conference, Japan secured former German Pacific Islands, and this firmly established Japan as a significant economic power.

- During the conference, the League of Nations was formed and Japan was a founding member – members agreed to concept of collective security.

- Japan knew they were considered “racially inferior” by European states, and they demanded racial equality clause to be included in the document – but USA insisted that any statement mentioning racial equality could not be included – Japan was offended by this move of the League.

- Japan turned to work within the Asian Sphere instead – after defeating Russia it was a beacon of Asian independence.
Source A

Here is an extract from *The Deluge* (2014, p. 325), a book by British historian Adam Tooze

The idea that Japan might be speaking on behalf of Africans would no doubt have caused indignation in Tokyo. What was at stake were European-Asian relations and specifically the right of Asians to join Europeans in the settlement of the remaining open territories of the world.

1. In source A, what is meant by ‘the remaining open territories in the world’?
2. With reference to its origin, purpose, and content, analyze the value and limitations of source B for a historian studying the impact of the Paris Peace Conference upon Japanese Public Opinion?

Source B

Here is an extract from an article entitled “Illusion of the White Race” (1921), by Okuma Shigenobu, a leading Japanese politician who served as prime minister in 1898 and again from 1914 -16.

It is, of course, true that there are still peoples in this world who are so backward in civilization that they cannot at once be admitted into the international family on an equal footing... What is needed by them is proper guidance and direction ... Although most Asiatic nations are fully peers of European nations, yet they are discriminated against because of the colour of their skin. The root of it lies in the perverted feeling of racial superiority entertained by the whites.

3. Compare and contrast the views expressed in both sources on Japanese views on racial equality.
How Peaceful was Japan in the 1920s?

- In the 1920s, Influenced by **Shideara Kijuro** (ambassador to Washington and Japanese foreign minister), Japan changed to a process of **seeking cooperation and internationalism**

- Internationalism aimed to develop Japan’s economy via peaceful means:
  - Keeping good relations with the USA
  - Seeking economic advancement in China (within international agreement)
How Peaceful was Japan in the 1920s?

- During the Shidehara Diplomacy, Japan was a signatory to several international agreements, which became known as the Washington Treaty System. The purpose of these was to assure the west that they were not a threat. Japanese military, which insisted that military power in Japan needed to grow, was not all too happy with these treaties. Shidehara Diplomacy collapsed with the Mukden Incident in 1931.

- **Four Power Treaty, 1922**: USA, UK, France and Japan were to confer if there was a crisis in the Pacific; it ended the Anglo-Japanese Alliance

- **Five Power Naval Treaty, 1922**: limited the tonnage of US, UK, Japan, French and Italian Navies; the ratio was set at 5:5:3 for Britain, USA and Japan respectively (For every 5 capital ships that US and GB were allowed, Japan could have only three); France and Italy were set at 1.75 ratio each. This treaty required Japan’s imperial Navy to abandon its plans for a massive expansion and was therefore deeply opposed by Navy General Staff, but welcomed by the Japanese government (for reducing the military spending)

- **Nine Power Treaty, 1922**: Japan, USA, UK, France, Italy, China, Portugal, Belgium and Netherlands were to respect China’s integrity and open door trading
Japanese Democracy

During the 1920s, series of reforms took place; this became known as **Taisho Democracy**

- Extended suffrage to all adult males (1925)
- Prime Minster’s position was given to a leader of two main political parties that controlled the Diet (political power gained due to experience rather than due to elite standing)

**Prime Minister Hara’s** (1918-1921) government contained the military, introduced social and economic reforms, and Japan joined the League of Nations as a member of Council – this showed that Japan was seen as one of the world’s leading powers.
What Problems did Japan face in 1920s

- **Fragile Democracy** – crack down on criticism of the government
  - Financial scandals and election law violations eroded public support for political parties, since they were closely linked to big businesses and landlords
  - Fear of the left-wing radicalism; government established Japan’s Preservation Law, clamping down on anyone opposing Japanese political structure (aimed at Communists)

- **Opposition to Internationalism** – Washington treaties seen as a way of containing Japan. 1925 – ascension of Hirohito (after Taisho died) came with increased nationalism, and perception of the emperor as the “living god”.
  - Conservative groups and the army saw internationalism as betrayal of Japan’s interest, preventing Japanese expansion

- **Growing economic crisis in 1920s, worsened in 1929 with WSC**
  - WWI economic boom lasted until 1921, after which Europe took back their markets and situation for Japan worsened
  - Growing unemployment and strikes, divide between urban and rural areas, and violent governmental crush of any workers’ uprisings
What was the role of Political instability in China in encouraging Japanese Nationalism before 1930s?

- Political instability in China was key in encouraging Japan in imperial competition.

- Western powers picking over China made great gains – China became semi-colonial country – European countries gained economic, military and legal privileges (especially in port areas) and Japan, as a leader in Asia, saw this as an opportunity to do the same.

- Japan wanted to expand into Asian mainland and prevent foreign control of Korea, strategically, that meant also raw materials and economic gains.
Question 11 requires you to compare and contrast the content of the sources. You should not include the origin or purpose of the source in your analysis.

- Make sure you compare and contrast the sources using the criteria/specific factors outlined in the question e.g. Compare and contrast sources A and D in terms of....

- **Compare** = similarities = 1st paragraph, 2-3 points

- **Contrast** = differences = 2nd paragraph, 2-3 points

- Make sure you have a running commentary of both sources in relation to one another. You should NOT address the sources separately. A good way to approach this is: if you are writing about a point that one source is making (content) you should then analyze directly afterwards how the second source makes either a similar or different point.

- Read the sources carefully and underline key quotes you will use (or parts of the quote you will use)

**Tips for phrasing the answer:**

- **Paragraph 1 (Compare):** *Both Source A and D agree that ..... Source A states that .......* and *Source D states that ....* Both sources agree that ...... because Source A says “quote” ......... and Source D says that ....

  (use transitional or connective phrases such as: likewise; similarly; both etc.)

- **Paragraph 2 (Contrast):** *The sources contrast by ........... While Source D says ..........., Source A says ............

  (use transitional or connective phrases to show difference such as: however; in contrast, whereas, this fact is ignored in source... etc.)
<table>
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<th>Marks</th>
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| 5-6   | • There is discussion of both sources. Explicit links are made between the two sources.  
       | • The response includes clear and valid points of comparison AND contrast. |
| 3-4   | • There is some discussion of both sources, although the two sources may be discussed separately.  
       | • The response includes some valid points of comparison and/or of contrast, although these points may lack clarity. |
| 1-2   | • There is superficial discussion of one or both sources.  
       | • The response consists of description of the content of the source(s), and/or general comments about the source(s), rather than valid points of comparison or of contrast. |
| 0     | • The response does not reach a standard described in the descriptors above. |
Our country is known as the land of the gods, and of all the nations in the world, none is superior to our nation in morals and customs... [People] must be grateful for having been born in the land of the gods, and repay the national obligation... Now finally imperial rule has been restored,... If we repay even a smidgen of the honorable benevolence we will be doing our duty as the subject of the land of the gods.

[Ultranationalist ideologist] Okawa Shumei placed the emperor system at the core of his thinking, regarding it as the source of morality and religion. He emphasized the ‘way of the Japanese’ and the ‘Japanese spirit’, which embodies ‘statism, idealism, the principle of combat and spirituality.’ The Japanese spirit,‘ in Okawa’s opinion was incompatible with the ‘Anglo-American democratic spirit, which is the product of individualism, utilitarianism, hedonism, and materialism’. A second restoration was needed, Okawa asserted, to free the people from the oppression of materialism and unite the people and the Emperor. The uniqueness of Japan entitled it to become the leader of Asia...