# PATH TO GLOBAL WAR JAPAN

#### **Manchurian Crisis**

On September 18th, 1931 there was an explosion on a railway in Mukden. The Chinese were accused of this incident but it was revealed that Japan had played a role in what happened as well. This was significant because it was the push that Japan needed to expand into Manchuria and eventually take over.

#### Washington Treaty System

These were pacts such as the Four-Power, Five-Power, and Nine-Power treaties beginning from the 20s into the 30s that dictated that Pacific crises would be stopped the amount of naval arms were reduced, and "open-door" policies would be enacted. Japan, America, Britain, France, Italy, China, Portugal, Belgium, and The Netherlands were involved in at least one of these treaties. These were important because it represented that there was international concern for good relations prior to World War 2.

#### Marco Polo Bridge Incident

On July 7th, 1937 fighting between Japan and China broke out. This was significant because it marked the beginning of the start of the Second Sino-Japanese War and it was one of it's sparks for the war.

#### Second Sino-Japanese War

The war was triggered by Japanese expansionism and the Marco Polo Bridge incident which started the war from July 7th, 1937 to September 9th, 1945 and was fought between Japan and China. This was significant because it was the transition war that eventually led into WW2, and it was also one of the biggest Asian war during the 20th century.

#### **Tripartite Pact**

This was a pact signed by Germany, Italy, and Japan on September 7th, 1940. This insured that Japan would dominate Asia and Germany or Italy would dominate Europe. This was significant because it was starting to foreshadow who would eventually become the Axis powers and it was also starting to scare other nations that these three countries were starting to work together.

#### The Kwangtung Army

They were a large group of the Japanese Army and they were important due to the fact that they were able to conquer Manchuria and pursue order for Japan with their strong nature and military.

#### The Rape of Nanking

This was a huge massacre during the Sino-Japanese war that Japan put upon the people of Nanking. Unfortunately the people of Nanking were subjected to unspeakable actions. It was significant because it was estimated that 40,000-300,000 people were murdered, looted, raped and it was one of the biggest mass killings.

#### Militarism

This was Japan's political orientation of their government and people in order to pursue a strong military force in order to enacted nationalistic intentions that were present. This was significant because it was needed in order to help Japan expand its sphere of influence throughout East Asia.

#### Lytton Commission's Report

This was an investigation by a british representative that was sent to Manchuria to create a report about the events after the Mukden incident. The report stated that Japan had interests in Manchuria that were unacceptable, Japan should give up the territory and leave, Manchukuo was not independent and couldn't be recognized as one, and Manchuria should be independent under China

#### **Attack on Pearl Harbor**

On December 7th, 1941 Japan attacked U.S naval ships in Pearl Harbour's base in Hawaii because of the United States withdrawal of trade and resources. This was significant because it was the event that triggered the United States into entering World War 2 and it lead them to declare war on Japan.

#### "Open door" policy

This was an agreement enacted by the United States stating that China's ports were open for trade equally among foreign nations. This was important because after Japan started to expand into China they decreased the amount of power that China was limited to and it represented the disregard for its international community.

#### Manchukuo

This was a puppet state of Northern China and Inner Mongolia that was founded in 1932. This was significant because it was a demonstration of how Japan's influence and expansionism had created its own territory in East Asia.

#### South Manchurian Railway

Chinese Eastern Railway that was a source of friction between China, Japan, and Russia. This was significant because Japan made this territory their instrument for economic purposes and used it to influence trade throughout Manchuria.

#### Expansionism

This was Japan's foreign policy from the 1920s-1940s. This was what drove Japan into invasion throughout East Asia and was significant because it contributed to several factors that produced war, bombing, invasions, treaties, and ect. Eventually it was enacted until Japan entered World War 2 when it reached it's limit after they were defeated.

#### **Bombing on Panay**

On December 12th, 1937 Japan attacked an American gunboat on the Yangtze River. Japan claimed that it was an accident and it was a false accusation and apologized on their behalf of what happened. This was significant because the U.S was quick to forgive them due to their status of isolationism but also recognized the high tension between the two nations.

#### League of Nations

This was a group of nations that came together in order to discuss existing international conflicts in a peaceful setting. This was important because it's objective to was to keep from war arising and pursued good international intentions.

#### **Second United Front**

This was an alliance between the Nationalist party and Communist party of China. This pact was important because it helped suspend the Chinese Civil war and to resist the Japanese invasion during the Second Sino-Japanese war.

#### **Neutrality Pact**

This was an agreement by the United States claiming that they would not supply goods/weapons to either side of a war that broke out. This was significant because it represented that the United States were serious about staying out of international crisis.

#### The Burma Road

This was a road that linked Burma with the southwest of China. This was important because it was used to transport materials and resources from foreign nations such as the United States. Eventually they stopped using this road due to the fact that America stopped supplying goods to them during the late 1930s to early 1940s.

#### Isolationism

This was the foreign policy of the United States for a period of time prior to World War 2. This claim that they would stay out of foreign conflicts and relations in order to pursue its own interests and was important in keeping them out of trouble.

#### **Russo-Japanese War**

The Russo Japanese War was fought between the Russian Empire and the Empire of Japan over rival imperial ambitions in Manchuria and Korea. Russia suffered numerous defeats to Japan, but Tsar Nicholas II was convinced that Russia would win and chose to remain engaged in the war. Japan forced Russia to abandon its expansionist policy in the Far East, becoming the first Asian power in modern times to defeat a European power. The subsequent Treaty of Portsmouth gave control of Korea over to the Japanese and lost almost all influence it previously had in the Far East. This is significant because the Japanese government perceived a Russian threat to its strategic interests and chose to go to war. The war concluded with the Treaty of Portsmouth, mediated by US President Theodore Roosevelt. The complete victory of the Japanese military surprised world observers. The consequences transformed the balance of power in East Asia, resulting in a reassessment of Japan's recent entry onto the world stage.

#### London Naval Conference

(January 21- April 22 1930) The London Naval Conference was held in London in order to discuss naval disarmament and the treaties of the Washington Conference from 1921. Great Britain, the United States, France, Italy and Japan all attended and by the end of the conference all the participating countries made an agreement to regulate submarine warfare and to restrict the construction of capital ships for five years. Additionally, limitations on aircraft carriers from the Washington Five-Power Treaty were extended. On April 22, the United States, Great Britain and Japan signed a treaty limiting battleship size, however france and italy declined to sign. The London Naval Conference is significant because when a second naval conference was to be held in 1935, Japan withdrew freeing it from any previous restrictions on rearmament enabling the nation to continue with expansion. Furthermore the treaties from the conference proved to be ineffective as in 1939 war broke making all previous agreements void.

#### **Nine Power Treaty**

This treaty was between Japan, Britain, France, Italy, China, Portugal, Belgium, and the Netherlands. This treaty was one of the three treaties that emerged in the Washington Naval Conference in 1921. The importance of this treaty was to respect China's integrity and their independence. This would also mark the internationalization of the U.S. Open door policy.

#### US Trade Embargo 1941

On July 24, 1941, Japan, wanting to strengthen its position in its expansion into China decided to occupy French Indo-China. Japan then continued to occupy Cam Ranh naval base which was 800 miles from American troops in the Philippines. This resulted in President Franklin Roosevelt freezing all Japanese assets in America which Britain and the Dutch East Indies then followed. This meant that Japan would lose ¾ of its overseas trade and 88% of its imported oil. Oil reserves in Japan would only supply the country for three years and during war for only half that time. This is significant because some historians say that President Roosevelt intentionally provoked Japan. Without its imported oil Japan was left with very little options and in turn had no choice but to worsen relations with the west, leading the the attack on Pearl Harbor.

#### **Five Power Naval Treaty**

Limited tonnage of U.S., Britain, Japan, France, and Italian navies. This treaty was one of the three treaties that emerged in the Washington Naval Conference in 1921. This treaty was significant because the countries who are part of this had to stop building capital ships and reduce their navies. This didn't exactly work for any country, so this lead to another power treaty.

#### **The Dark Valley**

After 1932 there was a division between the military and the politicians and also within the military itself. This further destabilized the political situation and led to the establishment of a military government and what is also known as "the Dark Valley". There were two key groups who wanted more influence in the military: Koda-ha and Tosei-ha. These two groups fought for power until the assassination of the Tosei-ha leader by a Koda-ha member resulted in Tosei-ha domination of army planning. This is significant because Tosei-ha wanted good relations with the Soviet Union, to conquer China, and to take control through legal means. Tosei-ha was able to take firm control of the government and override Prince Konoye Fumimaro. This would result in the army ordering the invasion of China without government approval and lead to the start of the war with China at the Marco Polo Bridge.

East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere

This is a name the Japanese used for their expansionist and imperialist policy. The East Asia Coprosperity Sphere was a propaganda concept that was used to convey the idea that the Japanese wanted to benefit other Asian countries as they created more Japanese colonies. Japan used the slogan "Asia for Asia" and used propaganda to convince other countries that Japan was not solely concerned with their own interests. In reality, Japan wanted to expand in order to strengthen its influence and power in Asia and Japan needed more resources to satisfy the needs of its large population. The EAC-PS is significant because it demonstrates Japan's desire to expand in order to gain more resources and influence by gaining Asian colonies. Furthermore, Japan also was following the example of European countries especially Great Britain.

#### Warlords

This was a military commander who has seized power, usually in a region or specific area of a country. After China broke up into small provinces and states, each one of these places were controlled by a warlord and his private army. Each warlord had their own laws, ran them independently, taxed the people, and may have their own currencies. Peasants suffered in the warlords' continuous wars to extend their power and wealth through expansion. The significance of the warlords was that their desire to get rid of foreign influence led to an increase in nationalism, but their presence made China remain divided.

#### **Chiang Kai-Shek**

Had led the Nationalist Party in China, (GMD) and had started a campaign of national unification. Later on he had led the Communist Party with Mao Zedong. Jiang had now focused on defeating Chinese Communists instead of national unification. This was significant because later on U.S.A. had given more support to Jiang because Japan would not let go of Manchuria.

#### **Northern Expedition**

The Northern Expedition was a Kuomintang (KMT) military campaign, led by Generalissimo Chiang Kaishek, from 1926-28. Its main objective was to unify China under its own control by ending the rule of the Beiyang government as well as the local warlords. This is significant because it led to the end of the Warlord Era, the reunification of China in 1928 and the establishment of the Nanjing government.

# **Origins of Japanese Militarism and Nationalism**

Determination to transform Japan into a Western-style power, which was linked to the desire to gain equality with the Western powers. Japan's belief that is would become the leader of Asia The need to obtain raw materials and secure markets in East Asia The need for strategic security Actions of Western powers Growing support for militarism and expansionism within Japan

These factors also promoted an imperialist foreign policy as Japan took over Asian territories in pursuit of its nationalist goals. Also linked with militarism because Japanese expansionism was dependent on the military taking action and making political decisions.

## Why did Japanese Nationalism begin?

Japanese nationalism began in the second-half of the 19th century. Prior to this Japan was an isolated civilisation to protect itself from the perceived threat of Christianity (policy of Japan's rulers, the Shogun).

### 1853

American naval officer, Commodore Matthew Perry, arrived in Japan to forge a trade agreement with Japan.

### 1845

Intimidated by Perry and his "Black ships", Japan signed the Treaty of Kanagawa with the USA. As a result of the treaty, political power was returned to the emperor (Meji Restoration), whose government began dismantling the feudal system and established a limited democracy.

### **Reforms due to Meji Restoration**

There were major reforms in all industries; fashion, education and most significantly, military. The military went through a process of modernisation, which included adapting German military tactics and the creation of a new navy with the assistance of the British. This lead to Japan's victory over China in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95), thus positioning Japan as a world power.

#### **Treaty of Shimonoseki**

The Treaty of Shimonoseki (1895), following the First Sino-Japanese War, gave the Pescadores Islands, Formosa and Liadong Peninsula to Japan, recognised Korean independence and obliged China to pay a large indemnity to open additional ports and negotiate a commercial treaty.

#### **Triple Intervention**

Triple Intervention (1895) - As a result of the First Sino-Japanese War, Germany, Russia and France forced Japan to give up Liadong Peninsula. Japan was further infuriated when Russia took the Liadong Peninsula and Germany took Shandong Province.

France and Britain After First Sino-Japanese War

France and Britain manipulated changing positions of power in Asia by seizing China's port cities.

Growth of Japanese Militarism and Nationalism After the First Sino-Japanese War

The growth of Japanese militarism and nationalism was encouraged by the gaining of land and frustration of surrendering land to the West, which were effects of the Sino-Japanese War. The idea that

a strong military was necessary for Japan to become a world power and defend against Western power (Russia) encouraged the growth of nationalism and militarism in Japan. Japanese military expansionism increased in 1895 to 1905. The political ministers were overrun by the highest ranking sergeants of the military and navy.

## 1901

The Amur River Society was a patriotic society established to promote the idea of Japanese expansion on the mainland.

## Why was Manchuria Important to Japan?

Area of China closest to Japan 4 times larger than the Japanese Islands Agriculturally rich with mineral resources Living space for the rapidly growing Japanese population Physical buffer against Russia

### 1902

Anglo-Japanese Alliance is signed between Britain and Japan, which ended Japan's diplomatic isolation and was the first military alliance between a Western and non-Western nation.

### 1904

Japan launches surprise attack against the Russians following clashes over their interests in Korea and Manchuria (Russo-Japanese War).

## 1905

Russia forced to accept Treaty of Portsmouth, which resulted in Japan gaining control of Korea and South Manchuria and railway rights in Manchuria and the southern half of Sakhalin Island. Japan also gained respect from the West and other Asian countries. There were concerns within Japan about the impact of such imperialism due to the impact of the cost of war on the economy and the need to defend new colonies demanded a stronger navy and fleet.

## How did Japan Benefit from the First World War? (German territories)

Japan demanded German colonial territories in China, and when this demand was ignored, Japan declared war on Germany, seizing Germany's military bases on the Shandong Peninsula in 1914. Whilst Japan's navy occupied Germany's South Pacific possessions.

## 1915

Following the First World War, Japan issued "Twenty-One Demands" on China, which involved China agreeing to the Japanese remaining in Shandong and to grant extra commercial privileges in Manchuria. These demands angered the USA and Britain, as well as the Japanese Government, resulting in the demands being modified.

## Economic Benefits of the First World War

Japan took advantage of the First World War by supplying goods to the Allies and filled the demands of Asian markets that the Allies were unable to fulfil.

## 1917

Bolshevik Revolution - the Japanese sent 70,000 men (originally was only going to send 7,500) to support the Whites in the Russian Civil war against the Red Army of Bolsheviks. However, they were eventually defeated by the Bolsheviks in 1922. The whole venture encouraged mistrust of Japan in the USA and Britain. There were also attacks on the Japanese Government because of the cost of intervention, loss of prestige and failure to control the army.

### **Results of WW1 for Japan**

Japan secured former German Pacific Islands and Germany's former economic privileges on the Shandong Peninsula. This established Japan as an economic power in Asia and the main naval power in the Western Pacific. However, Japan was not able to get racial equality clauses in the Charter of the League of Nations.

## Japanese Intentions in the 1920s

During the 1920's, Japanese foreign policy changed to one of internationalism influenced by Shidehara Kijuoro (US Ambassador - 1921 and foreign minister - 1924-27 and 1929-31). Japan's 2 main aims were to develop good relation with the USA and further economic advancement in China.

### Washington Treaty System

1921 - the Anglo-Japanese alliance expands to a 4-power agreement (USA, Britain, Japan and France) at the Washington Conference.

1922, a 9-power agreement is formed whose signatories are to respect Chinese 'sovereignty'.

1922 - 5-power naval treaty restricted competition in battleships and aircraft carriers.

This formed the Washington Treaty System and indicated that Japan was committed to international cooperation.

## Reforms in the 1920s

Japan adopted a 'Taisho democracy' in which those gaining political power were doing so due to experience rather than status. In 1925, all adult males were given the right to vote. Prime Minister Hara's Government (1918 - 1921) introduced social and economic reforms, military was contained and led Japan into the League of Nations.

## Problems for Japan in the 1920s: Fragile Democracy

Financial scandals, election law violations and political party relations with big business and landlords in the country eroded public support and evoked suspicion. The passing of laws that extended the franchise and limited the public's right to engage in open discussion, indicated a dilemma in the Meji Government as to how much political freedom to allow.

## Problems for Japan in the 1920s: Growing Economic Crisis

The economic boom of the war only lasted until 1921, resulting in the devopment of unemployment and industrial unrest. When workers tried to organise themselves politically, they were supressed by the

police. This further increased public dissatisfaction with the political system. Further economic depression occurred in 1929 with the Wall Street Crash in the USA.

## Problems for Japan in the 1920s: Foreign Policy

The Washington Treaty System was viewed as a betrayal of Japan's interests. USA limited immigration from all countries to 150,000 per year, which was largely seen as provocation from the West. The new emperor Hirohito revived nationalism and the idea of Japan's destiny in the world.

## **Political Instability in China**

China was defeated by the British in the Opium Wars (1839-42 and 1856-60), and as a result European powers gained economic, military and legal privileges in China. Japan saw European powers sharing out the spoils of China and Japan was concerned that it would lose out if they didn't stake claims on the mainland. Japan also didn't want other powers gaining control in Korea and China as it believed its security was dependent on having dominant influence in those areas. Further instability was caused in China by the rivalry between its two major political parties: Guomindong Nationalist Party (GMD) and the Communist Party of China (CCP).

## Views on Japan vs. USA

- 1. War was inevitable because Japan aimed to dominate Asia and delayed international response.
- 2. Japan was willing to negotiate to achieve aims, therefore war was not inevitable.
- 3. USA and Britain forced Japan into war as they wanted control.

## **Causes of Expansionism**

By the 1930s, Japan was modernised (keep up with the West) Nationalism and militarism was popular with Japanese people (strategy, economy and destiny). Military victories against Russia and China had helped secure Japan's position on Chinese mainland. Japanese domestic economic and political crises Chinese political instability; civil war (CCP vs. GMD)

## 1926

Outrage over behaviour of foreigners in China had seen Chinese nationalism grow. GMD led by Chiang Kai-Shek started National Unification Campaign: anti-foreigner rhetoric and demands to end unequal treaties great powers, including Japan and China, had to sign. 1921 - CCP established under Mao Zedong. Initially, Communists and Nationalists joined forces (United Front) to launch the Northern Expedition with the aim to consolidate centralised government control and kick out warlords. However from 1927 civil war breaks down.

## **Causes of Manchurian Crisis**

Manchurian Crisis of 1931 caused by changed political situation in China in late 1920s and growth of Japanese nationalism and militarism due to their own political and economic crises.

## Japan's Reaction to Northern Expedition

There was concern in Japan over the Northern Expedition as the Japanese had backed the warlord in Manchuria, Zhang Zoulin, who had become very powerful and had begun expanding into Northern

China, and if were defeated by Kai-Shek it would threaten Japanese special interests in Manchuria. The Japanese Government planned to use its army in Manchuria, Kwantung Army, to force Zhang to retreat back to Manchuria. However Kwantung leaders forced the Northern Expedition to halt in Jinan and assassinated Zhang on the 4th of June, 1928. Although Prime Minister Tanaka was instructed to enforce discipline in the army by the emperor, he was unwilling to punish them as it would weaken the prestige of the army.

## July 1929

Tanaka was forced to resign as he didn't follow the emperor's wishes. This made it clear that the army could ignore the government with impunity, undermining the liberal democracy.

### 1930

Hamaguchi Yuko became Prime Minister due to his manifesto of good relations with China, disarmament and an end to corruption. However as a result of the Great Depression's effect on the economy, he was forced to cut government salaries. London Disarmament Conference - limit Japanese naval growth.

### November 1930

Hamaguchi was shot and forced to resign due to his injuries in 1931, and eventually died in August.

#### Economic Crisis in Japan in 1920s

### Japanese Domestic Issues: Economic Crisis

The global economic crisis beginning in 1929 cast doubts on the trustworthiness of the USA and other democratic nations and on Japan's own parliamentary system. Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act (1930) caused duties on Japanese goods to rise by as much as 200%. 1932 - the price of sink was 1/5 of what it was in 1923, with over half of farmers relying on silk production leading to desperate poverty as unemployment rose to 3 million.

## Effect of Economic Crisis in Japan in 1920s

Manchuria's wealth of resources (coal, iron and timber) were increasingly enticing with Yasuke Matsuoke (Foreign Minister) described Manchuria as Japan's "lifeline". Zhang was succeeded by his son Zhang Xueliong who allied himself with Kai-Shek. Japanese government aimed to follow peaceful principles to maintain Japan's position in North-eastern China, however the Kwantung Army planned to seize Manchuria despite the emperor's contrary instructions.

#### 18th September 1931

Near Mukden there was an explosion on a section of Japan owned South Manchurian Railway. Kwantung army claimed Chinese sabotage, however evidence incriminates the Kwantung. This provided the Kwantung Army with an 'excuse' to seize Manchuria, forcing the Chinese to retreat from Mukden. Then the following day, the Kwantung Army entered Changchun to the north. Wakatsuki's government declared a policy of "non-expansionism of hostilities", but the victorious Kwantung Army ignored the orders from Tokyo.

#### 24th September 1931

Government declared army are to fall back to the railway zone, but the Kwantung Army ignored the government and pushed further into the Manchurian countryside.

## **International Response to Manchuria**

Outside world considered Japanese actions "deceitful". They do not yet grasp the actions of the Kwantung army are unsanctioned by the Japanese government. Relations between Japan and USA/Britain deteriorate through the 1930s. Western response to this crisis seemed rather cautious - it did provoke Japan to leave the League of Nations. Historian Pyle sees Manchurian Crisis as a "turning point" for Japan. Japan now increasingly isolationist (seems to have left Washington Treaty System behind).

## Response to Manchuria in Japan

Within Japan, attacks international law and League of Nations and the West as a whole. Comparisons made between League's actions and those of the Triple Intervention in 1895. Foreign Minister Uchida stated recognition of Manchuko in no way conflicts with 9 Power Treaty. Growing admiration in 1930 Japan for Hitler and Nazi Germany (also a League of Nations walk out). Increasing threat from new Communist regime in Soviet Union - by 1930 viewed as key potential opponent in the region. By 1936, Japan signed Anti-Cominterm Pact with Nazi Germany. However unlike Italy and Germany, Japan never officially had a fascist party lead the government, also never got rid of elections.

## The Results for Manchuria and China

By the start of 1932, Manchuria wholly under control of Japanese forces. Japan establishes an independent government under puppet Pu Yi (last Chinese emperor) called Manchuko.

Fighting between Japanese and Chinese forces also breaks out in Shanghai (January 1932). Japanese bomb Shanghai (especially in residentially dense Chapei - 1000s of refugees and causalities) intensifies Chinese outrage and turns world opinion against Japan.

4 Japanese troop divisions land in Shanghai to help Japanese navy - after 6 weeks, Chinese forces withdraw.

## The Results for Nationalists in China

During the Manchurian Crisis - China calls on Leaugue of Nations. Chiang Kai-Shek wants to focus on defeating CCP - realistic about levels of Western support but thought could buy tinme to organise defences. Basically, Chiang Kai-Shek adopts non-resistance, no-compromise and non-direct negotiation with Japan, which is very unlikely to help the Chinese position. Chinese populace boycott Japanese products reducing sales by 2/3, however did not stop Japanese actions or change Kai-Shek's priorities.

## May 1933

Japanese control of Manchuria was accepted in the Treaty of Tanggu. Kai-Shek agreed to the seizure of parts of Mongolia and in Ju ne 1935, agreed to remove all troops from Hebei province. Kai-Shek considered his strategy as "selling space to buy time".

## **Occupation of Manchuria Effect on Japan**

Economic benefits of Japanese occupation of Manchuria were negated by the cost of maintaining an army in China. By going it alone internationally and its declaration to keep peace in Asia through the "Asia Munroe Doctrine", Japan may be overstretching itself. Japan needed to protect itself against Soviet Union and the US navy and also get China to accept its occupation. Following the Manchurian Crisis, it was unclear whether the government would be able to regain control especially because the Japanese people supported Kwantung actions.

## **Dark Valley**

After 1932 - divided Japan (not just government vs. military but within the military itself). Destabilised political situation even more. This caused the establishment of a military government, and decent into the "Dark Valley". After 1932 - Political crisis and growing influence of military. Despite few generals not keen on a military junta (dictatorship). There was a growing momentum behind the militarist groups. Both factions wanted more of a military influence and agree in a military dictatorship and Japanese expansion.

Koda-Ha Perspective During Dark Valley

Koda-Ha - imperial way, more radical Koda-Ha saw Manchuria as the first step towards inevitable war with Soviet Union and emphasised national spirit over military force.

Toesi-Ha Perspective During Dark Valley

Toesi-Ha - control faction, conservative (ie gain power through legal means) Toesi-Ha saw the Soviet union in a positive way and wanted good relations with them and focus on conquering China (modernisation of army and industry for mobilisation of the whole nation).

#### **Assassination Plots**

3 major assassination plots destabilised the government between 1932-1936 (due to internal struggle). May 1932 - Army and naval officers attack banks, party officers and police headquarters in Tokyo (PM Inukai shot and killed). The trial showed widespread support for the conspirators and disillusionment with ruling political parties. Therefore, the May incident increased army influence and further undermined the democratic government. Interim government - Admirals Saito and Okada saw army play out faction struggle.

Admiral Saito Role in Interim Power Struggle

Admiral Saito (May 1932 - July 1934) backed up Koda-Ha as three faction members were promoted to high ranking positions but when he discovered their plot to kill him he promotes a member of the Toesi-Ha faction as the minister of war.

Interim Power Struggle Between Koda-Ha and Toesi-Ha

Admiral Okada takes over in July 1934. During his rule Koda-Ha published a document promoting that the army should promote the economy. Koda-Ha minister sacked for not controlling his young officers and then a Koda-Ha official assassinated the head of Toesi-Ha faction (General Nagata). Sympathy for assassin but he was executed anyways and then young Koda-Ha officers attempt a coup (February 1936). 1500 soldiers attack Tokyo (police headquarters, parliament, etc.) Brutal murders and news

spreads around the globe. 15 officers involved were shot and killed. From now Koda-Ha is discredited and Toesi-Ha is now in control of the army planning. Army can control country now. Okada resigns after attempted coup, Hirota Koki is now PM. Koki is weak from the start and compromises a stronger foreign policy.

## Results of Toesi-Ha Control

Now that Toesi-Ha is able to control country: Hirota expanded arms for Manchurian army, signed the anti-Comminterm Pact with Hitler (1936) and National Diet declared the military had official control. Government declared General Hayashi was in power from February to June 1937. Diet was an instrument of power that attempted to limit the military's power. Politicians were divided.

### June 1937

Prince Konoye Fumimaro took over as PM. Konoye wanted to restrain the army. Soon apparent that could not (Toesi-Ha faction was dominant in leading the government and expansion in China was their objective). Toesi-Ha general Tojo Hideki became chief of staff to the Kwantung Army in July 1937.

## 7th of July 1937

Chinese and Japanese forces begin fighting at the Marco Polo Bridge incident. Unlike the Mukden incident, there is not much evidence to prove Japanese instigation. However, Japanese army moved forces into China from Korea with no government approval. By the end of July, Japan had taken Beijing and in August, there was also fighting in Shanghai creating a "War on 2 Fronts". The Japanese attack was brutal with more devastating air raids, which drove Chinese refugees to flee to the interior amounting to the largest human exodus in history.

#### Tanaka Memorial

Tanaka Memorial - an alleged Japanese strategic planning document showing Japan's intentions for global domination (Harries - "most successful dirty trick of the 20th century")

#### **Rape of Nanjing**

Nanjing is the National Chinese Government Capital. City fell to Japan on the 13th of December, followed by days of atrocities. Irye (1987) - "all but impossible for Japan still to be accepted as a respectable member of the international community". Spence (1990) - "terror and destruction... among the worst in modern history."

- 30 000 female rape victims
- 30 000 slain soldiers
- 12 000 murdered civilians

## **Results of the Second Sino-Japanese War**

Although the Japanese did not want a war with China and rather planned for a major conflict with the Soviet Union, following the escalation of the Marco polo Bridge incident Prince Konoe declared his aim to obliterate the nationalist regime. Japan hoped that China would quickly capitulate, but they underestimated Chinese nationalism and outrage over the Rape of Nanjing. China refused terms for peace, forcing Japan to overstretch its supply lines becoming more vulnerable to guerrilla attacks as the Chinese moved further into the interior.

#### November 1938

New Order in East Asia proposed as a political, cultural and economic union between Japan, Manchukuo and China. Kai-Shek rejected the union, as well as Japan's other strategies to end the war.

#### **Conflict After 1938**

Militarists take control. Prince Konoe returned to PM in July 1940 after resigning in December 1938. Aimed to limit military power by forming a unity party called The Imperial Rule Assistance Association. However still failed to control the militarists. Multi-party politics suspended in 1940. Military were in total control in October 1941, Prince Konoe was replaced by General Tojo.

#### Impact of the War in Europe on Japan

Summer of 1940, Hitler's swift victories opens up potential European colonies in the Asia Pacific region. November 1940 - French Indo-China pressured into allowing Japanese troops and use of airfields.

#### September 1940

September 1940 - Japan signed the Tripartite Axis Pact which agreed that Germany and Italy would dominate Europe leaving Japan to dominate East Asia.

Victory of the Nazi's allowed Japan to take control of the Asian colonies of Britain, France and the Netherlands.

#### April 1941

Japan signed the Neutrality Pact with the Soviet Union and was able to secure its northern border and move forces further south.

#### 24 of July 1941

USA and Britain froze all Japanese assets bringing foreign trade with Japan to a halt. They also increased defences in the region and aid to Kai-Shek.

#### 1941

Japan expanded its ambition for the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere to include South-East Asia.

#### Economic Concerns --> Pearl Harbour

The US trade embargo created long term fatal flaws in the Japanese economy (response to Japanese occupation of Indo China). Only option was the seizure of European colonies in the Pacific if a war of conquest was desired. Divided public opinion in Japan (i.e. could retreat from Indo China and get sanctions lifted). US/Japan diplomatic efforts continue to 1941. US wants Japan to respect regional territorial sovereignty and "open door" policy and achieve aims peacefully. Despite Prince Konoe's efforts this was not agreeable.

#### 4 of December 1941

Japanese military and government agreed alternative plans on the 4th of December 1941: complete preparations for war, take all diplomatic measures with USA and Great Britain and if demands haven't

been met by 10th of October, Japan will launch an attack. Japan sent a final diplomatic mission to agree terms, whilst a huge naval force secretly prepared to attack the US if negotiations fail.

## 2 of November 1941

Council President Hara states in a final Imperial Conference that "it is inevitable that we must start a war with the United States".

### **Historian Viewpoints on Pearl Harbour**

Michiko Hasegawa (Japanese historian) - the attack was caused by the US oil embargo Revisionist historians - USA provoked Japan into launching an attack.

### 7 of December 1941

Japanese attack Pearl Harbour with the intent to destroy the US Pacific fleet, which would have allowed Japan to consolidate power in South East Asia before the USA would be able to rebuild its naval capability. The attack destroyed 90% of the mid-Pacific air and sea power, however there were several aircraft carriers remaining. Roosevelt described the attack as "dastardly" as there were 2403 killed and 1178 injured military personel and civilians before declaration of war.

### Japanese Attack Plan After Pearl Harbour

As Japan attack Pearl Harbour, they concurrently attacked Hong Kong and Singapore. Followed by the Dutch East Indies, the Philippines and Malaya on the 8th of December. Japan seized control of Guam, Hong Kong and Wake Island by the end of December. Japan also sunk 2 British Battleships. By mid-1942, Japan had captures Indo China, Siam, The Dutch East Indies, Malaya, Singapore and the Philippines.

#### Shogun

-since 1192, Japan was ruled by feudal military dictatorship called bakufu. -Emperor was official ruler but practice of power was controlled by Shoguns. -had the policy of isolating Japan from Western influence/threat of Christianity -oversee military (bellow emperor)

#### **Commodore Perry**

-American naval officer arrived in Japan on 4 steamships in 1853

## Treaty of Kanagawa (1854)

-signed by Shogun Tokugawa Yoshinibu
-U.S. looking for markets for manufactured goods
-treaty establishes trade; Japan opens ports to U.S.

## Effects/Results of Treaty of Kanagawa

-new trade disrupts Japanese monetary system -highlights weaknesses of Shogun

#### Meiji Restoration 1867

-political power is returned to the emperor
-government began modernising/dismantling the feudal system
-established limited form of democracy reforms in industry, education, fashion, military
-Meiji government promoted national unity

#### **Military Reforms**

-modernisation and adaptation of German military tactics -established navy with help from British

### **Treaty of Shiminoseki**

-Pescadores Islands, Formosa, and Liaodong Peninsula given to Japan
-China obliged to pay a large indemnity, open ports, negotiate commercial treaty
-Korean independence recognised

#### First Sino-Japanese War 1894-95

-conflict over resources (coal & iron) in Korea.
-Japan defeated China
-established itself as a force to be reckoned with

### **Triple Intervention**

-Germany, Russia, France forced Japan to give up the Liaodong Peninsula
-concern with Japan's growing power and impact on Asia
-Russia took Liaodong Peninsula
-Germany took control of Shandong Province
-France and Britain took advantage of weakened China to seize port cities (expansion of spheres of influence)

#### **Armur River Society**

patriotic society established to promote the idea of Japanese expansion on the mainland

#### **Anglo-Japanese Alliance**

-Japan's position strengthened -ended Japan's diplomatic isolation -first time military alliance signed between Western and non-Western nation

#### War with Russia 1904

-Japan and Russia clashed over interests in Korea and Manchuria -Russian fleet destroyed by Admiral Togo and new Japanese fleet

#### Why was Manchuria important to Japan?

-area in China closest to Japan (buffer against threat from Russia)
-4x larger than Japanese islands (living space for growing Japanese population)
-agriculturally rich with mineral resources (supply resources to Japan)

### **Treaty of Portsmouth**

-Japan gained control of Korea and South Manchuria (Port Arthur) -Japan gained railway rights in Manchuria and south of Sakhalin Island

### **Twenty One Demands**

required China to: -agree to the Japanese remaining in Shandong -grant Japan extra commercial privileges in Manchuria -not lease coastal territory to other powers -accept Japanese political, financial, and military advisers

### **Versailles Conference**

-Japan secured former German Pacific islands as a mandate and Germany's economic privileges on Shandong Peninsula of China -established Japan as an important economic power and main naval power

#### Washington Treaty System

Japan committed to international cooperation in 1920s

#### **Four Power Treaty**

-replace Anglo-Japanese Alliance
-Britain, Japan, USA, France
-confer if rights/possessions of either are threatened in Pacific

#### Nine Power Treaty: February 1922

-Britain, Japan, USA, France, China, Belgium, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal -respect Chinese independence/integrity -Japan returned German concessions in Shandong

## **Five Power Naval Treaty**

-restricted competition in battle ships/aircraft carriers
-ratio: 5:5:3 (Britain, USA, Japan)
-Imperial Navy abandon its plans for a massive expansion
-opposed by the Navy General Staff

#### **Taisho Democracy**

-series of reforms under Emperor Taisho -PM's position given to the leader of one of the two main political parties that controlled the Diet in 1920s -leaders gaining power because of experience
-Electorate system/suffrage extended to all adult males in 1925
-society more open; mass media more influential

#### **Peace Preservation Law**

clamping down on anyone who opposed Japan's political structure (aimed at Communist Party)

#### Shidehara Kijuro

-prominent pre-World War II Japanese diplomat -44th Prime Minister of Japan from 9 October 1945 to 22 May 1946

#### Opium Wars (1839-42/1856-60)

European powers gained economic, legal, military privileges in China

#### **Gunboat Diplomacy**

armed power

#### **Guomindang Nationalist Party (GMD)**

-led by General Jiang Jieshi was main political party
-rivalry with Communist Party of China (CCP)
-campaign of national unity

#### **United Front**

-Mao Zedong's Communist Party joined Jiang Jieshi in 1921 -1927: Nationalists and Communists clashed in civil war

#### "Northern Expedition"

consolidate central government control and take away power from warlords

#### warlords:

-local/regional military leaders that had their own armies and ruled areas of China. -Rivalries and competition between warlords caused wars

#### **Zhang Zuolin**

warlord in Manchuria -backed by Japanese

#### **Kwantung Army**

-Japan planned to use Kwantung Army to disarm Zhang and force him to retreat back to Manchuria before he was defeated by Jiang

-Kwangtung Army took action themselves:

-forced Jiang's Northern Expedition to stop in Jinan

-assassinated Zhang on June 4 1928

### Hamaguchi Yuko

(leader of Minseito Party) became P.M. after Tanaka resigns
-government failed due to Great Depression
-no funds to help industry
-cut government salaries for civil and military sectors
-agreed to London Naval Disarmament Conference to limit Japan's naval growth
-November 1930: shot by a right-wing radical; resigns

### Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act

-highest protective tariffs in US peacetime industry -duties on Japanese goods rose by 200%

### Silk Industry

-1932: price of silk fell to less than ½ of what it had been in 1923 -result: poverty and unemployment rose to 3 million

### Manchuria 1931

-September 18: explosion on Japan's South Manchurian Railway near Mukden

-Kwantung Army blamed the Chinese

-Japanese forced Chinese to retreat from Mukden

-Kwangtung Army entered Changchun

-government attempted to regain control with policy of "non-expansion hostilities", but army ignored and continued to push forward into Manchuria.

#### Manchuria 1932

-Manchuria fully under Japanese control
 -becomes known as Manchukuo: independent government under puppet rule of Pu Yi
 -fighting between Japanese and Chinese in Shanghai
 -Japanese bombing intensified Chinese outrage → turned world opinion against Japan

## Treaty of Tanggu (May 1933)

accepted Japanese control of Manchuria

#### **Dark Valley**

destabilized political situation led to establishment of military government

#### Koda-ha

-radical
-believed in military dictatorship that would deliver state socialism
-saw USSR as Japan's main enemy → war was inevitable
-emphasized spiritual training of army

#### Tosei-ha

-moderate
-use legal means to get military influence in government
-wanted to maintain good relations with USSR
-modernization of army and industry/mobilization of the nation

### May 15th Incident

-May 1932: army/navy officers attacked banks, party officers, police headquarters; P.M. Inukai killed - enhanced the influence of the army and undermined the democratic government

### February 1936: Kodo-ha coup d'état

-officers attempted a coup d'etat -soldiers took over parliament buildings, war office, police headquarters, prime minister's residence -murdered many officials

### Anti Comintern Pact

-agreement concluded first between Germany and Japan (Nov. 25, 1936) and then between Italy, Germany, and Japan (Nov. 6, 1937) -directed against the Communism (esp. USSR)

### Second Sino-Japanese War (1937)

-fighting between Japanese and Chinese at Marco-Polo Bridge, Beijing
-Japanese forces took Beijing
-war of 2 fronts: north China and Shanghai

## Rape of Nanjing

-Chinese nationalist government moved its capital to Nanjing
-13 December: Nanjing fell to Japanese
-Chinese soldiers and civilians were victims to appalling atrocities

#### **Prince Konoye**

-took over as P.M. in 1937 and 1940 -wanted to restrain army, but was powerless

#### New Order in East Asia

-November 1938: Japanese government declared the creation of new political, cultural, economic union between Japan, Manchukuo, and China -Jiang rejected; war continued

#### **Three Power/Tripartite Axis Pact**

-Foreign Minister Matsuoka signed it

-agreed that Germany and Italy would dominate Europe and leave Japan to dominate East Asia -promise if Axis powers could defeat the Western democracies in Europe, their Asian colonies would be seized by Japan

### **Neutrality Pact**

-Pact between Matsuoka and USSR -Japan secured northern border

### Japan in Indochina

-July 24: Japan moved into southern Indochina -could threaten Siam, Malaya, and Dutch East Indies -USA/Britain froze all Japanese assets, stopped foreign trade with Japan, increased defences and aid to Jiang in China

## **Pearl Harbor**

-December 7 1941: Japanese bombers attacked US ships and installations at Pearl Harbor to destroy the US Pacific fleet

### **Collective Security**

states would take joint action to deal with aggression

### Lytton Commission's Report

-League of Nations sent fact-finding commission to Manchuria led by Lord Lytton -published one year after Mukden incident

-stated:

-Japan had special interests in Manchuria, but use of force was unacceptable and unjustified

-Japan should give up territory and withdraw forces

-Manchukuo was not independent state and could not be recognized

-Manchuria should become independent but under Chinese sovereignty

-Commission recommended that China and Japan should negotiate a non-aggression pact and a trade agreement after troops withdraw

## Stimson Doctrine (nonrecognition doctrine)

## January 7 1932

-US declared that it would not recognize any agreement that violated China's territorial or administrative integrity or that went against the "open door" policy and Kellogg-Briand Pact -allowed US to uphold international law and avoid economic sanctions

## **U.S. Neutrality Acts**

-enforced isolationism by preventing US involvement in conflicts that did not directly involve US

-1935: US would not supply arms to either side if there was a war

-1936: no loans made to belligerents

-1937: warring countries could only purchase arms from the USA if they were paid for and taken away by the purchaser