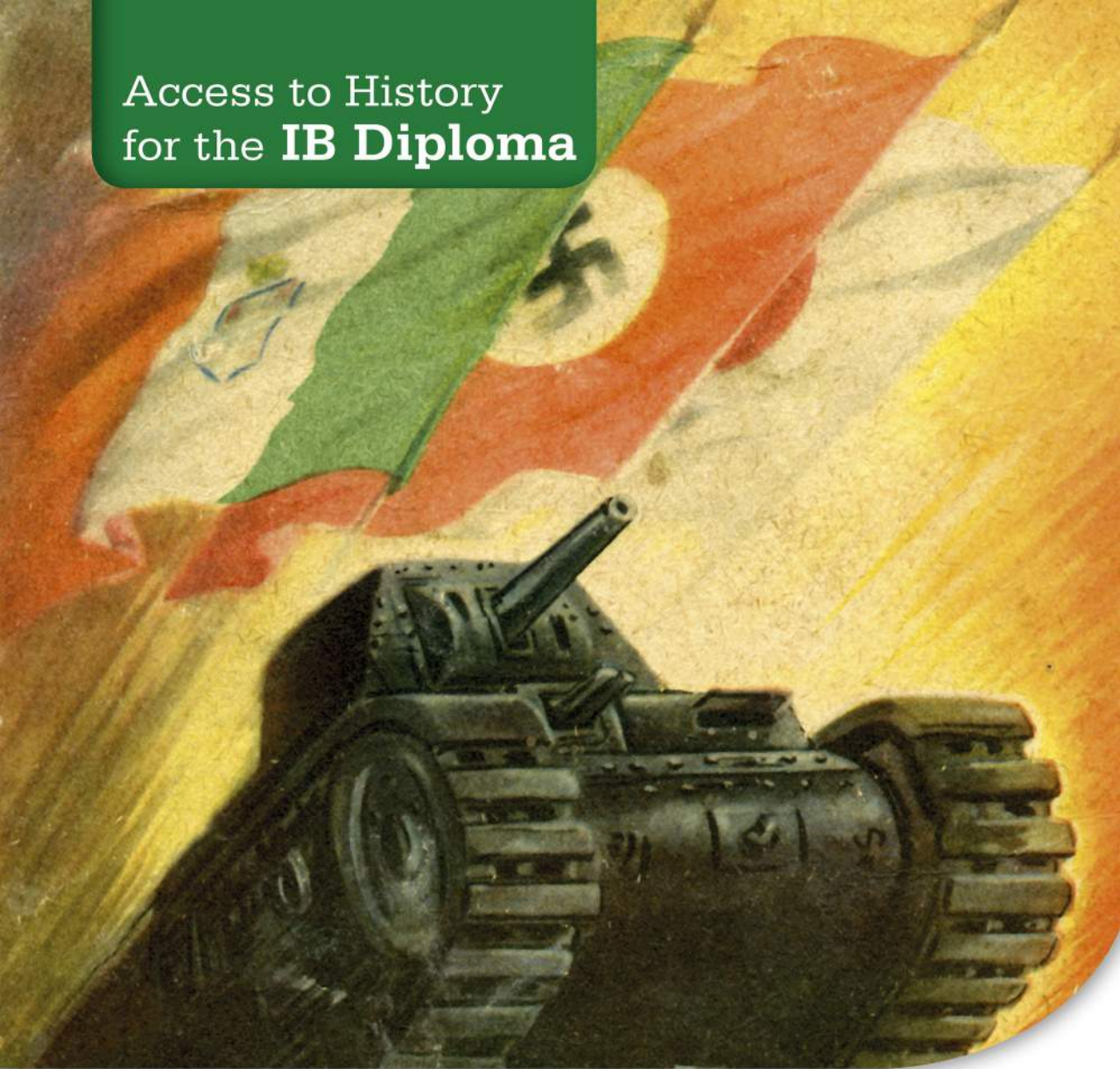


Access to History
for the **IB Diploma**



The move to global war

Andy Dailey

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Causes of expansion

This chapter explores Japan's rapid progression in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries from an isolated, undeveloped state to a significant political and military power, especially in Asia. Much of this success was due to industrialization, a strong military and a tightly controlled political system. There were, however, fundamental flaws in the system that would lead to increasing military control of the state, the development of radical nationalism and calls for empire. You will need to consider the following questions throughout this chapter:

- ★ How did Japan develop into an ultranationalist state with a strong military?
- ★ How successful was Japan in creating an Asian empire?
- ★ How did Japan's economic and political issues affect Japan's government?
- ★ How did instability contribute to Japan's domestic and foreign policy?

1 Japanese nationalism and militarism

▶ **Key question:** How did Japan develop into an ultranationalist state with a strong military?

KEY TERM

Ultranationalist A belief in which a person or state's nationality is considered superior to that of all others and usually involves racist and discriminatory beliefs against others not of the same nationality.

Meiji Restoration The creation of a new government of Japan after centuries of military government, in which Japan's Emperor held new powers and new, more modern systems of governance were created; it is named after the ruling emperor of that period.

Japan underwent major modernization in the late nineteenth century to become an **ultranationalist** state. The changes, part of the **Meiji Restoration**, were meant to protect Japan from foreign domination. However, modernization placed great stress on Japanese society, especially economic, and many Japanese people would eventually turn to the military to control the state's economy, government and all policies by the early 1930s.

SOURCE A

Excerpt from the Meiji Constitution (1889), translated as part of the Hanover College Historical Texts Collection, USA, located at: <http://history.hanover.edu/texts/1889con.html>.

Chapter 1. The Emperor

Article 1. The Empire of Japan shall be reigned over and governed by a line of Emperors unbroken for ages eternal.

Article 2. The Imperial Throne shall be succeeded to by Imperial male descendants, according to the provisions of the Imperial House Law.

Article 3. The Emperor is sacred and inviolable.

Article 4. The Emperor is the head of the Empire, combining in Himself the rights of sovereignty, and exercises them, according to the provisions of the present Constitution.

Article 5. The Emperor exercises the legislative power with the consent of the Imperial Diet.

Article 6. The Emperor gives sanction to laws, and orders them to be promulgated and executed.

Article 7. The Emperor convokes the Imperial Diet, opens, closes, and prorogues it, and dissolves the House of Representatives.

According to Source A, what is the role of Japan's Emperor in the government?



The Meiji Constitution

The **Meiji Emperor** of Japan reigned from 1867 to 1912. This was a period of tremendous reform in Japan, including the abolishment of **feudalism**, industrial development and the creation of a parliament and modern governing systems. The Meiji Emperor declared Japan's constitution, the first such legal document for the country, in 1889.

The Meiji Constitution, the work of a special group called the **Privy Council**, stated clearly that the Emperor of Japan was the head of state and that he was a divine individual. Government authority came from the Emperor and government ministers were responsible to him alone, not to the Diet, Japan's newly created parliament. The military was allowed tremendous independence in this document, reporting directly to the Emperor and holding two **cabinet** positions in all governments.

The constitution required all laws and cabinet decisions to be agreed to by all ministers. This meant that if any one minister did not agree with a law or decision, they could simply refuse to sign. This would cause the government to collapse and new ministers to be appointed, or a compromise would have to be reached to accommodate demands of opposing ministers. This increased the power of the military in that they could essentially veto any government decision and could threaten to dissolve a government unless their demands were met.

The Diet

The constitution also created a parliament, called the Diet. This was composed of two divisions: an elected House of Representatives and an appointed House of Peers. The House of Peers was composed of nobility, high taxpayers, famous individuals and special appointments made by the Emperor. The House of Representatives was elected by those with **suffrage** which would eventually include all men over 25 years old. The House of Representatives could create and pass laws which then had to be approved by the House of Peers. If approved, these laws went forward to the cabinet of ministers for consideration. If the cabinet approved, the law went forward to the Emperor and the Privy Council for consideration and possible approval.

How did the Meiji Constitution organize Japan's government and for what reasons?

KEY TERM

Meiji Emperor Emperor of Japan between 1867 and 1912 in whose name modernizing reforms were instituted.

Feudalism Form of government in which nobility and their associates, such as warriors, hold substantial governing power.

Privy Council Small government body of elites whose approval was required for laws, major political appointees and more; they controlled access to the Emperor of Japan and were heavily relied on by the Emperor owing to their prestige and experience.

Cabinet Ministers of a government.

Suffrage The right to vote.

How did the education system promote nationalism and loyalty to the state?

Education and loyalty to the state

Modernized Japan required all citizens to attend school for four years; in 1903 this was expanded to six years. The stated purpose of compulsory education was to teach practical skills and the ability to problem-solve, although what it did achieve was increased literacy throughout the country. This led to people reading books, newspapers and journals, including those that criticized the state. Literacy was directly connected to increased awareness of government and its policies, and people's growing opposition to many of these.

SOURCE B

Excerpt from *The Imperial Rescript on Education* by the Roy Rosenzweig Center for History and New Media, located at *Children and Youth in History*, <https://chnm.gmu.edu/cyh/primary-sources/136>.

Know ye [you], Our subjects:

Our Imperial Ancestors have founded Our [the Meiji Emperor's] Empire on a basis broad and everlasting, and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue; Our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety [respect for elders and those in authority] have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire, and herein also lies the source of Our education. Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore, advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial state; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth [for as long as heaven and earth exist]. So shall ye not only be Our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers.

The way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by Our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by Their Descendants and the subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places. It is Our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence, in common with you, Our subjects, that we may all attain to the same virtue.

October 30, 1890

The Ministry of Education eventually altered the national curriculum, which now emphasized loyalty to the state, family and community. Students were instructed to value Japan's special institution, the Emperor, his divinity and other aspects of Japan's history and culture. The emphasis on Japan's uniqueness was a huge factor in the development of ultranationalism, also called **radical nationalism**, which is closely related to **fascism**.

Offering oneself to the service of the state and protection of the Emperor was also encouraged. Teachers in training had to learn military drills as part of their teaching skills and, by the 1920s, students throughout the country



Read Source B. What is the 'fundamental character' of the Japanese Empire?



KEY TERM

Radical nationalism An extreme form of nationalism which can include racism and other forms of discrimination and prejudice against those not part of the nation, which is usually narrowly defined; this belief often justifies violence to achieve certain goals.

Fascism A term derived from the Fascist Party of Italy. It refers to a governing philosophy that glorifies the state, war and sacrificing oneself for the state while de-emphasizing individual rights and freedoms. This term is often used to refer to non-democratic, militaristic governments.

were also required to participate in these. The special connection between the education system and the military would later greatly aid in the military's popularity and eventual control of the political system.

The rise of radical nationalism

Japan had a unique history and, alone among east Asian states, was never annexed to any European or American empire. These factors helped greatly in the creation and propagation of ultranationalism.

← What factors may have contributed to the rise of radical nationalism?

A special mission

Many politicians and philosophers believed that Japan was unique among world states and, as such, had a special mission. Some of the things that these individuals believed made Japan unique included:

- It had an Emperor who was divine and descended from the Sun Goddess.
- It had not been conquered by European powers or the USA.
- It had an ancient history of being independent.
- The vast majority of its people were Japanese and shared a common culture and history.
- It was the only non-European state to defeat a European state in modern war (see page 19).
- It was a major military and industrial power by 1920 and one of the most important states at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, which dealt with the results of the First World War.

SOURCE C

Excerpt from *Fifty Years of Light and Dark: The Hirohito Era* by the staff of the *Mainichi Daily News*, *The Mainichi Newspapers*, Tokyo, Japan, 1975, p. 11. *Mainichi Shimbun*, or *Daily News*, has been published since 1872 and is one of the largest media companies in contemporary Japan.

Hirohito was now the 'God Emperor' of the almost 2,600-year-old nation, being the 124th in line from the Heaven-descended ancestor called [Emperor] Jimmu. Although scholars found the early part of the Imperial lineage dubious, not a single one of the 'beloved subjects' was expected to question the 'established' godliness of the new Ruler of Japan.

According to Source C, what were Japan's people not to question?



Philosophies developed that Japan not only was special compared to other countries, but should also remove all non-Asian dominance from the region. Since Japan was the only successful, independent modern state, then it was the mission of the Japanese to use these qualities to lead the rest of Asia. Nationalism developed into radical nationalism by the late 1920s. There were many elements to radical nationalism but essentially proponents opposed any policies or politicians that in their view weakened the Emperor and therefore Japan. To this end, assassinations and assassination attempts were a means of terrorizing officials into following and implementing their philosophies. Radical nationalism led to outright racism towards other non-Japanese in Japan's Empire (see page 70).



According to Source D, what would free people from materialism and why?

SOURCE D

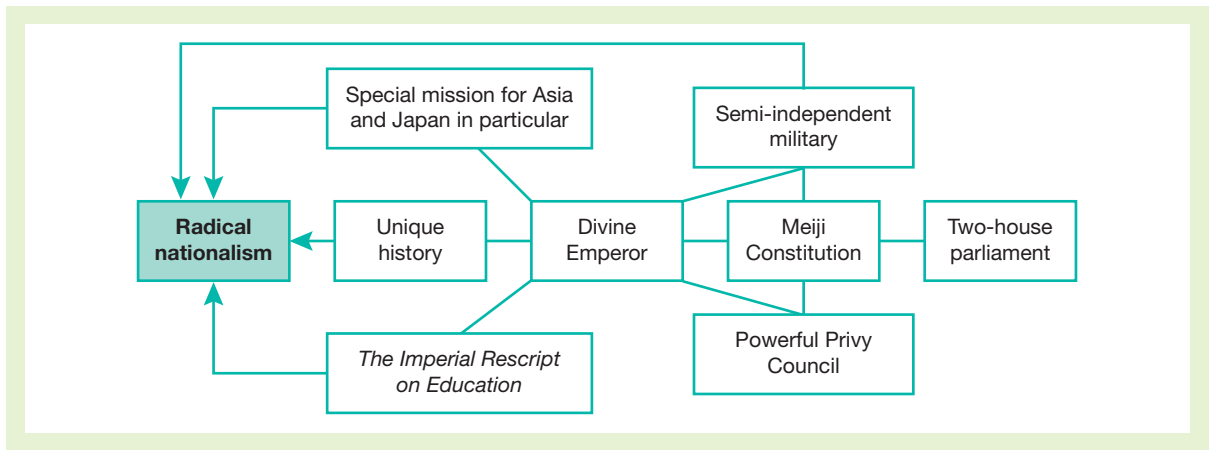
Excerpt from *Emperor Hirohito and His Chief Aide-de-Camp: The Honjō Diary, 1933–36* by Honjō Shigeru, translation and introduction by Mikiso Hane, published by University of Tokyo Press, Tokyo, Japan, 1982, p. 25. Honjō was head of the Kwantung Army of Japan from 1931 to 1932 and later served as the military's liaison with Japan's Emperor until 1936. Mikiso Hane was an internationally renowned historian on Japanese history and a professor at Knox College in the USA from 1961 to 1992.

[Ultrationalist ideologist] Ōkawa Shūmei 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 Ōkawa'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, Ōkawa 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 ...

Growth of militarism

Closely connected to the philosophy that Japan had a special mission or destiny was that of militarism. In order to protect Japan, secure its colonial possession and dominate Asia, which might lead to confrontation with Britain, France or the USA, a large navy and army were required. The military had held a special place in Japanese society for centuries (see below), so the idea of a strong military was not an unusual one. The Meiji Constitution, for example, had also enshrined the special relationship between the military and the Emperor, with the military reporting directly to him (see page 11).

The military was a political force in Japan, holding cabinet positions in the government (see page 11). In this way, the army and navy were able to affect politics and ensure their growth and maintenance. In the late 1920s, as economic crises continued to weaken the civilian government, militarism became increasingly popular as it was tied to expanding the empire, which many hoped would bring economic relief and new lands to settle peasants (see pages 35 and 39).

**SUMMARY DIAGRAM**

Japanese nationalism and militarism

2 Militarism and foreign policy

Key question: How successful was Japan in creating an Asian empire?

Japan had a long history of militarism. The pre-modern government of Japan had been a military dictatorship in which real authority rested with a **shōgun**; the Emperor was a symbol of national unity and was involved primarily in religious rites, rather than having any power. Industrialization, including the development of factories, railways, ports and international trade, strengthened Japan, allowing, and perhaps requiring, it to expand its empire to include neighbouring states and territories.

Militarism before the First World War

From the late nineteenth century, as Japan modernized and industrialized, its power to dominate and intimidate other nations grew. It acted on long-standing interests in countries such as Korea and engaged in other conflicts with Russia, China and Taiwan. The First World War was its opportunity to demonstrate its strength to the world, especially China and Germany.

Korea 1876–1905

Japan had long had economic and political interests in Korea, the closest neighbouring state. The Mongol Empire launched attacks against Japan from in the years 1274 and 1281, unsuccessfully. Japan invaded Korea in the late sixteenth century but was forced out by Korean and Chinese armies. By 1876, Japan had enough Western military technology and a new desire to export its manufactured goods that it was able to force Korea to sign the Japan–Korea Treaty (1876), also known as the Japan–Korea Treaty of Amity or the Treaty of Ganghwa Island. This document stated:

KEY TERM

Shōgun Hereditary military governors of Japan from 1192 to 1867.

What events resulted from Japan's militarism in the early twentieth century?

KEY TERM

Tributary A state which presents gifts or funds to a stronger state for protection and/or as a sign of loyalty, respect and subservience.

Coup d'état An overthrow of a state's government by individuals within that state.

Qing Dynasty of China The ethnic Manchu family of rulers of China from 1644 to 1911.

- Korea was no longer a **tributary** state to China.
- Japanese citizens could not be arrested or tried in Korean courts.
- Korea could not impose any restrictions on Japanese trade.
- Japan was allowed the use of three ports for its exports.

In 1884, supporters of Japan overthrew Korea's government briefly in a **coup d'état**. A counter-coup was launched against this new government and supported by Chinese troops. It was clear to other states that Korea was unable to defend itself from other countries and, in 1885, Britain took control of a Korean port city. In 1894, a major peasant revolt erupted against the Korean government, partly in response to the presence of Japan in the country's affairs. When the Korean government asked China for assistance, Japan declared that Korea had violated the Japan–Korea Treaty, and occupied the capital city with 8000 troops. It installed a government and assassinated its main opposition leader, Empress Myeongseong, in 1895. Japanese interference in Korean affairs led to war with China.

First Sino-Japanese War 1894–5

A long series of events, primarily over Japan's interference in Korean affairs but also including assassinations, bans on Japanese imports in China, and other issues, caused increasing tensions between Japan and the **Qing Dynasty of China**. Japan's essential takeover of Korea in 1894 and the gain of even more rights there caused the Qing Dynasty to declare war on Japan in August 1894.

SOURCE E

Japanese engraving depicting a scene from the First Sino-Japanese War by Suzuki Kwasson, Tokyo, Japan, early twentieth century. Suzuki (1860–1919) was a prolific artist who depicted battle scenes from the war, along with a variety of other topics and themes.



? How does the artist contrast the soldiers of Japan and China in Source E?

The war progressed rapidly for Japan, which had a modernized military, complete with ironclad warships, pontoon (floating) bridges and modern rifles. By October, Chinese troops had been driven out of Korea, and Japan began the invasion of Manchuria, a huge province in northeastern China and ancestral homeland of the Qing Emperors of China. Several towns and cities were captured by Japanese troops before winter weather slowed their invasion. In November, Japanese forces captured Port Arthur, a major economic prize; by mid-February 1895, after a long siege, they seized the port of Weihaiwei; then in March, they captured islands off Taiwan.

China requested Japan's terms for peace after suffering nothing but defeat after defeat. The Treaty of Shimonoseki was signed by both countries in April 1895. This treaty:

- granted Korea full independence from China
- gave Taiwan and the Liaodong Peninsula to Japan
- required China to pay a large indemnity to Japan, approximately 13,600 tons of silver
- allowed Japanese ships to operate ships on the Yangtze River, and to have factories in four Chinese ports that would now be completely open to Japanese imports.

Immediately after the Treaty of Shimonoseki was announced, Russia, Germany and France declared that the treaty had to be altered to accommodate their desires. Although Japan clearly dominated China during the war, it was in no way prepared to deal with three of the world's great military powers. In this Tripartite Intervention, as it became known, Russia took control of the Liaodong Peninsula and Port Arthur, leasing them from China. Germany would soon take control of part of the Shantung Peninsula from the much-weakened Chinese government. Japan was humiliated and embittered, but forced to submit to the European powers' demands.

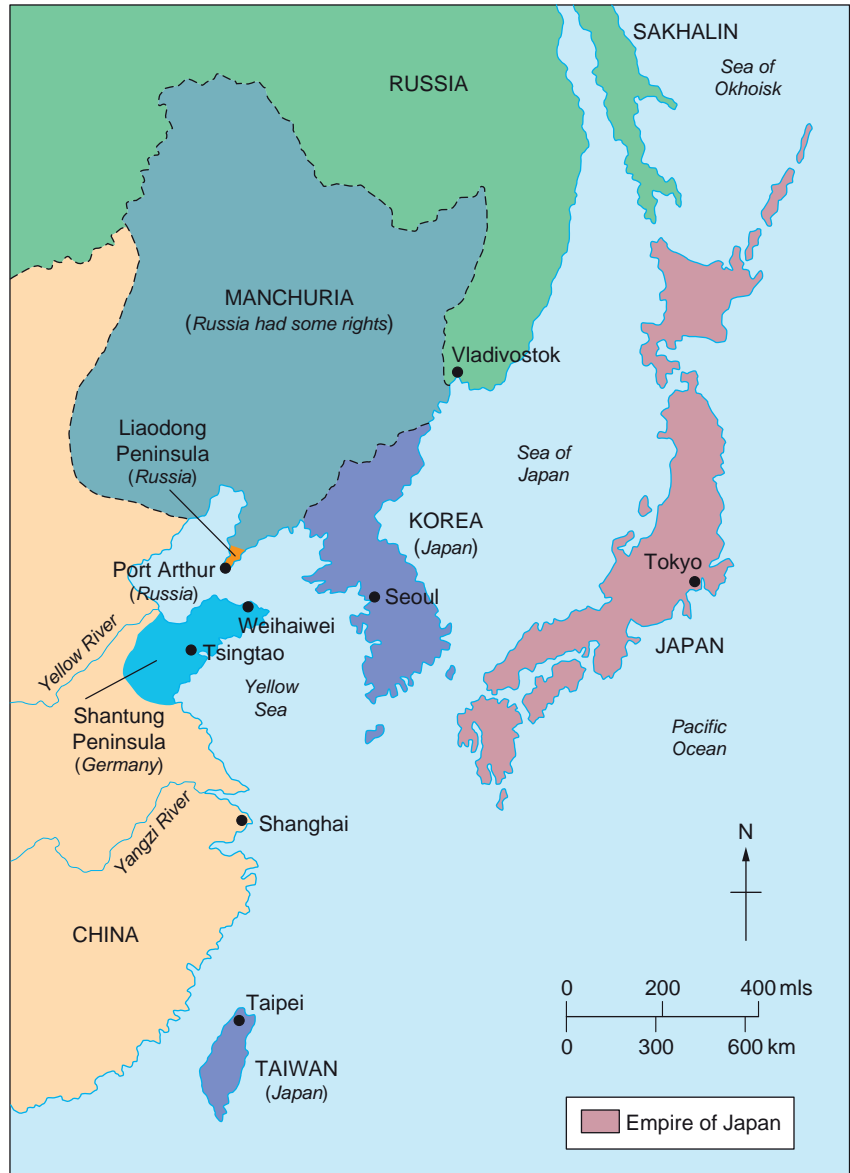
Although the Chinese government gave Taiwan to Japan, officials in Taiwan resisted. On 23 May 1895, Taiwan declared itself the Republic of Formosa, leading to a five-month war that ended with a Japanese victory in October.

Russia

Russian control of the Liaodong Peninsula and Port Arthur in 1895 had revealed that Japan needed more development if it was to protect itself and its interests from European states. Japan's industrialization continued at a rapid rate, leading to increasing exports, increasing revenues to support further military costs, and a larger, better armed military. Japan also sought allies.

SOURCE F

Tripartite Intervention results, 1895.



According to Source F, which country controlled more of China than any other state as a result of the Tripartite Intervention?

SOURCE G

Excerpt from *Japanese Diplomacy in a Dilemma: New Light on Japan's China Policy, 1924–1929* by Nobuya Bamba, published by University of British Columbia Press, Vancouver, Canada, 1972, p. 35. Bamba specializes in the diplomatic and intellectual history of Japan and is a professor at Tsuda College, Tokyo, Japan.

To catch up to more advanced or superior ones and to supersede them was the individual as well as national goal. Naturally, then, they [Japan] considered the unequal treaties as great national humiliations, and to get rid of them became a



According to Source G, what was the purpose of much of Japan's foreign policy?

major purpose of their diplomacy during the [Emperor] Meiji era. The whole of the national energy was exerted to achieve this goal. Likewise, the people in Meiji [Japan] felt the Triple [Tripartite] Intervention was a great national humiliation. The entire country became enraged. 'Gashin shōtan' (endurance and hard work for the achievement of future revenge) expressed Japan's determination to wipe out this humiliation ... The Russo-Japanese War was Japan's 'revenge' against Russia. Russian ambitions toward Korea gave Japan an opportunity to act.

Anglo-Japanese Alliance 1902

Britain was also concerned with Russian expansion in Asia. Russia was rapidly industrializing, clearly expanding towards China, had gained the major port of Port Arthur, and was now building a railway to link the entire Russian Empire with its Asian possessions. Britain had dominated China economically through wars and lopsided treaties throughout the nineteenth century. It had no intention of allowing Russia to expand without a challenge. Unable to afford the expense of a large naval fleet or standing army in China, Britain formed the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902 with Japan. It was the first military alliance for Japan in modern times. Essentially:

- Japan and Britain would aid each other militarily if either was at war with two or more countries.
- If either country was at war with only one other state, then the other would remain neutral.

This alliance was clearly directed at Russia, and Russia's only ally was France. France had no intention of fighting a distant war in Asia since it was more concerned with an increasingly aggressive Germany. The Alliance guaranteed Japan that it needed to deal only with Russia in the case of war, and it was determined to provoke a war and win.

Russo-Japanese War 1904–5

Tensions between Russia and Japan had increased between 1895 and 1904. Russia, leasing Port Arthur and parts of the Liaodong Peninsula from China, stationed a fleet of warships off Port Arthur in December 1897; the port was soon fortified and construction started on railways that would eventually link it to Russia through China's Manchuria. Russia began to pressure Korea to grant mining and forestry rights, further provoking Japan, which felt that Korea was in its sphere of influence.

During the **Boxer Rebellion** in China in 1899 and 1900, approximately 200,000 Russian troops were stationed in Manchuria to protect the railway from Chinese rebels and soldiers. This was also done to prevent Japan from stationing troops there and interfering with Russia's interests in the region. Once the Boxer Rebellion had been crushed, these troops were not withdrawn despite Russia's promises to do so. Both Britain and Japan felt that their interests in China and Korea were threatened by this force.

Japan initiated a series of diplomatic meetings with Russia to resolve the crisis and to clarify the sphere of influence of each state towards Korea and

KEY TERM

Boxer Rebellion An anti-foreign, anti-Christian revolt in China that was eventually joined by government soldiers with support from the Qing Dynasty. The revolt was put down by foreign troops.

SOURCE H



How does Source H depict the weakness of Japan?

'Don't twist in my hands! I want to see how your skin tears on my teeth!!' Russian postcard from just before the Russo-Japanese War depicting a Russian Cossack [warrior] eating a Japanese soldier for breakfast, about 1904.



China; Korea and China were too weak for either power to consider their input or protests. Eventually, Japan proposed that Manchuria would be in the Russian sphere of influence and Korea would be in Japan's. Russia did not respond and so in February 1904, Japan expelled Russia's ambassador and severed all relations with Russia. Many historians believe that Russia's government desired war with Japan due to a crippling political crisis in Russia at the time, in which there were calls for a constitution and governing reforms which were opposed by the Tsar (Russian Emperor). Tsar

Nicholas II's government hoped that an outpouring of nationalism at Russia's eventual victory over Japan would reinforce the Tsar's popularity and help suppress criticism of his government and its institutions.

Japan attacked the Russian navy at Port Arthur on 8 February 1904 and soon afterwards launched an invasion of Korea. By the end of April:

- A Japanese army had entered Russian-controlled Manchuria.
- The Japanese navy had defeated the Port Arthur-based Russian navy.
- Port Arthur was under siege by land and sea.

SOURCE I

Excerpt from *The Attack upon Port Arthur, 1905* by Lt. Tadayoshi Sakurai, published by the Russo-Japanese War Research Society, www.russojapanesewar.com/sakuri-1.html. Tadayoshi Sakurai was an officer in the Japanese army and participated in Japan's attack on Russian troops at Port Arthur in 1905.

Our objective points were the Northern Fortress and Wang-tai Hill. There was a fight with bombs at the enemy's skirmish-trenches. The bombs sent from our side exploded finely, and the place became at once a conflagration, boards were flung about, sand-bags burst, heads flew around, legs were torn off. The flames mingled with the smoke, lighted up our faces weirdly, with a red glare, and all at once the battle-line became confused. Then the enemy, thinking it hopeless, left the place and began to flee. 'Forward! Forward! Now is the time to go forward! Forward! Pursue! Capture it with one bound!' And, proud of our victory, we went forward courageously.

According to Source I, why were Japanese troops successful in the attack on Port Arthur?



In December, Japanese artillery destroyed most of Russia's navy that was anchored at Port Arthur. The city itself surrendered in January 1905. A Russian army hoping to relieve the siege had been forced to retreat to the city of Mukden in Manchuria, ending all hopes of saving the port city. Mukden fell to Japan in March after a massive battle involving around 500,000 soldiers, one of the largest battles of the twentieth century. Russia's European-based navy finally arrived in May 1905 after months at sea, only to be annihilated in the Battle of Tsushima Straits. Japan then occupied Sakhalin Island, on Russia's Pacific Ocean coast. A revolution erupted in Russia against its government and Russia sued for peace.

Treaty of Portsmouth 1905

Russia and Japan signed the Treaty of Portsmouth that brought the Russo-Japanese War to a close. Negotiated by the USA, the treaty:

- required both 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.



How does Source J depict Russian weakness at Port Arthur in 1904?

SOURCE J

A large Japanese hand crushing Port Arthur, 25 July 1904, from a series entitled ‘Long Live Japan: One Hundred Victories, One Hundred Laughs’. A Japanese poster by Kobayashi Kiyochika. Kiyochika was a famous painter and print-maker, living from 1847 to 1915.



Japan acquired international respect and authority as the result of the Russo-Japanese War, in addition to the treaty's benefits. The USA agreed to Japanese control over Korea in return for Japan allowing the US full dominance of the Philippines, its large Asian colony. Britain extended the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and recognized Japan's control over Korea as legitimate. The Japanese military's prestige soared and it benefited from increased government spending. Nevertheless, Japan believed that it should have received:

- an indemnity from Russia to pay for the war
- all of Sakhalin Island
- outright control of Port Arthur, the Liaodong Peninsula and parts of Manchuria, instead of having to lease them from China.

SOURCE K

Map of the results of the Treaty of Portsmouth 1905.



What were the main results of the Treaty of Portsmouth for Japan, according to Source K?



While Japan was victorious, it seemed that the **Great Powers** were determined to hinder Japanese growth whenever possible.

The First World War

The First World War erupted in 1914 and allowed Japan an opportunity to demonstrate its strength. This strength was directed at Germany and China, although China was ostensibly an ally of Japan during the war.

KEY TERM

Great Powers In this period, primarily European states such as Britain, France, Germany and Russia, but sometimes meant to include the USA, the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Italy.



In Source L, what was Japan's reaction to non-acceptance by European states and the USA?

SOURCE L

Excerpt from a Letter from US President Theodore Roosevelt to Senator Knox, 1909, Papers of Theodore Roosevelt, Library of Congress, Washington, DC, USA. Roosevelt negotiated the Treaty of Portsmouth that resolved the Russo-Japanese War in 1905. Senator Knox became US secretary of state (minister of foreign affairs) in 1909 for US President Taft.

But with Japan the case is different. She is a most formidable military power. Her people have peculiar fighting capacity. They are very proud, very warlike, very sensitive, and are influenced by two contradictory feelings; namely, a great self-confidence, both ferocious and conceited, due to their victory over the mighty empire of Russia; and a great touchiness because they would like to be considered as on a full equality with, as one of the brotherhood of, Occidental [European states and the US] nations, and have been bitterly humiliated to find that even their allies, the English, and their friends, the Americans, won't admit them to association and citizenship, as they admit the least advanced or most decadent European peoples. Moreover, Japan's population is increasing rapidly and demands an outlet; and the Japanese laborers, small farmers, and petty traders would, if permitted, flock by the hundred thousand into the United States, Canada, and Australia.

Shantung Peninsula 1914

Britain requested Japan's assistance against Germany with the outbreak of the First World War in August 1914, in line with its earlier treaty (see page 19). Germany had leased Kiaochow on the Shantung Peninsula from China in 1898 and soon built a fortified harbour at Tsingtao. Germany kept several naval warships at Tsingtao but removed them when it was clear that Japan would move against the port. Tsingtao surrendered in November 1914 after a two-month naval blockade and a month-long siege. During this period, Japan took control of various German colonies in the Pacific, including Palau and the archipelagos of the Marianas, the Marshalls and the Carolines.

China 1915

While Europe was occupied with the war in Europe, Japan presented a document known as the Twenty-One Demands to China in January 1915. Among the various demands, Japan insisted 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 various Chinese government officials on its policies
- agree to Japan building railways connecting various ports and areas under its control
- extend Japan's lease on the South Manchurian Railway and allow Japanese citizens to purchase and lease land for economic and agricultural purposes in Manchuria and other northern regions

- allow Japanese citizens to enter and travel freely within Manchuria without any interference from China
- agree to Japan opening mines in Manchuria
- allow Japan to construct its own hospitals, schools and temples anywhere in China
- purchase any needed military equipment from Japan, from where all military training must come.

China delayed responding to the Twenty-One Demands until May 1915, when Japan threatened war unless China agreed. Japan eventually modified the document, reducing the demands to thirteen. China, in no position to resist Japan in the case of war, capitulated. Anti-Japanese and anti-government riots erupted across the country, the first of many. The USA and Britain, both allies of Japan, were now concerned about Japan's aggression towards China and worked to limit Japan's control over it at the Paris Peace Conference.

Paris Peace Conference 1919

Japan was one of the victorious powers that determined the nature of the world's peace after the First World War. Japan, like other participating states, was primarily concerned with its own interests.

During the Conference, the **League of Nations** was formed and Japan was a founding member. Members of the League agreed to the concept of collective security. This meant that a war with one member of the League was a war against all members of the League. League members agreed to settle all disputes through negotiation and arbitration.

SOURCE M

Article 16 of the Covenant of the League of Nations as found in all Paris Peace Conference treaties formulated in 1919 and 1920, located online at Yale University's Lillian Goldman Law Library's *The Avalon Project: Documents in Law, History and Diplomacy*, <http://avalon.law.yale.edu/imt/parti.asp>.

Article 16

Should any Member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Articles 12, 13 or 15, it shall ipso facto [in fact] be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other Members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State, and the prevention of all financial, commercial or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a Member of the League or not.

When the concept of the League of Nations was presented and various ideas were debated, Japan and other non-European countries demanded a clause against racial discrimination. The Japanese knew that they were considered

KEY TERM

League of Nations

International organization that agreed to resolve international crises through diplomacy and not war that also established groups to address health issues, refugees, workers' rights and more.

According to Source M, what should occur when one League of Nations member declares war on another?



racially inferior by the leaders of many, perhaps most, states because they were not European. China agreed with Japan and also demanded this clause. In the end, other freedoms and rights were included in the document, such as that of religion, but the USA insisted that any statement mentioning racial equality could not be included. There was racial segregation and other forms of discrimination in the USA and most European empires at the time, so these powerful states were not interested in addressing this issue.



KEY TERM

Mandates Lands formerly held by Germany and the Ottoman Empire that were to be administered by Britain, France, Belgium, Australia, New Zealand and Japan after the First World War for the League of Nations.

Annexed Acquired by force.

Conscription Required military service by a government for a specific length of time and usually for men only.

Japan wanted to keep Shantung Peninsula and Germany's former island empire in the Pacific. A system of League of Nations **mandates** was created to govern former territories and colonies of the defeated states of the First World War. Japan was granted supervision, but not outright annexation, of the Mandate of the South Pacific, Germany's islands. The Shantung Peninsula created a problem since Japan occupied the region and China had agreed to allow Japan to control it. Now, however, China demanded its return and the USA clearly wanted it to be part of China to limit Japan's ambitions in the region. In a system of compromises, Japan was able to retain the Shantung Peninsula, but this lasted for only a few years.

Despite not being able to achieve all its demands in Paris, Japan was now clearly an important military power. In a few short years, Russia had been defeated; Korea had been **annexed**; important ports in China, plus neighbouring territories, had been leased; German forces had been defeated; and Japan now sat with the most powerful nations determining the world's future. To secure these new acquisitions and power, and to obtain more, Japan instituted **conscription** and increased the size of its navy.

What were the purposes and results of the treaties signed after the First World War by Japan?

Interwar treaties

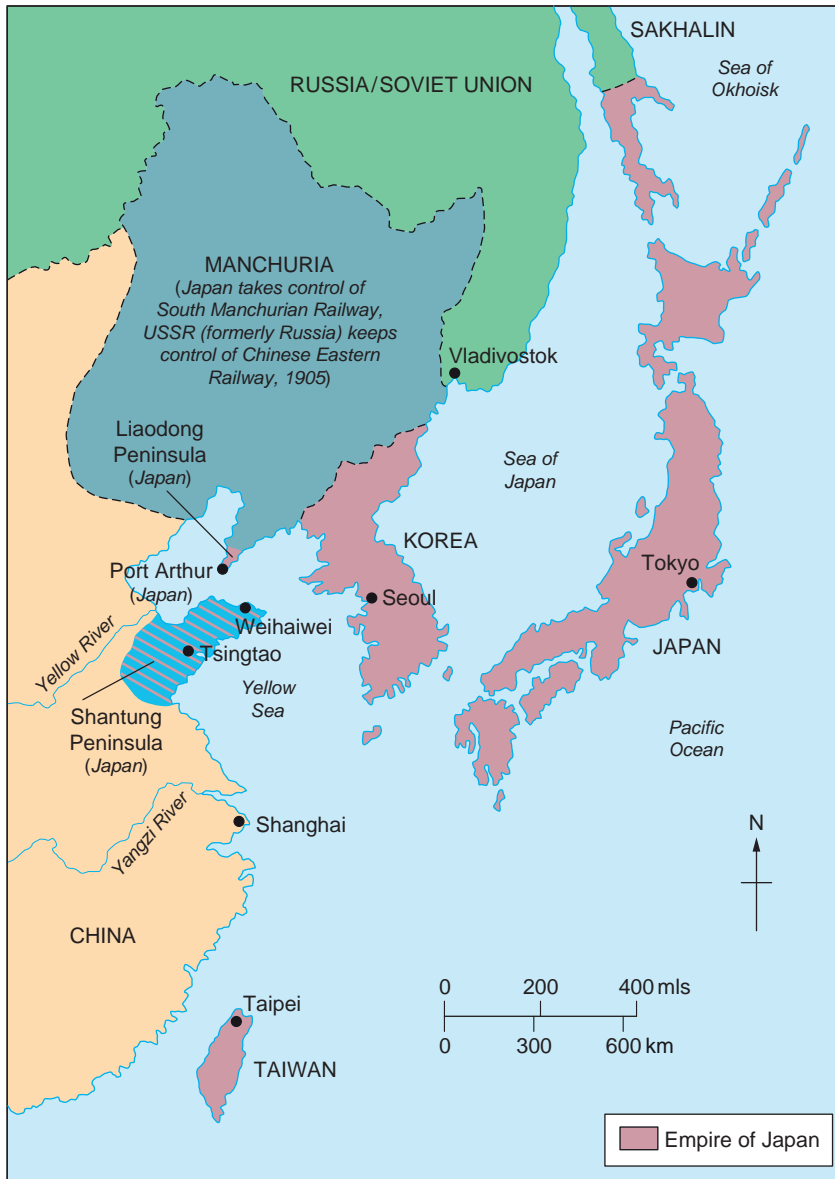
Japan was one of the two most powerful states in the Pacific Ocean region. The other was the USA. Both countries worked diplomatically to limit each other's military strength. Japan wanted security initially, and later empire, as well as unrestricted access to US markets and products, especially oil and metals. The USA had no desire for an expensive war in Asia, but also wanted security for its main colony, the Philippines, and other territories such as Hawaii and Guam. The USA wanted unfettered access to China's markets as well. Meanwhile, Japan's government worked to not provoke the USA as any economic response would devastate its economy. Yet Japan was also involved in China, a politically unstable state, with many investments and military units to protect them.

Japan's interwar foreign policy

After the First World War there was pressure by Japan's military to maintain its strength and even expand its size. The military believed that Japan and its newly annexed lands in Taiwan, Korea and the Shantung Peninsula, plus islands that it now supervised as League of Nations mandates, should be protected from foreign states. The military also believed that more lands should be brought under Japan's control and that this would help the

SOURCE N

Map of the Japanese Empire in 1919.



What was Japan's largest colonial acquisition by 1919, according to Source N?



economy of the country. In some way, the army and navy had to be appeased because they were members of the cabinet and could bring down a government at will.

Civilian ministers understood that large militaries were expensive and Japan was economically vulnerable. While many were not opposed to expanding the empire, they were cautious about provoking the USA, Britain and other states, especially over China, which was politically unstable and therefore

militarily vulnerable (see page 41). Any economic retaliation by the USA or a European state would severely affect Japan's economy, which relied on exports. The government's foreign policy, commonly referred to as the Shidehara Diplomacy after Japanese Foreign Minister Kijūrō Shidehara of the late 1920s and early 1930s, consisted of a balancing act in which the military, especially the army, was well maintained and Japan's government worked to reassure foreign governments that Japan was not a threat to China and had no desire for further expansion against it. Shidehara Diplomacy would collapse with the Mukden Incident in 1931 (see page 55).

Washington Naval Conference and treaties 1921–2

There was a sharp reduction of armaments at the end of the First World War. The USA, Japan and Britain had large fleets of warships as a result of the war. Even so, the USA had no desire to continue building or maintaining expensive ships to defend its trade and possessions in the Pacific, and invited Japan and Britain to participate in discussions regarding naval limitations.

The Five-Power Treaty, also known as the Washington Naval Convention, did several things:

- Large battleship construction was halted for ten years.
- Certain battleships and cruisers, a fast type of warship, were to be scrapped.
- For every five **capital ships** that Britain or the USA were allowed, Japan could have only three, only 60 per cent of the size of either the USA or Britain.
- Britain and the USA agreed to build no fortifications in the Pacific except for Pearl Harbor, Hawaii: the main naval base for the USA.

SOURCE O

Excerpt from *The Autobiography of Ozaki Yukio: The Struggle for Constitutional Government in Japan* by Ozaki Yukio, published by Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, USA, 2001, pp. 341–2. Ozaki was a member of Japan's House of Representatives from 1889 to 1953. The following passage concerns the treaties signed by Japan at the Washington Naval Conference 1921–2.

Accordingly, Japan suspended the ... fleet [construction] program and was thus able to save the nation an annual naval shipbuilding cost of 500 million yen ...

The most ironic part of it all was that both the government and the people, rather than rejoicing that the naval agreement had enabled us to save an annual national expenditure of 500 million yen, shouted 'national crisis!' and 'national shame!' because we were limited to a ratio of three against the British and United States shares of five. They called me by such abusive names as 'traitor' and 'hireling of America.' ...

... With the country crying 'national crisis!' I published a booklet titled 'Good Fortune has Befallen our Nation,' in which I explained that arms limitation was the way to save Japan – that far from being a national crisis this was a most felicitous turn of events.

KEY TERM

Capital ships Large ships such as battleships and heavy cruisers.



According to Source O, why should Japan's citizens be pleased with the results of the Washington Naval Conference?

The Four-Power Treaty and Nine-Power Treaty (both 1922) were signed in Washington, DC as well. The Four-Power Treaty ended the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and required Japan, the USA, Britain and France to respect each other's territories. The Nine-Power Treaty required Japan to remove its military from the Shantung Peninsula and called on all nations to respect China's independence and borders.

Japan's military believed that a fleet 60 per cent of the size of the US navy was inadequate for defence. However, the government was mostly relieved at the decisions made in Washington. Japan's economy could not support the building and maintenance of a huge military in the post-First World War economic crisis (see page 33). Japan's government also believed that its foreign policy would be more successful if it was conciliatory and worked through negotiations and compromise during this period (see page 43). It was not in Japan's interest, the government believed, to antagonize its main trading partners.

London Naval Conference 1930

Britain, the USA, Japan and other countries met in London in 1930 to review their earlier naval agreements. All three countries were beginning to feel great financial stress as a result of the **Great Depression** (see page 34) and none desired a renewed, expensive arms race in the form of ships. Japan's navy, however, was now headed by a more aggressive faction than had existed earlier. The navy's leadership insisted that Japan be allowed to have a fleet that was 70 per cent of the tonnage of either the US or British fleet. In a compromise, Japan achieved a 69.75 per cent ratio on battleships, but cruisers remained at 60 per cent. While the government of Japan supported this, the navy objected and threatened to bring down the government. The *genrō* Siamonji (see box) ordered the Privy Council (see page 11) to remove the objecting ministers and to approve the treaty; this was done. In response to the signing of the London Naval Treaty of 1930, Japan's prime minister was shot by an ultranationalist assassin. He initially survived, but died from his wounds several months later.

KEY TERM

Great Depression

A worldwide economic depression that led to massive unemployment, political instability, hunger and poverty, among other issues, starting from late 1929 and ending by the early 1940s, depending on the country or region.

Genrō is generally translated as 'elder statesman.' These men were initially those that created the Meiji Constitution (see page 11). As they aged, they appointed others. Siamonji was the last powerful *genrō*. It was Siamonji who appointed prime ministers in the name of the Emperor and generally supervised the state on the Emperor's behalf. The *genrō* had direct access to the Emperor and it was assumed by all that they spoke for the Emperor and with his authority. This meant that they were extremely powerful and provided a means to control the state according to their ideas. As Siamonji aged, his participation in government declined and the military was able to assume increasing control over the state until 1936, when most governmental policy was determined according to the military and its needs.

To what extent did Japan's budget increase spending on military affairs after 1936?

→ Military expansion

Japan's army and navy were severely reduced during the 1920s, mainly because Japan suffered a series of economic crises (see page 33) throughout this time. By the end of the 1920s, various factions within the military and in civilian political parties were calling for increased military spending for both defence and offence. Japan wanted to defend its interests in Manchuria, yet also wanted to expand to resolve some of its own domestic issues such as lack of resources and food supply. This expansion would come at the expense of the vast, but weak, neighbouring state of China.

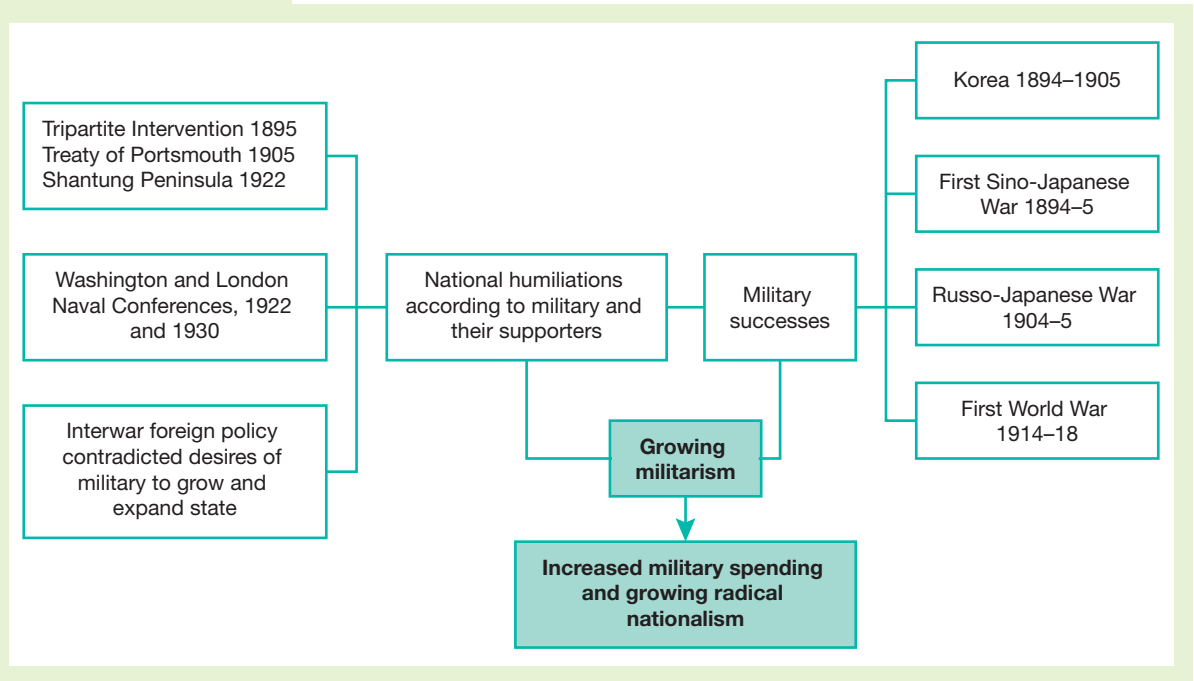
Increased spending

Japan's capital shipbuilding, including battleships, various types of cruisers and aircraft carriers, was limited by the 1922 and 1930 naval treaties (see pages 28 and 29). The army, however, had no limitations in terms of international obligations. The only hindrance to increasing the military was from within Japan's government. The House of Representatives and various ministers believed that a massive military was an expense that Japan could not afford in light of its financial crises in the 1920s.

With the growth of military power in Japan's government (see page 40), army expenditure and expansion increased. Increased spending on the military in the early 1930s was one way the government stimulated economic recovery from the Great Depression (see page 36). Shipbuilding, steel and rubber, as well as other military-related industries, massively increased production.

SUMMARY DIAGRAM

Militarism and foreign policy



3 Economic and political issues

▶ **Key question:** How did Japan's economic and political issues affect Japan's government?

Economics were a driving force in Japan's domestic and foreign policies. The economy seemed to go through rapid cycles of growth and contraction. When the economy expanded, landless peasants, often women, moved to the cities for factory work and wages. When the economy was less successful, there was mass unemployment and further rural poverty. Failure to stabilize the system meant that **monopolies** expanded to control more of the economy. It also encouraged political groups to try to change the political system.

Industrialization and foreign policy

With the end of the feudal system and the creation of a modern form of government, there was a concerted, intentional effort to industrialize. This would mean not only wealth for many, but also security for the nation, especially protection from the empire-building Europe and the USA. Countries that could build their own industries and export to other nations to pay for needed imports were more independent than countries that could not. This weakness was very clear in nearby China, where the government was unable to prevent foreign powers dominating it, seeking its raw materials and markets for their mass-produced goods created in modern factories.

SOURCE P

Excerpt from *A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa Times to the Present* by Andrew Gordon, 2014, published by Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK, pp. 95–6. Gordon is a professor of modern Japanese history at Harvard University, USA.

Industrialization was led by the textile industry. From the 1890s through 1913, output of silk quadrupled. By the eve of World War I, three-fourths of these threads were produced by machine, whereas earlier most silk had been reeled by hand. In addition, about three-fourths of silk output was being exported each year. Production of cotton thread increased at similar rates ... about half of the cotton output came to be exported, mainly to China and Korea.

Japan's economy from the late nineteenth century through to the end of the First World War was remarkable. Japan's industrial output increased by 250 per cent between 1895 and 1915 while processing of minerals increased by as much as 700 per cent at the end of the nineteenth century. By 1900, the Ashio coppermine and its refinery were among the top producers of copper in the world. Railways covered 5400 km (3400 miles) by 1900, vastly reducing the costs of goods since transportation was faster and cheaper by rail.

KEY TERM

Monopolies Companies that control entire sections of the economy, such as steel production or shipbuilding.

← **To what extent did economics drive Japan's foreign policy?**

What was the importance of China and Korea for Japan's economy, according to Source P?



Coalmines fuelled the factories and Japan's merchant fleet delivered products to ports throughout the Pacific.

Zaibatsu

Monopolies, called *zaibatsu*, began to form in the nineteenth century and rapidly expanded in the twentieth century. These were enormous corporations owned by individual families that had an impressive economic reach. The *zaibatsu* Mitsui, for example, was involved with banking, mining, paper, textiles and more. The financial strength of the *zaibatsu* meant that large-scale industries could be established relatively quickly and integrated into the economy; they had the capital to invest, and the experts and engineers to design and create industries and ships and markets for distribution. By 1918, the eight largest *zaibatsu* controlled twenty per cent of all manufacturing, mining and trade in Japan.

Zaibatsu increased in size and power as the country suffered economic crises in the late 1920s (see page 34), absorbing smaller companies and banks that were unable to survive. *Zaibatsu* also worked to control the Diet, making sure that economic policies that favoured them were maintained (see Source Q).

SOURCE Q

Excerpt from *Dilemmas of Growth in Pre-war Japan* edited by James William Morley, published by Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, USA, 1971, p. 281. Morley is professor emeritus of political science at Columbia University, New York City, USA.

Some thirty-seven lower house members, eight percent of the membership, held positions with zaibatsu concerns. Another eighteen members had close relatives who were employees of zaibatsu concerns. Thus twelve percent of the lower house was connected with zaibatsu concerns either directly or through relatives ... In the House of Peers, eighty-three members, twenty-two percent of the membership, currently held positions with zaibatsu concerns while another twenty-four members had close relations so employed. Thus twenty-eight percent of the upper house was connected with zaibatsu concerns either directly or through relatives. ... The zaibatsu with the most Diet members on its payroll was Mitsubishi ... [with] a grand total of sixty-six Diet members. After Mitsubishi came Mitsui, which employed ... a grand total of forty-eight.

Eventually, allying with other military factions for survival and business, the *zaibatsu* came to be directly connected to Japan's militarism (see page 40).

Social stresses and employment

Industrialization severely affected the vast majority of people. Impoverished, usually landless, rural families sent their children to cities to work in factories, as clerks, shipbuilders and other salaried jobs. This income allowed many to support their rural families, buy more clothing and other manufactures and increase their food intake. This stimulated the economy to produce further goods and jobs.



According to Source Q, to what extent did the *zaibatsu* work to control Japan's Diet?

The First World War led to higher wages, due to demand for Japanese goods in markets formerly dominated by the USA and European countries, that had suddenly shifted to producing war goods such as weapons. Cotton textile exports, for example, rose by 185 per cent between 1914 and 1918. This led to a shortage of workers and therefore higher wages to attract and keep them. More rural poor relocated to the cities for these factory jobs. In 1920, however, the economy severely shrank as demand for Japanese exports diminished; the USA and other countries resumed full production after the First World War. This meant that millions were suddenly unemployed, reducing their spending power and unable to send money to their rural relatives. Those who owned farmland responded to the lack of demand for farm goods by reducing farm labour. Since the majority of farmers owned no land or only tiny plots, they were negatively affected by every economic downturn.

SOURCE R

Excerpt from *Japanese Diplomacy in a Dilemma: New Light on Japan's China Policy, 1924–1929* by Nobuya Bamba, published by University of British Columbia Press, Vancouver, Canada, 1972, pp. 61–2. Bamba specializes in diplomatic and intellectual history of Japan and is a professor at Tsuda College, Tokyo, Japan.

The effects of the depression were observed in villages as well as in cities. This period is often called the period of 'agrarian panic.' Peasants suffered from the steady decline of farm prices. The price of rice, for example, taking the average for three years from 1911 to 1913 as 100, was 114 in 1925, but dropped to 98 in the next year and to 87 in 1928. The general index of farm prices declined from 118 in 1925 to 93 in 1928. In terms of actual income, the average price of one sack of rice cost only about 6–7 yen in 1928. This meant that about 40 percent of the agrarian population earned less than 60 yen from the rice crop after having paid rent to the landlord. This was worse than even the lowest income group of urban workers.

An earthquake and fire destroyed most of Tokyo, Japan's capital, in 1923. The government encouraged banks to lend money at low interest for the rebuilding of Tokyo and other cities. There were suddenly more jobs in construction and factories. With more income, workers spent more on food, clothing and luxuries.

This relative prosperity collapsed again in 1927 with bank failures that resulted from the earlier low-interest loans of 1923. Many who had borrowed to rebuild could not afford to pay the banks. Banks that did not collapse mostly stopped loaning money, even to businesses that required temporary loans for business operations. The economy rapidly contracted, leading to huge numbers of unemployed workers and impoverished farmer labourers. Skilled workers such as mechanics, electricians and carpenters suffered approximately 7.5 per cent unemployment, while over 40 per cent of unskilled workers were also unemployed. Japan's government was unable to address this economic crisis successfully. Then, in late 1929, the Great Depression occurred.

Read Source R. What was the effect of economic decline in Japan on agricultural workers?



What was the most significant political result of the Great Depression for Japan?

→ The Great Depression

The Great Depression was a major economic downturn for much of the world. It started in 1929 in the USA and soon spread to other countries. Many countries raised **trade barriers** so that their factories would not compete with those of other states. This meant that Japan, a country that relied on exports, was practically shut off from the USA, its greatest trading partner.

SOURCE S

Excerpt from *A Time of Crisis: Japan, the Great Depression and Rural Revitalization* by Kerry Smith, published by Harvard University Asia Center, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, USA, 2001, pp. 51–2. Smith is an associate professor of history at Brown University in the USA.

The textile industry was hit especially hard, and its experience offers one of the clearest indications of the global market's effects on the domestic economy and on the countryside in particular. Japanese silk that had sold in New York for \$5.25 a pound in September 1929 went for \$2.50 thirteen months later. Producers kept on making the thread, and exporters kept on selling it abroad, but they made far less money doing so than they had before the start of the America's depression. The dollar value of silk thread exports to the United States fell by almost a third between 1929 and 1931 and by 1934 was less than 25 percent of what it had been five years before. Domestic prices for silk cocoons followed suit, with obviously consequences for the many Japanese farm households that relied on sericulture [silk production] for some or all of their income.

Japan's **gross national product (GNP)** declined by approximately twenty per cent between 1929 and 1931 and stocks on the Tokyo Stock Market lost half their value. Fifty per cent of small- and medium-sized businesses closed permanently. Exports fell by over 40 per cent and unemployment increased dramatically. With fewer consumers of agricultural products, agriculture prices declined by 45 per cent between 1929 and 1931, leaving farmers, most of whom did not own land, in worse conditions than ever before. Landless farmers could not afford manufactured goods and therefore factories remained closed or at severely reduced rates of production.

Unemployment and hunger led to political unrest. There were strikes, riots and a surge in popularity of communist (see page 38) and other groups that demanded a restructuring of government and society. The government crushed many strikes, arresting tens of thousands, but negotiated compromises between striking or terminated workers and factory owners in others. It was clear to most that the governing system simply did not function for the majority of Japanese people: workers and landless farmers. It did, however, function for the *zaibatsu* (see page 32). As banks and other industries collapsed, their share of the economy increased, as it had during earlier crises.



How did the Great Depression affect silk prices according to Source S?



KEY TERM

Trade barriers Means of restricting trade with other countries, usually by placing high taxes on foreign imports so that domestic goods can be sold more cheaply.

Gross national product (GNP) The value of all goods and services produced by the citizens of a state over one year.

SOURCE T

Japanese farmers' annual income in yen. From *Democratization and Expansionism: Historical Lessons, Contemporary Challenges*, Masayo Ohara, published by Praeger, Westport, Connecticut, USA, 2001, p. 117. The author is an assistant professor in the Department of International Studies at Tokyo Jogakkhan College, Japan.

| Year | Owned land | Rented land |
|------|------------|-------------|
| 1926 | 1598 | 987 |
| 1927 | 1421 | 987 |
| 1928 | 1394 | 923 |
| 1929 | 1366 | 874 |
| 1930 | 837 | 579 |
| 1931 | 641 | 449 |
| 1932 | 703 | 538 |
| 1933 | 838 | 617 |
| 1934 | 837 | 612 |
| 1935 | 954 | 683 |

Analyse Source T. How much did farm incomes decline between 1926 and 1931 for both those farmers who owned land and those who rented?

**SOURCE U**

Excerpt from *Fifty Years of Light and Dark: The Hirohito Era* by the staff of the *Mainichi Daily News*, *The Mainichi Newspapers*, Tokyo, Japan, 1975, p. 25. *Mainichi Shimbun*, or *Daily News*, has been published since 1872 and is one of the largest media companies in contemporary Japan.

[During the start of the Great Depression], the number of banks shrank from 1,300 to some 700. Big banks, including Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo, Daiichi and Yasuda, strengthened their oligopolistic hold on Japan's economy. The formidable Zaibatsu were steadily solidifying their financial grip on the nation's economic world.

Suffering under persistent depression, the public found its target of patriotic resentment in the large-scale 'buy dollar' policy pursued by Zaibatsu, especially Mitsui, in the second half of 1931. The powerful industrial-financial concern, anticipating the impending ban on gold export, went ahead to buy US dollars on a grand scale ... But patriots and patriotically-inclined press called the Zaibatsu managers 'traitors of the nation' who had handed out national currencies en masse 'in exchange for white men's money.' The government collapsed in the face of public outbursts ...

According to Source U, why were zaibatsu labelled as traitors by some?



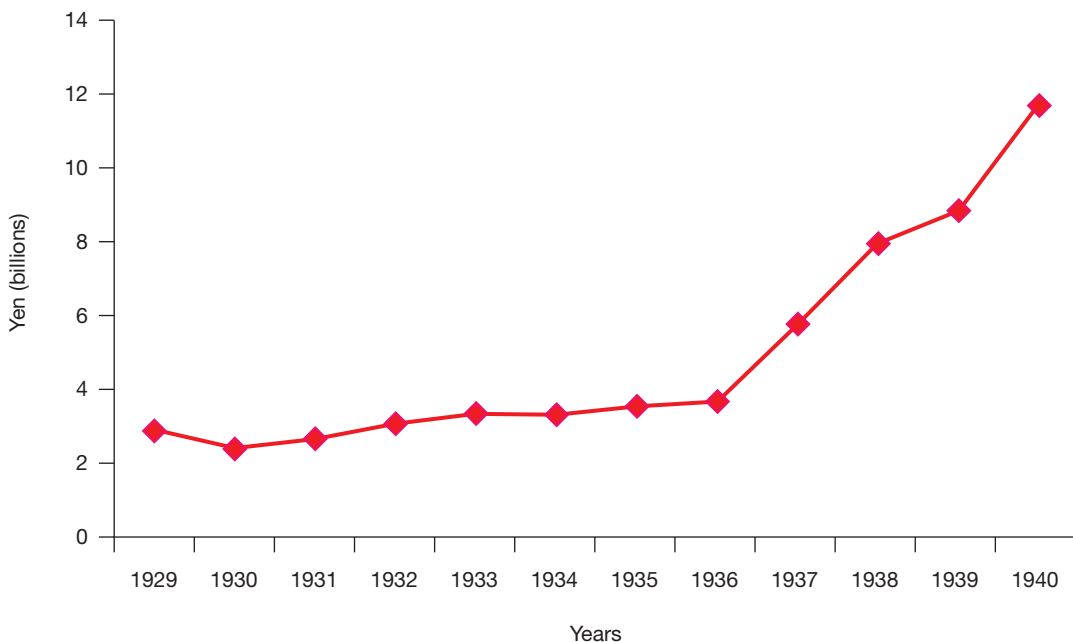
Japan struggled to create a national policy to deal with the economic crisis. There were efforts to reduce the debt of farmers and to spend government funds in building infrastructure, so that workers would have salaries to spend. There were even plans to send landless peasants and unemployed workers in the cities to Manchuria. This last idea was not accomplished in any magnitude until after 1936. Meanwhile, the government worked to reduce spending to alleviate the tax burden on its citizens and to prevent

having to import products and raw materials that it simply could not afford. This policy would change in 1936 with the assassination of the finance minister responsible for this policy, in the 26 February Incident (see page 40); he was replaced by a military appointee. Military needs came to dominate the government.

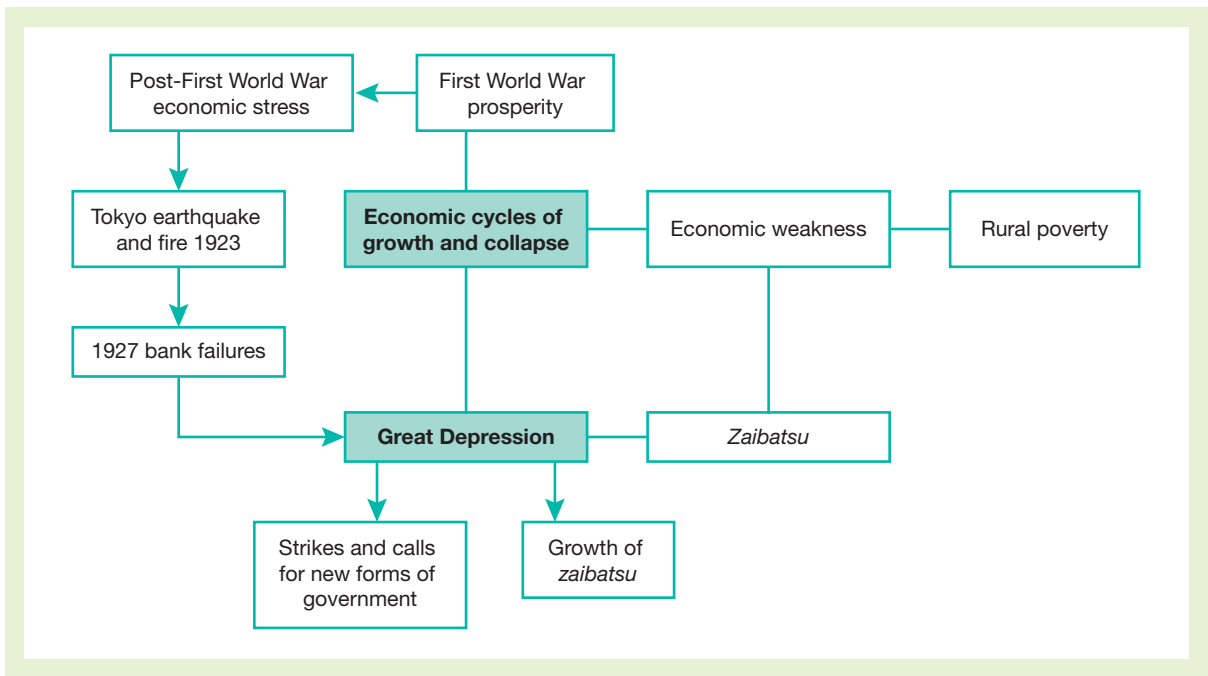
The military-controlled government adopted a twelve-year plan in 1936 to modernize and expand the armed forces. Spending would continue to increase dramatically with the expansion of the military and further war (see page 72). Military production put new stresses on Japan as the state had few natural resources and exported fewer consumer products to pay for imported materials. Eventually, there were labour shortages. Part of the solution to this was to acquire more territory to supply the war economy. Acquiring more territory led directly to more war.

SOURCE V

Military spending in billions of yen 1929–40. Information from the *Dilemmas of Growth in Pre-war Japan* edited by James William Morley, published by Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1971, p. 250. Morley is professor emeritus of political science at Columbia University, New York, USA.



How much more was spent on Japan's military in 1940 than in 1930, according to Source V?

**SUMMARY DIAGRAM**

Economic and political issues

4 Domestic instability and foreign affairs

▶ **Key question:** How did instability contribute to Japan's domestic and foreign policy?

Economic crises led to instability. The old governing system established by the Meiji Constitution had simply not led to stable economic conditions for the majority of Japan's people. Additionally, the government was unable to create policies to address the Great Depression. China's instability and Japanese interests in Manchuria and other areas meant that there was also a struggle over foreign policy, which was tightly connected to Japan's domestic affairs.

Instability: domestic

Japan's governing system was extremely complex. Some of those complexities included:

- Military authorities had direct access to the Emperor.
- The cabinet worked for the Emperor and could not be removed by the Diet.
- All ministers had to agree to a particular policy or the policy could not be enacted.

← How did the organization of the Japanese government benefit the military?

- The lower house of the Diet, the House of Representatives, was responsible for taxation and budgets and could block funding if it disagreed with policies.
- The House of Peers in the Diet often worked against the cabinet and House of Representatives since many of its members were former cabinet members that disagreed on policies.
- The Privy Council and its *genrō* (see page 29) had direct access to and communicated for the Emperor; they had veto power over all government issues.

There were also a great number and variety of political parties, ideologies and even divisions within the army and navy. Much of this struggle centred on social, economic and military policy. The one constant in the entire system was the Emperor, who had ultimate authority, often exercised through the *genrō*.

The diverse and complex government managed to survive throughout the 1920s. This was accomplished through compromise between political factions, suppressing dissent through laws and prison terms, and occasional economic growth. The Great Depression was the crisis that demonstrated clearly that the system was unworkable.

Communism

Communism appealed to the millions of unemployed urban workers, although actual Communist Party membership was very small. Communist, or Marxist, political philosophy advocated the overthrow of all social and economic classes, a complete reordering of society and an end to capitalism. Under communism, all people should be completely equal, have the same rights and receive the same of everything; all property should be owned collectively by all the people. Under the Peace Protection Law of 1925, but amended in 1928 to allow for execution, the government could arrest anyone who wanted to change the governmental system. This clearly meant communists and related **socialists**; over 1000 Japanese advocates of communism or socialism were arrested in 1928.

SOURCE W

Excerpt from *Shōwa: An Inside History of Hirohito's Japan* by Tessa Morris-Suzuki, published by Schocken Books, New York, USA, 1985, p. 166. Morris-Suzuki is a professor in culture, history and language at Australian National University, coordinator of the journal *Asia Rights* and past president of the Asian Studies Association of Australia.

When the first election under the new system of [universal] manhood suffrage was held in 1928, four left-wing [socialist or communist related] parties, one of them closely linked to the Japanese Communist Party, put up candidates. Between them, they won eight seats [in the Diet]: a result which was sufficient to alarm the authorities into redoubling their efforts at suppression. Within a month of the election, over one thousand left-wing sympathizers had been arrested under the Peace Preservation Laws.

KEY TERM

Socialists People who believe that society should be as equal as possible financially and in terms of political rights.



According to Source W, how did government authorities react to the increasing popularity of left-wing political groups?

From Russian Empire to Soviet Union

The Russian Empire collapsed in stages, starting in February 1917 as a result of political, economic and social stresses from the First World War. The army removed the Tsar in February and established a temporary government to solve the country's problems while it continued fighting the war. This military-supported government was overthrown in October 1917 by a group of communists known as the Bolsheviks, and soon the country was in civil war. By 1921, the communists had won; the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, or Soviet Union, had formed out of the former Russian Empire; and at least 8 million people had died.

In the world's first communist country, private ownership (of land, businesses and housing, for example) was banned. The state theoretically controlled all assets for the good of all. Millions of former landowners, educated professionals, such as doctors, teachers, lawyers and engineers, government workers and more were imprisoned, exiled or executed. Many countries were alarmed as communist rebellions briefly erupted in Germany and Hungary at the end of the First World War. The Soviet Union encouraged the spread of communism through groups in Europe and Asia. Communism required a complete overthrow of existing governing structures and economic systems, and the destruction of religion. This caused world governments such as Japan's to see the Soviet Union as a major military threat.

Perhaps more importantly, the Soviet Union was the world's only communist state. It bordered Korea (which had been annexed to Japan in 1905; see page 22) as well as the arguably more important Manchuria, where Japan had many interests. Suppression of communism in Japan was part of a larger policy to oppose the Soviet Union.

The Shōwa Restoration

Some conservative members of society wanted to give the **Shōwa Emperor** full power. They called for him to rule directly without a parliament, ministers, a Privy Council or even the *zaibatsu*. Without their influence on policies, they would therefore lose control. This response to the economic and governing crisis was popular with rural farmers, who suffered greatly in times of economic crisis. They believed that the Emperor could and should remove corruption, *zaibatsu*, and anything else that kept the people from being prosperous and safe. With many on the verge of starvation and without the possibility of moving to cities for work, since there were no jobs available, many joined the growing military. Once in the military, they were a powerful, conservative force and were able to support young, ultranationalist officers who held similar views.

Military factions

The military was internally divided. One group was called Tōseiha, or the Control Faction, and they wanted to reform Japan's government rather than destroy it. These reforms would ally the army with the *zaibatsu* and

KEY TERM

Shōwa Emperor Grandson of the Meiji Emperor and often called by his personal name, Hirohito, outside Japan. He was preceded by the short reign of his mentally ill father, the Taishō Emperor.

government officials, suppress political parties, have the government tightly control the economy, and prepare the nation for eventual total war with China and possibly other states.

More radical factions, including Sakurakai (the Cherry Blossom Society) and Kōdōha (the Imperial Way Faction), wanted complete destruction of all political parties, as well as the *zaibatsu* and the government generally, in line with the idea of a Shōwa Restoration. They wanted direct rule from the Emperor, which would destroy what they viewed as a corrupt and incompetent governing system. They also wanted war with the Soviet Union and elimination of socialist and communist groups. Communism was a huge threat in their view as it advocated an end to the institution of Emperor, religion and other aspects of Japanese society and culture. These radical factions attempted a series of *coups d'état*:

- 1931: *March Incident* by Sakurakai; failed when the minister of war failed to support the Sakurakai soldiers.
- 1931: *October Incident* by Sakurakai; failed when the plot was discovered and the leaders were arrested.
- 1932: *League of Blood Incident* by radical nationalist civilians and young naval officers; assassinated the leader of Mitsui *zaibatsu* and a former finance minister.
- 1932: *15 May Incident* by League of Blood members and sympathizers; assassinated Prime Minister Inukai; attempted to kill other important officials.
- 1935, August: *Aizawa Incident* of August 1935; anti-Kōdōha General Nagata.
- 1936: *26 February Incident* by Kōdōha and other young officers; attempted to take control of the Emperor and have him abolish Japan's government; several high-ranking officials were killed; collapsed when the Emperor refused to support them.

As a result of turmoil within the army, the government increasingly turned to other army and naval officers. By turning to Tōseiha, the more radical elements could be opposed. The Tōseiha faction – now supported by the Emperor, the Privy Council, the cabinet, the Diet and the *zaibatsu*, mainly out of fear of other, more radical army factions – essentially took control of the government. This meant reorganization of the economy, suppression of political parties and dissent, expansion of military spending (see page 36) and war.

The government also worked to avoid any conflict with the Soviet Union. An indication of the strengthening of the military's political position is clear in the appointment of prime ministers from the army and navy. Between 1932 and December 1941, Japan had nine different men serve as prime ministers. Six of these were admirals or generals from the armed forces.

SOURCE X

Excerpt from *Emperor Hirohito and His Chief Aide-de-Camp: The Honjō Diary, 1933–36* by Honjō Shigeru, translated by Mikiso Hane, published by University of Tokyo Press, Tokyo, Japan, 1982, p. 173. Honjō was head of the Kwantung Army of Japan from 1931 to 1932 and later served as the military's liaison with Japan's Emperor until 1936. Mikiso Hane was an internationally renowned historian on Japanese history and was a professor at Knox College in the USA from 1961 to 1992.

March 2 [1936]: His Majesty [Emperor Hirohito] summoned me after 11:00 a.m. and said, 'Soon [genrō] Saionji will come to the capital, and a new cabinet must be chosen. It seems that the army's conditions concerning cabinet members continue to be rigid. It appears to be aggressive about policy matters too. Unless the military's wishes are taken into consideration, another incident like the recent [26 February] affair might break out again. For this reason, I would like to take the army's desires into careful consideration, but excessively radical changes would conflict with the state of the society as a whole. We must act with extreme caution. I, too, am pulled in two directions about this. The military may justifiably demand a strong national defense program, but it steps out of bounds when it moves into the area of national economy and calls for the distribution of wealth. When you confer with the high-ranking army officers you should keep this in mind.'

SOURCE Y

Excerpt from *The Age of Hirohito: In Search of Modern Japan* by Daikichi Irokawa, published by The Free Press, New York, 1995, pp. 8–9. The author is a professor at Tokyo Keizai University and has published books on Japanese history and culture in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Because of such conditions at the lower levels of society, the military could take advantage of the unemployed, impoverished youth and the spiritually exhausted Japanese people to wage its aggressive adventures on the Asian continent. The move to expand the empire also appealed to the struggling financial community, which hoped new markets on the continent would end the Depression, and to an ambitious group of politicians who aspired to a stronger power base.

According to Source X, how did Emperor Hirohito attempt to limit military demands?



According to Source Y, why was the move by the military to expand Japan's Empire popular with the poor?



Instability: foreign affairs

Although there was supposedly a national government in China, the reality was that regional warlords ran practically independent states within China's boundaries. This, of course, prevented a single national policy when a foreign power threatened.

The Warlord Era

Between 1916 and 1928, China was in a state of civil war, as it was loosely divided into regions controlled by warlords. In southern China, there were seven major warlord groups, plus the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), based primarily in the cities. In northern China, there were three major

How did China's internal problems affect Japan's foreign affairs?

groups that competed for power and territory. These groups were supported and opposed by a host of smaller warlords, battling on and off throughout these years. Eventually, the warlord Zhang Zoulin, based in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia, would become the most powerful of these groups.

Manchuria

Under Zhang Zoulin's rule, Manchuria declared independence in 1922 and was relatively isolated from the wars that consumed other parts of China. Zhang's army was also substantial, bringing peace to the region. Eventually, Zhang captured Beijing, the former capital of the Qing Dynasty, and other areas in northern China. He allowed Japan to continue developing railways, mills, mines and other businesses in Manchuria and in return Japan's government supported Zhang. Japan's **Kwantung Army** officers, many of whom advocated a Shōwa Restoration and were members of the Kōdōha faction, decided that the government's policy of allowing Zhang a large army and autonomy was wrong and assassinated Zhang in 1928. The army officers' motives were so popular with many in the military and civilian population that the government was unable and unwilling to punish the army's insubordination (see page 44).



KEY TERM

Kwantung Army Japan's most elite military unit before the Second World War, stationed in the Liaodong Peninsula, next to Manchuria.

Kuomintang China's main political group, also known as the Guomindang, or Nationalists.

SOURCE Z

Excerpt from *The Age of Hirohito: In Search of Modern Japan* by Daikichi Irokawa, published by The Free Press, New York City, USA, 1995, p. 13. The author is a professor at Tokyo Keizai University and has published books on Japanese history and culture in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

By cleverly making use of right-wing [Kōdōha] power in the military and political arenas but keeping a safe distance from the extreme rightists, a group of pragmatic military officers known as Tōseiha and government bureaucrats linked with the new and old zaibatsu then seeking to make the Asian continent their base of operations. This faction set out to free Japan from economic depression by pursuing a course of aggression.

To further their objectives, they assassinated Zhang Zuolin, and in the same year imprisoned several thousand communists and labor leaders.

Southern China and the end of the warlords

After years of war and division, the **Kuomintang** (KMT), or Nationalist, political party was able to unite various factions by increasing Chinese nationalism as the result of anti-Chinese discrimination by foreigners living and working in China. At this time the KMT announced that it supported the anti-foreign movement and, having made an earlier alliance with the CCP, now had enough strength to defeat rival warlords. From 1926 until 1928, the KMT conquered various warlords, broke its alliance with the CCP and attacked it. The Nationalists brought most of China under their control through a military campaign called the Northern Expedition, which took two-and-a-half years and involved over 1 million troops.



According to Source Z, what did the *zaibatsu* hope to do with an Asian empire?

The Japanese Kwantung Army officers who assassinated Zhang hoped to weaken Manchuria's administration to such an extent that they would have to take control of the country to restore order. This would allow Japan to annex Manchuria outright, a policy not supported by their government. It had the opposite effect. Zhang's successor, his son, soon allied himself with the KMT and brought Manchuria officially back into a newly united China.

A newly united China

The results of the KMT's Northern Expedition included the following:

- destruction of railways, bridges and other important components of national infrastructure
- a famine in northwest China that killed between 3 million and 6 million people
- isolation of China from a powerful potential ally, the communist Soviet Union, by attacking the CCP, which was sponsored by the Soviets.

This basic unification meant that China could act as a single state. **Chiang Kai-shek** became the Director of the State Council, the equivalent to the position of president. China was strengthened by economic and political reorganization, although these were put into disarray by Japan's aggression in early 1930s (see pages 56 and 65). Additionally, the CCP survived the KMT's attempt to destroy it, creating conditions for further internal conflict.

Japan's foreign policy towards China up to 1931

Japan's foreign policy after the First World War through to 1927 was based on negotiation and working within the confines of international diplomacy. As such, Japan signed various treaties (see page 28) and worked to not antagonize the USA or China. Japan stationed some troops to protect its interests in Manchuria and in various port cities in China, but these had been agreed to by treaties, even if they were unpopular in Japan. This was known as the period of 'Shidehara Diplomacy', named after a Japanese Foreign Minister, Kijūrō Shidehara, who promoted the use of diplomacy instead of military actions.

In 1927, at the height of the Northern Expedition, this policy changed. Not only did the Japanese prefer a weak, divided China, they were alarmed at the rapid success of Chiang Kai-shek and the KMT. Troops were sent to occupy the Shantung Peninsula, where Japan had long interests and investments (see page 24). They were also there to support Zhang Zuolin, the soon-to-be-assassinated warlord of Manchuria. It was hoped that a large Japanese force on the Shantung Peninsula would prevent an invasion of Manchuria by the KMT. With Zhang's assassination, this no longer mattered.

The Positive Policy towards China was adopted by Japan's government in 1927. Essentially, this meant that Japan would treat Manchuria as a special

KEY TERM

Chiang Kai-shek (1887–1975) Leading military and political ruler of China after 1925, dominating the Kuomintang political party.

← **To what extent did Japan's policies towards China change by 1931?**

case and not related to its other concerns in the rest of China. It also meant that Japan was no longer interested in the international community's input regarding Manchuria because it was felt that their policies aimed to keep Japan weak, and that foreign states simply could not comprehend Japan's needs and interests or its mission of leading Asia.

SOURCE AA

Excerpt from *Emperor Hirohito and Shōwa Japan: A Political Biography* by Stephen S. Large, published by Routledge, New York, USA, 1992, pp. 35–6. Large is a historian whose books have concentrated on biographies of Japan's recent emperors and socialist politics in Japan in the early twentieth century.

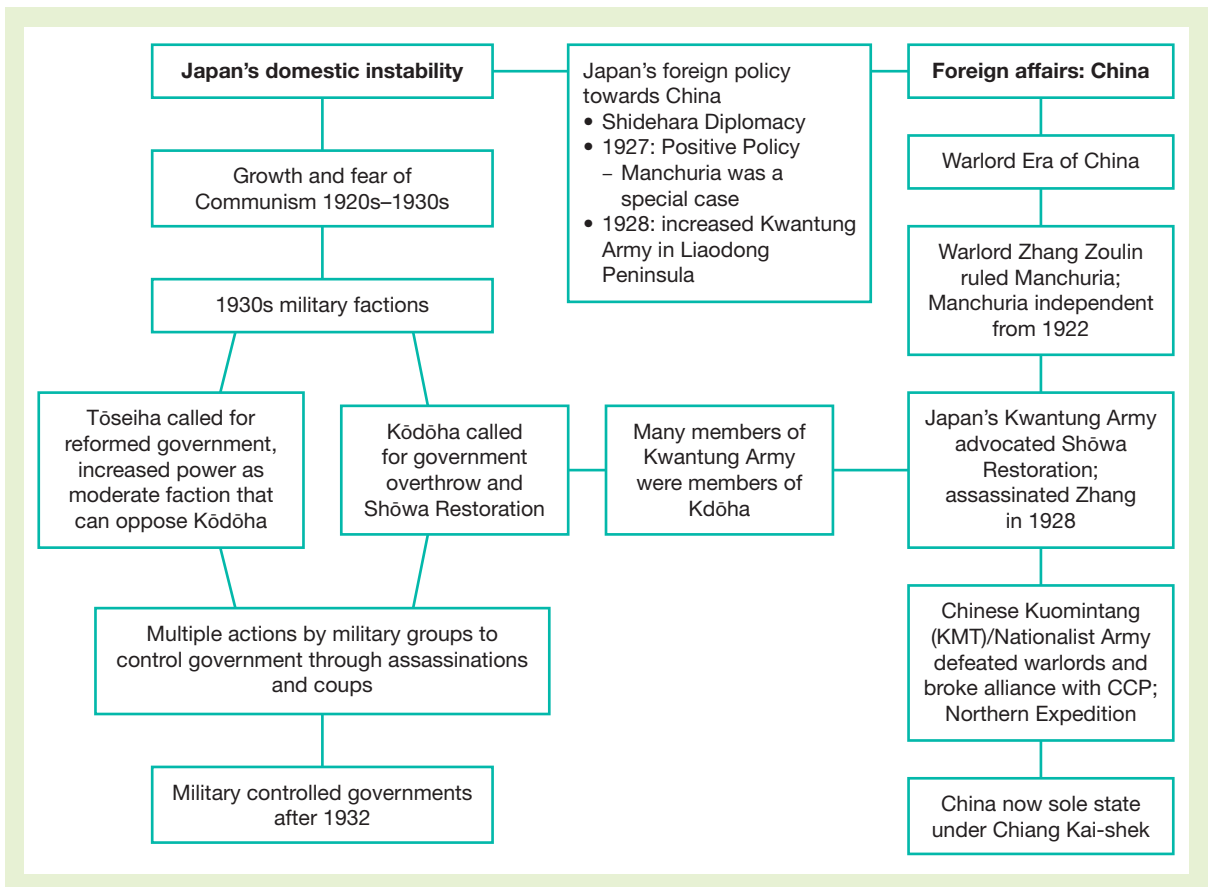
The Emperor, Saionji and Shidehara were eager to prevent any further conflict in north China which might spill over into Japan's sphere of influence in south Manchuria. [Prime Minister] Tanaka, it must be said, fully agreed with this and accordingly urged Chang Tso-lin [Zhang Zuolin] to evacuate the region and retire to Manchuria, his original power base, lest [he] become embroiled in a military confrontation with Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist [KMT] forces in north China. Tanaka believed that Chang's forces and Japanese interests could co-exist in Manchuria.

But this was not the view of the Kwantung Army, which pressed Tanaka to authorize at least the disarming of Chang's troops as he moved north. When Tanaka refused, Colonel Kōmoto Daisaku, a staff officer in the Kwantung Army, and several associates, plotted Chang's assassination which they would attribute to Chinese 'bandits'. They hoped that this course of action would stiffen the Japanese government's resolve to render Japan's position in Manchuria impregnable. In this, they were to be disappointed.

The Kwantung Army, Japan's elite armed forces, was stationed in the Liaodong Peninsula to safeguard Japan's installations and investments there as it bordered Korea, Japan's colony. After Zhang's assassination in 1928, this army was increased in size as it was realized that a united China might challenge Japan over aspects of Manchuria and the Liaodong Peninsula. The insubordinate officers and others who supported them were not replaced. They continued to believe that their policies and ideas regarding Manchuria were essential for Japan's long-term needs. Japan's government decided to replace the Kwantung Army's leadership to bring this military unit under government control. Hours before the new general was to take charge of the Kwantung Army, the Manchurian Crisis occurred.



According to Source AA, what did the Kwantung Army and prime minister Tanaka disagree about?

**SUMMARY DIAGRAM**

Japan's domestic instability and foreign affairs

Chapter summary

Causes of expansion

In the nineteenth century, Japan underwent mass industrialization and rapid modernization. By the early twentieth century it was a major military and political power in global affairs. The political system created by the Meiji Constitution was relatively stable initially, but with increasing economic problems, including rural

poverty, the system became unworkable. By using the Meiji Constitution, the military had direct access to the Emperor and bypassed an increasingly weak civilian government that was unable to manage the country's crises. The military and their supporters believed that solutions for Japan's problems were not just military control over domestic politics, but also the creation of a larger empire at the expense of a weak China. The main focus of Japan's military and allied industrialists, the *zaibatsu*, was increasingly the Chinese province of Manchuria.

Examination advice I

Remember that questions for prescribed subject 3 will be numbered 9, 10, 11 and 12 in the Paper 1 exam.

Paper 1 Question 9: how to answer direct questions

Question 9 on the IB History Diploma examination is in two parts 9a and 9b. Each part involves reading comprehension and simply asks you to tell the examiner what the sources say. Each of the questions will ask only about one source. You will often see questions that ask you to convey the message or meaning of a source. This is asking you to explain what the source is saying.

Question 9 requires no prior knowledge, just the ability to read and understand sources. When you start your examination, you will receive five minutes of 'reading time' when you cannot actually touch your pen and start writing. Use the time wisely and read Question 9a to see which source it is asking about. Once you understand which source the question is about, read the source and then think of your response. When the five minutes are up, you may begin writing and you should be ready to answer the question immediately.

Question 9 is worth 5 marks out of the total of 24 for all of Paper 1. This means it is worth about twenty per cent of the overall mark. Answering Questions 9a and 9b should take five minutes or less of the actual examination time.

How to answer

In order to best answer the question, you first have to determine what the question is asking you about the source and what type of source it is. The vast majority of sources are fragments of speeches, quotes from various historians or historical figures, or any other type of written source. However, questions may also be asked about visual sources, such as photographs, charts, maps, cartoons and diagrams.

When you start your answer, it is good practice to use the wording in the question to help you focus your answer. For example:

| Question | Begin your answer with: |
|--|--|
| According to Source <i>n</i> , what is the significance of the Washington Naval Treaty for Japan? | The significance of the Washington Naval Treaty, according to Source <i>n</i> , is ... |
| What was the importance of the military in Japanese politics, according to Source <i>n</i> ? | The importance of the military, according to Source <i>n</i> , was ... |
| What were Emperor Hirohito's beliefs about the military's role in government, according to Source <i>n</i> ? | According to Source <i>n</i> , the Emperor believed the military ... |

After starting your answer, understand that you should paraphrase what the original source stated. This means you should explain what the source says, but in your own words. Sometimes this is impossible because the words used in the source may be so specific that there is no other way to restate them. If this occurs, make sure you put quotation marks around the phrases which you are copying from the source.

The total number of marks available for Question 9 is 5. One part is worth 3 marks and the other 2 and this will be clearly indicated on the examination. If a question is worth 2 marks, try to have at least two specific points to your answer. If a question is worth 3 marks, have at least three points.

Example

This question uses Sources D (page 14) and I (page 21).

- a) According to Source D, why was the Restoration needed in Japan? (3 marks)
- b) What is the message conveyed in Source I? (2 marks)

It has just been announced that your reading time has begun on the IB History Paper 1 examination. Find the Paper 1 questions for the prescribed subject 'The move to global war' and read Question 9a. It asks you to explain what Source D indicates about the need for a 'Restoration'. You cannot touch your pen for several minutes, so go to Source D in the booklet and read it. Once you are allowed to pick up your pen and start writing, do so. Below is a good sample answer for the questions for 9a and 9b:

9a) According to Source D, the Restoration of the Emperor to full power was needed to change Japanese society. First, it would remove 'materialism', the desire to accumulate objects and wealth. Second, it would bring the people of Japan and the Emperor closer together. This would, third, allow Japan to become Asia's leader.

9b) The message conveyed in Source I is to indicate the bravery of Japan's troops while depicting the enemy Russians as either cowards or overwhelmed by Japan's expertly exploded bombs.

Each answer repeats part of the question, using phrases such as 'According to Source D' and 'The message conveyed in Source I is.' This helps the answer focus on the question.

Both sources are paraphrased in the answers.

Questions 9a and 9b are worth a combined 5 marks. Both answers indicate that the student read and understood what each source stated. Question 9a is worth 3 marks. The answer for 9a contains at least three different points to address the question. Question 9b is worth 2 marks. The answer has more than two points to answer the question. Mark: 5/5.

Both questions are answered in paragraph form and not bullet points.



Examination practice I

The following are exam-style questions for you to practise, using sources from the chapter. Sources can be found on the following pages:

Source A: Page 10

Source E: Page 16

Source H: Page 20

Source L: Page 24

Source O: Page 28

Source Q: Page 32

Source R: Page 33

Source S: Page 34

Source X: Page 41

Source Y: Page 41

- 1 What, according to Source A, is the Emperor's relationship to the Diet, Japan's parliament?
- 2 What is the message of Source E?
- 3 What is the message of Source H?
- 4 According to Source L, why was Japan considered different from other modern states?
- 5 What, according to Source O, was the significance of the Washington Naval Conference?
- 6 How, according to Source Q, did the *zaibatsu* influence Japan's government?
- 7 What, according to Source R, was the effect of the Great Depression on peasants?
- 8 How, according to Source S, was Japan's silk production industry affected by the Great Depression?
- 9 What, according to Source X, concerned Emperor Hirohito with reference to the army?
- 10 Why, according to Source Y, were the military's policies appealing to many?



Examination advice II

Remember that questions for prescribed subject 3 will be numbered 9, 10, 11 and 12 in the Paper 1 exam.

Paper I Question 10: value and limitations based on origin, purpose and content

Question 10 on the IB History Diploma examination requires you to discuss the origin and purpose of one source and then to use that information to determine its potential value and limitations. The question always asks you to refer to the origin, purpose and the content provided to assess its value and limitations for historians. Some knowledge of the topic, value of types of sources or historians can be useful, although this is not required.

Question 10 is worth 4 marks out of the 24 total for Paper 1. This means it is worth seventeen per cent of your overall mark. Answering Question 10 should take approximately ten minutes of your examination time.

How to answer

Read Question 10 carefully. You will notice that it is asking you to analyse the value and limitations of a source for historians studying a particular event or action in history. These are to be determined by referencing the origin, purpose and content of the source. You should address Question 10 in a paragraph.

Structure will help you in answering the question. Incorporate the words origin, purpose, content, value and limitation into your answer:

- 'The origin of Source B is ...'
- 'the content of Source B indicates ...'
- 'the purpose of Source B is ...'
- 'a limitation of this source may be ...'.
- 'the value of this source is ...'

This keeps you focused on the task, making sure you cover all the required elements, but also helps the examiner understand your answers by providing a framework that they can follow.

It is important to remember that you are to use the origins, purpose and content to determine the value and limitations of the named source for historians studying something in particular.

Origin

The origin of a source is the author, the type of publication, the year it was published, and sometimes the country it originates from. If there is biographical information included as part of the source's introduction, this may also be used in addressing the source's origin. If only the author is stated, then the origin is simply the author or authors.

Purpose

The purpose of a source is usually indicated by the source's title, the type of source, the writer or speaker, if it is a speech, or the location of the source, such as in a newspaper, an academic book or a journal. Purposes can range from speeches (that try to convince certain groups or nations that what the speaker is saying is the truth), to documents that explain the history of a certain period. If a book's title is *The League of Nations' Mandates and Japan*, the purpose of this particular source is likely to be to explain the League of Nations and Japan's mandates after the First World War. If you are making a hypothesis regarding the purpose, use words such as 'perhaps', 'likely' or 'possibly' instead of stating your theory as a fact. The content may help determine the purpose.

Content

The content of a source, especially if the source is a speech, a cartoon or an official document of some sort, may help determine the purpose as well as any value or limitation. An official statement by a prime minister of Japan could potentially include important details for a historian studying Japan's economic crises during the 1920s, such as statistics, dates, locations and the names of officials.

The content of larger works by historians may be more difficult to use to determine the source's value and limitations. Historians tend to discuss historical events, emphasizing various pieces of evidence while ignoring or explaining away other details. Use the content to help explain the value and limitations of the source for historians, but do so with care. Use words like 'possibly' and 'perhaps' if you are not completely sure about your hypothesis.

Value

The value of a source flows naturally from the origins, purpose and content. For instance, imagine there is a book called *Japanese Militarism in the Late 1920s* that was written by an army official who served during that period. The value will be that the writer probably witnessed or participated in certain events, perhaps supporting or resisting various military factions working to control the government. This individual might have even met and spoken with other participants, including those who made important decisions. This would give the author first-hand knowledge regarding the establishment of a military-dominated government by 1931.

If the author wrote the book 70 years later, rather than the 1920s, it could be that this individual has access to records from that period. This would mean that the author might have a less emotional and more objective view of Japanese politics, economic crises and foreign policy, and therefore is better able to determine the long-term effect of decisions and actions of the period.

Your answer will have to be determined by the origin, purpose and content of the source you are asked to discuss. Do not state that primary sources have more value than secondary sources; this is not necessarily true.

Limitation

The limitation of a source is determined in much the same way that you determined the source's value. If the writer of *Japanese Militarism in the Late 1920s* is Japanese, the writer is likely to have more access to Japanese sources than a non-Japanese historian because of the language. Likewise, a Japanese historian is unlikely to have easy or any access to Chinese or other archives. This means that a Japanese historian's views might be limited or unbalanced as a result of this lack of access. Therefore, you can use the word 'possibly' in trying to determine the limitation of a source, unless the source gives you other information to clarify your theory.

There are other ways to determine possible limitations of a source:

- The title of the source may be of a limited nature or too broad for the topic.
- The date of publication, if given, may be limiting if it is too close to or far from the historical events.
- A source that is political in nature may be trying to advocate a certain view or policy instead of being objective.
- The content of the source may clearly indicate bias, such as advocating a specific view while possibly attacking another potential view of the historical event or individual.

Do not state that sources are limited because they are secondary sources; this may not always be true.

Visual images

Visual sources will have information explaining their origin; the content of a photograph is critically important as well. Remember that photographs can capture a single moment in time so that they can show exactly what happened, but they can also be staged to send a particular message.

A photograph of smiling Manchurians standing with Japanese soldiers captures a moment when they were either genuinely happy or told to smile, perhaps not knowing even what they were smiling about. Cartoons, posters and even photographs often have a political message. The purpose of any of these could potentially be to convince the viewer of a certain point of view. Another purpose could be to make fun of a particular idea or person for some other reason. Further information on visual sources can be found on page 88.

Example

This question uses Source O (see page 28).

With reference to its origins, purpose and content, analyse the value and limitations of Source O for historians studying Japanese militarism. (4 marks)

You will immediately turn to Source O and read that it is an excerpt from an autobiographical book by Ozaki Yukio. There is no need to plan an outline for this question because the structure of your answer is indicated by the question, so get started.

The value of source O for historians studying militarism is that it is an account written by someone personally involved in the struggle to maintain Japan's constitutional government as indicated by the stated origin and purpose. As such, he would have potentially witnessed and/or participated in events regarding the rising power of Japan's military. The content of the source clearly indicates that Mr Ozaki was crucially important to events as he is held personally responsible and called names, again meaning that he worked against Japanese militarism personally, further indicating that this is indeed a valuable source for historians studying militarism in Japan.

A limitation of source O for historians is that Mr Ozaki indicates in the purpose of the source that it will be about the fight to maintain Japan's constitutional government. As such, he is unlikely to view militarism and

The terms origin, purpose, content, value, and limitation are used throughout.

Use of words such as 'potentially', 'perhaps' and so forth indicate where hypotheses are being stated.

There are two values and they are connected to the origin, purpose or content.

There are two limitations and they refer to the origin, purpose or content.

those who advocated it positively or objectively. The content supports this, in which his opponents are depicted as irrational. The content of the source implies that Mr Ozaki was not just present, but personally responsible for agreeing to naval limitations and responding to opposition; no others are given credit or mentioned. Again, Mr Ozaki's objectivity could perhaps be called into question by historians as it is highly unlikely that a single individual would have that responsibility or authority in Japan's government of that period.

Question 10 is worth 4 marks. The answer indicates that values and limitations have both been addressed using the origin, purpose and content of the source. There are at least two values and two limitations discussed with reference to the usefulness of the source for historians studying militarism. Mark: 4/4.



Examination practice II

The following are exam-style questions for you to practise, using sources from this chapter. Sources can be found on the following pages:

Source D: page 14

Source R: page 33

Source Q: page 32

Source X: page 41

Source Z: page 42

- 1 With reference to its origin, purpose and content, assess the value and limitations of Source D for historians studying the emergence of Japanese militarism.
- 2 With reference to its origin, purpose and content, assess the value and limitations of Source R for historians studying economic stresses in Japan in the early twentieth century.
- 3 With reference to its origin, purpose and content, assess the value and limitations of Source Q for historians studying the influence of the *zaibatsu* on Japan's government.
- 4 With reference to its origin, purpose and content, assess the value and limitations of Source X for historians studying the relationship between Japan's Emperor and the military.
- 5 With reference to its origin, purpose and content, assess the value and limitations of Source Z for historians studying the influence of Japan's military on foreign policy before the Second World War.



Activities

- 1** In groups, using paragraphs of this chapter as sources, create questions in the style of question 9a and question 9b, assigning them either 2 or 3 marks. Use the paragraphs that focus on the Japanese government's struggle with the military and factions within the military. Vary your questions such as in the examples above. Try to create at least two different questions per paragraph. Exchange your questions with other groups, being sure to indicate the location of the paragraphs in the chapter, and give yourselves approximately five minutes to answer the two questions. Once questions have been answered, review the answers and assign marks. Be sure to indicate what was successful and appropriate and what might be improved.
- 2** Collaboratively create a timeline. One part of the timeline will indicate major economic events in Japan's history as indicated in this chapter. In another colour or in parallel, create a timeline that plots actions by Japan's military, including actions by rival military factions. Finally, in another colour or in parallel, create a timeline that deals with Japanese foreign policy events such as treaties or actions. What conclusions might one be able to draw based on evidence presented in the timelines? Which events were the most important and which led to military actions?
- 3** Create flashcards with important dates and personalities. For example, on one side of the card you will have the date 1902. On the other side of the card, you will have Anglo-Japanese Alliance. Do this with various dates and individuals mentioned throughout Chapter 1. You can use these for revision or to create a game for class in which student teams compete to answer the questions correctly for points.
- 4** Divide the class into two groups. Each group in class will create governmental and economic solutions for Japan's problems in the early twentieth century. Create a Venn diagram on the board, indicating the similarities and differences between the solutions proposed by each group. The class should discuss each solution, debating the merits and weaknesses of each.