

## **The Move to Global War**

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# Chapter 2: Causes of Italian Expansionism – Impact of Fascism on Italian Foreign Policy (1870-1933)

## A New Nation (1861-1914) (Gov. structure = Kingdom made of unitary states)

- Italia irredenta (Italian irredentism): nationalist movement – promoted unification of all ethnic Italians in Europe and reclaiming all “lost” territory
- Risorgimento – Italian’s foreign policy then
  - Nationalist sought return of Italian-populated territories in Austria, Croatian-populated Dalmatia, port city of Fiume, domination over Albania & expansion into Africa
  - Make Italy a world power – ‘rebuild a Roman Empire.’



## Long term weaknesses of Liberal Italy

- Lack of national identity – there were economic and political divisions between the North and South, with the majority of peasants in the South living in abject poverty whilst the industrialised North prospered
- Breakdown in relations between the Catholic Church and the State – division exacerbated by anti-clerical policies of the liberal governments. Up until 1914, The Vatican urged Catholics not to vote
- Working class protest – middle and upper classes dominated the political system, e.g. the vote was limited to wealthy elites until 1930

Impact of WW1/PPS on Italy	
Political Divisions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Italy did not enter the war in Jul 1914</li> <li>• Claimed their alliance with Germany and Austria-H was “defensive only”</li> </ul>
Treaty of London (1915)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Allies offered Italy large sections of territory                             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ In Austria-H, the Adriatic Sea region, parts of Anatolia (Turkey), German colonies in Asia &amp; Africa, major port in Albania and ‘protectorate’ role over Albania</li> </ul> </li> </ul> <p>Married well with idea of Italia irredenta &amp; Risorgimento</p>
Mussolini’s emergence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Initially opposed the war</li> <li>• But saw Italian Nationalist sentiment was riding high later in war – saw victory as change to complete Risorgimento of Italian people + remove threat of A-H</li> </ul>
‘Pointless war’	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1915-1917 – barely invaded Austrian territory (got 10 miles in only)</li> <li>• 1918 – 600,000 men were dead and hundreds of thousands wounded</li> <li>• War cost more than gov. spent in previous 50 years                             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ V. high inflation and unemployment</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
Hatred for government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 5m returning veterans resented gov. for mismanaging war, many also resented the PSI’s anti war stance</li> </ul>

Increased support for extremism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Economic mobilization for war – resulted in more industrial workers = more trade union membership and support for Italian Socialist Party (PSI)</li> <li>• Increased right-wing support for Nationalist groups</li> </ul>
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<b>PPS &amp; Italy</b>	
Aims (of Italy): needed what was promised (in Treaty of London)	
The “Compromise’ (from allies): only got South Tyrol, Trentino, Istria	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Although not clearly stated in the Treaty of London, Italy had also expected to gain the port of Fiume and Dalmatia</li> </ul>
Mutilated Victory (vittoria mutilata): incomplete & unsatisfactory victory (did not gain territory as hoped)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• gov. came over as weak, humiliated and lacking pride in Italy</li> <li>• Italians felt indignant and that they deserved better – the casualty rate for Italian forces was 39.1% compared to 35.8% in Britain</li> <li>• For Nationalist – failure of gov. to stand up to “Big Three” at Versailles – unforgivable and weak</li> </ul>

### **The Fiume Affair (1919-20)**

- Italy demanded Fiume in PPS, Yugoslavia and Serbia also wanted it
  - Sep 1920: as negotiations went on, 2000 ex-soldiers (Italian) under command of Gabriele D’Annunzio occupied port city of Fiume
  - Italy gov. unable to remove him until Dec 1920 with force (Fiume became a free state)
- >undermined gov. further – make them look feeble and undermined the credibility of the Italian democratic system

### **The ‘Biennio Rosso’ (Two Red Years 1919-20)**

- Period of intense social conflict following WW1 -> increased membership and support of extremist parties
- Socialists attempted to catalyse a Russian-style revolution – Italian Communist Party was formed on 21 January
- Mussolini and the Fascists gained support from the wealthy industrialists and landowners, as the Fascists not only offered ideological opposition but were also prepared to confront Socialist and Communists physically

<b>Rise of Mussolini (1919-1922)</b>	
Mussolini formed the Fascist Revolutionary party (1915)	
Renamed Partito Nazionale Fascista (PNF) (National Fascist Party) (Nov 1921)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Began to consolidate and organize various Fascist groups around Italy into one party</li> <li>• 700k members by Jul 1922</li> <li>• The MVSN or ‘Blackshirts’ (formed in 1919) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Made of former soldiers/landowners who opposed socialism</li> <li>○ 200k members by 1922</li> <li>○ RESULT: contributed significantly to domestic violence – gov. unable to control – look weak</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
March on Rome (Oct 1922)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Blackshirts captured strategic points and gov. buildings</li> <li>• 30k Fascists assembled 20 miles from Rome ready to march</li> <li>• King Victor Emmanuel III refuse to sign martial law for gov. to use force against Fascists <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Feared civil war</li> <li>○ Likely felt Fascism not a threat to himself or establishment</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Oct 28: King handed power over to Mussolini who was supported by military, business class, right-wing</li> </ul>
<b>Mussolini legally reached power (in accordance with Italian Constitution)</b>	

## How did Mussolini consolidate his power?

1. In November 1922, the new government won a vote of confidence and was able to bot in emergency powers to reform the administration and tax system
2. July 1923, Acerbo Law was passed – the party that won most votes in an election would automatically be given two-thirds of the seats in parliament to make strong government possible
3. April 1924, Fascists after a campaign of intimidation and violence, were able to increase their representation in parliament from 7% to 66%
4. December 1925, the Law on Powers of Head of Government gave Mussolini significant executive powers. Political parties and trade unions were banned. The press was strictly controlled and elected officials were replaced with appointed government officials.
5. Between Nov 1926 and Jan 1927, the Fascist party increased repression and new secret police was founded: the OVRA

## Ideology of Mussolini/PNF

Economic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Corporate State ('The Third Way') <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mussolini divided country into 22 "corporation" – send representatives to parliament from each industry <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Represent economic producers</li> <li>○ Work alongside state to set national economic policy</li> </ul> </li> <li>• This system intended to resolve class conflict through collaboration bet. Classes</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Heavy industry favoured over consumer goods – high taxation to fund this development</li> <li>• Spazio vitale ("living space"): territorial expansionism</li> <li>• Autarky: Economic and military self-sufficiency</li> </ul>
Social	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• New Italians <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Idealized version of masculinity – grounded in traditional gender roles</li> <li>• Mussolini aimed for women to give birth – way of showing national vitality and providing soldiers for his armies</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Compromise with the Church – win greater public support</li> <li>• Social Darwinism <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Rejected idealized "pure Aryan" concept</li> <li>• Emphasized race was bound by cultural foundations</li> <li>• Identified racial hierarchy (but not by pure biological factors like the Nazi's)</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Use 'racial hierarchy' concept – to legitimize militaristic expansionism of 'lesser races'</li> </ul>
Political	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Nationalism <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Promoted shared culture to unify into a "people's community"</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Opposed liberalism, socialism, Democracy, foreign influences</li> <li>• Totalitarianism: one dictator, single party state, state control life</li> <li>• Militarism</li> </ul>
Foreign Policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 'Mare Nostrum' (Our sea): term used to describe the Mediterranean Sea <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Roman Empire had dominated the sea - Mussolini envisioned Italy doing the same</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Reverse the 'mutilated victory': Gain territories Italy was owed</li> <li>• Risorgimento/Italia Irredenta: Return all Italians and past Italian territory to Italy</li> <li>• Display vitality and strength of regime – through military expansionism</li> </ul>

## Impact of domestic issues (social and economic) on foreign policies

Issues	Solutions/Impacts
	<b>Economic</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Limited raw materials; dependent on trade with other nations</li> <li>• Modernize industry &amp; agriculture</li> <li>• Low literacy &amp; industrialization rates compared to other European countries</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Battle for Grain (1925): wheat production increased but failed policy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Prices rose, consumption fell, gov. subsidies given to farmers pushed Italy further into debt</li> <li>• Agriculture largest sector of economy (50% were farmers), only 1/3 income from industry</li> <li>• Imports fell by 75%, output of key crops like olives decreased</li> <li>• The soil in the South was not suitable for growing wheat</li> </ul> </li> <li>• The Fascist ideological policy of ruralisation – counter-productive to expansion of Italian industry</li> <li>• 1929-39: economy grew only 16%, half of earlier liberal period</li> <li>• Rate of gross investment fell under Mussolini</li> </ul>

<p>Effects of depression:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2m unemployed in Italy, hindered trade, value of currency etc</li> <li>• Large debt</li> <li>• Massive financial crisis – several major Italian banks collapsed</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• IRI (Institute for Industrial Reconstruction) – established to subsidise failing companies via gov.-linked companies</li> <li>• Unemployment – public construction programs and gov. initiatives</li> <li>• Financial Crisis <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Created ‘Sofindit’ – both bad industrial shares from banks and lent capital to private industry</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Battle for the Lira – Mussolini worked to increase and revalue Italian currency (Lira) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Benefited heavy industries as imports were cheaper</li> <li>• Mussolini increased the value of the lira from 154 lira to 90 lira to the British pound</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Increased taxes to pay for all these – burden on workers, wages dropped 10%</li> <li>• Gold for the Fatherland <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Encouraged people to donate gold jewellery – used as gold in Italy’s national banks <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ In exchange for steel wristbands bearing words “Gold for the Fatherland”</li> </ul> </li> </ul> </li> <li>• Autarky – high tariffs and restrictions on trade with other countries</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Create the “Third Way”</li> <li>• Mussolini wanted to build his military to be a great power</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• gov. control of business (3/4 by 1935)</li> <li>• under the corporate state workers and small firms were exploited. Industrialist and big landowners got richer and poor did not</li> <li>• state permission required for almost any business activity &amp; wages were set by gov. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Criminalization of strikes, nationalized trade unions into one gov. operated syndicate</li> </ul> </li> <li>• favoured heavy industry – to build military – neglected consumer goods <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Spending 10% of GDP on armed forces</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
<p>Social</p>	
<p>The “Southern Question”</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Battle over Southern Question (1924) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Despite plans and promise to improve conditions and infrastructure</li> <li>• In South, little to nothing was done</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Gap bet. Urban, industrialised North and rural South widened under Mussolini’s regime</li> <li>• Battle for Land (1926) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Land reclamation initiative with mixed success</li> <li>• Drained marshes to increase farmland – good for propaganda and provided employment</li> <li>• But too few peasants resettled on this land – initiative abandoned in 1940</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
<p>Socio-economic “spazio vitale”</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mussolini wanted Italy to become a great power – but population seen as “too large” for its territory and resources</li> <li>• his policy pushed for idea of “spazio vitale” – expand overseas to provide living space and economic opportunities for Italians (e.g. Ethiopia, Albania)</li> </ul>
<p>Socio-political</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Youth radicalization and militarization</li> <li>• Desire for National Unity and Prestige need to consolidate Fascist rule</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Fascist ideology heavily militarized youth (Gioventù Italiana del Littorio)</li> <li>• society raised on militarism and conquest needed foreign outlets <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Created pressure on Mussolini to act aggressively on world stage – satisfy the expectations he had cultivated</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Italy was socially fragmented (North-South divide, class tensions)</li> <li>• Mussolini’s foreign policy – met to forge sense of national pride and unity</li> <li>• Successes abroad (or propaganda of successes) – used to build collective Italian identity under fascism</li> <li>• his regime still relatively unstable in 1920s <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Used foreign policy to present himself as strong and decisive – reinforce image of himself as dynamic – compared to “weak” liberal gov.s before him</li> <li>• Military victories presented as evidence of Fascism’s superiority</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
<p>RESULTS:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increase social tension as result of economic issues (depression after war – 2m unemployed etc) – need to “distract the population”</li> <li>• economy still operating at much lower rates than pre-Fascism. Mussolini turned to aggressive foreign policy to “revolutionize”, “energize” and distract population</li> <li>• late 1930s – economy still too underdeveloped to sustain demands of modern militaristic regime <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Investment (army) in early 1900s – services obsolete* by 1940</li> </ul> </li> <li>• wars in Spain, Albania, Abyssinia – Italian resources already drained/stretched at outbreak of WW2 – not able to meet demands placed on them by Mussolini’s rapid attempts at expansionism thereafter</li> <li>• continued weakness in economy – hindered Fascist gov. to fulfil its Foreign Policy aims</li> </ul> <p>* no longer produced or used; out of date</p>	

## Geopolitical changes (1922-33)

Italian Foreign Policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mussolini pursued low profile foreign policy</li> <li>• Moderation and honoring PPS was key for Italy to win back trust and integrate themselves with the European Great Powers after WW1</li> <li>• were also domestic issues that required immediate attention – consolidation of power was his focus</li> <li>• oppose rise of Germany – perceive as threat to its national security</li> </ul>
Corfu Incident (1923)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Greece-Albania border dispute <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• LON sent team sent to survey, led by an Italian General</li> <li>• 5 Italians shot by gunmen in hiding</li> <li>• Italy accused Greece – demanded large fine – Greece refuse to pay</li> <li>• Italy went and occupied Corfu</li> <li>• LON condemned &amp; UK threatened Italy with navy</li> <li>• Mussolini convinced LON to fine Greece 50m lira</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Propaganda victory for Mussolini domestically <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Showed Mussolini that although cannot too aggressive – against smaller nations LON still more “lenient” an didn’t want to lose Italian support</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
Fiume Resolved (1924)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tensions in free state of Fiume over elections – Mussolini sent a general to “restore public order”</li> <li>• Pact of Rome: Italy and Yugoslavia made plans to dissolve the Free State of Fiume <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Agreed Fiume given to Italy</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Propaganda victory for Mussolini domestically <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 countries had effectively defied PPS by taking over Free state of Fiume – but nothing was done about this</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
Restored protectorate of Albania (1922-26)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Italian backed Ahmed Zog become King of Albania (1928)</li> <li>• invested in Zog’s regime and trained its army <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Albania became Italian protectorate</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Mussolini gained another territory promised in the Treaty of London</li> </ul>
Pacification of Libya (1923-32)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Italy had taken control of Libya in 1912 – constantly in conflict with local rebels</li> <li>• Under Mussolini – carried out Pacification (Libyan Genocide) – commit major war crimes against civilians</li> <li>• Propaganda victory for Mussolini domestically <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Considered “Italian territory” – LON did nothing</li> </ul> </li> </ul>

Theme influencing foreign policy	Evidence for reason for German expansionism	Evidence for reasons for Italian expansionism
Impact of war/pps	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Treaty of Versailles (1919) imposed reparations, territorial losses, and disarmament → Hitler exploited resentment.</li> <li>- “November criminals” myth; used Versailles as propaganda to delegitimize Weimar.</li> <li>- Remilitarization of the Rhineland (1936) directly defied ToV and Locarno.</li> <li>- Anschluss (1938) banned by Versailles, yet achieved.</li> <li>- Revisionist foreign policy justified as overturning “Diktat.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Treaty of London (1915) promises not fulfilled → “Mutilated victory” narrative.</li> <li>- Dissatisfaction with Versailles and St. Germain (no Dalmatian coast, Dalmatians given to Yugoslavia).</li> <li>- Seizure of Fiume (1919, D’Annunzio) symbol of postwar resentment.</li> <li>- Corfu incident (1923) tested postwar order.</li> <li>- Expansionism framed as correcting injustices of Versailles and St. Germain.</li> </ul>
Nationalism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Volksgemeinschaft idea; uniting all German-speaking peoples (e.g. Sudeten Germans, Anschluss).</li> <li>- Lebensraum ideology → expansion east into Poland/USSR.</li> <li>- Hitler’s appeal to Pan-German nationalism against minorities (esp. in Czechoslovakia).</li> <li>- Nazi propaganda emphasized racial superiority and destiny of Germans.</li> <li>- Militarism and national pride restored through rearmament.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- “Mare Nostrum” (our sea): reclaiming Roman Empire grandeur in the Mediterranean.</li> <li>- Expansion into Abyssinia (1935–36) framed as national prestige.</li> <li>- Nationalist rhetoric of Italy as a “proletarian nation” needing expansion.</li> <li>- Use of foreign policy to unite Italians behind Fascism.</li> <li>- Spanish Civil War intervention</li> </ul>

		(1936–39) as nationalist crusade against communism.
Economic issues	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Great Depression (1929) hit Weimar and boosted Nazi rise.</li> <li>- Autarky policy in the 1930s: Four-Year Plan (1936) under Göring aimed at self-sufficiency.</li> <li>- Lebensraum → agricultural land in the East to sustain Germany.</li> <li>- Rearmament program boosted employment and recovery.</li> <li>- Expansion aimed at securing raw materials (coal, iron, oil).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Depression hurt Italy; Mussolini wanted expansion for markets/resources.</li> <li>- Abyssinia invasion promised raw materials and land for settlement.</li> <li>- Autarky policy after League of Nations sanctions (1936).</li> <li>- Need for colonies to secure grain and oil → invasion of Albania (1939).</li> <li>- Expansion to distract from domestic economic failures.</li> </ul>
Domestic social and political issues	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Nazi regime consolidated power by presenting foreign policy as national revival.</li> <li>- Expansion diverted attention from lack of freedoms and political repression.</li> <li>- Military victories (e.g. Rhineland, Anschluss) increased regime popularity.</li> <li>- Anti-communist stance used domestically to justify aggressive policy.</li> <li>- Hitler's charisma and propaganda made FP central to regime survival.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Abyssinia used to rally support and distract from unemployment/social unrest.</li> <li>- Foreign policy strengthened Mussolini's dictatorship (popularity boost in 1936).</li> <li>- Spanish Civil War intervention portrayed as defending Catholic/Italian honor.</li> <li>- Pact of Steel (1939) used to show alliance with Hitler as power prestige.</li> <li>- Militarization reinforced control over society.</li> </ul>
Changing geo-politics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Abyssinia used to rally support and distract from unemployment/social unrest.</li> <li>- Foreign policy strengthened Mussolini's dictatorship (popularity boost in 1936).</li> <li>- Spanish Civil War intervention portrayed as defending Catholic/Italian honor.</li> <li>- Pact of Steel (1939) used to show alliance with Hitler as power prestige.</li> <li>- Militarization reinforced control over society.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Abyssinia exposed League's weakness; Italy drifted from Britain/France.</li> <li>- Alignment with Germany after 1936 (Rome-Berlin Axis).</li> <li>- Mussolini opportunistic in Balkans and Albania to exploit instability.</li> <li>- Spanish Civil War shifted balance in Mediterranean.</li> <li>- Pact of Steel (1939) tied Italy to Germany's expansion.</li> </ul>
Ideology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Nazi ideology: Social Darwinism, racial hierarchy, anti-Semitism.</li> <li>- Lebensraum central to Mein Kampf.</li> <li>- Anti-communism shaped alliance choices (Anti-Comintern Pact 1937).</li> <li>- Expansion viewed as racial destiny, not just political.</li> <li>- Ideological hatred of Slavs/USSR justified eastward aggression.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Fascist ideology glorified war, violence, and expansion.</li> <li>- "Proletarian nation" idea (Italy as underprivileged vs rich powers).</li> <li>- Anti-communism motivated support of Franco in Spain.</li> <li>- Imperialist ideology rooted in myth of Rome.</li> <li>- Autarky and corporatism linked foreign expansion with ideological goals.</li> </ul>

# Chapter 3: Italian & German Expansionism 1933-40

## Key events that occurred(1931-1935)

- Great depression
  - By 1933 – world trade plummeted 65%, output in Europe fell by up to 40%
  - **Result:** Rise of far-right/Nationalism
    - Economic strife\* caused by Great depression -> caused strife and resentment amongst public in Europe
- Stresa Front (1935)
  - Agreement bet. UK, France and Italy after Germany starts rearming
  - Aim to enforce Locarno Treaty, TOV and keep Austria independent (due to Germany wanting to invade Austria – ‘Anschluss’ with Austria)
  - **Result:** Stresa Front shows – main powers signing private treaties instead of using LoN
    - These treaties illegal for members of LoN
    - ->showed major powers had no faith in LoN and more interested in their own problems
- **KEY POINT:**
  - **By 1935 -- evident that international commitment to LoN & collective security replaced – with pursuit of more self-serving foreign policies**
    - **Western democracies attempting to ‘appease’ and avoid war**
    - **Militaristic states moving towards achieving imperialistic goals (Japan, Italy, Germany)**

\*strife – anger or bitter disagreement; conflict

Italian Expansionism & International response	
Invasion of Abyssinia (1935-36)	<p><b>Point:</b> Italy’s successful invasion of Abyssinia highlights Western superpowers’ (UK and France) appeasement policy, pushing militaristic states like Italy to achieve their imperialistic goals</p> <p><b>Premise:</b> Why Italy want to invade</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Italy wanted to create a new ‘Roman Empire’</li> <li>• embarrassing failed invasion of Abyssinia (1896)</li> <li>• fertile land, mineral wealth, ‘join-up’ 2 existing colonies (don’t need to know which I searched up and the name was so long)</li> <li>• logical choice for Mussolini as only African territory ‘available’</li> </ul> <p><b>Evidence:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Italy built a fort at Wal-Wal (80 km inside Abyssinia),</li> <li>• Dec 1934: demanded by Ethiopian soldiers to leave -&gt; fighting erupted, 150 killed</li> <li>• Mussolini claimed Abyssinia started the fight, which is an act of war – demanded apology + prepared army for invasion</li> <li>• UK and France played for time – wanted to maintain good relations with Mussolini           <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Key to keep Hitler in line</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Oct 1935 – Mussolini launched full-scale invasion of Abyssinia (May 1936 – formally annexed entire country)</li> <li>• LoN response           <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Imposed ban on arms sales to Italy</li> <li>○ Allowed arms sales to Abyssinia</li> <li>○ BUT did not ban OIL imports to/from Italy</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Reason for LoN response (why not full sanctions?)           <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Feared US wouldn’t support sanctions and simply supply Italy with oil anyway</li> <li>○ fear their own economic interest would be further damaged</li> <li>○ close to Suez Canal (controlled by UK) to cut off Italian oil supply               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ fear war break out with Italy</li> <li>▪ severely affect own trading links and ability to protect their overseas empires</li> <li>▪ -&gt; hence LoN delayed for 2 months to ban oil exports to Italy (Mussolini later admitted that his invasion would have failed if oil supply had been cut)</li> </ul> </li> </ul> </li> </ul> <p><b>Results:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• On Collective security           <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Italy withdrew from LoN</li> <li>○ major powers clearly more interested in their own issues than collective security</li> <li>○ US further isolated – evident that LoN was powerless &amp; untrustworthy</li> </ul> </li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ By 1936 – Germany, Italy, Japan all disregarding LoN</li> <li>○ Italy changes sides from UK and France to signing <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Rome-Berlin Axis in (Oct 1936)</li> <li>▪ Anti-Comintern Pact (Nov 1936)</li> <li>▪ RESULT: Tripartite Pact (1940) -&gt; Axis Powers</li> </ul> </li> <li>● For Italy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Propaganda victory -&gt; Italian military strength and willingness to oppose international community to expand empire</li> <li>○ High economic cost due to <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ sanctions imposed by LoN</li> <li>▪ cost of campaign</li> <li>▪ ongoing cost for occupational troops</li> <li>▪ -&gt; debt rose from 2b lira to over 16b lira during war <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Lira (Italian currency) lost up to 40% of its value</li> </ul> </li> </ul> </li> </ul> </li> </ul> <p><b>Significance:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Highlighted UK and France's appeasement towards Italy due to – fear of losing an ally against Hitler</li> <li>● Undermined the ability of LoN to condemn aggressive countries</li> <li>● Spurred other militaristic/extremist countries to carry out their expansionist goals due to ineffectiveness of LoN</li> </ul>
<p>Invasion of Albania (1939)</p>	<p><b>Point:</b> Invasion of Albania by Italy further reinforced UK and France's appeasement towards Italy, encouraging them to pursue more expansionist aims</p> <p><b>Evidence:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Access to Albanian ports – give Italy control of entrance to Adriatic Sea</li> <li>● after Anschluss (1938) – Mussolini felt he was the lesser member of the Pact of Steel</li> <li>● Mussolini decided to proceed with his own annexation of Albania (Hitler invaded Czechoslovakia (Mar 1939) w/o notifying him)</li> <li>● Mar 1939 – Ultimatum given to Albania to accept Italian occupation – refused (by Albania)</li> <li>● 7 Apr – Invasion of 100k men &amp; 600 airplanes attacked all Albanian ports</li> <li>● 12 Apr – royal family fled, Albanian parliament voted to depose King Zog and unite with Italy</li> <li>● gave Albanian crown to Italy's King Victor Emmanuel III</li> </ul> <p><b>Result:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● NO international response/action by LoN</li> <li>● 15 Apr 1939 – Albania quit LoN – all military and gov. absorbed into Italy's</li> <li>● Pact of Steel (May 1939) – Full military and political alliance bet. Italy and Germany – aimed at Britain and France <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ declared continuing trust and cooperation</li> <li>○ encourage union of military and economic policy</li> </ul> </li> </ul> <p><b>Significance:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Accentuates LoN's ineffectiveness</li> <li>● Reinforces UK and France's appeasement towards Italy's aggressive expansionist actions</li> <li>● Solidified and legitimised the alliance between Italy and Germany (Pact of Steel treaty) – lead to increased aggression towards European countries</li> </ul>

**Germany expansionism (DAS CRAMCUP!) & International responses (1933-39)**

<p>D – Danzig</p>	<p><b>Point:</b> Danzig fell under rule of Nazi due to democratic vote</p> <p><b>Evidence:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Port city of Danzig – became “free city” of LoN in PPS             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ to provide Poland with access to a sizeable port in ‘Polish Corridor’</li> </ul> </li> <li>• June 1934 – Nazi was elected as head of state – won 50% votes</li> <li>• 1934-39 – political opposition to Nazis were repressed bc             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ laws mirroring Enabling Act* and Nuremberg laws** were implemented</li> </ul> </li> </ul> <p><b>Result:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• LoN can’t do anything bc Danzig was predominantly German population and voted for Nazi’s democratically (self-determination)</li> </ul> <p>*Enabling act - grants authority, particularly to a head of government or cabinet, to make and enforce laws without the involvement of the legislature.                  **Nuremberg laws – anti-semitic and racist laws against Jews (and more)</p>
<p>A – Appeasement</p>	<p><b>Point:</b> Appeasement policy of UK and France towards Hitler’s (Germany’s) aggressive expansionist actions</p> <p><b>Evidence:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Liberal democracies: UK and France gov. at mercy of votes of citizens             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ many still very eager to avoid war at any cost after WW1</li> <li>○ Economic issues/Great Depression</li> <li>○ Lack of an alternative policy</li> <li>○ UK willing to let Germany recover</li> <li>○ Some admired the way Hitler’s firm government was helping Germany recover &amp; appreciated his strong stance against Communism</li> </ul> </li> <li>• from 1935 – in face of Hitler’s re-armament – UK not ready for war             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Needed time to rearm to catch up with Germany</li> </ul> </li> <li>• US less likely to come to Europe’s aid if war began + lose Italy as ally and no firm alliance with USSR             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ -&gt; UK and France not confident of confrontation alone</li> </ul> </li> </ul> <p><b>Result:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• From 1933-38 – UK (and France) very reluctant to oppose Germany or start a war             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ -&gt; resulted to appeasement</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
<p>S – Saar Plebiscite (Oct 1935)</p>	<p><b>Point:</b> Saar fell under Nazi’s rule after successful plebiscite, and acted as propaganda victory for Hitler</p> <p><b>Evidence:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Saar industrial region (800k people) became as LoN mandate* in ToV</li> <li>• Plebiscite(vote) held in 1935 – 90.8% voted to join Germany, 8.8% remain mandate, 0.4% join France</li> </ul> <p><b>Result:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Propaganda victory for Hitler</li> </ul> <p>*LoN mandate – under control of LoN (allied powers)</p>
<p>C – Re-arming and conscription (1935-36)</p>	<p><b>Point:</b> Formal announcement of rearmament and conscription of Nazi army, full conscription in 1936 was not questioned by ToV or LoN</p> <p><b>Evidence:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mar 1935 – although already rearming in secret – announced that armed forces would be increased to 550k men + created air force             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Initially disguised as means of reducing unemployment but became evident was rearm</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Anglo-German Naval Agreement (June 1935) – gave Germany license to build up navy</li> <li>• By 1936 – full conscription introduced (no one questioned his flouting of ToV)</li> </ul>

<p>R – Remilitarization of Rhineland (Mar 1936)</p>	<p><b>Point:</b> Remilitarization of Rhineland by Nazi Germany increased prestige for Hitler</p> <p><b>Evidence:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 3k troops (lightly equipped) moved into Rhineland, 30k in reserve – explicitly ordered to withdraw if met with resistance</li> <li>• France needed back up from UK if want to resist, but UK unwilling – allowed the remilitarization by Germany</li> <li>• Hitler took the operation against the advice of his generals – gave him much prestige + encourage him to overrule them in future</li> </ul>
<p>A – 'Anschluss' with Austria (Mar 1938)</p>	<p><b>Point:</b> Anschluss with Austria reinforced Hitler's prestige in Germany and increased access of South-Eastern Europe through Germany's strategic position.</p> <p><b>Evidence:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Schuschnigg (Austrian chancellor) was forced to agree to a list of demands that included releasing all imprisoned pro-Nazi agitators, lifting the ban against the Nazi party and appointing Seyss-Insquart as interior minister</li> <li>• Pro-Nazis were made to be the ministers of war and finance and the economic systems of the two countries were to be assimilated</li> <li>• These demands would end Austrian independence, and Hitler threatened Schuschnigg with a march into Austria if he did not agree</li> <li>• Schuschnigg announced a plebiscite, but Hitler decided to act before this could happen <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ Mussolini gave his assurances that he would not object to Anschluss</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Hitler marched into Austria on 12 March 1938</li> <li>• Within a few days of the invasion, 70,000 political opponents were arrested and Jews were driven from their homes</li> </ul> <p><b>Results + Significance:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Germany's strategic position was greatly enhanced: with Vienna at his disposal Hitler had acquired direct access to the whole of South-Eastern Europe</li> <li>• From Vienna it was only a footstep to Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Yugoslavia</li> <li>• Reinforced Hitler's position in Germany</li> <li>• Reinforced Hitler's tactics – reinforced Hitler's belief in the effectiveness of international blackmail and intimidation</li> <li>• Changing international alignments – promoted friendship of two fascist tyrants and further polarized European powers</li> </ul> <p><b>International response:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• France was paralysed by an internal political crisis and did not even have a government at the time of Anschluss</li> <li>• Italy was increasingly dependent on German friendship and refused to respond to Chancellor Schuschnigg's appeal for help</li> <li>• LON was discredited after Abyssinian affair and Anschluss was not even referred to the League for discussion</li> </ul>
<p>M – Munich agreement: Germany annexes Sudetenland, Czechoslovakia (Oct 1938)</p>	<p><b>Point:</b></p> <p><b>Premise:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Czechoslovakia population was 15m, 3m of these were Germans (mostly in Sudetenland)</li> <li>• Sudeten German Party represented the Germans and was backed by the Nazis – Nazis instigated the attempt by the Sudeten Germans to break away from Czechoslovakia</li> <li>• Deliberate agitation by the Sudeten Germans towards government = Hitler needed to defend Germans when authorities clamped down on them</li> <li>• President Edvard Benes had no intention to give in as it would spark off other nationalities making similar demands</li> <li>• The British were sympathetic towards Germany on the Sudeten issue – it was an issue of self-determination and felt it was not an issue to fight a war</li> <li>• Mussolini suggested a conference in Munich in September with Britain, France and Germany with Italy as arbitrator</li> <li>• Proposed immediate occupation of Sudetenland – the Czechs were not consulted</li> <li>• Proposal was accepted on condition Hitler signed a paper declaring (UK, France, Germany) countries would not go to war with each other) – THE MUNICH AGREEMENT</li> </ul>

<p>C – Germany annexes Czechoslovakia</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Following the Munich agreement, Czechoslovakia was in chaos as other ethnic groups and regions sought to be independent</li> <li>• Hitler saw the Munich agreement as a steppingstone to the liquidation of the Czech state</li> <li>• Taking advantage, Hitler threatened full-invasion of Czechoslovakia unless they surrendered to his rule – they did so, and Germany took over with little to no resistance</li> <li>• Clear and blatant act of aggression that had nothing to do with the Germans</li> </ul>
<p>U – USSR-Germany (Nazi-Soviet) Pact (Aug 1939)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• USSR and Germany signed a deal not to attack each other. Secretly, they also agreed to co-invade Poland and divide it equally between them</li> <li>• USSR was recovering from Stalin's purges of the military in the previous few years. They had also been continuously rebuffed by France and UK in attempts to unite against Hitler</li> <li>• USSR was also planning an invasion of Finland – could now do so without fear of German attacks or LON intervention</li> <li>• Gave Germany the go ahead to invade Poland as they no longer needed to fear action against them from USSR; France and Britain had a track record of non-intervention due to policy of appeasement</li> </ul> <p>ADVANTAGES FOR THE USSR:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Keep the Soviet Union out of war – impt as it faced a threat from Japan, and the army was weakened after Stalin's purges</li> <li>• Hopes that Germany and the West would weaken each other, and the Soviet Union would emerge as the strongest nation</li> <li>• Considerable territorial gains – Half of Poland and the opportunity to take over Finland and the Baltic states</li> <li>• Could keep trading with Germany</li> </ul>
<p>P – Germany invades Poland (Sep 1939)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gleiwitz incident: Nazi soldiers posing as polish ones attacked a German radio tower on the border and broadcast an anti-German message. Several bodies taken from Dachau concentration camp were dressed as saboteurs, rendered unidentifiable and left at the scene</li> <li>• There were several other such minor operations carried out – Operation Himmler</li> <li>• Gave Hitler a pretext for invading Poland which began on September 1<sup>st</sup> 1939</li> </ul> <p>INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE: the outbreak of war</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• On 3 September 9am, Chamberlain issued an ultimatum to Germany. Germany did not reply and so war was declared 2 hours later.</li> </ul>

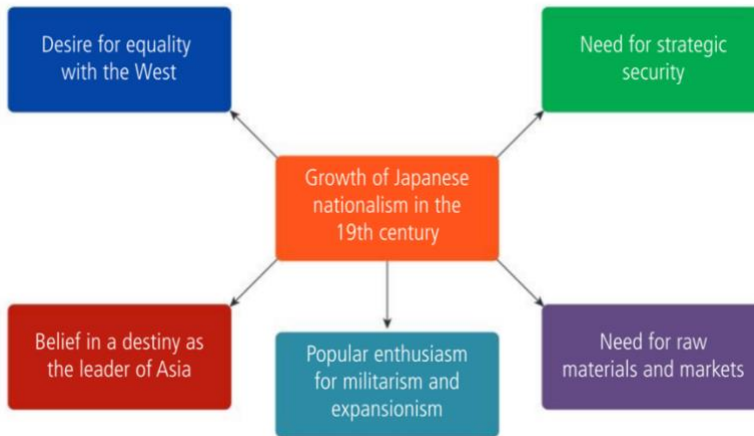
### International response to German aggression

- In October 1939, Hitler offered peace proposals but very few people in Britain now trusted Hitler, and these were not taken up. There was no direct action from Hitler against the West for the next few months.
- Invasion of Norway and Denmark: British Naval blockade affected German supplies of oil, coal, and grain. To safeguard Swedish iron ore shipments to Germany, Hitler ordered an attack on Norway in April 1940. Much of the country was occupied by German troops by the end of April. Germany also invaded and occupied Denmark.
- Invasion of the Low countries: From May 9<sup>th</sup> 1940, Luxembourg, Belgium and the Netherlands were invaded. Victory by 15<sup>th</sup> May.
- Invasion of France: German forces continued to advance into France, Fall of France by 22<sup>nd</sup> June
  - • Under the agreement signed with Germany, northern and western France would become occupied German territory whilst the south would be free under the control of the Nazi puppet Vichy regime
- Bombing of Britain: Upon securing Northern France, bombing raids against targets in Britain began. Hitler needed air superiority to mount an invasion of the British isles. Would culminate in the Blitz and Battle of Britain.
- Invasion of USSR: In June 1941, Germany invaded Russia – Operation Barbarossa. Initially gained vast amounts of territory. Fighting would continue this huge front until 1945.

### Why international response was ineffective against Germany and Italy

- Ineffectiveness of the league: lacked credibility and economic power of the USA, Soviet Union was not a member until September 1934, inefficient organization and structure of the League, each time it failed to act effectively it lost more authority
  - E.g. failure to support Abyssinia when Italy invaded

# Chapter 4: Causes of Japanese Expansionism



Theme	Point	Evidence -P	Evidence – CP
Ideology - militarism and nationalism	Meiji political reforms – strong emphasis on worship of the emperor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kokutai – Emperor as sovereign as God – encouraged unquestioning loyalty to the emperor and the government</li> <li>• Encouraged state Shintoism – establish a connection between present day Japan and its ancient past               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Based on the belief that Japan had virtues that other nations lacked → destined for greatness</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Believed that it was their destiny to be leader of Asia</li> <li>• Political power returned back to the Emperor, allowing the Meiji government to start modernising Japan → promoted national unity and patriotism</li> </ul>	
	Meiji military reforms – military seen as above politics and prestigious	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Imperial army and Navy was formed and trained on Western lines</li> <li>• Conscription: men had to serve mandatory 3 years of active national service</li> <li>• Military gained prestige as the emperor became its commander in chief and because of their later victories against China and Russia</li> </ul>	

	<p>Japan winning conflicts – Sino Japanese War, the Boxer rebellion and the Russo Japanese War</p>	<p><u>Sino Japanese War 1894-1895</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Japan won → China had to give up claims on Korea and cede territory (namely Liaodong Peninsula)</li> <li>• However, Germany, Russia and France pressured Japan to give up the Liaodong Peninsula to Russia</li> </ul> <p>• TRIPLE INTERVENTION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Western powers intervened and protested Japan's expansionism</li> <li>- Japan was forced to withdraw while allies made territorial gains</li> </ul> <p>• RESULT</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Japan felt cheated of its deserved spoils by this intervention</li> <li>- Japan replaces China as the dominant Asian power → increases prestige for the Japanese military</li> </ul> <p><u>The boxer rebellion 1899-1901</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Boxer uprising (anti-western uprising) occurred in China – Japan and many western countries dispatched forces to China to protect their citizens and crushed the rebellion</li> <li>• Boxer protocol: Treaty where Japan was <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Permitted to station troops on Chinese soil</li> <li>- Japan received 7.73% of the reparations</li> <li>- Russia continued to occupy Manchuria and control the railway there – angered Japan</li> </ul> </li> </ul> <p><u>The Russo Japanese WAR 1904-1905</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cause: Russia and Japan were fighting over Korea and Manchuria</li> <li>• Complete victory for Japan – Korea totally annexed to Japanese empire by 1910</li> <li>• Japan gained control of Korea and much of South Manchuria, including Port Arthur.</li> <li>• Japan took over the Russian lease over the Liaodong Peninsula and the South Manchurian railway and stationed the Kwantung army there to protect the railway</li> <li>• The war earned Japan not only the respect of the West but also the admiration of other Asian countries, who saw the Japanese as a role model for how they too might take on the West and win</li> <li>• Reinforced Japan's own belief in its destiny as the leader of Asia</li> </ul> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Japan's position was further strengthened by the signing of an alliance with Britain, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, in 1902. This not only ended Japan's diplomatic isolation but was also the first time a military alliance had been signed between a Western and non-Western nation.</li> </ul> <p><b>There was a great sense of nationalism because Japan had removed itself from unequal treaties, had a thriving modern economy and had won 2 wars against greater powers.</b></p>	
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Reaction to Paris Peace Settlements 1919	Japan felt marginalized by their allies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Japan participated on the side of the Entente Powers (which won WW1)</li> <li>• Wartime economic boom: exports quadrupled from 1913-1918 but decreased after the war due to re-emergence of traditional powers</li> <li>• 21 demands to China (Jan 1915) – set of demands that would effectively mean China would be a Japanese protectorate; was opposed by Britain and USA and forced them to reduce to 13 demands, notably control over the entire Chinese economy and Chinese Eastern Railway</li> </ul> <p><u>The Paris peace settlements</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Japan gained a permanent seat on the Council of the LON</li> <li>• Mandates: confirmed the transfer to Japan of Germany's rights in Shandong and the islands that came under the "South Pacific Mandate"</li> <li>• Western powers' rejected Japan's bid for racial equality clause</li> </ul> <p>RESULT: Although a member of the big 5, Japan felt marginalized by their allies</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Economic growth due to the Meiji regime and WW1 indicated to Japan it needed to continue to expand its influence to be a great power</li> </ul>	
Economic issues and concerns	Recession or chronic depression of the 1920s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Western nations started reclaiming trade markets post WW1 and grew in dominance over the 1920s – had negative effects on Japan's hopes for continued growth and modernization</li> <li>• Long term issues of lack of resources and technology began to peak – need to expand!</li> </ul>	
	Great Kanto earthquake 1923	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Over 570,000 homes destroyed, 1.9 million homeless – damage estimated to be 16 billion today</li> <li>• Recession caused closing of banks and further financial instability</li> </ul>	
	Great depression 1929	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• GNP growth had dropped from 6.2% in WW1 to 0.7% by 1930</li> <li>• Agricultural prices fell by 40%, textile prices fell by 50%</li> <li>• Depreciation of currency</li> <li>• High unemployment</li> <li>• The Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act brought in the highest protective tariffs in US peacetime industry – duties on Japanese goods rose by as much as 200%</li> <li>• By 1932, the price of silk had fallen to less than one-fifth of what it had been in 1923. Farmers were hit particularly badly since over half of them relied on silk production</li> </ul> <p><b>RESULT: Japan was already in a precarious economic position when the great depression began in 1929. With a government dominated by the Zaibatsu and military, it seemed more likely that Japan would pursue aggression to solve its economic problems.</b></p>	
Domestic issues	Social	<u>Urbanisation and overcrowding</u>	

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•Rapid industrial growth led to surge in urban populations</li> <li>•Poor living conditions emerged in urban slums, inadequate housing and sanitation</li> <li>• The Great Kanto Earthquake 1923 left 1.9 million homeless → greatly exacerbating the housing crisis</li> </ul> <p><u>Labour unrest and class inequality</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• widening gap wealthy industrialists (zaibatsu) and working class</li> <li>• Rise in labour strikes and union activity – over 300 strikes in 1921 alone</li> <li>• Poor working conditions for factory workers and miners → increased demand for labour rights</li> </ul> <p><u>Rural poverty and Agrarian struggles</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•many rural farmers were tenants, often paying high rent to farmers</li> <li>• agricultural productivity remained low</li> <li>• food shortages and malnutrition were common in the countryside—driving rural-urban migration</li> <li>• when farmers and workers tried to organize themselves politically, they were suppressed by the police → increased dissatisfaction with a political system that crushed the left and that seemed to be intimately associate with the zaibatsu and the landlords</li> </ul>	
	<p>Political (not all domestic)</p>	<p><u>Rise of leftist and radical ideologies</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•Influence of the Russian Revolution led to the growth of communism</li> <li>•Zaibatsu and the government were against the rise in liberal/democracies</li> </ul> <p><u>Bolshevik revolution in Russia 1917</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Japanese sent 70,000 men to support the Whites despite originally agreeing to send 7500</li> <li>• The Japanese also stayed on after the end of the civil war and after the British, US and French forces had left. However, they were defeated by the Bolsheviks and had to withdraw in 1922</li> <li>• Encouraged mistrust of Japan in the USA and Britain</li> <li>• In Japan, there were attacks on the government because of the cost of the intervention in Russia, the loss of prestige and the failure to control the army, which had largely acted independently of the government during the expedition</li> </ul> <p><u>Five power naval treaty</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• restricted competition in battleships and aircraft carriers by setting a ratio of 5:5:3 for Britain, the USA and Japan respectively</li> <li>• This treaty required Japan's imperial navy to abandon its plans for a massive expansion and was deeply opposed by the Navy General Staff</li> </ul> <p>Rise of political extremism and assassinations</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• As part of the Taisho democracy, it became common for the prime minister's position to be given to the leader of one of the 2 main political parties that controlled the diet in the 1920s → those gaining political power were doing so because of their experience rather than because they were ruling members of the elite</li> <li>• Prime Minister Hara's government lasted from 1918-1921 and introduced social and economic reforms. The military was contained and Hara's government led Japan into the League of Nations, where its membership of the Council showed it was accepted as one of the world's leading powers</li> </ul>

- Prime minister Hara Takahashi was assassinated by a right-wing nationalist in 1921
- in 1923, the Kanto massacre was followed by the murder of socialists and anarchists, including Osugi Sakae (prominent Japanese anarchist) and his family by the military police

#### Increasing political unrest within Japan

- Many conservative groups in the government, along with army, questioned Shidehara's approach to international relations (non interventionist approach towards China), seeing it as a betrayal of Japan's interests.
- Upset over the Washington Treaty system.
- Conservatives upset over the USA bill limiting immigration from all countries to 150,000 a year, specifically excluding 'Asiatics' from the quota.
- The Act banned immigration from all Asian countries, including Japan, labeling them as "aliens ineligible for citizenship."

#### Suppression of political dissent

- Peace Preservation law (1925) – criminalized any attempt to change the kokutai (national policy) – especially targeting socialists and communists
- Thousands of leftists and labour organisers were surveilled, arrested, or silenced
- Kokutai promoted to encourage support for the emperor

#### Rise of Emperor Hirohito (1926 – 1989)

- When Emperor Taisho died in 1926, the coming of a new Emperor Hirohito was celebrated with a revival of the idea of the emperor as a living god, along with the revival of nationalism and the idea of Japan's special destiny in the world.

#### Factionalism and corruption

- Political parties were deeply corrupt, relying on bribery and ties to the zaibatsu for campaign funding and influence
- Factional rivalry weakened effective governance and public trust in the system → loss of faith in democratic institutions opened the door to military dominance in the next decade

#### Inability to control the army

- Japan's PM Tanaka was instructed by the emperor to enforce discipline in the army.
- But the Japanese General Staff was unwilling to punish the Kwantung leaders.
- July 1929, PM Tanaka was forced to resign as he could not control the actions of the Japanese military in Japan.
- By the summer of 1929, it was clear that the army could ignore the civilian government with impunity.
- This fundamentally undermined democracy in Japan

#### Role of Hamaguchi Yuko

- Leader of the Minseito Party, Hamaguchi Yuko, became PM but had to call an election in 1930.

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Yuko won a majority, but his government soon faltered due to the impact of the Great Depression.</li> <li>• Yuko started to cut government salaries for both the civil and military services.</li> <li>• In 1930, Yuko agreed to the terms of the London Naval Disarmament conference which limited Japan's naval growth.</li> <li>• In November 1930, Hamaguchi Yuko was shot by a right-wing radical.</li> <li>• His injuries forced him to resign in April 1931, and he died in August.</li> </ul> <p>[Evaluation]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Civilian governments were unstable and frequently changed due to internal disagreements, corruption, and pressure from interest groups. As a result, they struggled to maintain control over the increasingly independent military, especially the Kwantung Army</li> <li>• Civilian leaders could not stop military aggression, such as the assassination of Zhang Zuolin (1928) or the invasion of Manchuria (1931), even when they disapproved.</li> </ul>	
<p>Reaction to international events/changing diplomatic alliances</p>	<p>Political instability in China</p>	<p>1911: China removed its monarchy 1911-1916: Unstable political era as China tried to establish a republic under Yuan Shih Kai</p> <p><b>May Fourth movement 1919:</b> anti-imperialist, cultural and political movement growing out of the Chinese government's weak response to the TOV and 21 demands of Japan – led to the growth of Kuomintang (KMT) and the Communist Party of China (CCP)</p> <p>1919-1926: China divided into patchwork of territories ruled by local warlords</p> <p>SIGNIFICANCE: China was fragmented due to civil war and political strife as Japan got involved in Chinese internal affairs, aligning with various faction leaders to gain power e.g. Zhang Zhuolin, warlord of Manchuria accepted military and financial aid from Japan and allowed Japanese economic and strategic interests in Manchuria</p>	
	<p>Reunification of China – source of concern for Japan</p>	<p><u>The Northern Expedition and reunification of China 1926-1928</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The KMT led a military campaign "The Northern Expedition" to systematically remove warlords and reunify China</li> <li>• Much of Eastern China was reunified but many warlords in the West were not removed and simply agreed to work with the KMT</li> <li>• Shanghai massacre 1927: Following the capture of Shanghai, the KMT turned on the CCP and executed or imprisoned many of them – beginning the Chinese civil war</li> </ul> <p><u>The Nanjing decade – KMT ruled a unified China from new capital Nanjing</u></p>	

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• For Japan: unified China was a source of concern for Japan; Japan sought to protect its allied warlords and feared a fully united China would prevent its growing influence. Feared they would lose influence in Manchuria</li> <li>• Japanese government wanted to use its army in Manchuria, the Kwantung Army, to disarm Zhang.</li> <li>• Japan wanted GMD to have China while Japan focused its interest on Manchuria.</li> <li>• When Zhang retreated, Japan no longer saw him as useful, especially since he was now cooperating less with their interests and looked weak</li> </ul> <p>Some Kwantung leaders decided to assassinate Zhang Zuolin on 4 June 1928 so that they could have an excuse to conquer Manchuria.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Kwantung leaders believed that Zhang's death would create political chaos in Manchuria, allowing Japan to justify direct military intervention and eventually seize control of the region by the 1930s</li> </ul> <p>[Evaluation] However, Zhang's son, Zhang Xueliang, quickly took control of Manchuria. Instead of resisting the Nationalist government, Zhang Xueliang declared loyalty to Chiang Kai Shek's central government in late 1928. Therefore, the assassination backfired on the Japanese, as it strengthened Chinese unity rather than creating chaos</p>	
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### Causes for milestone expansionist events

	Causes for invasion of Manchuria 1931-1933	Causes of 2 <sup>nd</sup> Sino Japanese War 1937-1945	Causes of attack on Pearl Harbour and SEA 1941	Invasion of French Indochina (1940) and SEA campaign, Dec (1941-1942)
<b>Factors</b>				
Ideology – militarism, nationalism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Japan wished to achieve equality with the West by acquiring colonies</li> <li>• The Meiji ambition to be a “first-class country” helped to encourage the drive for expansionism on the mainland</li> </ul>			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Japan believed it was her destiny to be leader of Asia</li> </ul>
Economic issues	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Economic benefits: the raw materials and the markets of East Asia</li> <li>• Manchuria was the area of China closest to Japan and agriculturally rich in mineral resources – provided important opportunities for the supply of resources to Japan</li> <li>• In the dire economic situation caused by the Great Depression, Manchuria became even more important to Japan's interests – Manchuria's wealth of resources (coal, iron and timber) were increasingly</li> </ul>			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The economic embargo placed on Japan as a result of its expansion into Indochina would be fatal in the long term for Japan</li> <li>• The Japanese could not sustain the war in China if their key war supplies were cut off – the war of conquest to gain resources from the European</li> </ul>

	enticing to a Japan suffering the deprivations of depression			colonies seemed to be the only option
Domestic issues	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Manchuria also offered the possibility of providing living space for the rapidly growing Japanese population</li> <li>• Manchuria was depicted by the diplomat Yosuke Matsuoko as a “lifeline” and “our only means of survival”</li> </ul>	<p><u>Years of turmoil: the descent into the “dark valley”</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• This refers to the period in Japanese history during the 1930s and early 1940s when the country descended into militarism, authoritarian rule, and aggressive imperialism.</li> <li>• Between 1932-1941, there were 12 different Prime ministers, 6 of whom were generals/admirals</li> <li>• Many assassinations – Prime Minister Inukai was shot and killed; leader of Tosei-ha general Nagata was killed</li> <li>• February 26 incident – attempted coup failed, but drastically increased the power of the military over the civilian government and effectively gave veto power over government policies to the military services</li> <li>• Tosei-ha general Hideki Tojo was appointed Chief of Staff of the Kwantung Army in July 1937, the month of the Marco Polo bridge incident</li> </ul>		
Reaction to international events/ changing diplomatic alignments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Japan could see the European powers sharing out the spoils of China and they were concerned that they would lose out if they did not also stake claims on the main land</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Germany, Italy and Japan had all quit the LON by 1936 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Germany had remilitarized the Rhineland, Italy had invaded Abyssinia – evident that LON wasn’t going to stop any of them</li> </ul> </li> <li>• 1936 Anti- Comintern pact aligned Japan with Italy and Germany</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• US pacific fleet had quickly become the most powerful fleet in the Pacific which would stop Japanese expansion</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The victories of the Nazis in Europe created great opportunities for Japan to take over the Asian colonies of Britain, France and the Netherland – colonial masters were unable to protect their overseas colonies adequately</li> </ul>

<p>Political strategy</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Strategically, Japan was alarmed at the possibility of other powers having political control in Korea</li> <li>• Japan believed that its security depended on it having a dominant influence in Korea and China</li> <li>• Manchuria strategically could act as a buffer against the threat from Russia</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Withdrawing from China was politically impossible – it would damage legitimacy of the military ruling elite; economic loss of the Zaibatsu; seen as dishonourable; loss of imperial gains</li> <li>• Prolonging negotiations is risky with little reward – believed the US would not compromise and that the US could build-up its military faster so Japan would lose its advantage</li> <li>• Attacking pearl harbour was high risk high reward – seen as the only way to secure Southeast Asia long enough to fortify by taking out the US fleet for a time</li> </ul>
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## Answers to questions at the back of Belcher's notes:

### Q1. According to Source A, why were the Japanese so excited about the victory over China in 1895?

The Japanese were excited about the victory over China in 1895 because the victory was so easily achieved. The Japanese were excited because China was much larger in size and population, highlighting the strength of Japan's military. The last reason is because China was supported by the British, which made Japan the victor over a western-supported country.

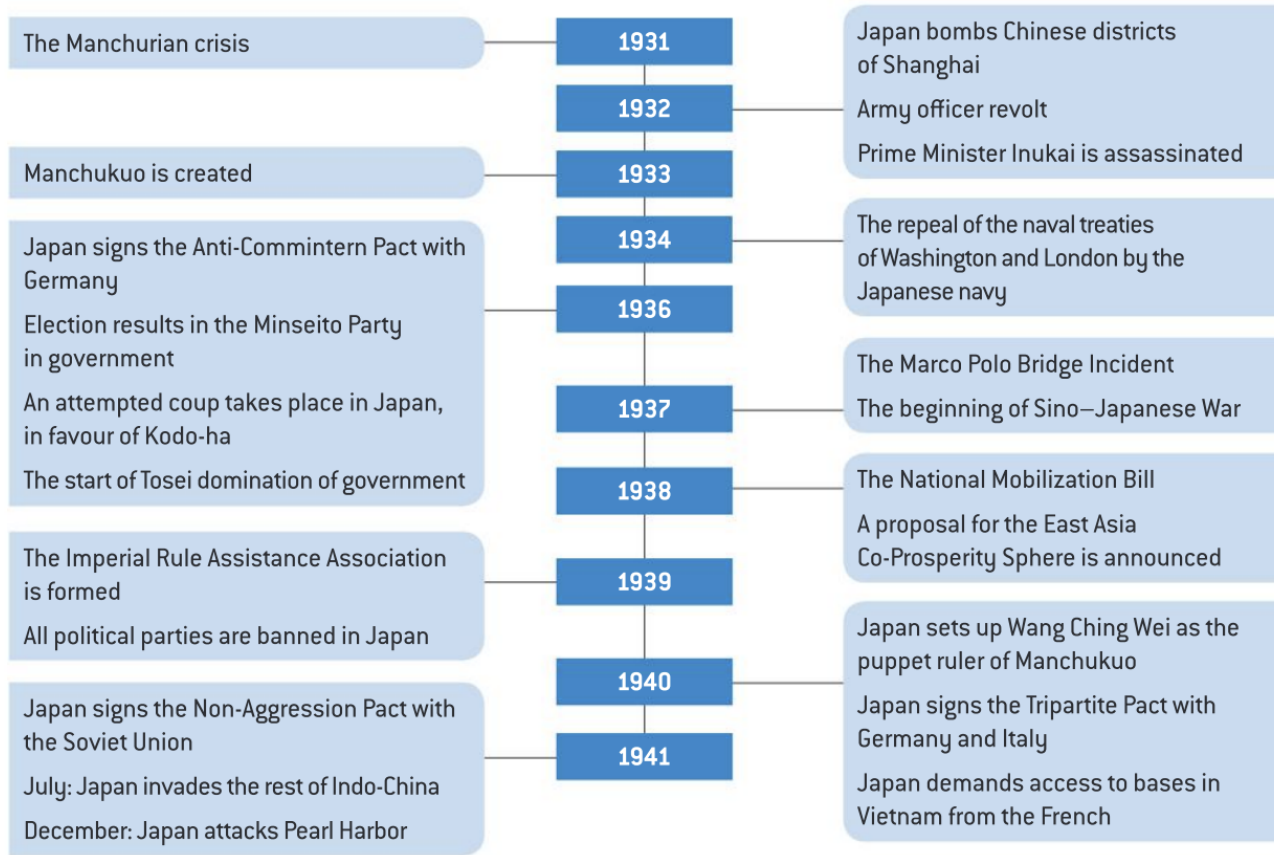
### Q2. With reference to its origin, purpose, and content, assess the values and limitations of Source A for historians studying the impact of the Sino-Japanese war in 1895. (4m)

The value regarding the content is that it shows historians that the Japanese people were overjoyed about the victory over China in 1895 and felt very proud of their military. The value regarding the origin is that because it was written by a journalist who lived through the events of the Sino-Japanese war, his account shows historians firsthand experience of somebody living in Japan. The limitation regarding the origin is that because the memoir was published in 1931 which was 46 years after 1895, original details about the event could be forgotten by the author. The limitation regarding the purpose of A which is to share the author's experience, his writing would be more focused on narrative storytelling than any substantial political information or historical analysis.

### Q3. Compare and contrast the views expressed in source B and Source C regarding the views of the Japanese towards western countries.

The first similarity is that in both Source B and D

# Chapter 5: Events and Responses – Japanese expansionism



A French political cartoon from 1898.



← An image we felt encapsulated the spirit of this chapter

### Was war inevitable for Japan? (essay qn paper 1 last qn)

Theme	Point	Evidence -P
Yes	From the early 1930s, Japan had planned a war with the aim of dominating Asia.	- Japan's aims in the region could only be achieved through war; hence war in the region was inevitable. Japan used negotiations to delay an international response to their expansion for as long as possible
No	Although Japan did plan to expand its empire in Asia, war was not inevitable.	- This is because Japan was willing to achieve its objectives through negotiation. If possible, war with the major powers was to be avoided. However, if negotiation failed, Japan needed to be prepared for war -
Yes	Japan was forced into war by the actions of the USA	- Japan had legitimate aims for the region. The USA and Britain were determined to contain Japan -

#### Events (must know)

##### Event 1: Japanese invasion of Manchuria, 1931

**Mukden incident (18 Sep 1931)** : Dynamite detonated by an officer of the Kwantung Army close to a railroad owned by Japan's South Manchuria Railway near Mukden

- Military accused Chinese dissidents of the act, responded with a full invasion
- Kwantung Army disobeyed orders and invaded the rest of the 693-mile-long railway line in Manchuria, capturing every city along the way
- Further army groups invaded, also disobeying orders, to capture more locations – looking for glory/anti-Chinese
- League acted cautiously and held several meetings. League decided to send a fact finding commission led by Lord Lytton to Manchuria. Commission took several months to arrive in Manchuria and then several months to complete the report. During that time, the Kwantung army was able to expand throughout Manchuria.
- Eventually, commission stressed that the problem in Manchuria could only be solved by a general improvement in Sino-Japanese relations. Recommended that following Japan's withdrawal of troops back to the railway zone, the two countries should negotiate a non-aggression pact and a trade agreement. Japan declared that the League's members were hypocritical. (E.g. Britain had used force in China during the Opium wars) Thus, Japan did not accept the report and withdrew from the League in protest in March 1933.

• **Creation of Manchukuo:** By February 1932, the invasion of Manchuria was successful and the Japanese controlled puppet state "Manchukuo" was established

- Japan's Prime minister Tanaka was instructed by the emperor to enforce discipline in the army – but the General staff were unwilling to punish the perpetrators as they claimed it would weaken the prestige of the army
- In July 1929, Tanaka was forced to resign as he was unable to implement the emperor's wishes (after the assassination of Zhang Zhuolin) – clear that that the army could ignore the government with impunity – fundamentally undermining liberal democracy in Japan

##### Impact on Japan

- Japan benefitted economically from the occupation of Manchuria
- The cost of maintaining a sizeable army on the Chinese mainland to some extent negated the benefits because there was an increase in taxation back home in Japan
- Japan was potentially overstretching itself – needed to protect itself against the Soviet Army and US navy, and also make the Chinese government accept its position in Manchuria and Northern China
- There was little hope that the government would regain the upper hand – Japanese government's position was further undermined by public support for the Kwantung Army's actions
- The embarrassed Japanese government had to go along with the wave of popular opinion and accept the conquests rather than demonstrate the loss of control it had over the army

<p><b>Event 2: The 2<sup>nd</sup> Sino Japanese War (1937-1945)</b></p>	<p><b>January 28 Incident</b> (Jan-May 1932): Japan launched an attack on Shanghai – The city was bombed by the Japanese with widespread devastation of the Chinese districts; after 98 days, it ended with the demilitarization of Shanghai</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tanggu Truce (May 1933): Confirmed Rehe and Manchuria were now Manchukuo</li> <li>• Area 100 miles south of the Great Wall was to be de-militarised by the Chinese</li> <li>• Between 1932-1937, Japan provoked problems in China e.g. stirring civil wars, revolts and protests, supporting various local warlords to weaken the KMT</li> <li>• KMT was too busy fighting the Chinese Civil War vs the Communists to resist Japan</li> <li>• Military leaders were divided whether to pursue Northern expansion Doctrine or Southern expansion doctrine <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- NED: land conflicts vs China and USSR</li> <li>- SED: Naval based campaign vs the Pacific and SE Asia</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Due to the success of the land war against China – support shifted to the NED</li> <li>• July 1937: Japanese launched an attack at the Marco Polo Bridge → led to full scale war with China</li> </ul> <p><b>The Rape of Nanjing:</b> By November 1937 the Chinese began to retreat and the capital Nanjing fell in December 1937 – adopted the “kill all, burn all, destroy all” policy</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• At the Marco Polo Bridge, near Beijing, fighting broke out between Japanese and Chinese forces on 7 July 1937. Japanese army draws forces into China from Korea without consulting the Japanese government. Eventually, it led to a full-scale war with China. By the end of July, Japanese forces took over Beijing.</li> </ul> <p><b>Outcome of the war</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• China’s official estimate that 230,000 Chinese were killed</li> <li>• KMT withdrew to Chongqing in Southwest China, a mountainous terrain, in 1938, and blew up the Yellow River dikes which eventually slowed down the Japanese</li> <li>• Japan held almost all the major cities, ports and transportation networks</li> <li>• Japan was unable to fully extinguish the KMT or the CCP due to overextension and geographical location – drain on their resources</li> </ul>
<p><b>Event 3: Invasion of French Indochina (1940) and SEA campaign, Dec 1941-1942</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In response to France and Netherlands being invaded by Germany in June 1940, Japan invaded French Indochina (Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia)</li> <li>• July 1940, Britain was undergoing the Battle of Britain and December of 1941 US was attacked on Pearl Harbour</li> <li>• From December 1941 to January 1942: Japanese attacked the Philippines, Wake Island, Guam, Myanmar, Malaya, Thailand, Hong Kong and Midway</li> <li>• February 1942: Battle of Singapore. British surrendered</li> <li>• February 1942 – Largest Japanese air raid since Pearl Harbour occurs against Darwin, Australia; Japanese invade Bali</li> <li>• In the first half of 1942, Japa had completed capture of Indonesia, Burma and the Philippines</li> </ul>
<p><b>Event 4: Japan attacks Pearl Harbour (December 1941)</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• On Sunday 7<sup>th</sup> December 1941 – holiday and the Americans were very poorly prepared and unexpecting</li> <li>• Aimed to destroy the US pacific fleet – if successful would have rendered the USA temporarily helpless to resist Japanese expansion; Japan could then conquer and consolidate its control in Southeast Asia before the USA had time to rebuild its naval capability</li> <li>• Out of the 94 vessels and the AirForce stationed there, 90% was sunk or damaged; 8 were battleships</li> <li>• Killed over 2400, injured 1200</li> <li>• Failed to target support facilities like oil storage tank, aircraft carriers, dry docks</li> </ul>

Event	International Response
Invasion of Manchuria	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Historian Kennet Pyle sees the Manchurian crisis as a “turning point” for Japan – led to Japan’s isolation as it now seemed to have abandoned international cooperation and the Washington Treaty System</li> </ul> <p>International response 1: The Lytton Report</p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lytton Commission Report was finally delivered in September 1932 (a year later) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Rejected the Japanese claim that the invasion was an act of self-defense</li> <li>- Did not outright say that Japan was responsible for the Mukden incident, but it was clear to the international community what had happened= isolated Japan</li> <li>- Manchukuo was the product of Japanese military aggression in China, but also recognized Japan had legitimate concerns in Manchuria because of its economic ties there</li> </ul> </li> <li>• LON refused to acknowledge “Manchukuo” as an independent nation and suggested China grant independence to Manchuria and for Japan to withdraw its forces</li> <li>• The Lytton report was approved by 42 votes to 1 in the assembly</li> <li>• Japan refused the Leagues request and walked out in disgust at being labeled the aggressor. Japan formally quit the LON in March 1933</li> </ul> <p><u>Why did the League not take stronger action against Japan</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• France, one of the key members of the league, felt it had no real reason to fall out with Japan – as a colonial power in Indo-China, it had much to gain from a weakened China</li> <li>• Britain was also cautious because it lacked the military means to resist Japan</li> <li>• Both countries were suffering from the economic effects of the Great Depression which made them hesitant to spend resources on either economic or military actions.</li> <li>• The fear of communism meant that Japan was viewed as an ally in containing communist Russia</li> </ul> <p><u>China’s response</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• There was a boycott of Japanese products, which reduced sales of Japanese goods in China by two-thirds.</li> <li>• Following the bombing of Shanghai and Japan’s continued expansion in the north, China continued to cede territory</li> <li>•Jiang’s strategy against Japan derived from the belief that because of the size of China, Japan would exhaust itself in the process of trying to occupy it</li> <li>• He believed that the Japanese were a “disease of the skin while the communists were a disease of the heart”</li> </ul> <p>Why the US did not intervene</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Impact of WW1 – no more involvement in European quarrels</li> <li>2. No credible naval force</li> <li>3. Great depression – need to focus on domestic issues</li> <li>4. US interests and security not directly affected</li> <li>5. Stimson non recognition doctrine</li> <li>6. Trade with Japan</li> </ol>
<p>2<sup>nd</sup> Sino Japanese War (1937-1945)</p>	<p><u>Political developments in China – the 2<sup>nd</sup> United Front</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In 1931, the CCP took over Jiangxi province and formed the Jiangxi Soviet (communist gov.) but were forced out by the KMT army</li> <li>•The long march (1935-1936): CCP were forced into escaping Yan’an province in northern China – governed a communist state there in 1936-1945</li> <li>• KMT leader Chiang Kai Shek remained too determined to destroy the CCP and continued military campaigns against them</li> <li>• The loss of the Jiangxi Soviet and the Long March led to the rise of Mao Zedong in the CCP who became its leader in Ya’an</li> </ul> <p><u>The Xian Incident &amp; The Second United Front, 1936</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•Manchuria’s warlord opposed to KMT’s non-resistance policy towards Japan, Chiang flew to meet him to press him to continue his anti-CCP campaigns, but the warlord arrested Chiang and handed him over to the CCP. The CCP wanted to execute him, but it was argued that only Chiang had the prestige to hold China together. Forced him to ally with the CCP to fight Japan</li> <li>• Led to the 2<sup>nd</sup> united front in December 1936 – CCP and KMT vs Japan</li> </ul> <p><u>KMT and CCP</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•Although official allies, there was next to no co-operation between the KMT and the CCP – KMT still occasionally launched attacks on the CCP</li> <li>• CCP spent much of the war (1937-1945) strengthening themselves in Yan’an, relatively undamaged from the Japanese and KMT while KMT was severely affected by constant defeats to Japan</li> <li>•Japan was unable to totally defeat the KMT or CCP due to the remote locations of the base of operations – forced Japan into fighting a continuing war on the Chinese mainland (drain on their resources)</li> </ul>

### 1930-1939

- Neutrality acts – various acts in the 1930s ensured that US was adopt a policy of isolationism
- Actions in Europe such as the Stresa Front, Hoare-Laval Pact and weakness shown by the LON – USA determined to not be involved in European struggles
- Public opinion in 1937: 7/10 Americans wanted US to avoid war with Japan
- Stimson doctrine (1932) : USA would not recognize actions that violated China as a sovereign nation – ensured that US would not enter confrontation with Japan
- November 1937, the “Nine-Power Treaty” Brussels Conference convened, and it condemned the actions of Japan but produced no measures to stop Japanese aggression. The nine powers were: United States, Britain, France, Italy, Japan, China, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Portugal.
- Its trade with Japan until 1939 played a key role in supporting Japan’s war effort against China – USA met nearly 40% of Japan’s total needs for metals, cotton, and wood pulp

#### HOWEVER,

- Open door policy: policy keeping China open to trade with all countries on an equal basis, keeping army one power from total control of the country
- USA provided financial aid to KMT

#### JAPAN

- In Nov 1938 Japan declared a new political and economic union between Japan and China “Greater East Asian Co-prosperity sphere” against US’s open-door policy

#### WHY THERE WAS NO ACTION AGAINST JAPAN

- Did not want to endanger their investments in Japan
- Lacked a strong pacific naval fleet to act
- Recovering from depression
- Keen to maintain isolated from international affairs

### 1939-1941

- In September 1940, Japan signed the Tripartite Axis pact which agreed that Germany and Italy would dominate Europe and leave Japan to dominate East Asia
  - In April 1941 Japan entered a neutrality pact with the soviets – mutually beneficial as the Soviet Union could concentrate its forces in Europe and Japan in Asia
  - The victories of the Nazis in Europe created great opportunities for Japan to take over the Asian colonies of Britain, France, and the Netherlands and, on 24 July, Japanese forces moved into Southern Indochina
  - US feared the KMT would either be defeated soon or join the Japanese – lead to total dominance for the Japanese in Asia
  - Following the Munich Agreement, Czech Crisis, Tripartite pact followed by the victories of the Axis powers in May-August of 1940 in Europe = signaled a huge change in international context
  - US now saw both Pacific and Europe as theatres in the same larger global war
  - US now to prepare for global war
1. Gave more oil to the KMT
  2. Supplied UK with resources and weapons e.g. “Lend Lease” agreement of 1941
  3. US began to mobilise for total war – instituting the military draft; defense budget went from 1.9b in 1939 to 26b in 1941
  4. 1938-1941: Began to gradually introduce various trade embargos on Japan (75% of Japan’s scrap iron, 93% of copper came from the US)
  5. July 26, 1941: US freezes all Japanese held assets in the US as a result of the Japanese invasion of French Indochina
  6. August 1<sup>st</sup>, 1941: US embargo of oil to Japan – 80% of Japan’s oil came from the US and was vital to their war effort

Invasion of French Indochina (1940) and SEA

- Further embargos by US against Japan
- Japanese Soviet Neutrality Agreement (April 1941)
- It was clear a Nazi invasion of USSR was imminent
  - The land war in China had wired into a stalemate
  - Number of border disputes between USSR and Japan saw no victor

campaign 1941-1942	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•Mutually beneficial: Japan could focus on Asia and USSR on Germany</li> <li>• Japan saw NED no longer viable and turned towards SED</li> </ul>
Japan attacks Pearl Harbour (December 1941)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• USA declared war on Japan</li> <li>• Germany and Italy declared war on the USA</li> <li>• USA officially joined the war on the allied side</li> <li>• US to fight Japan in the pacific alone</li> <li>• Churchill and Roosevelt often met and agreed that Germany was the biggest threat</li> </ul> <p>HISTORIOGRAPHY:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Japanese historian Michiko Hasegawa argues that the attack on Pearl Harbour was not in line with Japan's long-term planning and was caused by the oil embargo that forced Japan into war</li> <li>• Revisionist historians go as far as to argue that Roosevelt deliberately provoked Japan into making an attack</li> </ul>

### HISTORIOGRAPHY (optional)

HISTORIOGRAPHY		
Theme	Point	Historians +
Orthodox	Japan followed an aggressive, expansionist foreign policy, and the international community (LON) failed to keep them in check	- Historians: Roberta Wohlstetter (for pearl harbour), Michael Barnhart (Invasion of French Indochina), John Fairbank (2 <sup>nd</sup> Sino Japanese war) , Kenneth Pyle (Mukden incident)
Revisionist	Japan was reacting defensively to economic crises, population pressures, and Western encirclement; international powers contributed by cornering Japan	- Historians: David Bergamini, Akira Iriye, James Crowley
Post-revisionist	Both sides miscalculated: Japan underestimated US resolve, US underestimated Japan's desperation	- Historians: Ian Kershaw , Marius Jansen, Ian Nish