

## Background Terminology

**Kwantung Army** = most important group within imperial Japanese army

- After Russo-Japan War 1904/05 → army established a Kwantung Garrison in Manchuria 1906
- In 1919 - this was reorganized into the Kwantung Army
- Kwantung = very nationalistic
- Many officers members of 'imperial way faction' → advocated for expansionism
- During 1920s/30s → officers ignored instruction from Jap. gov + army general staff
- Officers were increasingly

**Meiji Restoration** = return of emperor's political rule

- Took place in 1868 - after end of shogunate period (when power was w/ military leader)
  - Over centuries - shogun had been various leaders of military feudal clans
  - In 13th century - shoguns had taken most of power from the emperor

**Taisho Democracy** = Period between 1912 - 26 → many attempts at creating more democratic/liberal political framework

- Meiji Constitution drawn up in 1889, enforced 1890 - gave lots of power to emp.
  - (supreme command of military)
- New Taisho period - emperor was ill → power shifted from statesmen (*genro*) to the parliament (*diet*) + Japan's 2 main democratic parties
- Main achievement of Taisho democracy: universal democracy 1925
- Jap. gov tried to control military during this period ... (limited success)
- When Taisho emperor died, succeeded by Hirohito
  - Jap. saw shift from democracy → ultra-nationalism/militarism
- Hirohito years 1926-1989 = Showa era 'period of Japanese glory'

**Zaibatsu** = large industrial companies very powerful in interwar period

- Close family ties w/ military officers

## Ch 2: Causes of Japanese Expansion

### Timeline

- 1853 - July:** US Commodore Perry arrives in Japan
- 1854 - March:** Treaty of Kanagawa w/ US
- 1868 - Jan:** Meiji Restoration, **April:** Five Articles
- 1894 - August:** First Sino-Japanese War begins
- 1895 - April:** Treaty of Shimonoseki w/ China; Triple Intervention
- 1902 - January:** Anglo-Japanese alliance
- 1904 - February:** Start of Russo-Japanese War
- 1905 - August:** Treaty of Portsmouth (USA)
- 1911 - October:** 'Double Tenth' revolution in China
- 1915 - January:** 'Twenty one Demands' presented to China
- 1916 - June:** death of Yuan Shikai in China
- 1919 - May:** May Fourth Movement protests in China
- 1921 - November:** Start of the Washington Conference
- 1926 - July:** Start of the northern campaign in China
- 1927 - April:** Shanghai Massacre ends first United Front in China
- 1929 - October:** Wall Street Crash in the US begins Great Depression
- 1930 - November:** assassination attempt on prime minister Hamaguchi
- 1931 - September:** Japan starts invasion of Manchuria
- 1932 - May:** Assassination of prime minister Inukai
- 1933 - February:** Japan leaves the League of Nations
- 1936 - December:** Second United Front in China
- 1937 - July:** Japan invades China

## Overview

- In 1854/58 → USA had forced Japanese rulers to sign treaties which ended Japan's policy of seclusion (had lasted for 200 yrs)
  - Treaties were designed to open Japan to US trade
- Mid 19th century - nationalism became increasingly important in Japanese politics
  - directed against Western powers (Br, Fr, Ned, who already had colonies in Asia)
- In 19th century, tensions w/ Tsarist Russia + US developed as a result
  - (since both states also wished to expand their influence in Asia)
- 1876 - Jap forced Korea to sign Japan-Korea treaty, forcing Korea to open up to Jap. products
  - This was Japan's first attempt to counter Russian aims in Korea
- 1905 → Japan declared Korea to be a Jap. 'protectorate'
- 1910 → Japan formally annexed Korea
  - By occupying Korea, Japan was in a better position to expand into China
- Late 19th century, many nationalist groups formed in Japan → they all pushed for expansion into mainland Asia
  - As samurai tradition stressed, militarism grew
- Military leaders pressed gov. to pursue aggressive foreign policy
  - Great depression increased these pressures, as it limited Japan's long-term problems of limited raw materials + rising population
- Jap. expansionists tried to exploit Chinese political instability of 1920s/30s
- 1931 onwards, Japan launched series of mil. Campaigns → initially highly successful
- Referred to as 'Fifteen-Year War' or 'The Greater Asia War'
  - Seen as a part of the second World War (some argue war in pacific started in 1931)

## 2.1 How Significant was the Impact of Nationalism and Militarism on Japan's Foreign Policy?

### Japanese Nationalism before 1900

#### Seclusion and Early Nationalism

- Before 1867, Jap = strictly-segregated feudal society (like European middle-ages)
  - This feudal structure lasted very long - due to seclusion
- Power rested w/ landowning clans
- 1600 - 1867 → Jap. ruled by Tokugawa clan (largest samurai clan)
  - Head of dominant samurai clan = 'shogun' + commanding general of army
  - Tokugawa established national unity + followed policy of seclusion
    - (based on underlying belief of superiority of Japanese culture + concern of the growing influence of Western powers in Asia in the 19th century)
- Last Shogun = Tokugawa Yoshinobu
  - Attempted to modernize/strengthen Japan's gov
  - Failed to keep foreign states from increasing contact w/ Japan
  - ^ both led to rise of opposition from other clans
    - They feared that reforms would transfer emperor's powers to the shogun
  - 'Sunno joi' force = opposition force formed
- Tokugawa Yoshinobu resigned → power returned to emperor
- Internal power struggle broke out (Boshin War) 1867

#### Japan and the US

- Br. had sent a mission to Jap in 1818
- USA also interested in extending interests in Japan + securing trade relations
- 1837/1846 → USA attempted to send ships in form of gunboat diplomacy
  - but beaten off by Japanese ships

- 8 July 1853 - Commodore Perry arrived w/ 4 warships
  - He wanted to re-request commercial agreements between US/Jap
  - 'Promised' to return w/ more warships the following year to receive Japan's response
- Despite some jap. leaders in favor of national resistance ... Tokugawa shogunate agreed to Treaty of Kanagawa in March 1854
  - This opened two of Japan's ports to US trade + granted US position as 'most favored nation'
- Japan's 200 yr old policy of seclusion was ended
  - Led to Japan's rapid emergence as important regional/intl. power
- US followed 1854 treaty w. Other treaties
  - 1858 → Japan signed Treaty of Amity and Commerce w/ USA (opposed by imperial court who were dominated by nationalists + wanted to continue seclusion)

### Meiji Restoration 1868

- All treaties signed w/ West were done w/out emperor's consent
- Pro-imperial and anti-Western factions formed + caused havoc
- Shishi = advocates for resistance, prepared to die/kill for their cause
- Yoshida Shoin → important Shishi leader
  - Member of feudal clan Choshu
  - Wanted feudal system to transform to establish greater national unity so that Jap. could resist growing power of the West
  - Argued that existing gov. = 'incapable' of expelling Western 'barbarians'
  - His anti-gov activities led to his execution in 1859
- Feelings of resentment at Western interference continued to grow
- Choshu clan leaders able to persuade emp. to adopt an anti-Western policy + gov agreed to new seclusion policy
- Western vessels were attacked... but they retaliated
  - This persuaded Choshu that they needed to modernise their armies
  - Also caused gov. to reconsider allegiance to anti-western groups such as Choshu
- Fighting commenced in 1860s
  - Satsuma clan switched support from the gov to the Choshu
- 1866 emperor died + replaced by emperor Meiji (15 yrs old)
  - Meiji came under influence of those who opposed the gov.
- Threat of civil war persuaded shogun in 1867 to restore political authority to emperor
  - Tokugawa Shogunate had been overthrown (*he had failed to keep westerners out, therefore Satsuma and Choshu clans were victorious when the Meiji emperor came to power - as the old societal ways were restored*)
- 1868 - Emperor established imperial court in Edo (renamed Tokyo)
- After 1868, imperial system continued → main goal = keep West out (unlike other nations who had come under control of them)
  - Policy = 'fukoku kyohei' (enrich the country, strengthen the military)
  - KEY idea → if japan wanted to prosper, strong military needed

### Cultural Nationalism

- End of 17th century onwards → education based on nationalistic + pro-imperial principles
- Education rejected Chinese confucianism → turned to Shintoism
  - Japan created by Sun Goddess
  - Emperor = living god ← official state belief after Meiji Restoration
- Pro-emperor nationalism taught to all students until WWII
- Early years of Meiji Restoration - modernization took place so that Japan could resist the West + to make japan more powerful
- 1880s saw resurgence of 'cultural nationalism' against Westernization
  - Directed against liberal principles eg: democracy + parliamentary gov. Which had dominated Japanese education since the 1870s
- Gov. took control of printing school textbooks
  - Stress on patriotism/loyalty etc.
- One key traditionalist = Motoda Eifu (1818-91), emperor's tutors
  - Helped in drafting the imperial rescript on education in 1890

# Ch 5. Causes of German & Italian Expansion

## Timeline

- 1861 - March:** Kingdom of Italy established
- 1867 - April:** North German Confederation formed
- 1870 - July:** Italian Unification completed
- 1871 - Jan:** German Unification completed
- 1879 -** the start of 'Scramble for Africa'
- 1884-99:** Germany establishes colonies in Africa and the Pacific
- 1885 -** Italian colonies of Eritrea and Somaliland established in Africa
- 1896 - March:** Italy defeated at battle of Adowa
- 1910 - Dec:** Italian Nationalist Association formed
- 1911-12:** Italo-Turkish war → Italy establishes colony of Italian East Africa
- 1914 - Aug:** WWI begins
- 1915 - May:** Treaty of London
- 1918 - Jan:** Wilson's fourteen points
- 1919 - June:** Treaty of Versailles, **Sept:** Treaty of St. Germain; D'Annunzio seizes Fiume
- 1920 - Jan:** League of Nations established, **Feb:** Hitler launches the Nazi Party
- 1921 - Oct:** Mussolini forms National fascist party
- 1922 - Oct:** March on Rome; Mussolini becomes Prime Minister
- 1923 - Aug:** Corfu Incident, **Nov:** Hitler's unsuccessful Beer Hall Putsch
- 1926 - Sept:** Germany allowed to join League of Nations
- 1929 - Oct:** Stresemann dies; Wall Street Crash
- 1933 - Jan:** Hitler appointed Chancellor
- 1934 - Sept:** Schacht's 'New Plan'
- 1935 - Oct:** Italian invasion of Abyssinia
- 1936 - Sept:** Göring's Four Year Plan
- 1937:** Mussolini launches the Romanita exhibitions

## Overview

- Roots of fascism & its nationalist ideology can be found in the 19th cent when both nations were unified
- Unification completed in Germany in 1871, in Italy in 1870 - achieved by a combination of political devs + internal/external military conflicts
- Once in existence, ultra-nationalists in both countries campaigned for imperial expansion to match France + Britain's colonial dominance
- By the end of the 19th cent → It/Ger. had gained colonies in Africa and the Pacific
- Because of WWI → nationalism increased in both countries as both nations were angered by the peace treaties ... as a consequence fascist movements developed
- In 1922, Mussolini became the PM of Italy and established a fascist dictatorship
- An important part of ideology for both these early fascist parties was an extreme form of nationalism which wanted to redraw borders drawn by 1919-20 peace treaties
- Wallstreet crash 1929 + Great Depression helped the Nazi's gain power in 1933
- The depression made territorial expansion even more attractive as it wd/ bring raw materials
- Depression undermined the League's ability to maintain peace in Europe ... making the growing nationalist/expansionist aims of Fascist Italy + Nazi Germany seem more achievable

## 5.1 What was the Impact of Fascist and Nazi Ideology on Expansionist Foreign Policies in Italy and Germany?

- Between WWI - WWII → lots of political/economic turmoil + many attempted revolutions
- Fascism emerged first in Italy ... it also emerged in Br + Fr but failed
- Portugal + Spain adopted semi-fascist gov's within this period
- Fascist ideology alone didn't contribute to Italy + Ger's expansionist policy ... it was also nationalism

## Fascist Ideology

- Unlike Marxism - Fascism has no coherent/unified ideological root
- Historian Alexander de Grand: key element to Mussolini's 'fascism' was a sort of 'nationalist fascism' that favoured an 'aggressive foreign policy' in order to achieve territorial expansion
  - Other important aspects = 'violent action' and 'racial supremacy'
- Historians R. Griffin and S. Payne argue that a core aspect of fascist ideology is a populist form of 'ultra-nationalism' ... as many nationalists in Europe had moved towards more extreme forms of nationalism prior to Mussolini

## Italian Nationalism before 1933

- Nationalism had been a strong political force since the 19th century - it was a response to French revolution + Napoleonic wars
- Until 19th cent - 'Italy' was a geographical expression, not a country
- *Risorgimento* (Unification of Italy) occurred in 1861 - (it excluded Rome and Venice until 1870)

## Italia Irredenta and Italy's Empire

- The new Italian empire didn't include *all* Italian speakers
- This gave rise to the idea of *Italia Irredenta* (unredeemed Italy) → Italy couldn't be 'whole' unless all Italians lived in one state (incl. Tyrol, parts of Adriatic coast)
- After 1870 achieving this ^ became nationalists goal
  - Strong foreign policy wd/ help unify Italians + create a sense of national pride + gain Italy International respect
- Esp. after 1879 when the scramble for Africa began, Italy keen to take part in colonial expansion
- 1882 - Italy established foothold in Eritrea
- 1855 - Italian forces attempted to push into Ethiopia but were defeated by their army
  - Despite this ... in 1855 Eritrea + Ethiopia became Italian colonies
- 1895 - Italy occupied province of Tigre in Abyssinia ... but lost military defeat in 1896
  - Seen as humiliation
- 1911 - Italy attacked Ottoman-ruled Tripolitania (Italian Turkish war 1911-12)
  - Italy won, land renamed Italian East Africa
- 1834 Italian East Africa became Italian colony of Libya
- Some nationalists still angry about 1896 defeat ... wanted to continue a more aggressive foreign policy

## Impact of WWI and the Peace Treaties of 1914-19

- 1910 - extremely imperialist Italian Nationalist association (**ANI**) formed
  - Wanted to recreate the empire of Ancient Rome (wanted to reinstate Italy's 'glorious' past)
- Italian nationalists saw entering into WWI as way to gain more colonies
- Before 1914, Italy was part of Triple alliance
- Italy's gov didn't take part in war immediately ... wanted to see which side wd/ offer best terms
- Negotiations w/ Triple alliance in 1914/15 revealed that Austria wd/ never concede Trentino or Trieste
- Entente promised these ^ territories + other territories in South Tyrol, Istria and Dalmatia
- Treaty of London May 1915 (Br + Fr promised to support Italy's territorial ambitions) - Italy switched sides to the Triple Entente
- Nov 1917, Italians suffered defeat by Austrians at battle of Caporetto → 40,000 killed
  - Nationalists blamed gov. for being inefficient + failing to supply enough equipment
  - Despite having a victory at Vittorio Veneto in Oct 1918 - many Italians remembered this defeat
- War ended 1918 - many Italians expected to gain territories they had been promised
- Vittorio Orlando, Italian PM went to Paris Peace conf Jan 1919
  - He expected to receive territory from Treaty of London + under pressure from nationalists *also* requested port of Fiume + share of former German Colonies in Africa
  - Italy received most of what it wanted ... but nothing in Africa, no Fiume, and Northern Dalmatia excluded

- Nonetheless... Italy's long-term opponent AH had been defeated/didn't exist anymore

### Italian Nationalism and the 'mutilated victory'

- Italian nationalists angered at terms of Peace treaty → blamed liberal gov.
- Popular nationalist Gabriele D'Annunzio described it as a **'mutilated victory'**
- Sep 12th 1919 - D'Annunzio led 2,000 armed men to city of Fiume + took control + ruled for 15 months (in defiance of liberal gov.)
  - Eventually forced to surrender in 1920 ... but seen as 'hero' to Italian Nationalists + inspired Mussolini

### Italian Fascism

- Even after becoming PM in 1922 - Mussolini never defined his fascist beliefs
- 1925 - Mussolini began drawing up a fascist doctrine
- Under leadership of philosopher Giovanni Gentile, 200+ intellectuals met in Bologna → created Manifesto of Fascist Intellectuals (this explained fascist ideology)
  - ^ manifesto was ineffective
- 1933, revised ideas of fascism published ... mainly expressing what fascism was *against*, eg: liberalism, socialism, democracy, pacifism, 'class war', communism, etc.
  - They stood for action, the nation, authority and the state (vague ideas)
- In Italian Facism + German Naziism → 'Social Darwinism' = key idea
  - 'Belief in the necessity and value of forceful and violent struggle in order to ensure the survival of the state ... weaker groups did not deserve to survive'
  - All those who shared a common history/language/culture should live together in a 'greater' expanded nation

### Italian Fascism

- After WWI began, Mussolini set up his own newspaper, *Il Popolo d'Italia*
  - In this newspaper, he campaigned against peace + hoped for a successful war to bring Italy new colonies
  - Paper financed by Italian companies, eg: Fiat and the Fr. gov
- 1919 - Mussolini set up *Fascio di Combattimento* (battle group) in Milan
- 1921 - Mussolini formed National Fascist Party (PNF)
- To widen appeal of fascism, Mussolini stressed fascism's commitment to strong gov, patriotism + imperial expansionism

### Romanita movement

- After Mussolini + Fascists gained power 1922 → aim = consolidate power in Italy
- Mussolini used aggressive foreign policy from the beginning to help in doing so
- Corfu incident 1923 - Italian general murdered on Greek soil
  - Mussolini demanded Greece pay 50 million lire as compensation
  - Greece refused to pay (they weren't responsible)
  - Mussolini ignored the League + ordered Italian marines to invade Corfu
  - Mussolini seen as national hero
- Mussolini tried to link fascists to earlier greatness of Ancient Rome → 'Romanita' movement
  - Writers/Artists tried to portray fascism as revival of Ancient Roman civilization
  - Mussolini referred to as 'Il Duce' 'The Leader'
  - Fascist symbol incorporated into national flag
  - Emphasis placed on need to establish 'second Roman empire'
  - Ideology implemented into School curriculum
  - Propaganda constantly stressed nationalism
- Concept of *Spazio vitale* linked to the idea of a 'new' Roman empire
  - Mussolini wanted to include the entire Mediterranean, North Africa, and South-eastern states in Europe (eg: Albania) into this empire
  - When WWII began, he added Greece, Romania, Bulgaria & Hungary to the list
  - This empire wd/ spread culture + civilization in the same way that Ancient Rome did
- W/ exception to Corfu incident ... Mussolini avoided aggressive foreign policy until 1933
  - Not strong enough militarily

- Br + Fr acting together to condemn Italy in 1923 showed the weakness of Italy

## German Nationalism before 1933

- Germany unified 1871
- Pre-1871, Germany = collection of separate states linked only by language
- Some German states were large, eg: Prussia, Saxony, Bavaria
- States divided by religion (Protestantism in the north, Catholics in the south)
- French rev + Napoleon's conquests of 'German' areas of the Holy Roman empire resulted in an early form of German Nationalism
- Johann Fichte wanted a united German nation in as early as 1807-08 (published a book: Addresses to the German Nation)
- Student movements inspired by nationalist/liberal ideas of early French revolution
- After Napoleon's defeat, great powers (Br, Ru, Aus, Prussia, and Fr) met at Congress of Vienna to redraw map of Europe
- Congress grouped the German states into a 'German Confederation' (Deutscher Bund) + gave them a Diet (Assembly/Bundestag) in which rulers of each state could meet
  - New German confed + Bundestag supervised by Austria
- Between 1815-1819 → nationalist/liberal student movements arose
  - Austrian gov. suppressed these by pressing German Bund to pass the Carlsbad Decrees
  - **Carlsbad Decrees:** established tighter controls on unis + tightened censorship. Nationalist/Liberal professors dismissed
  - Metternich, Austrian chancellor stated: 'A word spoken by Austria is an unbreakable law for Germany'
  - Repression of nationalism continued into 1830s
- Among early German nationalists, disagreements between what 'Germany' should be
  - Gross vs. Klein Deutschland
  - Some preferred liberal/democratic system, some wanted monarchy
- Unsuccessful revolutions 1848
- German nationalism not carried forward via revolution ... but via Zollverein
- 1834 - Zollverein created: free trade association/customs union between German states
  - Austria *not* a part of it
- Yet, not until 1859 was a Nationalist Association formed (Nationalverein)
  - Yet no obvious nationalist leaders
  - German nationalism = unorganized collection of patriotic groups
- Emergence of unified Germany was the result of Prussia using military + econ methods
  - Bismarck's 'blood and iron'
  - Bismarck wanted to end the German Bund ... since it was still dominated by Austria
  - Bismarck wanted a North German Confederation dominated by Prussia
  - Defeated Denmark militarily 1864, Austria 1866
  - North German confed created 1867 → Prussia dominated
  - Prussia's military victories diminished Austria's influence within Germany + undermined France as the major continental power
  - Franco-Prussian war 1870-71 → Prussia quickly won
- May 1871, creation of new German Empire announced at Versailles

## German Militarism and Imperialism before 1914

- Despite unification 1871 - Borders weren't secure
- Securing borders = key factor of foreign policy
- France still seen as threat
- Germany wanted to create large modern army + use diplomacy to protect itself
- 1880s - Germany wanted 'a place in the sun' by gaining overseas colonies to match Br + Fr
- German armed forces continued to dev. Independently from civilian gov
- Militaristic values widespread, war plans were constantly drawn up vs. France