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DDE, DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

HISTORY OF JAPAN UP TO 1965

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HISTORY OF JAPAN UP TO 1965

UNIT: I

Early History of Japan:

Geographical Features -Historical background-Origin of the people. Early Society, Shintoism-The rule of the Shoguns. Political, Social and Economic conditions. The opening of Japan: Coming of The Europeans-Perry Expeditions. Treaties-Fall of Shogunate.

UNIT II

The Meiji Restoration and Modernisation:

Meiji Restoration-Causes –Changes brought about by Meiji restoration –Progress in Industry And Agriculture. Socio, economic and Political structure. Impact of West: Religious reforms education- Intellectual Awakening-Cultural life.

UNIT: III

Beginning of Militarism and Imperialism:

Japan's Interest in Korea-Hostile attitude of U.S.A-Sino-Japanese war of 1894-95- Anglo – Japanese Alliance. Russo-Japanese war-Japan becomes an imperial nation-Stages in Territorial expansion-Korea, Manchuria. American involvement in Manchuria-Japan's Relation with China. Japan and the first world war (1914-1919)- Japan's 21 demands. Japan and international conferences.

UNIT: 1V

Japan up to 1945

The Washington Conference of (1921-22) -Second Sino-Japanese war japan's relation with Germany, Russia and America. Rome- Berlin-Tokyo Axis-Japan and The Second World War.

UNIT: V

Japan since 1945

Consequences of Japan's defeat- Economic rebuilding- Causes of economic success – Industrial growth-Major industries, Transport-Trade and Economic cooperation-Labour Movement- Welfare measures-Development of science and technology.

Textbooks:

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CONTENTS

Early History of Japan

The Meiji Restoration and Modernisation

Beginning of Militarism and Imperialism

Japan up to 1945

30. The Washington Conference of 1921-22
31. Second Sino-Japanese War
32. Japan's Relation with Germany
33. II WORLD WAR

Japan Since 1945

34. Consequences of Japan's defeat
35. Economic Rebuilding
36. Causes of Economic Success
37. Industrial Growth –Major industries, Transport- Trade and Economic Cooperation.
38. Labour Movement
39. Welfare Measures
40. Development of Science and technology.

History of Japan up to 1965

Unit: I

Early History of Japan

Geographical Features of Japan

Japan, is an island country, lying off the east coast of Asia. It consists of a great string of islands in a northeast-southwest arc that stretches for approximately 1,500 miles (2,400 km) through the western North Pacific Ocean.

Nearly the entire land area is taken up by the country's four main islands; from north to south these are Hokkaido (Hokkaidō), Honshu (Honshū), Shikoku, and Kyushu (Kyūshū). Honshu is the largest of the four, followed in size by Hokkaido, Kyushu, and Shikoku.

In addition, there are numerous smaller islands, the major groups of which are the Ryukyu (Nansei) Islands (including the island of Okinawa) to the south and west of Kyushu and the Izu, Bonin (Ogasawara), and Volcano (Kazan) islands to the south and east of central Honshu. The national capital, Tokyo (Tōkyō), in east-central Honshu, is one of the world's most populous cities.

The Japanese landscape is rugged, with more than four-fifths of the land surface consisting of mountains. There are many active and dormant volcanoes, including Mount Fuji (Fuji-san), which, at an elevation of 12,388 feet (3,776 meters), is Japan's highest mountain. Abundant precipitation and the generally mild temperatures throughout most of the country have produced a lush vegetation cover and, despite the mountainous terrain and generally poor soils, have made it possible to raise a variety of crops. Japan has a large and, to a great extent, ethnically homogeneous population, which is heavily concentrated in the low-lying areas along the Pacific coast of Honshu.

Complexity and contrast are the keynotes of life in Japan—a country possessing an intricate and ancient cultural tradition yet one that, since 1950, has emerged as one of the world's most economically and technologically advanced societies. Heavy emphasis is placed on education, and Japan is one of the world's most literate countries. The tension between old and new is apparent in all phases of Japanese life. A characteristic sensitivity to natural beauty and a concern with form and balance are evident in such cities as Kyōto and Nara, as well as

in Japan's ubiquitous gardens. Even in the countryside, however, the impact of rapid Westernization is evident in many aspects of Japanese life. The agricultural regions are characterized by low population densities and well-ordered rice fields and fruit orchards, whereas the industrial and urbanized belt along the Pacific coast of Honshu is noted for its highly concentrated population, heavy industrialization, and environmental pollution.

Humans have occupied Japan for tens of thousands of years, but Japan's recorded history begins only in the 1st century BCE, with a mention in Chinese sources. Contact with China and Korea in the early centuries CE brought profound changes to Japan, including the Chinese writing system, Buddhism, and many artistic forms from the continent. The first steps at political unification of the country occurred in the late 4th and early 5th centuries CE under the Yamato court. A great civilization then developed first at Nara in the 8th century and then at Heian-kyō (now Kyōto) from the late 8th to the late 12th century. The seven centuries thereafter were a period of domination by military rulers culminating in near isolation from the outside world from the early 17th to the mid-19th century.

The reopening of the country ushered in contact with the West and a time of unprecedented change. Japan sought to become a modern industrialized nation and pursued the acquisition of a large overseas empire, initially in Korea and China. By late 1941 this latter policy caused confrontation with the United States and its allies and to defeat in World War II (1939–45). Since the war, however, Japan's spectacular economic growth—one of the greatest of any nation in that period—brought the country to the forefront of the world economy. It now is one of the world's foremost manufacturing countries and traders of goods and is a global financial leader.

Land

Japan is bounded to the west by the Sea of Japan (East Sea), which separates it from the eastern shores of South and North Korea and southeastern Siberia (Russia); to the north by La Perouse (Sōya) Strait, separating it from Russian-held Sakhalin Island, and by the Sea of Okhotsk; to the northeast by the southern Kuril Islands (since World War II under Soviet and then Russian administration); to the east and south by the Pacific; and to the southwest by the East China Sea, which separates it from China. The island of Tsushima lies between north-

western Kyushu and south-eastern South Korea and defines the Korea Strait on the Korean side and the Tsushima Strait on the Japanese side.

The mountainous character of the country is the outcome of Orogenic (mountain-building) forces largely during the Quaternary time (roughly, the past 2.6 million years), as evidenced by the frequent occurrence of violent earthquakes, and volcanic activity, and signs of change in sea levels along the coast. There are no sizable structural plains and pen plains (large land areas levelled by erosion), features that usually occur in more stable regions of the Earth. The mountains are for the most part in a youthful stage of dissection in which steep slopes are incised by dense river-valley networks. Rivers are mostly torrential, and their valleys are accompanied by a series of river terraces that are the result of movements in the Earth's crust, as well as climatic and sea-level changes in Holocene times (i.e., the past 11,700 years). Recent volcanoes are juxtaposed with old and highly dissected ones. The shores are characterized by elevated and depressed features such as headlands and bays, which display an incipient stage of development.

The mountains are divided into many small land blocks that are separated by lowlands or deep saddles; there is no long or continuous mountain range. These land blocks are the result of intense faulting (movement of adjacent rock masses along a fracture) and warping (bending of the Earth's crust); the former process is regarded as dominant. One consequence is that mountain blocks are often bounded by fault scarps and flexure slopes that descend in step formation to the adjacent lowlands.

Coalescing alluvial fans—cone-shaped deposits of alluvium that run together are formed where rivers emerge from the mountains. When the rivers are large enough to extend their courses to the sea, low deltaic plains develop in front of the fans; this occurs most frequently where the rivers empty into shallow and sheltered bays, as in the deltas of Kantō (Kwanto), Nōbi, and Ōsaka. In most places, however, fan surfaces plunge directly into the sea and are separated by low, sandy beach ridges.

Dissected plains are common. Intense disturbances have caused many former alluvial fans, deltas, and sea bottoms to be substantially uplifted to form flat-topped uplands such as those found in the Kantō Plain. Frequently the uplands have been overlain with volcanic ash, as in the Kantō and Tokachi plains.

Japan is one of the world's most geologically unstable areas. The country experiences some 1,000 tremors annually, most of them minor, though major quakes—as in Tokyo-Yokohama in 1923 and Kōbe in 1995—cause considerable loss of life and widespread destruction. Violent volcanic eruptions occur frequently, and at least 60 volcanoes have been active within historical time. Volcanoes born in 1900 include Shōwa Volcano on Hokkaido and Myōjin Rock off the Beyoneisu (or Mayonnaise) Rocks in the Pacific. Among the major eruptions since 1980 are those of Mounts O (1983) and Mihara (1986) in the Izu Islands and Mount Unzen (1991) in Kyushu. The country's abundant hot springs are mostly of volcanic origin. Many of the gigantic volcanoes are conical in shape (e.g., Mount Fuji), while others form steep lava domes (e.g., Mounts Dai and Unzen). Conspicuous shield volcanoes (broad, gently sloping volcanic cones) are rare, and extensive lava plateaus are lacking. One of the characteristics of the volcanic areas is the prevalence of calderas (large, circular, basin-shaped volcanic depressions), especially in the northeast and southwest, many of which are filled with water, such as Lakes Kutcharo, Towada, and Ashi.

The cause of this instability—indeed, the reason for Japan's existence—is the tectonic movement of several of the Earth's major crustal plates in the vicinity of the archipelago. Most important is the seduction (sinking) of the Pacific Plate (in the north) and the Philippine Plate (in the south) beneath the Eurasian Plate, upon which Japan lies. The movements of these plates have formed six mountain arcs off the northeastern coast of Asia: from northeast to southwest, the Chishima Range of the Kuril Islands; the Karafuto (Sakhalin) Mountain system of Hokkaido; the Northeast, Southwest, and Shishito-Mariana ranges of Honshu; and the Ryukyu Island formations.

The major physiographic regions

These mountain arcs, in turn, generally correspond to Japan's major physiographic regions: the four regions of Japan proper (Hondo)—Hokkaido, Northeastern (Tōhoku), Central (Chūbu), and Southwestern—and the Ryukyu and Bonin archipelagoes.

The Hokkaido Region was formed by the coalescence of the Chishima and Karafuto arcs. The backbone of the region is aligned north to south. The Chishima arc enters Hokkaido as three volcanic chains with elevations above 6,000 feet (1,800 meters); these are arranged in

ladder formation and terminate in the heart of the region. Chief components of the mountain system are the Kitami Mountains in the north and the Hidaka Range in the south.

The North-eastern Region nearly coincides with the nornortheasternuntain arc and stretches from southwest Hokkaido to central Honshu. Several rows of mountains, lowlands, and volcanic zones are closely oriented to the general trend of the insular arc of this region, which is convex toward the Pacific Ocean. The Kitakami and Abukuma ranges on the east coast are somewhat oblique to the general trend; they are chiefly composed of older rocks, and plateau-like landforms survive in the centre. In the western zone, the formations conform to the general trend and are composed of a basement complex overlain by thick accumulations of young rocks that have been subjected to mild folding. The Ou Mountains, capped with towering volcanoes that form the main part of the East Japan Volcanic Belt, is separated from the coastal ranges by the Kitakami-Abukuma lowlands to the east and by a row of basins in the west.

The Central Region of central and western Honshu is dominated by the coalescence of the Northeast, Southwest, and Shishito-Mariana mountain arcs near Mount Fuji. The trend of the mountains, lowlands, and volcanic zones intersects the island almost at right angles. The most notable physical feature is the Fossa Magna, a great rift lowland that traverses the widest portion of Honshu from the Sea of Japan to the Pacific. It is partially occupied by mountains and volcanoes of the southern part of the East Japan Volcanic Belt. Intermountain basins are sandwiched between the lofty, partially glaciated central mountain knots of the Akaishi, Kiso, and Hida ranges (which together form the Japanese Alps) to the west and the Kanto Range to the east. The shallow structural basin of the Kanto Plain, which stretches to the east of the Kanto Range, is the most extensive lowland of Japan; the immense metropolis of Tokyo spreads out from its centre, covering a vast area of the plain.

The SoutSouthwesternion—which includes western Honshu (Chugoku), as well as Shikoku and northern Kyushu—generally coincides with the southsouthwesterntain arc, and the general trend of highlands and lowlands is roughly convex toward the Sea of Japan. The region is divided into the Inner Zone, formed by complex faulting, and the Outer Zone, formed by warping. The Inner Zone is chiefly composed of ancient granites, rocks of Palaeozoic age (250 to 540 million years old), and geologically more recent volcanic rocks, which are arranged in complicated juxtaposition. The Outer Zone, consisting of the Akaishi, Kii, Shikoku, and Kyushu mountain groups, in contrast, is characterized by a regular zonal arrangement from

north to south of crystalline schist and Palaeozoic, Mesozoic (65 to 250 million years old), and Cainozoic (formed within the past 65 million years) formations. The outstanding surface features of the Inner Zone (centred on the Chūgoku Range) present a highly complex mosaic of numerous fault blocks, while those of the Outer Zone are continuous except where the sea straits separate them into four independent groups. The Inland Sea (Seto-Gaikai) is the region where the greater amount of depression has resulted in the invasion of sea waters. The northern edge of the Inner Zone is studded with gigantic lava domes formed by Mount Dai, which, together with volcanic Mount Aso, bury a considerable part of the western extension of the Inland Sea in central Kyushu.

The Ryukyu Islands Region constitutes the main portion of the Ryukyu arc, which penetrates Kyushu as the West Japan Volcanic Belt and terminates at Mount Aso. The influence of the arc is also seen in the trend of the many elongated islands off western Kyushu, including the Koshiki, Goto, and Tsushima islands. The islands of the Izu-Ogasawara Region, to the east of the Ryukyu arc, consist of several volcanoes on the submarine ridge of the Izu-Marina arc and the Bonin Islands, which include Peel Island and Iwo Jima (Iō-tō).

Drainage

The increasing demand for freshwater for use in paddy (wet-rice) cultivation and industry and domestic consumption is a serious problem. Difficulties of supply lie in the paucity of natural water reservoirs, the swift runoff of the rivers, and the engineering difficulties of constructing large-scale dams in the rugged mountains.

Japan’s rivers are generally short and swift-running and are supplied by small drainage basins. The most significant rivers are the Teshio and Ishikari rivers of Hokkaido; the Kitakami, Tone, Shinano, Kiso, and Tenryū rivers of Honshu; and the Chikugo River of Kyushu. Some of the rivers from the volcanic areas of north northeastern are acidic and are useless for irrigation and other purposes.

Lake Biwa, the largest in Japan, covers 259 square miles (670 square km) of central Honshu. All other major lakes are in the northeast. Most of the coastal lakes, such as Lakes Kasumi and Hamana of Honshu, are drowned former valleys, the bay mouths of which have been dammed by sandbars. Inland lakes such as Biwa, Suwa, and Inawashiro of Honshu

occupy tectonic depressions of geologically recent fault origin. Lakes of volcanic origin (e.g., Kutcharo of Hokk aido and Towada and Ashi of Honshu) outnumber all other types.

Historical Background

Origin of the people

Japan first appears in Chinese chronicles under the name of Wo (in Japanese, Wa). Lelang was one of the Han colonies established in the Korean peninsula. A history of the Dong (Eastern) Han (25–220 CE) records that in 57 CE the "state of Nu in Wo" sent emissaries to the Dong Han court and that the emperor gave them a gold seal. The "state of Nu," located on what is now Hakata Bay, in Kyushu, was one of the more than 100 states that constituted Wo. This account was confirmed by a gold seal the identical seal awarded by the Chinese emperor, unearthed on the island of Shikano, at the mouth of Hakata Bay, in 1748. In the latter half of the 2nd century, there was a civil war in the state of Wo; Queen Himiko had pacified the land and, relying on her religious powers, ruled over a confederation of more than 30 states that maintained communications with the Wei kingdom (220–265/266) in northern China. Wei too sent emissaries to Wo, and friendly relations between the two sides continued during the first half of the 3rd century. The *Wei Zhi* contains a detailed account of the route from Lelang to the court of the Wo queen in "Yamatai."

According to *Wei Zhi*, the people of Wo already had reached a fairly high degree of civilization. Society had clear-cut divisions of rank, and the people paid taxes. There were impressive raised-floor buildings. The various provinces held fairs where goods were bartered. Since there were exchanges of letters with Wo, it seems too that there were already some who could read and write.

The unification of the nation

The questions of how the unification of Japan was first achieved and of how the Yamato court, with the *tennō* ("emperor of heaven") at its centre, came into being in central Honshu have inspired many hypotheses, none of which has so far proved entirely convincing. With the help of Chinese and Korean records, however, it is possible to get at least an approximate idea of the date by which substantial unification occurred. The relations that Yamatai had begun with Wei were continued with the successor Jin dynasty (265–316/317); however, following

the dispatch of a mission in 266, all records of exchanges cease, and it is not until 147 years later, in 413 during the Dong (Eastern) Jin dynasty (317–420), that the name of Wo again appears in Chinese documents. It is most likely that the blank period resulted from conditions within Japan that made exchanges with other countries impossible. The collapse of Yamatai and the birth pangs of the Yamato kingdom that took its place probably occurred during this period.

It is possible to push the date of unification of the nation back a few decades earlier than 413: a memorial erected in 414 commemorating the achievements of King Kwanggaet'o of Koguryŏ (a Korean state; 2nd century BCE–668 CE), describing the fighting between Wo and Koguryŏ on the Korean peninsula from the end of the 4th century into the beginning of the 5th century, makes special mention of a great army sent to the peninsula in 391 by Wo. Such military success presupposes a long period of preparation. The 8th-century *Nihon shoki* ("Chronicles of Japan"), one of Japan's two oldest histories, mentions the dispatch of troops by Japan in 369. Such displays of strength would hardly have been possible unless Japan was already significantly unified, and the date of the unification of the country may therefore be about the mid-4th century at the latest.

Early Society

Early Japanese history is traditionally divided into five major eras: the Palaeolithic (c. 50,000 BC – c. 12,000BC), Jomon (c.11,000 BC to 300 BC), Yayoi (9,000 BC – 250 AD), Kofun (300 AD – 552 AD) and Yamato Periods (552-710 AD). While the dating of these periods is complex (see accompanying chart) and the cultures, in any case, tended to overlap, it is clear that early Japan underwent profound changes in each of these important periods.

1. The Palaeolithic Period (c. 50,000 BC – c. 12,000 BC)

The first human beings to inhabit the islands we know as Japan appear to have been stone-age hunters from northeast Asia. Travelling in small groups and using stone-tipped weapons, they followed herds of wild animals including mammoths, elephants, and deer across land bridges to Japan that had formed when the seas receded during the ice ages. While many believe that they came earlier, we know for certain that these hunters arrived in Japan at least

as early as 35,000 BC. While the tools before that time are so crude that there is some debate over whether they were made by humans, surviving late Palaeolithic artefacts include finely made blade tools similar to groups in Siberia and the rest of Eurasia, and axes made from ground stone. Since no pottery has yet been discovered, on the other hand, the Palaeolithic Period in Japan is also sometimes referred to as the "pre-ceramic" (sendoki) period.

2. The Jomon Period (c. 11,000 BC – c. 300 BC)

About 20,000 years ago, the world's fourth (and most recent) ice age ended. As the climate warmed, the polar ice caps melted and the sea levels rose. The land bridges that had provided walkways for such Palaeolithic inhabitants of Japan as giant woolly mammoths, deer, and humans were submerged for the final time. The islands of Honshu and Hokkaido were again separated, and Japan was once more isolated geographically. As Japan became hotter (reaching its peak about 3,000 BC), animals such as the woolly mammoth that had traditionally been hunted died out, but fortunately, other plants and animals did better, and a new, more sophisticated civilization began to emerge.

This new stage in Japanese history is known as the Jomon (literally "cord pattern") period because it is characterized by the appearance of earthenware pottery that is often decorated with marks and swirling designs impressed by sticks, and bamboo, vines, or rope. The pots were fired in open pits at fairly low temperatures. Thousands of different pots have been found, but the earliest ones (12,000 BC – 5,000 BC) typically had rounded or pointed bottoms so that they could easily be stuck into the ground or in the ashes of a cooking fire. Pottery of this sort is the earliest pottery yet to be found in the world.

Flat bottomed pots became common by the so-called Early Jomon period (5,500 BC – 2,500 BC), perhaps indicating that they were now used indoors on packed earthen floors rather than looser ashes or dirt. Middle Jomon (3,500 BC – 2,500 BC) and Late Jomon (2,500 BC – 1,500 BC) typically had elaborate designs. By later Jomon, large stone jars were made, perhaps for infant burial and religious offerings, while carved stone and clay figures are known as dogu bedog increasingly elaborate. Many of these look like pregnant females and hence were undoubtedly meant to pray for fertility and a good harvest. Stone fertility symbols have also been found.

3. The Yayoi Period (900 BC – 250 AD)

In 1884, some distinctive pottery – clearly different in style and technique from Jomon pots – was unearthed in the Yayoi district of modern Tokyo. This district gave its name to a relatively brief but decisive period of Japanese culture in which Late Jomon culture was overlaid with a new and more advanced culture based not only on new pottery forms, but also on the mining, smelting, and casting of bronze and iron, and the irrigation and cultivation of rice. Yayoi culture varied by region, but overall was a culture unique to Japan. It has been traditionally dated from 300 BC to 300 AD, but scholars now think that it developed from at least 800 or 900 BC to 250 AD.

Rice cultivation was one characteristic of the period. Rice had been grown in the Yangtze River basin in China from at least 5000 BC and in Korea from about 1500 BC but did not reach Japan until about 300 AD. Probably small groups of immigrants from the continent brought rice cultivation techniques to Japan where they and the Jomon peoples began to prepare special fields that had ample supplies of water and develop the necessary seeding, weeding and harvesting skills. The earliest fields were natural wetlands, but gradually the Yayoi people learned to construct irrigation canals that could supply the right amount of water. To round out their diet, the Yayoi people also gathered wild plants, cultivated fruit, hunted, and fished.

The Yayoi period also saw the extensive use of metal. Practical iron tools from Korea (such as axes and knives) have been found in the oldest Yayoi sites in the western part of Japan and even in a Jomon site from the same period on the northern island of Hokkaido. Ritual bronze objects such as mirrors, swords, and spears also came from China and Korea. Eventually, the Yayoi people learned to mine, smelt and produce these items on their own. One example of this local manufacture was the bronze, bell-shaped objects known as dotaku. The idea for these objects may have come from the continent, but they quickly developed into a uniquely Japanese style. They appear to have symbolized divine spirits, and hence to have been used for religious fertility symbols.

Yayoi pottery also reflected technological improvements. The pots were normally fired

at higher temperatures (850 degrees Celsius or 1500+ degrees Fahrenheit) than was Jomon pottery. Unlike Jomon pottery, the surfaces of these pots were generally smooth with geometric designs. There were many different kinds of this pottery, ranging from cooking and storage pots to more formal vessels used for burial and religious purposes, but it was clear that all were made by quite sophisticated artisans.

The Yayoi people looked rather like the inhabitants of Northeast Asia and hence more closely resembled modern Japanese than did the more South China and Southeast Asia-looking Jomon. Some of the differences may have been due to a better diet, but most likely the slow trickle of immigrants moving from the more northern areas of Asia through Korea to Japan greatly increased in this period. They lived in villages that were in many ways similar to those around the lower Yangtze River in China. As many as 30 households may have lived together at one time in houses that were oval and over 48 square meters (1500+ square feet) in size. These houses had roofs of thatched material that were supported by heavy beams and posts. The floors were set into the ground but protected from flood damage by earthen walls. There was usually a hearth for cooking and warmth in the centre. Cultivated rice and other foods could be stored in jars or specially designed storehouses. Wooden fencing marked off their fields, some of which were larger than 400 square meters or more than 4,300 square feet. Judging from implements found in the area, cultivation was done with stone reapers, wooden rakes, and hoes.

As the population increased and more conflicts over land and water rights occurred, Yayoi village leaders gradually evolved into village chiefs, villages coalesced into chiefdoms, and fighting between chiefdoms became common. By the last century of the Yayoi (150 AD – 250 AD), confederations of chiefdoms had developed into political bodies that ultimately laid the foundation for the ancient state. One of these confederations was a legendary “nation” known as Yamatai-koku (the country of Yamatai).

4. The Kofun Period (300 AD – 552 AD)

By 250 AD, the building of large tombs became so strikingly different from what had gone on before that the period from around 250 AD to the introduction of Buddhism in 552 AD is now commonly called the Kofun or “Old Tomb” period.

These tombs reflect the power of an extensive political regime. They have been found from southern Kyushu to northern Honshu. Shapes varied from round to square to “keyhole” shaped. One striking example, the alleged tomb of Emperor Nintoku (who may have ruled in the early 400’s) near modern Osaka, covers over 80 acres and hence -- except for the extraordinary tomb of the first emperor of the Qin Dynasty (c. 200 BC) in China -- is bigger than all of the tombs of the world.

As might be expected from the size and sophistication of these tombs, a great many personal effects have been recovered from the inside including jewellery, mirrors, and tools that were meant to accompany the dead spirits in an afterlife. Because many tombs from the 5th and 6th centuries also contain horse bones and trappings, it seems probable that a horse riding and militarily sophisticated aristocracy may have come into Japan at this time, either by a sudden invasion or a gradual process. A particularly rich art form known as haniwa Naniwaeveloped in this period. These gradually developed from simple cylinders into complex clay figures of important members of the traditional society as well as buildings. Carefully laid out, again in hopes of being useful or bringing comfort to the spirits, thousands of beautifully made haniwa have survived to this day.

5. The Yamato Period (552 AD -710 AD)

The period is commonly called the Tumulus, or Tomb, the period from the presence of large burial mounds (*kofun*), its most common archaeological feature. It is from the very construction of the tombs themselves, from an examination of the grave goods, as well as from increasingly reliable written sources both domestic and foreign that a picture of the Yamato kingdom has emerged. As it did so, a shifting confederation of intermarried tribal chieftains began in this period to call itself the Yamato people. “Yamato” refers both to the area around Nara and to the clan that eventually founded the present-day imperial line in Japan. Particularly in literary works, the word is also often used to refer to Japan as a whole.

While historians are still divided on whether these chieftains came from Korean immigrant families, the Yamato chieftains themselves claimed descent from the Sun Goddess Amaterasu. They used this religious symbol, their military supremacy, intermarriage, and the awarding of titles to extend gradually their power from the Kansai (Kyoto-Osaka-Nara) area to other parts of Japan. The Yamato chieftains were called Great Kings (okio or okimi), one

of which claimed the right to be the most powerful king by the 5th or 6th century. From this time on to the present, blood ties were a powerful factor in the imperial family's power.

Yamato society was organized into clans (uji), oUjipation groups, and slaves. Because of their traditional power, loyalty, and service to the Yamato court, the Soga, Mononobe, and Nakatomi clans were given special titles and allowed to be in attendance at the newly forming imperial court. There they made themselves useful by performing both state duties and religious worship. Beneath them, the so-called occupation groups (be) produced special products (such as paper, cloth, arms, or agricultural products) or performed other hereditary services such as grooms or scribes. Less skilled or pleasant tasks, such as burying the dead, were performed by slaves (be).

Although Korean historians play down the possibility, Japanese historians believe that the Yamato dynasty established diplomatic relations with the kingdom of Packche in 366 AD and maintained a foothold in Korea until 562. The dynasty then stayed allied with Packche until Packche and its Yamato allies were soundly defeated in 663. From this point, unable to secure their influence by military means, Japanese rulers turned to cultural and diplomatic contacts with China in what can be described as a great effort at domestic self-strengthening along Chinese lines. By the 6th century, great tombs were still being built, but Japanese society was being transformed by new cultural elements from the continent, the most important of which was Buddhism.

Buddhism probably began to filter into Yamato via Korean immigrants in the late 5th and 6th centuries. The faith was not taken up very seriously in court circles, however, until the king of Paekche sent in 552 (some sources say 538) Buddhist texts and a gilt statue to the Yamato ruler with words of praise for this allegedly superior faith. The Paekche gift caused conflict in the court both because some did not support an alliance with Paekche and because some worried about the wisdom of adopting a new and alien religion. Several powerful clans (uji), lUjiby the Nakatomi (who were in charge of the traditional rituals) and the Mononobe (who were military specialists) opposed the introduction of this foreign faith, while others, led by the powerful Soga family, argued for acceptance. Buddhism suffered a setback when traditionalists blamed an epidemic on the new faith, but the Soga's victory over the Mononobe in 587 assured fuller acceptance of Buddhism.

Shintoism

Shintoism, indigenous religious beliefs and practices of Japan. The word Shinto, which means “the way of *kami*” (generally sacred or divine power, specifically the various gods or deities), came into use to distinguish indigenous Japanese beliefs from Buddhism, which had been introduced into Japan in the 6th century CE. Shinto has no founder, no official sacred scriptures in the strict sense, and no fixed dogmas, but it has preserved its guiding beliefs throughout the ages.

Shinto consists of the traditional Japanese religious practices as well as the beliefs and life attitudes that are in accord with these practices. Shinto is more readily observed in the social life of the Japanese people and their motivations than in a pattern of formal belief or philosophy. It remains closely connected with the Japanese value system and the Japanese people’s ways of thinking and acting.

Shinto can be roughly classified into the following three major types: Shrine Shinto, Sect Shinto, and Folk Shinto. Shrine Shinto (Jinja Shinto), which has been in existence from the beginning of Japanese history to the present day, constitutes the main current of Shinto tradition. Shrine Shinto includes within its structure the now defunct State Shinto (Kokka Shinto)—based on the total identity of religion and state—and has close relations with the Japanese Imperial family. Sect Shinto (Kyōha Shinto) is a relatively new movement consisting of 13 major sects that originated in Japan around the 19th century and several others that emerged after World War II. Each sect was organized into a religious body by either a founder or a systematiser. Folk Shinto (Minzoku Shinto) is an aspect of Japanese folk belief that is closely connected with the other types of Shinto. It has no formal organizational structure nor doctrinal formulation but is centred on the veneration of small roadside images and in the agricultural rites of rural families. These three types of Shinto are interrelated: Folk Shinto exists as the substructure of the Shinto faith, and a Sect Shinto follower is usually also a parishioner (*ujiko*) of a particular Shinto shrine.

Early Chinese influences on Shinto

Confucianism, which originated in China, is believed to have reached Japan in the 5th century CE, and by the 7th century, it had spread among the people, together with Daoism and *yinyang*yin-yangny of two basic forces of nature) philosophy. All of these stimulated the development of Shinto ethical teachings. With the gradual centralization of political power, Shinto began to develop as a national cult as well. Myths of various clans were combined and reorganized into pan-Japanese mythology with the Imperial Household as its centre. The *kami* of the Imperial Household and the tutelary *kami* of powerful clans became the *kami* of the whole nation and people, and offerings were made by the state every year. Such practices were systematized supposedly around the start of the Taika-era reforms in 645. By the beginning of the 10th century, about 3,000 shrines throughout Japan were receiving state offerings. As the power of the central government declined, however, the system ceased to be effective, and after the 13th century, only a limited number of important shrines continued to receive the Imperial offerings. Later, after the Meiji Restoration in 1868, the old system was revived.

The Rule of Shoguns

Shogunate, Japanese **bakufu** or **shogunshoku**, was the government of the shogun, or hereditary military dictator, of Japan from 1192 to 1867. The term *shogun* appeared in various titles given to military commanders commissioned for the imperial government's 8th- and 9th-century campaigns against the Ezo (Emishi) tribes of northern Japan. The highest warrior rank, *seii tasemigun* ("barbarian-quelling generalissimo"), was first attained by Sakanoue Tamuramaro, and the title (abbreviated as *shogun*) was later applied to all shogunate leaders.

Political, Social, and Economic Conditions.

Legally, the shogunate was under the control of the emperor, and the shogun's authority was limited to control of the military forces of the country, but the increasingly feudal character of Japanese society created a situation in which control of the military

became tantamount to control of the country, and the emperor remained in his palace in Kyōto chiefly as a symbol of sovereignty behind the shogun.

The samurai leader Minamoto Yoritomo gained military hegemony over Japan in 1185. Seven years later he assumed the title of shogun and established the first shogunate, or *bakufu* (literally, "tent government"), at his Kamakura headquarters. Eventually, the Kamakura shogunate came to possess military, administrative, and judicial functions, although the imperial government remained the recognized legal authority. The shogunate appointed its military governors, or Shugo, as heads of each province and named stewards to supervise the individual estates

After the collapse of the Kamakura shogunate in 1333, Ashikaga Takauji established a second line of shogunal succession that ruled much of Japan from 1338 until 1573. The Ashikaga shogunate's capital was the imperial city of Kyōto. But the increasingly independent *Shugo,* virtual warlords, who by the 16th century were known as daimyo, eventually undermined the power of the Ashikaga shogunate.

In 1600 Tokugawa Ieyasu gained hegemony over the daimyo and thus was able to establish 1603 the third shogunate, headquartered in Edo (now Tokyo). The Edo shogunate was the most powerful central government Japan had yet seen: it controlled the emperor, the daimyo, and the religious establishments, administered Tokugawa lands, and handled Japanese foreign affairs.

After 1862 the Tokugawa shogunate underwent drastic changes in its efforts to maintain control, but in 1867 the last shogun, Yoshinobu, was forced to yield the administration of civil and military affairs to the emperor. Still, the central administration that the Tokugawa shogunate had developed in Edo provided a foundation for the new Japanese imperial government of the late 19th century.

Tokugawa period also called the **Edo period**, (1603–1867), was the final period of traditional Japan, a time of internal peace, political stability, and economic growth under the shogunate (military dictatorship) founded by Tokugawa Ieyasu.

As a shogun, Ieyasu achieved hegemony over the entire country by balancing the power of potentially hostile domains (*tozama*) with strategically placed allies (*fudai*) and collateral houses (*shimpan*). As a further strategy of control, beginning in 1635, Tokugawa Iemitsu required the domanial lords, or daimyo, to maintain households in

the Tokugawa administrative capital of Edo (modern Tokyo) and reside there for several months every other year. The resulting system of semi-autonomous domains directed by the central authority of the Tokugawa shogunate lasted for more than 250 years.

As part of the systematic plan to maintain stability, the social order was officially frozen, and mobility between the four classes (warriors, farmers, artisans, and merchants) was prohibited. Numerous members of the warrior class, or samurai, took up residence in the capital and other castle towns where many of them became bureaucrats. Peasants, who made up 80 per cent of the population, were forbidden to engage in non-agricultural activities to ensure a stable and continuing source of income for those in positions of authority.

Another aspect of Tokugawa's concern with political stability was fear of foreign ideas and military intervention. Cognizant that the colonial expansion of Spain and Portugal in Asia had been made possible by the work of Roman Catholic missionaries, the Tokugawa shoguns came to view the missionaries as a threat to their rule. Measures to expel them from the country culminated in the promulgation of three exclusion decrees in the 1630s, which effected a complete ban on Christianity. Moreover, in issuing these orders, the Tokugawa shogunate officially adopted a policy of national seclusion. From 1633 onward Japanese subjects were forbidden to travel abroad or to return from overseas, and foreign contact was limited to a few Chinese and Dutch merchants still allowed to trade through the southern port of Nagasaki.

The national economy expanded rapidly from the 1680s to the early 1700s. The emphasis placed on agricultural production by the Tokugawa shogunate encouraged considerable growth in that economic sector. Expansion of commerce and the manufacturing industry was even greater, stimulated by the development of large urban centres, most notably Edo, Ōsaka, and Kyōto, in the wake of the government's efforts at centralization and its success in maintaining peace. The production of fine silk and cotton fabrics, manufacture of paper and porcelain, and sake brewing flourished in the cities and towns, as did trading in these commodities. This increase in mercantile activity gave rise to wholesalers and exchange brokers, and the ever-widening use of currency and credit produced powerful financiers. The emergence of this well-to-do merchant class brought with it a dynamic urban culture that found expression in new literary and art forms

While merchants and to a lesser extent tradesmen continued to prosper well into the 18th century, the daimyo and samurai began to experience financial difficulties. Their primary source of income was a fixed stipend tied to agricultural production, which had not kept pace with other sectors of the national economy. Several attempts at fiscal reform were made by the government during the late 18th and 19th centuries, but the financial strain on the warrior class increased as the period progressed. During its final 30 years in power, the Tokugawa shogunate had to contend with peasant uprisings and samurai unrest as well as with financial problems. These factors, combined with the growing threat of Western encroachment, brought into serious question the continued existence of the regime, and by the 1860s many demanded the restoration of direct imperial rule as a means of unifying the country and solving the prevailing problems. The powerful south-western *tozama* domains of Chōshū and Satsuma exerted the greatest pressure on the Tokugawa government and brought about the overthrow of the last shogun, Hitotsubashi Keiki (or Yoshinobu), in 1867.

The opening of Japan

In 1845, when Abe Masahiro replaced Mizuno Tadakuni as head of the *rōjū*, there were various reactions against the Tempō reforms. Reaction against domestic reform was comparatively calm, however, and the major stumbling block facing the *bakufu* was the foreign problem. The Netherlands, the only European power trading with Japan, realized that, if Britain succeeded in forcing Japan to open the country, it would lose its monopoly; so the Dutch now planned to seize the initiative in opening Japan and thus turn the situation to their advantage. In 1844 the Dutch sent a diplomatic mission urging the *bakufu* to open the country, but Abe and the *bakufu* rulers refused this suggestion. Yet visits by foreign ships proliferated. In 1844, 1845, and 1846, British and French warships visited the Ryukyu Islands and Nagasaki to request commercial relations. In response, the *bakufu* in 1845 established a new office for coastal defence and various diplomatic posts. The defence system of Edo Bay also was revived, the number of domains on guard duty was increased, and new gun emplacements were built. In 1848 the *bakufu* decided not to revive the Order to Drive Away Foreign Ships, which had been rescinded during the Tempō reforms but decided instead to continue extensive military preparations against potential attack.

Rumours had long circulated among the various Western powers that the U.S. government would send an expeditionary fleet to Japan. In 1846 Commander James

Biddle of the American East Indian fleet appeared with two warships in Uraga Harbour (near Yokohama) and held consultations with *bakufu* representatives on the question of opening commercial relations. When refused by the *bakufu*, Biddle returned empty-handed. The United States, however, eagerly desired ports for fuel and provisions for its Pacific merchant and whaling ships and was not willing to give up attempts to open Japan. But the *bakufu* had for two centuries retained its political dominance through strict adherence to the policy of seclusion, and it could not muster up the resolution necessary to open the country. Opinion among the daimyo and samurai was split between seclusion and opening the country. The opening of Japan was thus postponed until the last possible moment and had to be effected unilaterally by foreign pressure, backed by massive naval strength. This pressure was initiated by the squadron of U.S. warships commanded by Commodore Matthew C. Perry that entered Uraga Bay in July 1853.

Coming of the Europeans- Perry Expeditions

Commodore Matthew Perry was an explorer and member of the United States military who visited Japan in 1853 and 1854 under the orders of President Millard Fillmore. He opened Japan up to trade with Western countries after a long period of isolationism.

While in Japan, Matthew Perry negotiated and signed the Treaty of Kanagawa, which brought new resources and ideas to both the United States and Japan. He is also known for his actions outside of Japan, including protecting the African American colonists in Africa. He also was widely respected for his actions in the Mexican-American War, through which he made a name for himself and gained the prestigious position that made it possible for him to go to Japan.

While in the United States Navy, Matthew Perry made quite a name for himself. His first military action was during the War of 1812. During this war, he and his brother Oliver Hazard Perry participated in the **Battle of Lake Erie**. Ten years later, he claimed the island of Key West, just off the coast of Florida, as territory of the United States. After this experience, Perry was assigned to the New York Navy shipyard as an officer. Perry's service at the shipyard earned him the nickname "**Father of the Steam Navy**," as he continuously promoted the use of steam-powered ships in the United States Navy.

Treaties and The fall of the Shogunate

The arrival of Americans and Europeans in the 1850s increased domestic tensions. The *bakufu*, already weakened by an eroding economic base and ossified political structure, now found itself challenged by Western powers intent on opening Japan to trade and foreign intercourse. When the *bakufu*, despite opposition from the throne in Kyōto, signed the Treaty of Kanagawa (or Perry Convention; 1854) and the Harris Treaty (1858), the shogun's claim of loyalty to the throne and his role as "subduer of barbarians" came to be questioned. To bolster his position, the shogun elicited support from the daimyo through consultation, only to discover that they were firmly xenophobic and called for the exclusion of Westerners. The growing influence of imperial loyalism, nurtured by years of peace and study, received support even within the shogunal camp from men such as Tokugawa Nariaki, the lord of the Mito domain (*han*). Activists used the slogan "Sonnō jōi" ("Revere the emperor! Expel the barbarians!") not only to support the throne but also to embarrass the *bakufu*. Nariaki and his followers sought to involve the Kyōto court directly in shogunal affairs to establish a nationwide program of preparedness. In this Nariaki was opposed by the *bakufu*'s chief councillor (*tairō*), Ii Naosuke, who tried to steer the nation toward self-strengthening and gradual opening. But Ii's effort to restore the *bakufu* was short-lived. In the spring of 1860, he was assassinated by men from Mito and Satsuma. Ii's death inaugurated years of violence during which activist samurai used their swords against the hated "barbarians" and all who consorted with them. If swords proved of little use against Western guns, they exacted a heavy toll from political enemies.

By the early 1860s, the Tokugawa *bakufu* found itself in a dilemma. On the one hand, it had to strengthen the country against foreigners. On the other, it knew that providing the economic means for self-defence meant giving up shogunal controls that kept competing lords financially weak. Activist samurai, for their part, tried to push their feudal superiors into more strongly antiforeigner positions. At the same time, antiforeigner acts provoked stern countermeasures and diplomatic indemnities. Most samurai soon realized that expelling foreigners by force was impossible. Foreign military superiority was demonstrated conclusively with the bombardment of Kagoshima in 1863 and Shimonoseki in 1864. Thereafter, samurai activists used their anti-foreign slogans primarily to obstruct and embarrass the *bakufu*, which retained little room to manoeuvre. Domestically it was forced to

make antiforeigner concessions to placate the loyalist camp, while foreigners were assured that it remained committed to “opening the country” and abiding by the treaties. Both sides saw it as prevaricating and ineffectual. After the arrival of the British minister Sir Harry Parkes in 1865, Great Britain, in particular, saw no reason to negotiate further with the *bakufu* and decided to deal directly with the imperial court in Kyōto.

Samurai in several domains also revealed their dissatisfaction with the *bakufu*’s management of national affairs. One domain in which the call for more direct action emerged was Chōshū (now part of Yamaguchi prefecture), which fired on foreign shipping in the Shimonoseki Strait in 1863. This led to the bombardment of Chōshū’s fortifications by Western ships in 1864 and a shogunal expedition that forced the domain to resubmit to Tokugawa authority. But many of Chōshū’s samurai refused to accept this decision, and a military coup in 1864 brought to powethem r, as the daimyo’s counsellors, a group of men who had originally led the radical antiforeigner movement. Several of these had secretly travelled to England and were consequently no longer blindly xenophobic. Their aims were national—to overthrow the shogunate and create a new government headed by the emperor. The same men organized militia units that utilized Western training methods and arms and included non-samurai troops. Chōshū became the centre for discontented samurai from other domains who were impatient with their leaders’ caution. In 1866 Chōshū allied itself with neighbouring Satsuma, fearing a Tokugawa attempt to crush all opponents to create a centralized despotism with French help.

Again shogunal armies were sent to control Chōshū in 1866. The defeat of these troops by Chōshū forces led to further loss of power and prestige. Meanwhile, the death of the shogun Iemochi in 1866 brought to power the last shogun, Yoshinobu, who realized the pressing need for national unity. In 1867 he resigned his powers rather than risk a full-scale military confrontation with Satsuma and Chōshū, doing so in the belief that he would retain an important place in any emerging national administration. But this was not to be. Outmanoeuvred by the young Meiji emperor, who succeeded to the throne in 1867, and a few court nobles who maintained close ties with Satsuma and Chōshū, the shogun faced the choice of giving up his lands, which would risk a revolt from his vassals, or appearing disobedient, which would justify punitive measures against him. Yoshinobu tried to move troops against Kyōto, only to be defeated. In the wake of this defeat, the Satsuma, Chōshū, and Tosa units, now the imperial army, advanced on Edo, which was surrendered without a

battle. While sporadic fighting continued until the summer of 1869, the Tokugawa cause was doomed. In January 1868 the principal daimyo was summoned to Kyōto to learn of the restoration of imperial rule. Later that year the emperor moved into the Tokugawa castle in Edo, and the city was renamed Tokyo (“Eastern Capital”). With the emperor and his supporters now in control, the building of the modern state began.

UNIT: II

The Meiji Restoration and Modernisation

The term *restoration* is commonly applied to the political changes in Japan that returned power to the imperial house in 1868. In that year the boy emperor Mutsuhito—later known by his reign name Meiji, or "Enlightened Rule"—replaced the Tokugawa *bakufu,* or shogunate, at the political centre of the nation. Although phrased in traditional terms as a restoration of imperial rule, the changes initiated during the Meiji period (1868–1912) constituted a social and political revolution that began in the late Tokugawa period and was not completed until the promulgation of the Meiji constitution in 1889.

The Meiji government was dominated by men from Satsuma, Chōshū, and those of the court who had sided with the emperor. They were convinced that Japan needed a unified national government to achieve military and material equality with the West. Most, like Kido Kōin and Itō Hirobumi of Chōshū and Saigō Takamori and Ōkubo Toshimichi of Satsuma, were young samurai of modest rank, but they did not represent in any sense a class interest. Indeed, their measures destroyed the samurai class. To gain backing for their policies, they enlisted the support of leaders from domains with which they had worked—Tosa, Saga, Echizen—and court nobles like Iwakura Tomomi and Sanjo Sanetomi. The cooperation of the impressionable young emperor was essential to these efforts.

It was believed that the West depended on constitutionalism for national unity, industrialization for material strength, and a well-trained military for national security. "Fukoku kyōhei" ("Enrich the country, strengthen the military") became the Meiji slogan. Knowledge was to be sought in the West, the goodwill of which was essential for revising the unequal treaties. In 1871 Iwakura Tomomi led a large number of government officials on a mission to the United States and Europe. Their experiences strengthened convictions already formed on the requisites for modernization.

The Meiji Restoration was a coup d'état that resulted in the dissolution of Japan's feudal system of government and the restoration of the imperial system. Members of the ruling samurai class had become concerned about the shogunate's ability to protect the country as more Western countries attempted to "open" Japan after more than two hundred

years of virtual isolation. They wanted to unite the country under a new, centralized government to strengthen their army to defend against foreign influence.

The Meiji period that followed the Restoration was an era of major political, economic, and social change in Japan. The reforms enacted during the Meiji emperor's rule brought about the modernization and Westernization of the country and paved the way for Japan to become a major international power. Among other accomplishments, during the Meiji period, Japan adopted a constitution and a parliamentary system, instituted universal education, built railroads and installed telegraph lines, and established strong army and navy forces.

The Major Causes

There were three main causes of the Meiji Restoration:

First, internal problems in Japan made ruling the country too difficult. The feudal system was decaying, and factions were growing. Reinstating the emperor legitimized the movement by connecting it to an old tradition that encouraged everyone to unify.

Second, outside pressure from foreigners convinced the Japanese that they needed to modernize quickly. Japan watched China get pummelled and humiliated by the British for trying to prevent the Brits from selling opium. Then, in 1853, United States commodore Matthew Perry sailed into Tokyo Bay with four warships and massive guns. He demanded that Japan open itself up for international trade. The Japanese had no weapons to match the American firepower, so they had to agree with Perry's demand.

Japan and its people did not like this feeling of helplessness. They saw that they needed to strengthen themselves to stand up to the Western powers - and with China humiliated, there was an opportunity to become the new big dog in Asia.

Third, Japan started building *kokutai*, which means national essence. The idea of nationalism and the nation-state was growing. A nation-state is a country where the population shares a common national and cultural identity. It's easy to assume that nation-states have always existed, but they didn't really until the 19th century.

Changes brought about by Meiji restoration

The leaders of the restoration were mostly young samurai from feudal domains (*Hans*) historically hostile to Tokugawa authority, notably Chōshū, in far western Honshu, and Satsuma, in southern Kyushu. Those men were motivated by growing domestic problems and by the threat of foreign encroachment. The latter concern had its origins in the efforts by

Western powers to “open” Japan, beginning in the 1850s after more than two centuries of near isolation, and the fear that Japan could be subjected to the same imperialist pressures that they observed happening in nearby China. They believed that the West depended on constitutionalism for national unity, industrialization for material strength, and a well-trained military for national security. Adopting the slogan “Enrich the country, strengthen the army” (“Fukoku kyōhei”), they sought to create a nation-state capable of standing equal among Western powers. Knowledge was to be sought in the West, the goodwill of which was essential for revising the unequal treaties that had been enacted and granted foreign countries judicial and economic privileges in Japan through extraterritoriality.

Progress in Industry and Agriculture

The Meiji reformers began with measures that addressed the decentralized feudal structure to which they attributed Japan’s weakness. In 1869 the lords of Satsuma, Chōshū, Tosa, and Saga were persuaded to return their lands to the throne. Others quickly followed suit. The court took steps to standardize the administration of the domains, appointing their former daimyo as governors. In 1871 the governor-daimyo was summoned to Tokyo and told that the domains were officially abolished. The 250 former domains now became 72 prefectures and three metropolitan districts, a number later reduced by one-third. In the process, most daimyos were eased out of administrative roles, and though rewarded with titles in a new European-style peerage in 1884, were effectively removed from political power.

The Meiji leaders also realized that they had to end the complex class system that had existed under feudalism. Yet, it was difficult to deal with the samurai, who numbered, with dependents, almost two million in 1868. Starting in 1869 the old hierarchy was replaced by a simpler division that established three orders: court nobles and former feudal lords became *kazoku* (“peers”); former samurai, *shizoku*, and all others (including outcast groups) now became *heimin* (“commoners”). The samurai were initially given annual pensions, but financial duress forced the conversion of these into lump-sum payments of interest-bearing but nonconvertible bonds in 1876. Other symbolic class distinctions such as the hairstyle of samurai and the privilege of wearing swords were abolished.

Many former samurai lacked commercial experience and squandered their bonds. Inflation also undercut their value. A national conscription system instituted in 1873 further deprived samurai of their monopoly on military service. Samurai discontent resulted in

numerous revolts, the most serious occurring in the southwest, where the restoration movement had started and warriors expected the greatest rewards. An uprising in Chōshū expressed dissatisfaction with administrative measures that deprived the samurai of their status and income. In Saga, samurai called for a foreign war to employ their class. The last, and by far the greatest, revolt came in Satsuma in 1877. This rebellion was led by the restoration hero Saigō Takamori and lasted six months. The imperial government's conscript levies were hard-pressed to defeat Saigō, but in the end superior transport, modern communications, and better weapons assured victory for the government. In this, as in the other revolts, issues were localized, and the loyalties of most Satsuma men in the central government remained with the imperial cause.

Land surveys were begun in 1873 to determine the amount and value of land based on average rice yields in recent years, and a monetary tax of 3 per cent of land value was established. The same surveys led to certificates of land ownership for farmers, who were released from feudal controls. The land measures involved basic changes, and there was widespread confusion and uncertainty among farmers that expressed itself in the form of short-lived revolts and demonstrations. But the establishment of private ownership, and measures to promote new technology, fertilizers, and seeds, produced a rise in agricultural output. The land tax, supplemented by printed money, became the principal source of government revenue for several decades.

Although it was hard-pressed for money, the government initiated a program of industrialization, which was seen as essential for national strength. Except for military industries and strategic communications, this program was largely in private hands, although the government set up pilot plants to encourage it. Trade and manufacturing benefited from a growing national market and legal security, but the unequal treaties enacted with foreign powers made it impossible to protect industries with tariffs until 1911.

In the 1880s fear of excessive inflation led the government to sell its remaining plants to private investors—usually individuals with close ties to those in power. As a result, a small group of men came to dominate many industries. Collectively they became known as the *zaibatsu* or financial cliques. With great opportunities and few competitors, *zaibatsu* firms came to dominate enterprise after enterprise. Sharing a similar vision for the country, these men maintained close ties to the government leadership. The House of Mitsui, for instance,

was on friendly terms with many of the Meiji oligarchs, and that of Mitsubishi was founded by a Tosa samurai who had been an associate of those within the government's inner circle.

Equally important for building a modern state was the development of national identity. True national unity required the propagation of new loyalties among the general populace and the transformation of powerless and inarticulate peasants into citizens of a centralized state. The use of religion and ideology was vital to this process. Early Meiji policy, therefore, elevated Shinto to the highest position in the new religious hierarchy, replacing Buddhism with a cult of national deities that supported the throne. Christianity was reluctantly legalized in 1873, but, while important for some intellectuals, it was treated with suspicion by many in the government. The challenge remained how to use traditional values without risking foreign condemnation that the government was forcing a state religion upon the Japanese. By the 1890s the education system provided the ideal vehicle to inculcate the new ideological orientation. A system of universal education had been announced in 1872. For a time its organization and philosophy were Western, but during the 1880s a new emphasis on ethics emerged as the government tried to counter excessive Westernization and followed European ideas on nationalist education. In 1890 the Imperial Rescript on Education (Kyōiku Chokugo) laid out the lines of Confucian and Shinto ideology, which constituted the moral content of later Japanese education. Thus, loyalty to the emperor, who was hedged about with Confucian teachings and Shinto reverence, became the centre of a citizen's ideology. To avoid charges of indoctrination, the state distinguished between this secular cult and actual religion, permitting "religious freedom" while requiring a form of worship as the patriotic duty of all Japanese. The education system also was utilized to project into the citizenry at large the ideal of samurai loyalty that had been the heritage of the ruling class.

Socio, Economic, and Political Structure:

During the Tokugawa period, the stipends of the samurai retainers formed nearly 30 per cent of the revenue. In the han, the Daimyo spent nearly 20 per cent of their revenues on maintaining their residences in Edo which was demanded of them because of the system of alternative attendance. The government took immediate steps to reduce these stipends and reform the land tax. The stipends were commuted into government bonds or lump sum payments. The amount was effectively reduced further because of increasing inflation so that

the government's fiscal burden became manageable. This provoked armed rebellions and discontent amongst the displaced traditional elite. Agricultural reform was the next crucial area and though it began in 1873 it took six years to complete. During the Tokugawa period, land tax was based on productivity and theoretically paid in rice but with the reforms, the tax was payable in cash on the assessed value of the land. The national tax rate was 3 per cent of the assessed land value and the local tax was one-third of the national tax. Now the taxpayer became the owner of the land. These measures had been preceded by changes such as abolishing customary restrictions on land use and land surveys. Despite the government's care not to provoke outbursts, there were protests, the largest of which was in 1876 in Wakayama Prefecture. Though the government initially adopted a rigid stance it softened as other samurai revolts erupted and in 1877 the land tax was lowered to 2.5 per cent of market value which meant a 17 per cent reduction in the yearly tax.

Politically the measure was a success for between 1874-1881 there were only ninety-nine incidents of protest and these thirty-seven were landlord-tenant disputes. Tax assessments were now equalized and rational but they worked to the greater advantage of the landlords, particularly as customary land rights did not ensure permanent tenancy. This also explains the increase in landlord-tenant disputes. However, it has been argued by Sydney Crawcour that the new tax as a proportion of output was no higher than the old rate and in some cases lighter. The main effect of the land tax was that land now became a capital asset that could be bought and sold.

Foreign trade also played a crucial role in the initial years when it was 6 per cent of the total but by 1905 it was 28 per cent. Moreover, silk had initially formed the major export item but gradually the number of agricultural products was reduced though they still contributed one-fourth of total commodity exports. Traditional industry supplied goods as well as contributed to capital formation and exports and while the Meiji Government initially attempted to organize trade associations it later concentrated on promoting industries using new technologies. But from 1879 when the Osaka Chamber of Commerce organized traditional trades, various laws to organize this sector were enacted. The fact is that this sector supplied a range of demand and gained from the cheaper electricity and transport as well as the cheaper and superior materials produced in the modern sector. Finally, the traditionally produced products were able to compete in the export market. That is why Sydney Crawcour has argued that industrial growth in Japan before World War I was the growth of the traditional sector. In certain regards, Japan's experience has been different from that of Western countries. The normal pattern of industrialization as in tWestern countries has

been progressing from light industry, like textiles to mining and metallurgical or chemicals to mass-produced goods. In Japan, railways developed even before the iron and steel industry as the materials and components were imported. The textile industry was established almost simultaneously with iron and steel, shipbuilding, etc. In other words, these industries could be established because the state was willing to bear the burden through subsidies and protection. The criteria used were the national interest rather than the economic viability of the project. The Shipbuilding Encouragement Act of 1896 is a good example of how domestic construction was promoted. The Act provided that steel steamships built in wholly-owned shipyards would get a subsidy of 12 yen per ton for ships of 700-1000 tonnes and 20 yen per tonne for 1,000 or more tonne ships. If the engines were Japanese made then 75 yen per horsepower would be given addition. Even this was not enough to compete with foreign-made ships and it was only in 1899 when the Navigation Subsidy Act was amended and subsidies for foreign-built ships cut to half of that for domestically built vessels that domestic production picked up. What becomes evident in looking at the growth of the modern sector is the close links it had with military demands. When military expenditure increased then the modern sector grew as it did during the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars. Scholars like W.W. Lockwood see military expenditure as a drain but others like Kozo Yamamura argue that it helped to disseminate Western technology and skills.

Social and intellectual changes taking place in Japan were as important as those in politics. Many were closely related to the growth and development of the industry. After the Treaty of Shimonoseki, the government used the Chinese indemnity to subsidize the Yawata Iron and Steel Works in northern Kyushu, which came into production in 1901 and greatly expanded Japan's heavy industrial sector. At the same time, textile and other consumer-goods industries expanded to meet Japanese needs and to earn credits required for the import of raw materials. Heavy industry was encouraged by government-controlled banks, which provided needed capital. Strategic industries, notably steel and the principal rail lines, were in state hands, but the newest growth was in the private sector.

The socialist movement had been gaining strength and influence among the intelligentsia. In 1901 a Socialist Party was formed and this too was banned almost immediately. As mentioned earlier the government's repressive legislation like the Peace

Preservation Law of 1900 as well as other administrative and civil codes was used to suppress the growth of workers' organizations. The government's policy reduced the growth of trade unions for a while but it also increased their radicalism and many began to advocate class war. The Russo-Japanese war of 1904-5 is an important divide in the economic history of Japan. From this period onwards iron and steel, coal, metal mining, etc. began to develop and Japan also began to pursue her policies of foreign expansion with greater vigour. The economic growth also generated increasing disputes in the industry as well as tenant uprisings in the rural areas. The initial years of the century from 1900 to 1910 saw-the labour movement even more suppressed because of the various prohibitory laws and this suppression led to increased violence which reached its peak in the Ashia copper mine case in 1909. The mines were located near the resort of Nikko at the headwaters of the Watarase River. Copper was an important raw material and the mines were extensively developed without thought to the environmental pollution that they were causing. In 1896 because of the deforestation of the watershed area floods had divested thousands of houses downstream leading to protests and the mines came to symbolize the distorted development of Meiji industrial development. In February 1909 the Ashio mine workers, some 1,200 went on strike for better working conditions and higher wages. The Meiji Government followed a policy of ruthless suppression but on the other hand of trying to improve working conditions so that social discord would be reduced. The government was quick to ban socialist societies. Here it is interesting to note that it even banned a society to study insects, the Insect Society because it contained the dreaded word society (shakai) which suggested socialism. The bureaucracy had begun to examine working conditions as early as 1882 when there were only fifty factories. The reports and studies of the minimum standards necessary in the factories were, however, not translated into law. The first factory law was passed in 1911 despite the objections of business houses but this law was considerably watered down and gave ample time to the industry before its implementation was made necessary.

Greater interest was shown in the transformation taking place in the rural areas. The Meiji land settlement had removed the traditional practices and customs which at times protected tenants and now they were more vulnerable to landlord pressure. Tenancy rights could be cancelled at any time and there was no restriction on their property rights. This is the reason that in the early years there was an increase in tenancy disputes. Even though the land tax was reduced from 3 per cent to 2.5 per cent the tenants were unsuccessful in reducing their financial burdens. In the period from 1870-1880, many tenancy disputes also arose

because of ignorance as there was a bewildering variety of tenancies at the time of the restoration and they gradually fell into disuse. Most tenants rented lands from several landlords partly to spread their risks and partly because landholdings were fragmented. Many landlords took to rural industries such as silk reeling; they were also money-lenders. The landlords were, as Ann Waswo argues the dominant elite in rural society and till 1900 or so they played a considerable role in society. The government actively encouraged the landlords to consolidate their holdings so that it could provide better facilities like irrigation and drainage. The tenants were on the one hand lured by a more profitable life in the cities where wages were higher. This created a labour shortage in agriculture which led to an increase in wages but it was still profitable for landlords to lease land rather than cultivate it. Moreover, the increasing expenditure of the government led it to make local governments responsible for public works and education. This added tax burden was another source of tension in the rural areas. To diffuse the problems of the rural areas the government bureaucracy 'initiated a Rural Improvement movement. This was a continuation of what had been done in the 1870s by the Hotokusha or Repaying Virtue Society. These societies formed under the leadership of landlords were based on the teachings of Ninomiya Santoku (1787-1856) an agricultural reformer active in the late Tokugawa period. They sought to develop both the correct virtues as well as practical improvements in agriculture. Such attitudes in the bureaucracy were responsible for the passage of laws such as the Industrial Co-operatives Law 1899 which encouraged the setting up of credit, consumer marketing, and producers' cooperatives. The government was motivated by a desire to stabilize conditions in the rural areas because it felt that this was vital for both the economic growth of the country as well as its social stability. They were seeking ways to encourage national loyalty and patriotism. In 1908 the Imperial Rescript (Boshin sho sho) u the Japanese to work hard and co-operate so that by their efforts "the growing prosperity of our empire is assured." The government also used youth organizations and military associations to spread these ideas of collective effort. This collective effort, it· was stressed, would "protect the security of society".

Impact of West:

The leaders of the restoration were mostly young samurai from feudal domains (*Hans*) historically hostile to Tokugawa authority, notably Chōshū, in far western Honshu, and Satsuma, in southern Kyushu. Those men were motivated by growing domestic problems and by the threat of foreign encroachment. The latter concern had its origins in the efforts by

Western powers to "open" Japan, beginning in the 1850s after more than two centuries of near isolation, and the fear that Japan could be subjected to the same imperialist pressures that they observed happening in nearby China. They believed that the West depended on constitutionalism for national unity, industrialization for material strength, and a well-trained military for national security. Adopting the slogan "Enrich the country, strengthen the army" ("Fukoku kyōhei"), they sought to create a nation-state capable of standing equal among Western powers. Knowledge was to be sought in the West, the goodwill of which was essential for revising the unequal treaties that had been enacted and granted foreign countries judicial and economic privileges in Japan through extraterritoriality.

Many Japanese believed that constitutions provided the unity that gave Western nations their strength. The Meiji leaders, therefore, sought to transform Japan in this direction. In 1868 the government experimented with a two-chamber house, which proved unworkable. Meanwhile, the emperor's charter oath of April 1868 committed the government to establish "deliberative assemblies" and "public discussion," to a worldwide search for knowledge, to the abrogation of past customs, and the pursuit by all Japanese of their callings.

Echoing the government's call for greater participation were voices from below. Village leaders, who had benefited from the commercialization of agriculture in the late Tokugawa period, wanted a more participatory system that could reflect their emerging bourgeois interests. Former samurai realized that a parliamentary system might allow them to recoup their lost positions. Samurai interest was sparked by a split in the government's inner circle over a proposed Korean invasion in 1873. At odds with Iwakura and Ōkubo, who insisted on domestic reform over risky foreign ventures, Itagaki Taisuke and several fellow samurai from Tosa and Saga left the government in protest, calling for a popularly elected assembly so that future decisions might reflect the will of the people—by which they largely meant the former samurai. Starting with self-help samurai organizations, Itagaki expanded his movement for "freedom and popular rights" to include other groups. In 1881 he organized the Liberal Party (Jiyūtō), whose members were largely wealthy farmers. In 1880 nearly 250,000 signatures were gathered on petitions demanding a national assembly.

Under these circumstances, the emperor requested the advice of his ministers on constitutional matters. Ōkuma Shigenobu, a leader from Saga, submitted a relatively liberal constitutional draft in 1881, which he published without official approval. He also revealed sensational evidence of corruption in the disposal of government assets in Hokkaido.

For this, he was forced out of the government's inner circle. Ōkuma organized the Progressive Party (Kaishintō) in 1882 to further his British-based constitutional ideals, which attracted considerable support among urban business and journalistic communities.

The clamour of 1881 resulted in an imperial promise of a constitution by 1889. Meanwhile, the parties were encouraged to await its promulgation quietly. The constitution was drafted behind the scenes by a commission headed by Itō Hirobumi and aided by the German constitutional scholar Hermann Roesler. The period of its drafting coincided with an era of great economic distress in the countryside. This provided an environment in which party agitation could easily kindle direct action and violence, and several incidents of this type led to severe government reprisals and increased police controls and press restrictions. Village leaders, confronted by unruly members of their community whose land faced imminent foreclosure, became less inclined to support liberal ideas. Consequently, the parties decided to dissolve temporarily in 1884. In the interim Itagaki travelled to Europe and returned convinced more than ever of the need for national unity in the face of Western condescension.

Itō also travelled to Europe as part of the work to prepare the new constitution. In Germany, he found an appropriate balance of imperial power and constitutional forms that seemed to offer modernity without sacrificing effective control. To balance a popularly elected lower house, Itō established a new European-style peerage in 1884. Government leaders, military commanders, and former daimyo were given titles and readied for future seats in a house of peers. A cabinet system, in which ministers were directly appointed by the emperor, was installed in 1885, and a Privy Council, designed to judge and safeguard the constitution, was set up in 1888. It ō became head of the council.

The constitution was formally promulgated in 1889, and elections for the lower house were held to prepare for the initial Diet (Kokkai), which met in 1890. The constitution took the form of a gracious gift from the sovereign to his people, and it could be amended only upon imperial initiative. Its provisions were couched in general terms. Rights and liberties were granted "except as regulated by law." If the Diet refused to approve a budget, the one from the previous year could be followed. The emperor was "sacred and inviolable"; he commanded the armies, made war and peace, and dissolved the lower house at will. Effective power thus lay with the executive, which could claim to represent the imperial will. The

rescript on education guaranteed that future generations would accept imperial authority without question.

Despite its anti-democratic features, the constitution provided a much greater arena for dissent and debate than had previously existed. The lower house could initiate legislation. Private property was inviolate, and freedoms, though subject to legislation, were greater than before. Even military budgets required Diet approval for increases. Initially, a tax qualification of 15 yen limited the electorate to about 500,000; this was lowered in 1900 and 1920, and in 1925 universal manhood suffrage came into effect. The government leaders found it harder to control the lower house than initially anticipated, and party leaders found it advantageous, at times, to cooperate with the oligarchs. The constitution thus basically redefined politics for both sides. It also ended the revolutionary phase of the Meiji Restoration. With the new institutions in place, the oligarchs withdrew from power and were content to maintain and conserve the ideological and political institutions they had created through their roles as elder statesmen (*genrō*)

Religious Reforms

Regardless of official hostility toward systems of thought and belief other than Neo-Confucianism, Buddhism nonetheless retained a strong influence over the lives of the common people. For example, the medieval sects of Jōdo, Jōdo Shin, Zen, and Nichiren made striking advances during the Edo period, if only because their temples were guaranteed privileged status by the implementation of the *terauke* ("temple certificate") system of the *bakufu*. Besides their previous roles conducting funeral rites and other more strictly "religious" functions, they now were charged with the official state functions of registering citizens and conducting the census. As they were thus exceedingly closely connected to the daily lives of the people, the continued existence of Buddhist temples was guaranteed. Though hardly a new phenomenon, more people in Edo times tended to engage in what was termed *genze riyaku*—i.e., they prayed for happiness during their lifetime, such as for commercial prosperity or restoration of health—rather than wait for happiness after their death, as had been more common in medieval Buddhism. In response to these practical desires and needs, temples conducted various ceremonies and concocted other means to increase their income. Two of the most important such ceremonies were *kaichō* ("displaying temple treasures") and *tomitsuki*. *Kaichō* consisted of allowing the people to worship a Buddhist image that was normally kept concealed and not generally displayed. Gradually this ceremony came to be performed by transporting the image to other cities and villages for display. *Tomitsuki* was an

officially authorized lottery, and in Edo the raffles at such temples as Yanaka Tennō, Yushima Tenjin, and the Meguro Fudō (better known as the Ryūsen Temple) were famous. Many Buddhist priests profited from these activities, and some led rather profligate private lives, providing orthodox Confucian scholars reasons for demanding that Buddhism be stamped out. Yet, despite official disapproval, it remained important in the lives of the people.

Various sorts of popular faiths flourished also in the cities and villages of Edo times. Shugendō, for example, was an ancient form of ascetic practice preached by itinerant monks (*yamabushi*), who offered prayers to cure illness or bring happiness. While its teachings centred on traditional Tendai and Shingon Buddhism, it also contained beliefs drawn from Shintō, religious Taoism, and elsewhere to meet the religious feelings of the people. A new faith in healing spirits arose, sparked by the view that human suffering could be cured only by those who had suffered similar hardships themselves; and I, and late Tokugawa period there developed a belief in living gods (*ikigami*) who could respond to the various needs and desires of the common people and who became revered as founders (*kyōso*) of new religious sects. Among such sects were Kurozumikyō, founded by Kurozumi Munetada, Konkōkyō of Kawate Bunjirō, and Tenrikyō of Nakayama Miki, all of which remain active in present-day Japan. People like Nakayama Miki, for example, reflected the confused social conditions of the late Tokugawa period. A peasant girl who suffered great hardship in her personal life, Nakayama became a shaman and a faith healer and attracted a widespread following. Many such people founded new religions, espousing utopian causes and leading millenarian movements; their advocacy of *yo-naoshi*, or relief of the world by social reform, had clear political overtones. In a similar manner, others were influenced by the growth of the cult of Shintō shrines, and periodic pilgrimages to Ise, called *okage-mairi* or *nuke-mairi*, became popular. Not only Ise but other shrines as well became the focus of popular pilgrimages; such major deities as Inari, Hachiman, and Tenjin became associated with local gods (*ujigami*) and developed into objects of local worship. Pilgrimages could consist of groups of several hundreds of thousands of commoners. Among these masses of Shintō pilgrims were many harbouring the same social and political hopes for *yo-naoshi* expressed in the faiths of the founders of new sects

Intellectual Awakening

Intellectual Awakening

THE SOCIAL EFFECTS OF THE MEIJI RESTORATION

In Japan in 1853, only 3% of the population was receiving a formal education. The farmers, tradesmen, and soldiers received their specific training, but no formal education. By 1878, however, 25% were; by 1885, 42%; and by 1897, 95% were receiving some formal education, at least at the primary level, which would be equal to our elementary schools. This had a great effect on Japan because, with these educated people, it was then possible for Japan to rapidly man factories for steel, iron, and rubber production, and train people to grow more food with the aid of new farm tractors. Because of this last innovation, the Japanese people at better and become healthier. Eventually, their population skyrocketed and Japan became a very crowded chain of islands. To reduce this crowding, and to search for supplies of raw materials, Japan began to look for new lands to expand into; with their new modern weapons and methods, they began to build an empire in Asia. Emperor Meiji knew that for Japan to be successful in her modernization effort she would have to copy many western ways. Here are some examples. -The government also built model factories in the steel, cement, plate glass, fire brick, woollen textiles, and spinning industries. They were set up on a profit-making basis but with the primary aim of introducing European production methods and techniques into Japan. -Reforms in other fields were far-reaching: education was made compulsory, all restrictions were lifted on Japanese going abroad, Christianity was permitted, vaccinations, postal service, telegraphs, and steamships were introduced, torture was abolished, European dress was prescribed for officials (with the Emperor showing the way by adopting Western military dress), and European and American advisers were freely employed. The Meiji reforms brought great changes both within Japan and in Japan's place in world affairs. Japan strengthened itself enough to remain a sovereign nation in the face of Western colonizing powers and indeed became a colonizing power itself. During the Taishô period (1912-1945), Japanese citizens began to ask for more voice in the government and more social freedoms. During this time, Japanese society and the Japanese political system were significantly more open than they were either before or after. The period has often been called the period of "Taishô democracy." One explanation is that until World War I, Japan enjoyed record-breaking economic prosperity. The Japanese people had more money to spend, more leisure, and better education, supplemented by the development of mass media. Increasingly they lived in cities where they came into contact with influences from abroad and where the traditional authority of the extended family was less

influential. Industrialization in itself undermined traditional values, emphasizing instead efficiency, independence, materialism, and individualism. During these years Japan saw the emergence of "mass society"2 very similar to the "Roaring 20s"1 in the United States. During these years also, the Japanese people began to demand universal manhood suffrage, which they won in 1925. Political parties increased their influence, becoming powerful enough to appoint their prime ministers between 1918 and 1931. In forty-five short years, less than the span of one man's life, Japan had been changed drastically.

Cultural life

It is common for Western observers of contemporary Japan to emphasize its great economic achievement without equal regard to cultural attributes. Yet Japanese cultural distinctiveness and the manner in which it developed are instructive in understanding how it is that Japan came to be the first non-Western country to attain great-power status.

The Japanese long have been intensely aware of and have responded with great curiosity to powerful outside influences, first from the Asian mainland (notably China) and more recently from the Western world. Japan has followed a cycle of selectively absorbing foreign cultural values and institutions and then adapting these to existing indigenous patterns, this latter process often occurring during periods of relative political isolation. Thus, outside influences were assimilated, but the basic sense of Japaneseness was unaffected; for example, Buddhist deities were adopted into the Shintō pantheon. Japan's effort to modernize quickly in the late 19th and 20th centuries—albeit undertaken at great national and personal sacrifice—was really an extension of the same processes at work in the country for centuries.

Prehistoric Japanese culture was exposed to ancient Chinese cultural influences beginning some two millennia ago. One consequence of these influences was the imposition of the gridiron system of land division, which long endured; it is still possible to trace the ancient place-names and field division lines of this system. Chinese writing and many other Chinese developments were introduced in the early centuries CE; the writing system underwent many modifications over the centuries, since it did not fit the Japanese language. Buddhism—which originated in India and underwent modification in Central Asia, China, and Korea before reaching Japan about the 6th century—also exerted a profound influence on Japanese cultural life, although over the course of time it was modified profoundly from its antecedent forms. Similarly, Chinese urban design was introduced in the

layouts of the ancient capital cities of Nara and Kyōto but did not proliferate in the archipelago.

The Japanization of introduced cultural elements was greatly accelerated during the 250-year period of near-isolation that ended in the mid-19th century. After the Meiji Restoration (1868), Japan began to modernize and to industrialize on the European and American pattern. Western cultural traits were introduced on a large scale through the schools and the mass communication media. Western scientific and technical terms have been widely diffused in translation and have even been reported to China and Korea. American and European influences on Japanese culture are in evidence in literature, the visual arts, music, education, science, recreation, and ideology.

Modernization was accompanied by cultural changes. Rationalism and socialism based on Christianity, as well as Marxism, became inseparably related to everyday Japanese life. Western or Westernized music generally is more common than traditional Japanese music in many social settings. Although Japanese Christians form a tiny percentage of the population, Christmas (or the outer trappings of it) is widely observed, almost as a folk event. The use of Western dress among the Japanese, in place of the traditional kimono, long ago became commonplace, although women may wear formal kimonos at certain celebrations, and both men and women may use casual styles for home wear. House construction also was changed considerably by the introduction of Western architectural forms and functions. In shape, in colour, and in building materials, many contemporary Japanese houses are significantly different from the traditional ones; they now have more modernistic shapes, use more colours, and are more often made of concrete and stucco.

Delicacy and exquisiteness of form, together with simplicity, characterize traditional Japanese artistic taste. The Japanese tend to view the traditional Chinese arts generally as being too grandiose or showy. The more recently introduced Western arts are felt to suffer from flaws of exuberant self-realization at the expense of earnest exploration of the conflicts in human relations, in particular the notions of divided loyalties between community, family, and self that create the bittersweet melancholy so pervasive in Japanese traditional drama.

The highly refined traditional arts of Japan include such forms as the tea ceremony, calligraphy, and ikebana (flower arranging) and gardening, as well as architecture, painting, and sculpture. The performing arts are distinguished by their blending of music, dance, and

drama, rooted in different eras of the past. The major traditional theatrical forms (roughly in chronological order of their appearance) are bugaku (court dance and music), Noh (Nō; the classic form of dance-drama), *kyogen* (a type of comic opera), Bunraku (the puppet theatre), and Kabuki (drama with singing and dancing). Newer genres include Western-style *shingeki* ("new theatre") dramas and *butoh*, a highly stylized dance form. Ikebana, the tea ceremony, and calligraphy are popular pursuits, particularly as aesthetic accomplishments for women. However, traditional Japanese painting, dance, and music have lost much of their earlier popularity, though the poetic forms of haiku and waka have continued to flourish.

Traditional handicrafts constitute some of Japan's finest examples of visual arts. Notable are the various styles of pottery, lacquer work, cloisonné, and bamboo ware, as well as papermaking, silk weaving, and cloth dyeing.

With the advance of modernization, many folk traditions and forms of folklore are disappearing. The widespread use of standard Japanese has accelerated this trend, since local cultures are directly related to dialects. Folk songs, for example, are generally no longer commonly sung except in some remote areas in northern and south-western Japan. Folk music and dance are related to local life and are often significantly concerned with the local religion (whether animistic, Shintō, or Buddhist), agriculture, or human relations (including the theme of love). Some, however, still enjoy a great popularity, which has been increased through the mass media. On informal social occasions, even in the large cities, folk and popular songs are often sung.

Unit III

Beginning of Militarism and Imperialism

Japan's Interest in Korea

Japan set up a government in Korea with the governor-general ship filled by generals or admirals appointed by the Japanese emperor. The Koreans were deprived of freedom of assembly, association, the press, and speech. Many private schools were closed because they did not meet certain arbitrary standards. The colonial authorities used their own school system as a tool for assimilating Korea to Japan, placing primary emphasis on teaching the Japanese language and excluding from the educational curriculum such subjects as Korean language and Korean history. The Japanese built nationwide transportation and communications networks and established a new monetary and financial system. They also promoted Japanese commerce in Korea while barring Koreans from similar activities.

The colonial government promulgated a land-survey ordinance that forced landowners to report the size and area of their land. By failing to do this, many farmers were deprived of their land. Farmland and forests owned jointly by a village or a clan were likewise expropriated by the Japanese since no single individual could claim them. Much of the land thus expropriated was then sold cheaply to Japanese. Many of the dispossessed took to the woods and subsisted by slash-and-burn tillage, while others emigrated to Manchuria and Japan in search of jobs; the majority of Korean residents now in those areas are their descendants.

The March First Movement

A turning point in Korea's resistance movement came on March 1, 1919, when nationwide anti-Japanese rallies were staged. The former emperor, Kojong, the supreme symbol of independence, had died a few weeks earlier, bringing mourners from all parts of the country to the capital for his funeral. A Korean Declaration of Independence was read at a rally in Seoul on March 1. Waves of students and citizens took to the streets, demanding independence. An estimated two million people took part. The March First Movement, as it came to be known, took the form of peaceful demonstrations, appealing to the conscience of the Japanese. The Japanese, however, responded with brutal repression, unleashing their gendarmerie and army and navy units to suppress the demonstrations. They arrested some

47,000 Koreans, of whom about 10,500 were indicted, while some 7,500 were killed and 16,000 wounded.

In September independence leaders, including Yi Tong-nyŏng and An Ch’ang-ho, who in April had formed a Korean provisional government in Shanghai, elected Syngman Rhee as president. It brought together all Korean exiles and established an efficient liaison with leaders inside Korea. Japan realized that its iron rule required more sophisticated methods. The gendarmerie gave way to an ordinary constabulary force, and partial freedom of the press was granted. But the oppressive and exploitative Japanese colonial policy remained ruthless, though using less conspicuous methods.

Taking advantage of a wartime business boom, Japan took leaps forward as a capitalist country. Korea became not only a market for Japanese goods but also a fertile region for capital investment. Meanwhile, industrial development in Japan was achieved at the sacrifice of agricultural production, creating a chronic shortage of rice. The colonial government undertook projects for increasing rice production throughout Korea. Many peasants were ordered to turn their dry fields into paddies. The program was temporarily suspended during the worldwide economic depression in the early 1930s. It soon resumed, however, in order to meet the increased needs of the Japanese military in its war against China, which began in 1931. Most Koreans were forced to subsist on low-quality cereals imported from Manchuria instead of their own rice.

The end of Japanese rule over Korea.

A major anti-Japanese mass rally was held in Seoul in 1926, on the occasion of the funeral of Emperor Sunjong. A nationwide student uprising originated in Kwangju in November 1929, demanding an end to Japanese discrimination. These and other resistance movements were led by a wide spectrum of Korean intellectuals.

In 1931 the Japanese imposed military rule once again. After the outbreak of the second Sino-Japanese War (1937) and of World War II in the Pacific (1941), Japan attempted to obliterate Korea as a nation: Koreans were forced to worship at Japanese Shintō shrines and even to adopt Japanese-style names, and academic societies devoted to Korean studies as well as newspapers and magazines published in Korean were banned. The Japanese desperately needed additional manpower to replenish the dwindling ranks of their military and labour

forces. As a consequence, hundreds of thousands of able-bodied Koreans, both men and women, were drafted to fight for Japan and to work in mines, factories, and military bases. In addition, after the start of the Pacific war, the Japanese forced thousands of Korean women to provide sexual services (as “comfort women”) for the military.

When Shanghai fell to the Japanese, the Korean provisional government moved to Chongqing in southwestern China. It declared war against Japan in December 1941 and organized the Korean Restoration Army, composed of independence fighters in China. This army fought with the Allied forces in China until the Japanese surrender in August 1945, which ended 35 years of Japanese rule over Korea.

Hostile attitude of U.S.A

South Korea began to organize a police constabulary reserve in 1946. In December 1948 the Department of National Defence was established. By June 1950, when the war broke out, South Korea had a 98,000-man force equipped only with small arms, which was barely enough to deal with internal revolt and border attacks. The U.S. occupation forces completely withdrew from Korea by June 1949, leaving behind them a force of about 500 men as a U.S. Military Advisory Group to train the South Korean armed forces. In October 1949 the United States granted South Korea $10,200,000 for military aid and $110,000,000 for economic aid for the fiscal year 1950, the first year of a contemplated three-year program. In addition the U.S. Congress approved $10,970,000 for military aid in March 1950. The military equipment committed under the U.S. military assistance program was still en route, however, when North Korean troops invaded the South in June. South Korea was thus unprepared to resist the total invasion from the North.

Military preparations in North Korea had been much more extensive. Early in 1946 the Soviet authorities had organized a 20,000-man constabulary and army units, and in August the North Korean army was established (its title changing to the Korean People’s Army in February 1948). The Soviet occupation forces left North Korea in December 1948, leaving behind for training purposes 150 advisers for each army division. In March 1949 the U.S.S.R. concluded a reciprocal-aid agreement with North Korea, in which it agreed to furnish heavy military equipment, and by June 1950 North Korean forces numbered 135,000, including a

tank brigade. As early as 1946 the Soviets were sending thousands of Koreans to the U.S.S.R. for specialized training, and during 1949–50 China transferred about 12,000 Korean troops from its army to the North Korean forces. The North Korean forces were thus far superior to those of South Korea in training and equipment when, on June 25, 1950, North Korean troops launched a full-scale invasion of the south.

U N intervention

On June 26 (June 25 in New York City) the UN Security Council approved a resolution condemning the invasion of South Korea. The Soviet Union was unable to impose a veto, because its delegate had been boycotting the meetings to protest the fact that the People's Republic of China had no representation in the United Nations. On June 27 U.S. Pres. Harry S. Truman issued the order for U.S. air and naval forces to resist communist aggression in Korea; that afternoon the UN Security Council ratified Truman's decision to send air and sea aid to Korea, calling upon UN members to render such assistance to Korea as might be necessary to restore peace. But Seoul fell on June 28, and most of the South Korean army was destroyed. On June 30 Truman ordered U.S. ground forces in Japan into Korea; the first U.S. troops reached the battlefield on July 4. The UN approved the creation of a unified command in Korea, and Gen. Douglas MacArthur was appointed commander. Sixteen member nations sent armed contingents, but the United States furnished the great bulk of the air units, naval forces, supplies, and financing.

The North Koreans continued to advance, despite the presence of U.S. troops in the field. In early August the UN retreat came to an end in a defence perimeter along the Naktong River, forming a semi-circular beachhead around Pusan in Korea's extreme southeast. On September 15 MacArthur counterattacked, catching the communists on the flank by an amphibious attack on Inch'ŏn (on the coast west of Seoul). North Korean forces were trapped and either surrendered or fled in panic. By October 1 the UN forces were back at the 38th parallel. On September 27 the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff had ordered MacArthur to destroy the North Korean armed forces, and two days later Truman authorized him to advance into North Korea. On October 7 the UN General Assembly approved the resolution to permit entry into North Korea and created a UN Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. On October 20 the UN forces entered P'yŏngyang, and on October 26 they reached the Chinese border at the Yalu River.

Chinese intervention

The Chinese, who had moved troops along the Yalu after the Inch’ŏn landing, entered Korea in November in overwhelming numbers. By late 1952, 1,200,000 Chinese were engaged in the war under the command of Peng Dehuai. They forced the UN forces to retreat in disarray, and Seoul was revaluated on January 4, 1951. But the Chinese were halted around P’yŏngt’aek (about 30 miles south of Seoul), and in February the UN General Assembly formally condemned China as an aggressor. The UN counteroffensive began in late January. By March 31 the UN forces had again reached the 38th parallel. MacArthur now publicly advocated an extension of the war to China because of the Chinese intervention, but this advocacy was regarded as a challenge to the U.S. president’s conduct of foreign policy. Consequently, in April Truman dismissed MacArthur from all of his commands, and Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway took his place. From then until the armistice, the UN forces fought a holding action along the 38th parallel; indeed, in many places the UN forces were slightly north of the line.

Sino- Japanese war of 1894-95

First Sino-Japanese War, conflict between Japan and China in 1894–95 that marked the emergence of Japan as a major world power and demonstrated the weakness of the Chinese empire. The war grew out of conflict between the two countries for supremacy in Korea. Korea had long been China’s most important client state, but its strategic location opposite the Japanese islands and its natural resources of coal and iron attracted Japan’s interest. In 1875 Japan, which had begun to adopt Western technology, forced Korea to open itself to foreign, especially Japanese, trade and to declare itself independent from China in its foreign relations.

Japan soon became identified with the more radical modernizing forces within the Korean government, while China continued to sponsor the conservative officials gathered around the royal family. In 1884 a group of pro-Japanese reformers attempted to overthrow the Korean government, but Chinese troops under Gen. Yuan Shikai rescued the king, killing several Japanese legation guards in the process. War was avoided between Japan and China by the signing of the Li-Itō Convention, in which both countries agreed to withdraw troops from Korea.

In 1894, however, Japan, flushed with national pride in the wake of its successful modernization program and its growing influence upon young Koreans, was not so ready to compromise. In that year, Kim Ok-Kyun, the pro-Japanese Korean leader of the 1884 coup, was lured to Shanghai and assassinated, probably by agents of Yuan Shikai. His body was then put aboard a Chinese warship and sent back to Korea, where it was quartered and displayed as a warning to other rebels. The Japanese government took this as a direct affront, and the Japanese public was outraged. The situation was made more tense later in the year when the Tonghak rebellion broke out in Korea, and the Chinese government, at the request of the Korean king, sent troops to aid in dispersing the rebels. The Japanese considered this a violation of the Li-Itō Convention, and they sent 8,000 troops to Korea. When the Chinese tried to reinforce their own forces, the Japanese sank the British steamer *Kowshing*, which was carrying the reinforcements, further inflaming the situation.

War was finally declared on August 1, 1894. Although foreign observers had predicted an easy victory for the more massive Chinese forces, the Japanese had done a more successful job of modernizing, and they were better equipped and prepared. Japanese troops scored quick and overwhelming victories on both land and sea. By March 1895 the Japanese had successfully invaded Shandong province and Manchuria and had fortified posts that commanded the sea approaches to Beijing. The Chinese sued for peace. In the Treaty of Shimonoseki, which ended the conflict, China recognized the independence of Korea and ceded Taiwan, the adjoining Pescadores, and the Liaodong Peninsula in Manchuria.

China also agreed to pay a large indemnity and to give Japan trading privileges on Chinese territory. This treaty was later somewhat modified by Russian fears of Japanese expansion, and the combined intercession of Russia, France, and Germany forced Japan to return the Liaodong Peninsula to China. China’s defeat encouraged the Western powers to make further demands of the Chinese government. In China itself, the war triggered a reform movement that attempted to renovate the government; it also resulted in the beginnings of revolutionary activity against the Qing dynasty rulers of China.

Anglo- Japanese Alliance

The Russian move in Manchuria was far more menacing to the interest of Japan than anything else. Russia had already roused the suspicion of Japan in 1895, when she callously

initiated the triple intervention with a motive to deprive Japan of all her gains in the Treaty of Shimonoseki. Backed by France and Germany. Russia came forward as a protector of the integrity of China in order to put pressure upon Japan to return all the territories that she had won from China by the Treaty of Shimonoseki which brought the first Sino-Japanese War to a conclusion. Worn out in the recent war Japan felt helpless before these three leading European Powers and, thus, did not think it wise to defy their suggestions at the risk of another war. Like a docile dame she surrendered to China all the territories including the Liaotung Peninsula.

Thus, in the scramble for concessions that followed the Sino Japanese War of 1894-1895, Russia, posing as China's friend deprived Japan of the fruits of her success. What was more outrageous to Japan was the fact that Russia secured from China a lease of the Liaotung Peninsula including Port Arthur, for a period of twenty-five years. Besides she secured a right to construct rail road across northern Manchuria to Vladivostok. These concessions gave her a dominant position in Manchuria from where she could threaten Japan's interests in Korea. The fear of Japan was further intensified by the attempt of Russia to exploit the disturbances caused by the Boxer riots, to her own advantage. She rushed troops into Manchuria to guard the railroads and to protect her citizens there. As usual, posing as a friend, she undertook to use her influence with the Powers in favour of China, and demanded in return something like a military protectorate over Manchuria. Although she induced other Powers to withdraw their army from the war-torn areas of China, she herself doggedly continued to remain in the areas where she had garrisoned her troops during the Boxer debacle.

The factions that she had no intension of withdrawing from Manchuria and declined to recognise that Japan had any right to interfere in the Manchurian question. She declared that the question concerned her and China alone and tried to secure an agreement from China, which would make Manchuria a close preserve for Russia. But this attempt failed because of strong protests of the United States, Japan, and Great Britain. Japan suggested a treaty which should safeguard Russia's interests in Manchuria and define Japan's position in Korea. But Russia in her aggressive mood would not concede that Japan had any right to be heard on Manchurian questions. She virtually reoccupied Manchuria, while at Peking she pressed new secret demands upon China. This move of Russia in Manchuria threatened Japan most, because Korea was adjacent to Manchuria and nearer to Japan.

The influence of Russia in the Korea Court also increased day by day. In the Treaty of Shimonoseki it was agreed upon by both China and Japan that they should recognise the integrity and independence of Korea. As China kept aloof from the Korean affairs, the influence of Japan at Seoul, the capital of Korea was established for a time. A section of Korean people did not appreciate the idea of accepting and working out the Japan's proposals of reform in Korea. So, they wanted to obliterate Japanese influence from Korea by taking help of Russia. Russia utilised this situation to her best advantage and immediately started interfering in the internal affairs of Korea. In the meantime she could manage to secure a valuable timber concession on the Yalu River. Her activities greatly embarrassed the Japanese. They found that Russian machinations were jeopardising their interests in Korea for which they had recently fought with China. Alarmed by the growing influence of Russia in the Court of Korea, Japan wanted to make an amicable settlement with her over the question of Korea. Thus, the famous Yauagata-Lobanoff protocol was signed soon between Japan and Russia, by which both the powers agreed to maintain equal status with regard to their relations with Korea and they further agreed to withdraw their troops from the Korean Peninsula in no time.

But, as a matter of fact Russia lacked sincerity in observing the terms of this agreement On the other hand, to great dissatisfaction of Japan, she went on increasing her influence and strengthening her hold on Korea.

The aggressive policy of Russia created great consternation in the minds of the Japanese statesmen who seriously thought of finding out ways and means to put an effective check upon Russian move. The Japanese opinion on this issue was sharply divided. One group of Japanese led by Count Ito held the opinion that a friendly agreement should be made with Russia by which it should be decided once for all that Japan should recognise Russia' exclusive rights in Manchuria and Russia, in her turn should recognize Japan's exclusive rights in Korea. The other group led by count Hyashi had no faith in Russia and as such, held the opinion that Japan should join hands with England in order to check Russian advance in Manchuria and Korea. The suggestion of the first group could not be materialized because of obstinate nature of Russia. Hence, the proposals of the second group to make a friendly alliance with England was enthusiastically accepted.

Japan had not forgotten the nefarious role of Russia in the Triple Intervention just after the Treaty of Shimonoseki. Since then she was waiting for an opportunity to take revenge on Russia, and for that purpose she first wanted to strengthen her hands by making friendly alliance with a leading European power. Since, England did not object to the Treaty of Shimonoseki and, moreover, maintained friendly neutrality during the Triple Intervention, Japan's alliance with her was quite logical and natural.

With the beginning of the twentieth century England was also in search of an ally. Up to the end of the nineteenth century she followed a policy of splendid isolation, however, it came to be realised in the beginning of the twentieth century that a policy of complete isolation would not do to save the interest of England. Under the changing circumstances, when all other European countries had managed to conclude friendly alliances with one power or other." England could not remain contented with no friend at all. She began to feel towards the end of the nineteenth century that isolation was dangerous and not in the best interests of the country. A similar feeling was there on the occasion of the Fashoda incident of 1898. The attitude of the European Powers during the Boar War also made England feel that her policy of isolation was not a right one under the prevailing circumstances.

Moreover, Russia was a traditional opponent of England for her expansionist ambitions. It was to check Russia in her south ward advance towards the Mediterranean that Britain had fought in the Crimean War during the fifties of the nineteenth century. During the second half of the nineteenth century she was fearful that the Russian annexations east of Caspian and the development of railways in that region spelt danger for India by way of the north-western frontier. Great Britain also saw Southward Movement of Russia in Manchuria and Korea. In order to hold Russia in check England signed a convention (Scott-Mwavieff convention) with her in 1899. By the terms of this convention England was to recognize Russia's interest in Munchuria and Russia was to honour England's position in the Yangtse area. But, as a matter of fact, Russia was not sincere about the observance of these terms. She grossly violated the agreement by backing Belgium to secure concession of the Chinese authority for the construction of a road from Peking to Hankow through the near of the Yangtse region.

In order to put an end to her policy of isolation England now sincerely searched for a friend. The British authorities endeavoured to persuade Germany first to join a pact with her.

Kaiser William II, the Emperor of Germany, expressed his unwillingness to join a friendly alliance with England at the cost of her good relation with Russia. All the efforts of men like Joseph Chambalain to bring Germany and England together ended in smoke. The last effort was made in 1901 when Kaiser William came to England on the occasion of the death of Queen Victoria. When the Emperor was approached for an alliance, his famous reply was: "The road to Berlin lies through Vienne." It was under these circumstances that England decided to enter into an alliance with Japan, because both England and Japan were determined to check the further advance of Russia in the Far East.

Thus, it was this community of purpose that brought the two countries together resulting in the Signing of the Anglo Japanese Alliance, in January 1902.

In this treaty of alliance consists the terms are

(i) both Japan and England declared that they had no intention of aggression in China or Korea. They also expressed their anxiety to maintain the status quo in both the countries,

(ii) (ii) it was agreed between England and Japan that the former had her interests in China whereas the latter had her interests both in China and Korea. They further agreed that it would be admissible for either of them to take such measures as may be indispensable in order to safeguard those interests. If threatened either by the aggressive action of any other power or by disturbances arising in China or Korea.

(iii) (iii) If either England or Japan was involved in a war with another Power while safeguarding those interest the other party was to maintain strict mentality. It was also to most to prevent other powers from joining in hostilities against its ally.

(iv) If any other Power or powers should join in hostilities against that ally other party was to come to its assistance and conduct the war in common and make peace in mutual agreement with it.

(v) Both England and Japan agreed that neither of them was to enter into a separate arrangement with another Power to prejudice of the interests of the other without consulting the other.

(vi) Whenever, in the opinion of either England or Japan the above interests were in danger, the two governments were to communicate with one another fully

and frankly. Lastly agreement was to come into force at once and was to remain in force, for five years.

Effects of the Alliance:

The effects of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance were far reaching. It gave Japan a free hand in the Far East. On the other it put an end to the prospect of the Three-Power Intervention because Germany did not like to incur the displeasure of Britain by supporting such Russian cause as would jeopardise the interest of Japan. France alone was not in a position to render effective help to Russia when the latter was involved in a war with Japan. Thus, Russia was almost diplomatically isolated and was bound to fight along with Japan. It is for this reason that Japan was able so soon to inflict a crushing defeat upon Russia in the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-1905. Russia was forced to retreat from Manchuria.

Backed by Britain Japan could enhance her policy of aggrandisement in the Mainland of China. She could strengthen her hold on Manchuria by occupying the Russian leaseholds. Her control over the Manchurian Railway and the Yakohama Special bank, help to exploit Manchuria economically too. It was, no doubt a landmark in her history of expansion in the Far East. She could now depend not only upon her own strength but also up on the help which she was to get under the amended treaty of 1905which required England to come to the help of Japan if the latter went to war with a third power.

As by the terms of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, Britain recognized Japan's special interest in the Korean issue, Japan could very easily annex Korea in 1910. Her influence in the main land of China also was no less. She could realise reparation from the Manchu Government to compensate the minor losses sustained during the Chinese Revolution of 1911. She could further exploit China, when she joined the First World War in 1914 in support of her ally England. Her notorious twenty one demands, majority of which were accepted by China under compulsion, reduce China almost to a dependency of Japan. Although, the United States welcomed the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, she could realize aggressive attitude of Japan after the Treaty of Portsmouth which bought Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905. It dealt a shattering blow to ‘the open door’ doctrine of the United States. But due to the Anglo Japanese alliance America did not venture exert much pressure upon Japan to give up her policy aggrandisement.

Importance of the Alliance

It rightly pointed out that there was no other treaty from which both the parties gained so much as did Japan England from the treaty of 1902. Japan wanted an ally on whom she could depend to put a check to further advance of Russia in the Far East. This she got in England. According to the treaty, if she was involved in a war with Russia, England was to do everything in her power to prevent other powers from joining Russia against Japan. This was to enable Japan to deal effectively with Russia. Japan was not so much afraid of Russia alone as she was afraid of that help Russia might get from other powers. Having secured herself by the alliance 1902, there is no wonder that Japan chose her opportunity to begin the war with Russia in 1904.

On other hand Britain also gained a lot from the Anglo Japanese Alliance of 1902. She was as much interested in checking the expansion of Russia in the Far East as Japan herself. She would like to help Japan in every way, so that the later might be Able to deal with Russia effectively. Moreover England was getting worried over the naval programme of Germany. The naval power of Germany was growing at a tremendous speed which was no doubt, menacing to the existence of Great Britain. Under these circumstances Great Britain wanted to withdraw her ships from the Pacific and this she could do safely after entering in to an alliance with Japan which was great power in the Pacific.

The Alliance has often been denounced, especially in China and America, as a mischievous element in the far Eastern affairs. China became averse to it, because by this Alliance Britain wanted to keep her perpetually weak. America denounced it because it helped Japan to establish her overall influence on China, which directly defined the 'Open Door' doctrine of Secretary, Hay. The Anglo-Japanese alliance was conspicuous in the sense that it was for the first time that an Eastern Empire had been admitted on equal terms to a European alliance. It gave Japan a standing that no Oriental state had attained it before. On that foundation Japan initially built her subsequent policy of imperialism, which came to be the supreme menace of the Far East. On the other hand, although the alliance was framed by Lord Lansdowne primarily to check Russian ambition, its intention was also to limit the war between Russia and Japan which was obviously brewing in the East.

The **main purpose** of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was to maintain the status quo and place in the Far East and to safeguard the territorial integrity and independence of China, yet the real importance of the Alliance was its recognition of the 'Special interests' of Japan politically as well as commercially and industrially in Korea. This was indirectly a victory for the principle of Spheres of influence' and a defeat for the policies of the Open Door' and co-operative action for its maintenance.

The Alliance was to run for a period of five years, and, if not denounced at the expiry of that time, was to continue for a period of one year beyond the time of its denunciation. Thus, the Alliance was renewed for the first time in 1905 just after the conclusion of the Russo-Japanese War. In addition to the previous terms a new term was incorporated into this renewed alliance by which the British interests in India and in the Far East were also to be recognized by Japan. Britain apprehended that Russia's interests being thwarted in the Far East, she might divert her aggressive attention towards India, which was then the nerve centre of British economy.

With Russia crushed in the Russo-Japanese War the fear of Japan gradually decreased. But England remained as fearful as before of the possible aggrandisement of Russia in the frontier regions of India. Hence. Her need for an alliance with Japan was more essential than any other power. Britain also depended upon Japanese assistance to counteract the growing strength of German navy in the Pacific. Hence the Alliance was again renewed in 1911 for a further period of ten years. By the revised terms of the Alliance it was decided that the combined strength of the Anglo-Japanese navy should be greater than that of any other third Power. This agreement helped Britain to a considerable extent to scare away the German navy from the Far Eastern waters. The revised agreement further provided for removing any danger of England being involved in a conflict between the United States and Japan.

As the years rolled on the Anglo-Japanese Alliance gradually outlived its utility. The main reasons behind this Anglo-Japanese union were their common apprehension for Russian aggrandisement and Britain's fear for German navy. But the Proletarian Revolution of 1917 crushed the Power of Russia to a great extent and the Allied Powers inflicted a crushing defeat on Germany in 1918. Thus, when both Russia and Germany were reduced almost to non-entity, Japan emerged as a potential world power with an ambition to become the be-all and end-all of the entire Far Eastern region. By 1920 she even went to the extent of standing

as a rival to the British Empire so far as her territorial ambitions were concerned. Thus, the Alliance was on the verge of collapse when a discussion on a closer Anglo American understanding was going on. At The Alliance same time China rose to her feet to free herself of the foreign encroachment. The nationalistic sentiment of the Chinese Youth was widely expressed in what is known as the May Forth Movement. The first aim of these young people of China was the immediate abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

The days of this Alliance were numbered. The Four-Power Pact which was signed between the United States, Great Britain France and Japan on December 13, 1921, in course of the Washington conference, put an end to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. These four countries agreed among themselves to respect their rights in relation to their insular possessions and insular dominions in the Pacific Ocean. If the said rights were threatened by the aggressive action of any other power, the contracting parties were required to communicate with one another fully and frankly in order to arrive at an understanding as to the most efficient measures to be taken jointly or separately to meet the exigencies of the particular situation. The treaty was required to be ratified by the various governments and deposited at Washington. When that was done, the Anglo-Japanese Alliances renewed on July 13, 1911, at London, was to be terminated. Thus, renewed in 1905 and 1911, on terms which first permitted and then sanctioned the Japanese annexation of Korea, the Alliance lasted until it was superseded by the 'Four-Power' agreement in 1923.

Russo Japanese War:

The question of Korea was as intricate as the question of Manchuria to both Russia and Japan. Their interests collided at both these places. The Japanese interests were in ascendancy in Korea during the years following the First Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895. Japan was always keen upon keeping Korea sate from the clutches of any foreign power including Russia, because, as it has already been described. 'Korea in the hands of the enemies was just like a dagger thrust at the heart of Japan'. During and after the First Sino-Japanese conflict Japan wanted to remodel the Korean Government according to her own programmes. She tried to transform

Korea from a misgoverned 'Oriental despotism into a modern state'. Japan managed to remove the obstinate Queen of Korea who stood firmly against any change suggested by Japan, by Murder.

This high-handed action of Japan incurred great displeasure of the people of Korea who rose in revolt against Japan in 1896. The Russian troops immediately entered into Seoul with a plea to quell the rebellion. The King of Korea who had very little faith in the sincerity and friendship of Japan, sought asylum in the Russian camp. He managed the supervision for a time from the Russian legation. Russia took advantage of this situation and tried to play, the role of Japan at Seoul which was equally detestable to the Koreans.

Under these circumstances Japan thought it careful to settle the Korean question politely with Russia. So, she withdrew formally her supremacy from Seoul and entered into an agreement with Russia in the summer of 1896. This agreement is otherwise known as the 'Yamagata-Lobanoff Protocol'. By this agreement both parties agreed to withdraw their forces from the Peninsula by allowing Korea to police her own territory as far as possible. They further agreed to unite in pressing financial reforms on the Korean Government and if the latter required foreign money to carry out these reforms, they were to render their support to her of a common accord. Russia, in the meanwhile, had secured from Korea a valuable timber concession on the Yalu River and a mining concession on the Tumen River. However, by the Yamagata-Lobanoff agreement both Japan and Russia were placed on equal footing at Seoul to some extent.

No sooner did the ink completely dry out on the Yamagata Lobanoff Protocol than army by sending her military advisers to Seoul. She even went to the extent of attempting to gain control of Korean finance. The people of Korea highly objected to this kind of irregular activities of Russia. It encouraged Japan to enter into fresh negotiations with Russia with regard to their relations with Korea. Russia had no other way out than to come to terms with Japan by a convention called the Nishi-Rosen Convention. By this convention both the powers recognized the independence and territorial sovereignty of Korea and promised not to render her any help in the re-organization of her army and her finances without prior consultation with the other party. Russia further agreed that she would not jeopardise the development of Japanese industrial and commercial interests in Korea. This convention continued to be the

formal basis of the Russo-Japanese policy in Korea up to the outbreak of the Russo Japanese war.

In spite of the two aforesaid conventions the Korean question remained still resolved due to the obstinate nature of Russia. She persistently pressed upon Russia to grant further concessions. Her efforts to obtain an ice-free port on the coast of Korea roused Japan to her feet. She opposed Russian move and Russian designs in Korea tooth and nail. Japan invested a lot of money in Korean railways and strengthened firmly her commercial bases there. By 1904 Japan's establishment in Korea was deeply rooted in spite of several oppositions either from the side of Russia or America.

The years following the suppression of the Boxer uprising posed additional problems regarding Manchuria and Korea. Japan at first tried to solve these problems as far as practicable by meeting Russia half-way. Backed by prestige and power of her new alliance with Britain, she opened direct negotiations with Russia in July, 1903, for an undertaking on both Manchuria and Korea. She proposed an agreement by which (i) both the countries were to agree to respect the independence and territorial integrity of China and Korea and to maintain the 'Open Door' principle in these countries; (ii) Russia was to recognize Japan's special interests in Korea and concede her right to develop those interests further and to give advice to the Korea Government in the interest of reform. In return, Japan was to recognize Russia's special railway interests in Manchuria and concede her the same right of future development within the limitations of the first stipulation. The Russian Government also made some counter proposals to these proposals of Japan.

Causes for Russo-Japanese war

Manchuria, being the granary of the Far East and rich in timber and minerals, was a special attraction both to Russia and to Japan. In the scramble for concessions, that followed the Sino Japanese War Russia had deprived Japan of the fruits of her success. What was more outrageous to Japan was the fact that Russia secured from China a base of the Liaotung Peninsula including Port Arthur-the territory which ceded to Japan by the Treaty of Shimonoseki. Besides she secured the rights to construct a railroad across northern Manchuria to Vladivostok. These concessions gave Russia a dominating position in Manchuria from which she could threaten Japan's interests in Korea. As a matter of fact she began to interfere in Korean affairs and secured a valuable timber concession on the Yalu River. Her activities

greatly embarrassed the Japanese who found that their interests in Korea were thwarted outright.

The safety of Japan's interests in Korea demanded that Russia should not occupy a dominant position in Manchuria. In the Port Arthur the Russians had got an ice-free port which they had so long coveted and they protected to make it a strong naval base in the Far East. Next taking advantage of the Boxer disturbances Russia rushed troops into Manchuria to guard the railroads and to protect her citizens. She continued to maintain her troops in Manchuria ever after the suppression of the uprising. She cared a little for the protests of Japan and the United States. The fact was that Russia had no intention of withdrawing her forces from Manchuria and declined to recognize that Japan had any right to interfere in the Manchurian question. She declared that the question concerned her and China alone and tried to secure an agreement from China, which would make Manchuria a close preserve for Russia. This attempt failed only because of the strong protests of the United States, Japan and Great Britain. Japan suggested a treaty which should safeguard Russia's interests in Manchuria and define Japan's position in Korea. But Russia in her aggressive mood would not concede that Japan had any right to be heard on Manchurian questions.

It became increasingly evident to Japan that she must fight Russia in order to dislodge her from Manchuria. She, therefore, tried to strengthen her army and navy and diplomatic stand by entering into a negotiation with Great Britain. Britain apprehended that the southward move of Russia might make her pre dominant at Peking. Moreover, she became alarmed by the Dual Alliance which bound Russia and France together. These two powers were promoting a railway project from Peking to Hankow in the heart of Yangtse region where the British had a predominant interest.

Thus, the possibility of the extension of Russian influence in the south alarmed England and drove her into the arms of Japan. Thus, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance came into existence in 1902. The Alliance was limited in its scope to the Far Eastern affairs and aimed at maintaining status quo in that region by preserving the independence and territorial integrity of China and Korea. It recognized the special interests of Great Britain in China and of Japan in China and Korea. The Anglo Japanese Alliance enhanced the power and prestige of Japan to a considerable extent. It safeguarded the position of Japan because in case war should break

out between her and Russia, other powers were not likely to join the latter at the risk of a war with England. It was for the first time that Japan was admitted on equal terms to a pact with the leading naval and commercial power of the world.

The public opinion in Japan was at one with her military personnel who were out to embark upon a war with Russia. When negotiations were undertaken with Russia in July, 1903, the Japanese cabinet had already decided to take resort to arms in the event of the failure of such negotiations. Although Count Ito opposed to this radical decisions, it received vigorous support from General Yamagata Aritomo, The Ministry of Finance of Russia backed by a group Russians, proposed for peaceful economic penetration in the Far East. They virtually opposed war. On the other hand another group of Russians associated with the Ministry of war advocated for a more aggressive policy. The Czar, in general, backed the cause of those who supported the ministry of war.

It has already been described that Russia was repeatedly asked to withdraw her troops from Manchuria. But the Russian response to it seemed to be dilatory at first because she had an ulterior motive of strengthening her grip on Manchuria. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance was a challenge to this attitude of Russia. Out of sheer apprehension she modified her Manchurian policy and accepted the proposal of China for evacuating Manchuria. She agreed to do so in three successive stages at intervals of six months. Her first stage of the evacuation which began in October, 1902, was a mere sham, for she withdrew her troops from one quarter of Manchuria only to concentrate them in another. The second stage of evacuation was to be performed in the month of April. But. Russia kept quiet without taking any step in this regard. On the other hand, she informed China that any further evacuation was to be made on condition that China would agree to grant certain concessions to Russia in Manchuria. She forced China to get her demands fulfilled by issuing a declaration of non-alienation of Manchuria and the closing of that province to the economic enterprise of any nation except Russia. Apart from this Russia opened a railway service between Moscow and Port Arthur. A Russian viceroyalty of the Far East was also created, converting Manchuria into a Russian province.

The matter was further precipitated when Russia shifted a section of her army on to the Yalu River with a plea to cut timber. Although her license to cut timber on the Yalu River had already expired, she illegally insisted upon its revival. But as Japan. had already invested a lot of money and had taken great pains to improve her influence and control over Korea, she

opposed vehemently the Russian move in that direction. Hence Japan made representations at St. Petersburg and protested that the activities of the Russian agents in Korea were not in accordance with the pledges made by the Russian Government. At the same time she opened negotiations offering to recognize Russia's special interests in Manchuria provided Russia should recognize Japan's special position in Korea. On January 13, 1904, Japan agreed to regard Manchuria as outside her sphere of influence, but she also demanded that Russia should give a similar under taking with regard to Korea. Futile negotiations continued between the two countries for many months and all efforts of Japan to settle the matter amicably ended in smoke.

Japan finally resolved to choose the issue of war, and on February, 1904, after no less than the ten draft treaties had been discussed, she broke off negotiations and served her diplomatic relations with Russia. On February 8, a Japanese squadron delivered a surprised attack on Port Arthur. War was declared formally on February 10, 1904. By this time Japan was fully prepared for war.

Course of the War

War was fought both on land and in sea. At the very outset Admiral Togo succeeded in bottling up the Port Arthur-fleet of Russia and thus got control over the seas. This enabled Japan to transport troops and ammunitions to the battle front without much difficulty. The fleet, venturing out from Port Arthur, was badly defeated. Another Russian squadron from Vladivostok was also equally defeated. Meanwhile a body of Japanese troops invaded Port Arthur, while the main army crossed from Korea into the Liaotung Peninsula, defeating the Russians at the Yalu River. At the same time the terrific bombardment of Port Arthur continued and the fortress surrendered after siege of ten-months. After a titanic struggle lasting for a fortnight, the Russians were defeated and compelled to retreat towards the north, evacuating Mukden. In a last attempt to retrieve her fortunes Russia sent her Baltic Fleet to the Far East. As it entered the straits of Tsushima between Korea and Japan on the way to Vladivostok, it was annihilated by the Japanese Admiral Togo. There had been no such naval victory as of six Trafalgar. It ensured the Japanese command of the Pacific.

Treaty of Ports mouth 1905

Both sides were now exhausted by the strain of the war and were ready for peace which followed late in the summer of 1905. In Russia, taking advantage of the defeat of Czar's forces,

the revolutionary forces became active. Japan's resources were badly strained. Both St. Petersburg and Tokyo were ready to negotiate. The representatives of the belligerents were brought together by the good offices of Theodore Roosevelt, the American President. Japan drew the sympathetic attention of the United States in this struggle, because Japan had floated loans in huge amount in the American markets. It was on the initiative of President Roosevelt that a Peace Conference was arranged in the United States, at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, August 8,1905.

The resultant treaty was signed September 5,1905, at Portsmouth which is known as the treaty of ortsmouth. In general,the terms of the treaty were favourable to Japan.
According to the terms of treaty

(i) Both Japan and Russia promised to evacuate Manchuria except for lease holed on the Liaotung Peninsula and to restore exclusive administration China in the area.

(ii) They declared that neither of them would have in Manchuria any territorial advantages or preferential or exclusive concessions which would impair Chinese sovereignty or would be inconsistent with the principle of opportunity for all nations.

(iii) They further promised that both them would not obstruct any measure common to all countries which China might take to develop the commerce and industry of Manchuria.

(iv) Russia was to transfer to Japan her lease of portArthur, Dairen and the adjacent portion of the Liaotung Peninsula and her railway properties in Manchuria by consent of China.

(v) Both the parties agreed to develop their railways in Manchuria solely for industrial and commercial and in no way strategic purposes.

(iv) Finally, Russia agreed to transfer southern part of island of Shakhalin to Japan. She also agreed grant fishing rights to Japanese people along the coasts of her possessions in the Japan, Okhotok and Besing Seas.

The Japanese were not satisfied with terms of Treaty Portsmouth because neither she was given entire Shakhalin nor was accorded any indemnity. The loss of indemnity to cover the expenses of War, roused great indignation in Japan.. Her gain in treaty was not worth the strain and troubles she took conflict a crushing defeat on Russia. The Japanese leaders knew well enough how heavy the odds against them during the war were. The public opinion of Japan against the Portsmouth settlement became so vigorous that Prime Minister Prince Katsura had to resign temporarily as mark of protest the public opinion.

The question generally arises as why small country like Japan could inflict crushing defeat on great power like Russia. The answer is not far seek Japanese fought with all their courage, strategic skill. Tenacity and power of preparation which justified her victory. But on the other hand Russia had been her own enemy. She was unwieldy and divided. She misunderstood the character and resources of nation that stood against her. In spite of Moscow-Manchurian Railway line, her base was far removed from theatre of war. She was, moreover, weakened by division and corruption, by revolution among her people, by lack cohesion and contradictory policies among her leaders.

Effects of the War

The Russo-Japanese War had far reaching repercussions not only on its belligerents, but on other powers of the world too. It checked the advance of Russia in the Far East and broke the spell of the invincibility of the West. It recalled the Czar once again to the Balkans and the near Eastern affairs. At home it precipitated revolution against the autocracy of Czardom. Thus, it brought about a change in the internal as well as external topography of Russia.

The war, on the other hand, enhanced Japan's prestige which gave her a standing as a world power and dominant position in the far East. It stimulated her national pride and urged her on the course of imperialist expansion in China , which reached its height during the first world war when she put forward the in famous" Twenty one demands" .

In general, to Japan theresult of the war had been a matter of life and death. Had she been defeated all her ambitions, her previous achievementsand her whole policy would have been toppled down. The victory in the war encouraged her to enter openly into competition and rivalry with the European powers in China and to embark upon blatant imperialism which led her to annex Korea in 1910 and to seize shantung.

China was no less influenced by this war it shock her slumber and roused a great enthusiasm for Western learning and Western techniques of warfare. The conscious people of China realised that the grand success of Japan was due to her adoption of Western methods. Hence, a reforming zeal swept over the country. The students were encouraged to study in the

foreign countries and thousands of them went to Japan, America and Europe to be educated on Western lines. Under Japanese instructions a beginning was made in the training of the Chinese army after European models. This awakening of China was before long crystallised in the revolution of 1911 which ultimately brought about the overthrow of the Manchu Empire.

Monarchs agreed that in the event of British attack in the Baltic, they were to safeguard their interests by occupying Denmark during the war. The Kaiser produced the draft of a treaty which was signed by the Czar in the presence of the two witnesses. This treaty known as the Bjorko Pact, was, however, denounced due to the intervention of France. The Anglo-Russian Convention was also an indirect effect of the Russo-Japanese War. Due to the efforts of France, Edward VII, Grey and Izvolski, this convention was signed in 1907.

The Russo-Japanese war provided great encouragement to the people of the East who were groaning under the pressure of the Western rule. They thought that if a small Eastern Power like Japan could inflict defeat on a vast European country like Russia, there was absolutely no reason why they would not be able to drive the Western Powers from their respective kingdoms. The victory of Japan profoundly encouraged the nationalist agitation in India.

The Anglo-Japanese war was the first great struggle between an Asiatic Power and a great European State. So far as the resources and size of the two belligerents were a concern, the fight appeared to be one between a giant and a dwarf. But, Japan proved the giant-killer. For the first time in the modern history an Asiatic Power had smitten hip and thigh an European State.

Japan became an imperial Nation

Achieving equality with the West was one of the primary goals of the Meiji leaders. Treaty reform, designed to end the foreigners' judicial and economic privileges provided by extraterritoriality and fixed customs duties was sought as early as 1871 when the Iwakura mission went to the United States and Europe. The Western powers insisted, however, that they could not revise the treaties until Japanese legal institutions were reformed along European and American lines. Efforts to reach a compromise settlement in the 1880s were rejected by the

press and opposition groups in Japan. It was not until 1894, therefore, that treaty provisions for extraterritoriality were formally changed.

During the first half of the Meiji period, Asian relations were seen as less important than domestic development. In 1874 a punitive expedition was launched against Formosa (Taiwan) to chastise the aborigines for murdering Ryukyuan fishermen. This lent support to Japanese claims to the Ryukyu Islands, which had been under Satsuma influence in Tokugawa times. Despite Chinese protests, the Ryukyus were incorporated into Japan in 1879. Meanwhile, calls for an aggressive foreign policy in Korea, aired by Japanese nationalists and some liberals, were steadily rejected by the Meiji leaders. At the same time, China became increasingly concerned about expanding Japanese influence in Korea, which China still viewed as a tributary state. Incidents on the peninsula in 1882 and 1884 that might have involved China and Japan in the war were settled by compromise, and in 1885 China and Japan agreed that neither would send troops to Korea without first informing the other.

Japanese imperialism was not simply about increasing the nation's territory. It was also fuelled by a strong ideological sense of mission and racial superiority. These ideas were captured in a word widely used at the time but rarely heard today: Pan-Asianism. Advocates of Pan-Asianism in Japan believed that they were expanding their empire in order to liberate Asian territories from Western imperialism.

In the minds of many Japanese, expanding their empire into other Asian regions was somehow different from that sort of imperialism. They thought of their ambitions as bringing their Asian brethren together. As was the case with many other imperial powers at the time, such differences were often framed in a language of racial, ethnic, and cultural superiority. Many Japanese nationalists, for instance, claimed that Japan's rapid and successful modernization was a testament to the nation's superiority and signalled Japan's rightful place as the Asian leader in the region. Some believed that a necessary ingredient in furthering the expanding Japanese empire was to separate and distinguish themselves from neighbouring China, despite the fact that a great deal of Japanese culture is rooted in traditions from China.

Despite the embrace of imperialist ideology in Japan, the country's territorial expansion across East Asia unfolded gradually. Korea became a Japanese colony in 1910, and with the death of Emperor Meiji in 1912 and the ascension to power of his first son, Yoshihito, Japan's

Taisho era (1912–1926) began. In the midst of this transition, World War I broke out in Europe during the summer of 1914. Japan declared war in August 1914 and immediately sent troops to fight German forces in German colonial territories in China, including Qingdao (Tsingtao), points in Shandong, and German-held islands in the Pacific. Japan also sent naval ships to assist the Allies in the Mediterranean.

With European powers focused on the war effort, Japan in 1915 presented China with a diplomatic ultimatum known today as the Twenty-One Demands. Failing to agree to them, the Japanese threatened, would result in more war. With the political support and negotiating muscle of Great Britain and the United States, most of the demands were ultimately rejected by Chinese leaders, yet they still took a toll, further fracturing an already fragile republican government. Japan's demands marked a new chapter in the nation's growing militarism and expansionism. With the outbreak of World War I, Japanese manufacturing and trade experienced a tremendous boom as many domestic industries filled a large gap left by Europe's devastated markets. As Japan's economic prosperity grew, so did its population. In 1900, Japan's population was 45 million. By 1925, it had reached 60 million, with the majority residing in cities rather than in the countryside.

This rapid population growth stretched Japan's natural resources and food supplies, propelling the country's leaders to look beyond the nation's shores to meet domestic needs, including raw materials and space to settle for the growing populace. Ultranationalist groups within Japan's government, military, and civilian population also advocated for the expansion of Japan's territory to meet resource needs and to fulfil their imperial and ideological ambitions.

By the early 1920s, fearing China's political consolidation as a possible regional rival, Japanese militarists and ultranationalists pursued an even more aggressive policy toward China. The ultranationalists and militarists demanded that Japan's imperial forces prevent the Chinese nationalist government from controlling Manchuria, a Chinese territory where Japan held substantial commercial and political interests. By 1928, Japan's militarist prime minister, Tanaka, sent troops to China. To him and his followers, expanding into Manchuria made sense politically, as additional territory would help ease Japan's raw material shortage and offer a place to reside for the growing population.

With the Chinese government severely destabilized by the escalating conflict between the Chinese Communist Party and the Nationalist Party, Japanese Imperial forces capitalized on that vulnerability and successfully occupied the Manchurian city of Mukden (Shenyang) and the whole of Manchuria (in China's northeast) by 1931. This marked the beginning of nearly a decade and a half of Japanese territorial expansion into the Asian mainland and is known by some Chinese as the start of the war of resistance to Japanese invasion that lasted from 1931 to 1945. For others, the occupation of Manchuria stands as the precursor and sets the stage for the outbreak of World War II in China.

One of the most striking developments in the Far East in the beginning of the twentieth century was the forging to the fore of Japan as a world power. She was recognized as Eastern Power in 1894-1895 when she inflicted a crushing defeat a potent Far on China. Since then her expansion in the Far Eastern region continued ceaselessly till the end of the Second World War. The expansion of Japan was not merely territorial, it was economic and cultural too. During few decades following the First Sino-Japanese War the trade and industry of Japan grew rapidly. The growth of her population was also equally striking. She could impress her culture upon her dependent territories with a view to bringing them under her sway more effectively.

The expansionist policy of Japan in the Far East was in augured with the outbreak of the First Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895 most surprisingly in this War Japan proved to be a giant killer by inflicting a crushing defeat on China. By the Treaty of Shimonoseki which brought the war to an end, Japan acquired Formosa or Taiwan[1] along with Pescadores, a small group of islands near the south-west coast of Formosa.

The population of Formosa constituted mainly Chinese, Hakkas and the pre-Chinse peoples of primitive culture. The Japanese, after occupation of Formosa, did not allow any more Chinese immigration into this land. Only the seasonal Chinese labourers and merchants were permitted to enter into Taiwan. Formosa was predominantly a land agriculture, producing mainly rice and sugar. The Japanese authority improved the production of rice to a large extent and started exporting rice to Japan regularly. Similar was the case with regard to the production of sugar. Under the Japanese rule the production of both sugar and rice was almost doubled. It was because of the fact that Japan wanted to be self-sufficient in food-supply. Most of the industries established and managed by the Japanese authorities there were chiefly meant for preparation of various types of food. Thus, they were intimately related to agriculture.

The Japanese Government sought to improve education in Formosa by establishing schools in the Japanese model. New roads and railway lines were constructed for better communication. After 1919, the Japanese Government tried more and more to transform the Formosans to her own system. Each and every Formosan serving under the Japanese rule was forced to acquire some knowledge in Japanese language. It was, of course, detestable to the natives of Formosa. But the people of Formosa being inactive by character could not organize any effective resistance to the Japanese rule there. Few half hazard uprisings here and there at the initial stage of the occupation could easily be curbed down. But, in general the occupation of Formosa did scarcely help the economy of Japan. The numerous public works undertaken by her, such as high way and railroad construction, harbour improvement and establishment of schools, added to her financial burden. She got only opium, salt. Camphor, tobacco, some coal and a little petroleum from this island. The most important factor which attracted Japan to this remote island inhabited mostly by undeveloped aborigines, was that "it had the advantage of commanding access to the waters and the coast of China, north of Fukien province, and its possession enabled Japan to assert a special interest in that province.

Ten years after the Treaty of Shimonoseki Japan won another military victory over her largest neighbour, Russia, By the Treaty of Portsmouth which terminated the titanic struggle otherwise known as the Russo-Japanese War, Japan acquired the Russian leaseholds and the Russian rights in the railways of Southern Manchuria. She also obtained from Russia the Southern part of the island of Sakhalin. The Russians relinquished their claim to the Curiles in favour of Japan in subsequent years in exchange for Japan's promise to surrender the island of Sakhalin. Thus, Japan's gain after her victory over Russia was no less striking.

Territorial Expansion in Korea.

Japan's victory over Russia in 1905, gave her a paramount position in the Far East. She began to proceed in the path which had successfully been trodden by the imperial powers of Europe. She became a strong and serious antagonist of the European Powers in their scramble for concession in China. She began to utilize the Treaty of Portsmouth to her best advantage. Having forced Russia to withdraw from Korea. She got enough liberty to interfere in the Korean affairs single – handed. More over the renewal of the Anglo- Japanese Alliance on August 12, 1905, enhanced the British support to Japan’s paramount interest in Korea.

Unnecessary to say that Korea was the bone of contention between Russia and Japan. Hence, after the Russo-Japanese War when Russia was totally ousted from Korea, Japan tried to strengthen her grip over this peninsula so much so that it could never again be seriously threated .In the beginning of the War the Emperor of Japan advocated for a separate existence of Korea, because it would ensure the security of Japan. The Emperor made this announcement with a fear from Russian aggrandisement. The opportunity of Japan for interfering in the internal affairs of Korea came in February, 1904, when Korea agreed to accept friendly proposal of Japan "in exchange for the promise of the security of her imperial family and the integrity and independence of her land" Now Korea became virtually a friend of Japan and accepted her advice and suggestions both in financial and administrative matters. Advisers nominated by the Japanese Government were placed in strategic posts in Korea. It was in November, 1905 that Count Ito was sent to Korea to negotiate a convention with the Korean Government. He forced the Korean Government to sign an agreement which she was to transfer the control of her foreign affairs to Japan. She was also persuaded to accept a Japanese as the resident general at Seoul with a special power to supervise the Korean administration in all respects.

The resulting the war of 1904-1905 a Japanese protectorate was established In Korea. Count Ito became the first Resident general at Seoul in 1907. He made every attempt to rule Korea through an indigenous government just like Great Britain supervising the native states in India. He forced the Korean King to allow the Japanese advisers to take active part in important state affairs including the executive and legislative actions of the government of Korea. But the Korean King hesitated to accept those demands.

Since 1904, when Korea had agreed to accept the advice of the Japanese experts, the Japanese merchants, labourers as well as the army men started exploiting the privileged position of Japan to their personal profits. The Japanese influence over Korea increased rapidly. Japan's control over the postal, telegraph and telephone System of Korea also became equally strong. The Japanese acquired valuable lands in Korea and obtained the lucrative fishing rights in Korean coasts. The number of the Japanese population in Korea, thus started increasing by leaps and bounds. All these developments were highly detestable to the Korean King as well as to her patriots who did not like to reduce the position of their country to a mere protectorate of Japan. It is for this reason that in 1905 the Korean Emperor frantically tried to draw the sympathetic attention of President Roosevelt of the United States.

The matter was also referred to the international conference which met at Hague in 1907. Though the United States was quite aware of the growing power of Japan in the Far East, she did not like to strain her relation with Japan under the prevailing circumstances. Great Britain, as has already been mentioned, supported Japan's activities in Korea by the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. Thus, there was scarcely any European Power to oppose Japan's aggrandising policy in Korea.

Annexation of Korea

The extreme militarists of Japan were very much bent upon the total annexation of Korea. The Japanese Government got angry with the Korean King when the latter took the matter to the Hague Conference. Instigated by his Government Count Ito forced the King of Korea to abdicate the throne in favour of his son who proved to be a puppet in the hands of the Japanese. But for the time being Japan wanted to rule Korea through her Ruling House in order to hoodwink her other European rivals in the Far East by falsely impressing upon them that she was never a para mount power in Korea. But this arrangement of the Japanese Government could not satisfy her militarists who had been advocating for direct annexation of Korea. There, opportunity came when in 1909 the Korean patriots assassinated Count Ito in Manchuria. Taking this unhappy incident as a pretext Japan annexed Korea in 1910.

After occupation of Korea, Japan renamed her as 'Chosen' and tried to exploit her both politically and economically. Korea became virtually an effective base for further expansion of Japan in the mainland of China. But it is clear that the material condition of Korea was greatly improved under the Japanese rule. The condition of roads and harbours was improved to a great extent. New railroads were constructed to facilitate quick communication. Electric lighting which was originally introduced in Seoul only, was now extended to other cities of Korea. The Japanese took utmost care for better production in land. Hence the Japanese noted with pride that the value of agricultural products of the country had more than doubled within a quarter of a century under the Japanese administration. The Japanese managed the existing forests of the country in a scientific manner and brought about a sizable extension of the forests by undertaking fresh afforestation programmes. Efforts were made to promote public health and sanitation. Strict measures had been taken against the use of dangerous drug like opium and morphine. The Japanese also tried to improve the educational system in the country.

They attracted more and more Korean students to the schools established by them. A modern banking system was introduced to help the growth and promotion of new industries. The import and export trade was expanded to improve the financial condition of the country.

But critics held the opinion that all the improvements in Korea were meant to safeguard the interests of Japan. Though there was a striking improvement in the field of agriculture under the Japanese rule, the Korean peasants became the worst sufferers because they were losing their land to large Japanese concerns. Similar was the case with regard to education. Better school facilities were provided mainly for the Children of Japanese residents than those of Koreans. Moreover, most of the rice produced by the Korean peasants was purchased by the Japanese authorities to be shipped to Japan. Consequent upon this arrangement there was acute scarcity of rice in Korea and the Korean peasants who actually produced rice in their fields by sweat of their brow had either to starve or to live on cheaper millet, barley or wheat. Thus, much of the improvement of Korea had been directly for the benefit of Japan. The Japanese always sought to utilize the resources of Korea to the economic improvement of their own country.

However, Japan had not to face any organized opposition from the Koreans for all her activities there because there was scarcely any leader among the Koreans to head an effective opposition. Moreover, the Japanese police were usually efficient to suppress the uprisings in the beginning and thereby could prevent them from taking formidable shape. President Wilson of the United States had advocated for the self-determination of the World It roused hopes in some Korean patriots who staged a rebellion against the Japanese rule in 1919. But this rebellion could be quelled very quickly by the Japanese authority. The Korean students who had been to the Western Countries for higher studies also cherished hopes of national independence. These revolutionary Korean students staged rebellions here and there in small groups in support of the freedom of their country. But all their efforts went in vain. But one thing is certain the Japanese rule in Korea "complicated the situation both for Koreans and Japanese."

Japan in Manchuria

The second great area of Japanese interest was Manchuria which was an integral part of China. Japan had a coveted eye on Manchuria long before the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905. But after this War she got an opportunity to increase her influence

in Manchuria. Japan had, of course promised to respect the territorial integrity of China in the Treaty of Portsmouth. But as a matter of fact she could not keep her promise. Although Manchuria was an integral part of China, Japan could not resist her temptation to embark upon a programme of economic expansion there.

Japan knew fully well that her only rival in Manchuria was Russia. Hence to avoid any Russian opposition in future she signed an agreement with her according to which Manchuria was virtually partitioned between these two powers the northern half being retained by Russia and the southern half by Japan. Thus, the Treaty of Portsmouth divided Manchuria in to North Manchuria and South Manchuria.

Japan's Administration in Manchuria

Japan's control in South Manchuria after 1905 was clearly determined by her rights of administration in the Kuantung leased territory. Japan enjoyed the sovereign-power of this province. The powers exercised by Japan in Southern Manchuria comprised, "ordinary rights of administration pertaining to sovereignty. taxation, police and transfer of real property; employment of a limited number of railroad guards to protect the railways; and the exercise of ordinary police power and of customary functions of municipal and local administration." Thus, although China's sovereign right in Manchuria were reserved in Kwantung territory, yet, Japan exercised the de facto administration in South Manchuria .It was in 1906, that all the railroads in this area constructed by Japan in collaboration with China, were directly brought under the management of the newly organized South Manchuria Railway. This railway organization was the Chief agent through which Japan, apart from exercising administrative functions in the railway zone, "controlled mining properties of Fushan and Yentai mines, and operated steam ship lines and electric plants at Daire Mukden Changchun and Antung."

Trade supremacy of Japan in Manchuria.

The trade and commerce of Japan also began to flourish in Manchuria after the Russo-Japanese War of 1905. The non-Japanese traders were not at all allowed to enter in to Manchuria with the plea that the military rule in that area was still in existence. But the Japanese goods began to influx into Manchuria in huge quant secretly through the railway which was solely meant for milita transportation. The Japanese traders could thrive well owing the absence of competitors. The Japanese port of Diaren flourish better than its Chinese counterpart,

Newchwang, due to superior trade facilities. The Japanese who traded through Korea were a better position than the foreign traders, because they were trading within their own tariff system. The control of the postal system being in the hands of the Japanese in Korea and Manchuria, they deliberately helped the Japanese merchants in the matter of quick delivery of goods. This discrimination of the Japanese authorities in Manchuria towards the foreign traders ultimately incur displeasure of the United States.

American Involvement in Manchria

The rapid progress of Japan in Manchuria provoked the sentiment of other interested Western Powers. Britain and America had expected better prospect for their goods and Capital in South Manchuria after the restoration of peace in that area. But the Russo-Japanese attempt to divide Manchuria disappointed them. Instigated by Britain and America, the Chinese Government contracted with a British firm in November 1907 to construct a short railroad from Hsinmintun to Fakumen with an intention to challenge Japan's strategic position. But the Japanese government promptly opposed to it with the argument that the proposed railway line being parallel to the South Manchurian railway violated the secret 'protocols' of 1905. The success of the Japanese protest was assumed when the British Government refused to call in question the validity of the protocol on which Japan's protest was based."

Japan's relation with America was further strained due to the immigration question. Many people of Japan the coast of California and other Pacific Coasts of America. The Californians did not appreciate the influx of Japanese in to their territories. They pressed upon the American congress to enact an exclusion measure to stop further Japanese immigration to the coats of America. The first protest in this regard was made by the San Francisco School Board which debarred the Japanese children from entering into any public school. Japan objected to it, and consequently an agreement known as the Gentlemen's Agreements, was made between the two countries in 1907.

According to this agreement the Japanese Government agreed not to issue the passports to Japanese labourers for going to the coasts of America. The California legislature further took steps against Japanese’s immigration by enacting a law in 1913, declaring the Japanese as aliens and hence ineligible to citizenship.

Japan and the First World War (1914-1919)

The outbreak of World War-I created an opportunity for Japan to solve some of its problems in the economic and political spheres. To understand these developments it is necessary to examine the developments from the end of the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-5. This war was a major turning point for Japan and marked its emergence as a powerful actor on the international scene.

The First World War provides a useful point to examine the manner in which Japan was transforming its international role. From the period of the Russo-Japanese war Japan was faced with the question of which countries to ally with and linked to this was also the problem of its relations with China and other neighbours. These questions were not debated academically but linked with the internal political alignments and factional struggles. The political parties as well as the factions within the army, the navy and the bureaucracy expressed differing strategies. Broadly these fell into groups which advocated a Greater Japan and wanted it to expand northwards - an expansion that would bring it into conflict with Russia. The advocates of a little Japan looked southwards as the natural area of Japanese advance. In these debates Japan's relations with Russia and China became crucial. During these years Japan advanced steadily in China extending its influence and deepening its control.

This brought it closer to Britain and the United States as well, for Japan was on the side of the Allies in the World War. Internally the expansionist policy meant increased expenditure on the army as well as the navy. This economic burden created tensions, both in the economy as well as between different political groups. The Rice Riots of 1918 were one such expression of the problems created for the people.

BACKGROUND

In the opening years of the twentieth century European colonialism had extended its hold and dominance over large parts of the world and therefore Japan's victory over Russia in 1905 was seen as a major event. For the first time an Asian power had defeated a European country. Even though the war was criticized within Japan by socialists, pacifists and other groups, in Asia in general it was seen as creditworthy event and Asian nationalists uniformly

praised Japan for this accomplishment. Japan, on the other hand, even while preserving its territorial independence, building its economy and confronting the West was also at the same time following a policy of expansion within the region. Formosa (now Taiwan), southern Sakhalin, Korea and China and southern Manchuria were areas where Japan had extended its hold or acquired extensive privileges So even while emerging as the champion of Asian interests Japan was also beginning to play an imperialist role for which it needed and sought the backing of the Western powers. Japan's alliance with Britain formed the bedrock on which this expansion was built. In Asia Japan's development and strength served to act as a beacon to attract nationalists and republicans of various types to learn from this Asian model. From the late 1880's Chinese students came in droves to learn and study in Japan. Of course it was cheaper to go to Tokyo than London but it was also felt that Japan was part of a shared culture and yet had developed a modern industrial society so that it would have valuable lessons for the future China that the republicans wished to build. Chinese reformers from Liang Chi'i-ch'ao td Sun Yat-Sen came to,Tokyo. The influx of this large number of Chinese students represents the first massive flow of students to another Asian country.

The experiences of the Chinese and other Asian students coupled with the expansionist policies of Japan created an ambiguity in Japan's image. On the one hand it represented an anti-Western alliance to preserve Asia and its culture and on the other it showed its rapacious side and posed a threat to the integrity and freedom of these countries. Thus Phan Boi Chau, an Indo-Chinese nationalist, said in 1917 that Japan was the most dangerous enemy of Asia. Phan had operated from Tokyo after the Russo-Japanese war. Similarly, Korean nationalists refused to participate in common with Japanese socialists.

The period after the Russo-Japanese war saw Japan faced with three broad choices in its dealings with the outside world:

i) It could, like the Western powers, seek recognition for its rights and privileges in the East Asian region and work in concert and co-operation with the Western powers.

ii) On the other hand Japan could ignore Western interests and argue that its rights in the region were of paramount importance.

iii) Finally, the third possibility was to assert that Japan had a historical mission to fulfil by demolishing Western dominance and creating a new international order based on Asian principles. The idea of an Asian alliance was raised by a number of ideologues with varied interpretations. In its most benign farm it called for a Japanese alliance to revive Asia. This was the view of Miyazaki Totten who worked wholeheartedly with SunYat-Sen to bring about a republican revolution in China. However, for many it represented a way for Japan to

assume the leadership of Asia. This leadership would enable Japan to acquire territories, resources and the population necessary to counter the threat and power of the Western nations.

THE FIRST WORLDWAR

On August 1, 1914 Germany declared war on Russia. Germany was bound in the Triple Alliance with Austria and ltaly while Russia was part of the Triple Entente with Britain and France. In quick succession war was declared on France and Britain. This brought in the question of German territories in China. Germany had concessions in Tsingtao and Britain at Weihaiwei both of which were on the Shantung Peninsula. Japan Declared on 4 August that it would stay neutral but promised that it would support Britain if there was an attack by Germany on Hong Kong which was a major British base or on Weihaiwei. On August 8 Japan declared war on Germany when it received a request to destroy some German merchant ships in Chinese waters.

Japan's actions were calculated and served its purposes. They had little to do with the war in Europe. Japan saw this as a chance of a lifetime to "establish its rights and interests in Asia."

Japan's colonial possessions had been acquired in the opening years of the Meiji period and since then its aggressive policies, particularly towards Korea, had been supported by ideologues who argued for a greater Japan. In the expansion of its empire the outbreak of World War-I allowed Japan to seize the German possession of Tsingtao and the islands of Micronesia: the Marshalls, the Carolines and the Mariana (excluding Guam). Japan launched a series of military actions together with Britain and captured Tsingtao. The Japanese supplied 29,000 troops while there were only 1,000 British soldiers. In October the Japanese took control of the islands of Micronesia. By the end of the war Japan had suffered 2,000 casualties and captured 5,000 German soldiers.

The Japanese had to buttress this physical expansion of the Empire by carrying out a diplomatic offensive to win support and secure the rights to these new territories. Later under the League of Nations mandate the' Micronesian islands were assigned to Japan as Class C territories with the restriction that they were not allowed to fortify the islands. Tsingtao stayed only for a little while with Japan as its acquisition provoked protests in China and the

United States. At the Washington Conference in 1922 Japan had to return Tsingtao under pressure.

Japan's colonial possessions were acquired by the beginning of the 1920's and World War-I marked the acceptance, however reluctant, of this power by the Western nations. The civilizing mission which the Japanese formulated had a long history and it’s, conceptions and assumptions differed from those on which the Western nations had built their empires. Above all because Japan's colonies were in the East Asian region and the people shared affinities of race and culture the Japanese put forward the idea of "assimilation" (doka) much as the French colonialists had, of bringing together and eliminating differences on the basis of an Asian identity. These ideas when applied revealed a variety of problems. Problems arose over such issues as the rights that these colonized people enjoyed.

The government of Hara Takeshi attempted to introduce the legal and administrative structure of Japan into the colonies so that they would be governed by the same rules and regulations. These liberals advocated education, civil liberties, and political representation for the colonies as well as eliminating differences. They argued that it was not independence but equality that the colonized wanted. Thus in 1920 Hara Takeshi said "The desire of most Koreans is not for independence but to be treated as equals of the Japanese."

The political situation within Japan was marked by a conflict between various pressure groups. The army and its supporters like Yamagata Aritomo or Katsura Taro favoured an expansionist policy across Korea into Manchuria and then into China proper. This they argued required increase in the strength of the army to twenty five divisions. Tanaka Giichi, a Yamagata protégé wrote in 1906 that Japan "should break free from its insular position, become a continental state, and confidently extend its nation power."

The second important policy position was in favour of a southern expansion through Taiwan, Southern China and into South-east Asia. This position was advocated by the navy whose ideologues felt that as an island country Japan need not fear invasion but should rather defend its trade routes.

The government was on the whole cautious in pursuing these objectives. It realized and clearly stated that it could only extend its control through the co-operation of the Western

powers. The position of the army and Yamagata represented the dominant position and this brought it into conflict with the political parties over the question of increased spending on the military.

In 1907 a new plan had identified Russia, the United States, Germany and France, in that order as possible enemies. To counter their ability to threaten Japan called for building up the army to twenty five divisions and the naval fleet to eight battleships and eight battle cruisers. This represented a 150 per cent increase over the Russo-Japanese war level. However, because of the financial problems facing Japan this was not easily possible.

The situation was further complicated by army and navy rivalry with each group's supporters pushing their cases. The army unable to influence the Saionji cabinet withdrew its war minister and brought down the government in 1912. This is known as the "Taisho Political Crisis"

The political situation in the beginning of the twentieth century was a conflict between the hanbatsu oligarchic-bureaucratic factions such as the one led by Yamagata and political parties. These two grouping were not monolithic and there were internal divisions amongst them. The major party Seiyukai, organized in 1900, and the Doshikai established in 1913 (1916 changed name to Kenseikai and 1927 to Minseito) helped to ensure that governments would be formed with the support of the parties.

In 1911 Saionji had formed his second cabinet and with the support of the Seiyukai was attempting to reduce expenditure and stabilize Japan's precarious financial position. When his government was brought down because of the refusal to toe the army line Katsura Taro accepted the offer to form the government. Katsura, however, occupied two important posts in the Imperial Household and this was widely criticized as being contrary to the principles of the constitution. The public outburst provoked the first movement to support the constitution. The rallies were also provoked because Katsura used an Imperial Edict to prevent the navy from not providing a minister and this provoked further protests.

In December 1912 The League for the Protection of the Constitution was started. Soon it organized a popular movement which brought down the government and Okuma Sigenobu with the support of the Doshikai came to power and this inaugurated a period of

divided parties in the House of Representatives. This situation was favourable to the hanbatsu.

In this political situation Japan sought to create a framework of alliances which would ensure it a stable environment and enable it to carry out its objectives. On January 18, 1915 it presented to Present Yuan Shikai the infamous Twenty-one demands. The outburst against the demands by Britain as well as the United States led Japan to withdraw the fifth group. However, these two powers became cautious as to Japan's intentions.

The partition of China was proceeding with Russia having secured freedom of movement in western China and the independence of Outer Mongolia. The Japanese obtained influence in eastern Inner Mongolia through the Russo-Japanese entente of 1913.

Twenty-one demands

The **Twenty-one demands** were not universally approved within the Japanese government. Thus the Foreign Minister Motono Ichiro recognized that Japan lacked the power to hold on to China for any long-term because of popular resistance. In 1917 the Russian Revolution broke out and this created a new situation whose effects were far reaching - specifically for Japanese policy in this region. Now Japan too participated with the Allied forces in the Siberian expedition. Under the Terauchi cabinet Japan dispatched seventy thousand troops, the largest contingent. These troops stayed the longest there in spite of the mission having fulfilled. Because of the threat of communism Japan pressurised China to sign a joint defence treaty and its troops could move freely in China.

The United States, which was not favourably inclined to Japan's aims in China and still supported the "open door" policy, gradually came to a grudging acceptance. In November 1917 Ishii Kikujlro and Robert Lansing signed an agreement in which:

both countries recognized China's territorial integrity, equal business opportunities for all, and the US accepted that Japan had "special interests" in China. However, Ishii's interpretation that this meant recognition of Japan's exclusive rights over China was denied by the Western nations after the war ended.

Japan also extended its influence over China through financial loans Between 1917-1918 Japanese loans totalled nearly 200 million yen and in return the rights of the 1915 treaty were guaranteed to Japan as well as additional railway and mining rights.

Japan and International Conferences

The end of the war led to the Versailles Peace Conference in 1919 which laid the basis for an international order which was further developed by the Washington Conference of 1921-22. The subsequent years mark the attempt by Japan to break away from this order which was created to protect the interests of Britain and the United States.

The roots of Japan's dissatisfaction with the Versailles and Washington systems lay in that she had to surrender much of the gains she made in Asia and the Pacific during the war. The United States had not ratified the **Paris Peace Treaty** which had accepted Japan's acquisition of Shantung. These gains of the war were ultimately nullified by the Washington Conference. The Anglo-Japanese alliance which has been described as the "marrow of imperial diplomacy" was ended and it was not to be replaced.

The Japanese had to withdraw from North-east Asia where they had entered during the Siberian Intervention, particularly from the Maritime Provinces, northern Manchuria and eastern Siberia. Further the limits imposed on naval capacity left Japan with a lower capacity. The ratio of battleships between the United States, Great Britain and Japan was fixed at 5:5:3. In China, Japan had to return the Shantung concession to China. There was an agreement that no Anglo-American bases would be established east of Singapore or west of Hawaii. In 1922 the **Nine Power Pact** ended all treaties with China and the other powers and brought in the open door principles. The treaty also laid down the principle of gradually liquidating the treaty system and called for conferences on Chinese customs tariffs and extra-territoriality. Thus, between the end of the war and the **Washington Conference** Japan felt that it had been unfairly deprived of her privileges.

These measures were not implemented immediately. Tsingtao was returned and Britain withdrew ultimately from Weihaiwei. The **tariff conference** was held only in 1925-26 but no agreement was arrived at except to postpone tariff autonomy for China to 1929. Aside from the internal problems of China the Exclusion Acts of 1924 passed by the United States was a major problem in Japan-United States relations.

Japan's dissatisfaction with the developments of the post-war period stemmed from the notion that it had been treated unfairly. In 1928 Konoe Fumimaro, an influential statesman, argued that under the Versailles System Japan would always remain a backward country. However, there were other leaders and opinion makers who argued that Japan must

accept the current events and work in adjusting itself to the new international order which was being created around the League of Nations.

The Washington System had the possibility of developing a joint and co-operative effort between the United States, Great Britain and Japan. The measures enforced under its policies were not always against the interests of Japan. For instance, the restrictions imposed on Japan did not apply to Manchuria and Mongolia, two areas which Japan considered vital to her interests. The concessions that Japan committed herself to can be considered as a small price to pay for participating with the other powers in an international system. The limitations on armaments called for by the Washington Treaty provided an opportunity for Japanese politicians to reduce arms expenditure and together with this reduce the role of the army which was emerging as a major political force. There was even a plan by Hara Takeshi and Takahashi Korekiyo, both of whom had been prime ministers to abolish the office of army chief of staff. However, their plans were unsuccessful. The most representative figure who accepted this new framework was Shidehara Kijuro. a career diplomat who served as foreign minister under five Minseito cabinets. His policy was based on international collaboration, non-intervention in China and the pursuit of economic diplomacy to establish and preserve Japan's strength.

The colonial empire was of course built to serve the needs of the home country and the policy in turn was formed by the dictates of the changing needs of the Japanese economy. From 1900 to 1930's Japan was evolving from a largely agrarian society to an industrial nation. The growing industrial sector required markets and these could be most easily provided by a protected colony. This meant that any competitive industry was not to be allowed in the colonies and the trade of these countries was channelled to Japan.

The growth of the population also required increased food supplies. Taiwan and Korea came major suppliers of sugar and rice respectively but because of the continuing rise in the price of rice Japan imposed measures to intensify rice production in Korea. These steps led to both technical improvements as well as to increases in the cultivated acreage.

UNIT IV

Japan up to 1945

The Washington Conference of 1921-22

In 1921, U.S. Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes invited nine nations to Washington, D.C. to discuss naval reductions and the situation in the Far East. The United Kingdom, Japan, France and Italy were invited to take part in talks on reducing naval capacity, while Belgium, China, Portugal, and the Netherlands were invited to join in discussions on the situation in the Far East. Three major treaties emerged out of the Washington Naval Conference: the Five-Power Treaty, the Four-Power Treaty, and the Nine-Power Treaty.

The Five-Power Treaty

The Five-Power Treaty, signed by the United States, the United Kingdom, Japan, France and Italy was the cornerstone of the naval disarmament program. It called for each of the countries involved to maintain a set ratio of warship tonnage which allowed the United States and the United Kingdom 500,000 tons, Japan 300,000 tons, and France and Italy each 175,000 tons. Japan preferred that tonnage be allotted at a 10:10:7 ratio, while the U.S. Navy preferred a 10:10:5 ratio. The conference ultimately adopted the 5:5:3 ratio limits. Since the United States and the United Kingdom maintained navies in both the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans to support their colonial territories, the Five-Power Treaty allotted both countries the highest tonnage allowances. The treaty also called on all five signatories to stop building capital ships and reduce the size of their navies by scrapping older ships.

Though the treaty was widely regarded as a success, the inclusion of Article XIX, which recognized the status quo of U.S., British, and Japanese bases in the Pacific but outlawed their expansion, created a controversy amongst U.S. policymakers. Many members of the U.S. Navy in particular worried that limiting the expansion of fortifications in the Pacific would endanger U.S. holdings in Hawaii, Guam, and the Philippines.

Additionally, although the Five-Power Treaty controlled tonnage of each navy's warships, some classes of ships were left unrestricted. As a result, a new race to build cruiser ships emerged after 1922, leading the five nations to return to the negotiating table in 1927 and 1930 in an effort to close the remaining loopholes in the Treaty.

The Four-Power Treaty

In the Four-Power Treaty, the United States, France, the United Kingdom, and Japan agreed to consult with each other in the event of a future crisis in East Asia before taking action. This treaty replaced the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of 1902, which had been a source of some concern for the United States. In the years following World War I, U.S. policymakers saw Japan as the greatest rising military threat. Heavily militarized and looking to expand its influence and territory, Japan had the potential to threaten U.S. colonial possessions in Asia and the profitable China trade. Because of the 1902 agreement between the United Kingdom and Japan, however, if the United States and Japan entered into a conflict, the United Kingdom might be obligated to join Japan against the United States. By ending that treaty and creating a Four-Power agreement, the countries involved ensured that none would be obligated to engage in a conflict, but a mechanism would exist for discussions if one emerged.

The Nine-Power Treaty

The final multilateral agreement made at the Washington Naval Conference, the Nine-Power Treaty, marked the internationalization of the U.S. Open Door Policy in China. The treaty promised that each of the signatories—the United States, the United Kingdom, Japan, France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Portugal, and China—would respect the territorial integrity of China. The treaty recognized Japanese dominance in Manchuria but otherwise affirmed the importance of equal opportunity for all nations doing business in the country. For its part, China agreed not to discriminate against any country seeking to do business there. Like the Four-Power Treaty, this treaty on China called for further consultations amongst the signatories in the event of a violation. As a result, it lacked a method of enforcement to ensure that all powers abided by its terms.

In addition to the multilateral agreements, the participants completed several bilateral treaties at the conference. Japan and China signed a bilateral agreement, the Shangtung (Shandong) Treaty, which returned control of that province and its railroad to China. Japan had taken control of the area from the Germans during World War I and maintained control of it over the years that followed. The combination of the Shangtung Treaty and the Nine-Power Treaty was meant to reassure China that its territory would not be further compromised by Japanese expansion. Additionally, Japan agreed to withdraw its troops from Siberia and the United States and Japan formally agreed to equal access to cable and radio facilities on the Japanese-controlled island of Yap.

Together, the treaties signed at the Washington Naval Conference served to uphold the status quo in the Pacific: they recognized existing interests and did not make fundamental changes to them. At the same time, the United States secured agreements that reinforced its existing policy in the Pacific, including the Open Door Policy in China and the protection of the Philippines, while limiting the scope of Japanese imperial expansion as much as possible.

Second Sino Japanese War

In the 1930s, China was a divided country. In 1928 Chiang Kai-Shek had formed a Nationalist Government – the Kuomintang (the KMT), but his dictatorial regime was opposed by Mao Tse Tung's Communists (CCP). Civil war between the Communists and Nationalists erupted in 1930 – the period of Mao's legendary 'Long March'.

In 1931, Japan, eager for the vast natural resources to be found in China and seeing her obvious weakness, invaded and occupied Manchuria. It was turned into a nominally independent state called Manchukuo, but the Chinese Emperor who ruled it was a puppet of the Japanese. When China appealed to the League of Nations to intervene, the League published the Lytton Report which condemned Japanese aggression. The only real consequence of this was that an outraged Japanese delegation stormed out of the League of Nations, never to return.

In the 1930's the Chinese suffered continued territorial encroachment from the Japanese, using their Manchurian base. The whole north of the country was gradually taken over. The official strategy of the KMT was to secure control of China by defeating her internal enemies first (Communists and various warlords), and only then turning attention to the defence of the frontier. This meant the Japanese encountered virtually no resistance, apart from some popular uprisings by Chinese peasants which were brutally suppressed.

In 1937 skirmishing between Japanese and Chinese troops on the frontier led to what became known as the Marco Polo Bridge Incident. This fighting sparked a full-blown conflict, the Second Sino-Japanese War. Under the terms of the Sian Agreement, the Chinese Nationalists (KMT) and the CCP now agreed to fight side by side against Japan. The Communists had been encouraged to negotiate with the KMT by Stalin, who saw Japan as an increasing threat on his Far Eastern border, and began supplying arms to China. China also received aid from western democracies, where public opinion was strongly anti-Japanese. Britain, France and the US all sent aid (the latter including the famous 'Flying Tigers' fighter-pilot volunteers). Because of historic ties, China also received aid from Nazi Germany for a short period, until Hitler decided to make an alliance with Japan in 1938.

Although the Japanese quickly captured all key Chinese ports and industrial centres, including cities such as the Chinese capital Nanking and Shanghai, CCP and KMT forces continued resisting. In the brutal conflict, both sides used 'scorched earth' tactics. Massacres and atrocities were common. The most infamous came after the fall of Nanking in December 1937, when Japanese troops slaughtered an estimated 300,000 civilians and raped 80,000 women. Many thousands of Chinese were killed in the indiscriminate bombing of cities by the Japanese air force. There were also savage reprisals carried out against Chinese peasants, in retaliation for attacks by partisans who waged a guerrilla war against the invader, ambushing supply columns and attacking isolated units. Warfare of this nature led, by the war's end, to an estimated 10 to 20 million Chinese civilians deaths.

By 1940, the war descended into stalemate. The Japanese seemed unable to force victory, nor the Chinese to evict the Japanese from the territory they had conquered. But western intervention in the form of economic sanctions (most importantly oil) against Japan would transform the nature of the war. It was in response to these sanctions that Japan decided to attack America at Pearl Harbor, and so initiate World War II in the Far East.

Japan’s Relation with Germany

Alliances between sovereign states have been among the least stable of political associations. The relationship between Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan, two totalitarian governments, was an uneasy one in the period 1933 to 1945. The foreign policies of each, when directed towards expansion and world power, found sympathy and support from each other in challenging the international order established at Versailles in 1919. In Great Britain, Russia and the United States, they shared the same opponents, but their antagonism toward these enemies involved different objectives which made coordinated foreign policies ultimately impossible. Their interests were often contradictory, and the two were caught up in grandiose delusions about each other's political and military goals. Both practiced such secrecy and deception concerning their own objectives that even on occasions when their interests genuinely converged they were unable to work effectively together.

The accession of Adolf Hitler to power in Germany foreshadowed a new relationship between Germany and Japan. Hitler, in his philosophical work, Mein Kampf, expressed the idea of expansion or Lebensraum. It demanded space to the east at the expense of Russia and if necessary through the use of force. Thus Hitler looked to Japan as a potential ally in a Russo-German conflict. His own analysis of the strategic errors in World war I suggested that

the international policy of encirclement had been the cause of Germany's defeat. In any future war, Hitler meant to encircle Germany's opponents. The new governments of the 1930's, through the press, radio and the screen, had at their disposal channels of power undreamed of and they faced the consequent necessity of making their administrations understood in terms of popular appeal. Mass inculcation brought in its train mass justification.

The second half of the nineteenth century had seen the appearance of scientific explanations of biological superiority. The twentieth century raised it to an "ideal" and called it race. Hitler and the Nazi Party, in their fight for power and subsequent totalitarian regime, used the "ideal" of racial superiority to justify their acts in foreign and domestic policies. The German people were told that they were oppressed at home and humiliated abroad, yet they, as Germans, constituted the embodiment of the superior Nordic racial type. Afflicted psychologically with the burden of defeat after the First World War, the German citizen found comfort in the explanation that his superiority had been unimpaired but that he had been betrayed. The argument had appeal, for it touched popular sensitivity and the Nazis, above all Hitler, recognized this weakness and manipulated it for their rise to power. Hitler needed a united states, based on racial superiority, to serve 1 as the foundation for German territorial expansion.

Hitler believed that Japan, like Germany was the victim Hitler believed that Japan, like Germany was the victim. Hitler never really liked the Japanese and regarded them with distain and contempt. However, a fact which may have had some influence in Hitler's future considerations was that Japan, like Germany suffered from world Jewry. The one-sided argument of racial superiority was a domestic issue before the Nazis obtained control of the government, but the introduction of such a concept into foreign policy would ruin relations with most world powers. In the realm of foreign policy, most nations saw themselves obligated to conduct their diplomacy after World War I in the name of some "ideal". Natural boundaries turned into self-determination, the "white man's burden" lost its appeal and arbitration and international cooperation became the substance of international relations. International isolation would result if the Nazis persisted in the ideas of racial superiority, Nazi racial philosophy loomed large as a consideration in German foreign policy after 1933, and relations with Japan presented a special problem. How could a racially superior Germany conclude an agreement on equal terms with a supposedly inferior nation like Japan? Somehow racial philosophy and the practical considerations of foreign policy would have to be reconciled in order to undertake any diplomatic negotiations.

The Nazis modified their racial philosophy in order to conciliate their administration with the dictates of foreign policy. The success of Japan in Manchuria in 1931 served to qualify the strict doctrines of racial superiority in Mein Kamp. The military spirit of the Japanese army impressed Hitler, A restriction of international racial propaganda occurred after 1933 for the general purpose of avoiding unnecessary disputes in foreign affairs and with the specific intention of cultivating better relations with Japan, Hitler was enough of a politician not to let ideology get in the way of his diplomacy. The racially superior Germany allied with the inferior Japan for the sake of expediency. An alliance with Japan presented several opportunities for Germany's international position. Hitler admired the militant Japanese state and could do only one thing: he made the Japanese "honorary Aryans" as Party officials gave the Japanese a patent of racial ennoblement to further diplomatic relations between the two countries. Nazi racial philosophy would have to be subjugated to the necessities of the German position in world affairs.

The Nazi-controlled press attempted to mitigate the dichotomy in racial thought and to promote closer relations between Germany and Japan by reducing racial tension. The Party writers proclaimed that the essence of Nazi racial doctrine was strictly an internal domestic affair and did not contain a value judgement about other racial groups. The Party recognized that there existed peoples whose differences did not necessarily make them racially inferior and that the Japanese possessed racial qualities which made them suitable allies for the racially arrogant Germans. Diplomacy expediency resolved the differences between Germany and Japan. Nazi hypocrisy arranged that the racial question would give no cause for offense to the ally, Japan, for Nazi ideals proved no obstacle to Nazi practice. The Nazis had one other influential factor whose support was considerable for an alliance with Japan: Geopolitics, Racial superiority had to be recast to suit the exigencies of the Japanese relationship, but Geopolitics on the other hand, advocated a pro-Japanese stance. The pseudo-science of Geopolitics was a subject which made geography a determining constituent of history. As it was used by the Nazis it was nothing more than the ideology of imperialist expansion. Geopolitics had its origins in Germany, The country had been a leader in geographical research in the nineteenth century and Geopolitics evolved from this background in the early part of the twentieth century.

The main tenets of Geopolitics, the dynamics of a growing state organism and planned imperialism, became the political doctrines of Karl Haushofer, a former general and

later professor of geography at the University of Munich, ^Haushofer, while in the German army, went on a tour of duty to Japan in 1909. He witnessed the annexation of Korea in 1910 and the diplomatic preparations surrounding the event. When he returned to Germany in 1911 he wrote extensively on the community of interests between Japan, Russia and Germany. He did not receive much encouragement in Germany, the country that had coined the phrase, "the Yellow Peril".

Haushofer's fundamental calculation was the geographical pivot of history with a combination of Germany, Japan and Russia to outwit the Western Powers, Great Britain and France. This combination would destroy the sea power of the duo through its internal lines of communication, Japan was to play a leading role in the self-determination of the Asiatic peoples of the Far East and this would entail a shift in the balance of power in the Pacific. Germany, with her interests in China, could hold the balance by allying herself with Japan. Haushofer expounded these postulates of his Geopolitics in the interwar period to such attentive students as Rudolf Hess, the future deputy Party leader of Nazi Germany. Haushofer visited Hitler while he was in prison with the help of Hess but little is known about his influence on Hitler. However, Hitler's political view of world affairs did contain some of the ideas of Geopolitics. With careful propaganda and ideas of Geopolitics, the Nazis made the race issue compatible for a future entente with Japan. Germany needed a friend among the major world powers to escape from her encirclement in Europe and Japan was the only country which appeared worthy for an alliance of mutual "have-not" nations. The ideas of Geopolitics and Germany's position made it expedient to forego the Hitlerian ideals of a superior race in favour of a practical diplomatic policy to save the Third Reich from political isolation.

Germany had been in the Par East, principally in China, since the latter part of the nineteenth century.

The Bismarckian era in Germany had prompted imperialistic expansion into China for commercial exploitation which in turn had served notice to a new Japanese government of a powerful rival in the Par East, The Meiji Restoration reinstituted à strong, and central government in Japan that looked to the West for its technology. The new Japan chose Germany to supply much of its technical growth and German military officers to construct a modern Japanese army along western lines. It was this German-trained army and German-oriented leadership that shocked the Western world with its defeat of the Russian armies in the Russo-Japanese War in 1904-1905. This close technical and economic cooperation continued until the outbreak of the First World War Germany and Japan found themselves on

opposite sides in the war and Japan took advantage of conditions in Europe to occupy German.

Germany had had strictly formal relations with Japan through the 1920's but with Hitler in power in 1933, the situation changed rapidly, Germany had withdrawn from the League of Nations and the Disarmament Conference in 1933 and had signed a non-aggression pact with Poland in 1934. These diplomatic events had aroused the British and the French and a hostile Russia. This opposition and the change in Nazi racial propaganda had helped to construct a new friendship with Japan. The international status of both countries after events in 1933 had made both totalitarian states anti-League, anti-communist and anti-revolutionary, but in an active aggressive way favouring territorial expansion. Germany renewed her diplomatic contacts with Japan because increased tension in Europe necessitated a strong diplomatic manoeuvre by Hitler against one of his potential enemies, Russia, Hitler wanted to encircle Russia and an entente with Japan v/as one step towards this goal. Hitler's fear of Russia and his tirades against Bolshevism were to provide the impetus to diplomatic negotiations that was to begin the tenuous alliance between Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan.

II WORLD WAR

Japan surrendered to the, Allied powers on 14, August 1945 and in two weeks the Supreme 1Commander of the Allied Forces (SCAP) General Douglas MacArthur ' arrived to begin the occupation of Japan which lasted till the San Francisco Peace Treaty went into effect in April 1952. However, it was in fact the United States that was the dominant occupying force. It determined the political and economic policies of Japan. Certain measures were came out through the SCAP to reform Japan and prevent it from becoming an expansionist power once again. This Unit takes into account rot only the surrender of Japan but the various problems related to its occupation by the allied forces. The reactions of the Japanese have also been discussed. In order to assess the economic development of Japan we have gone beyond our period of study. This has been done with a purpose i.e. to understand the impact 01' the policies during our period of study on the period of high economic growth (1952-73) and the problems faced thereafter. This, in fact is the concluding Unit of tie course on the history of Japan which also comments upon the future role of Japan in international economic scenario. In 1945 Japan was devastated by war and its economy and society was in

shambles. The future looked bleak and unpromising yet by 1971 Richard Halloran was writing in the New York Times that the Japanese were "the best-dressed, longest lived, wealthiest nation in Asia." How this transformation take place and what did were the forces which helped to bring this about is a question that has been debated not only in academic journals but in popular works, in magazines and in newspapers. As Japan's expanding industrial might makes its presence felt globally, people have been intrigued by the success of an Asian country and have sought to explain this in many ways: Some would argue that it was Japan's Confucian heritage and emphasis on 'traditional' values which preserved her social order and allowed her to pursue policies necessary for national growth. Others see the massive help the United States gave in the post-war reconstruction of Japan and the role of the Korean War and the Vietnamese war in providing a Post-World War. Japan boost to her economy and allowing her to expand her growth. According to some critics economic miracle was made possible because of restrictive policies within Japan which kept social facilities at low levels. It is also pointed out that Japan followed an aggressive economic policy. While keeping its own market heavily protected and by subsidizing its industry it could compete in a planned manner. Some scholars have pointed to the role of the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) as crucial in guiding Japan to the level of an advanced developed country. It would be false to attribute Japan's development to any one factor, and the search for one "key" to open the secrets of Japanese success is futile as it overlooks the fact that Japanese growth was not a "miracle" in the sense, something unexpected and sudden. The roots of Japanese success, as we have seen in earlier Units, go back far into its history to at least the seventeenth century. In other words; Japan has developed both its institutions and skills over a long period. War destroyed the outward fruits of these skills: factories, buildings, and led to the loss of valuable lives but through effort and effective policies Japan could reconstruct with the help of these very skills which were available. The Japanese were not starting afresh, they were reconstructing. The post-war period divides very naturally into the six and a half years of the Allied Occupation (1945-1952) and then from 1952-1973 when Japan rebuilt her economy and society and emerged as a prosperous and stable nation. The period ends with the oil crisis which forced Japan to canny out adjustments. From 1973 till today Japan has emerged not only as a powerful economic power but has begun to play a political role though in a very limited and hesitant manner. The foreign policy of Japan has been based on the U.S. alliance which guarantees Japan's security and it has allowed Japan to concentrate her energies on economic development. Today some of these assumptions are being questioned as Japanese desire to play a more active and independent role in world

affairs and the United States too, for economic reasons, wants Japan to assume a greater share of the defence burden.

Japan was occupied by the Allied forces under the provisions of the Potsdam Declaration of 26 July 1945. However, in effect the occupation was carried out by the United States. There was a small contingent of British and other Commonwealth forces. General Douglas MacArthur was appointed the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers (SCAP) by the U.S. President Harry Truman and MacArthur virtually ruled Japan though this was done through the Japanese government which was not disbanded. The Japanese Foreign Ministry set up a Central Liaison Office which handled and processed SCAP directives. This made it possible for the Japanese to modify and alter or even delay the implementation of SCAP policy. The basic framework of SCAP policy was laid down in the United States Initial Post-Surrender Policy for Japan declared on 29, August 1945.

The policy had two major objectives: One, it wanted to ensure that Japan would never again become a menace to the security of the United States or the world. Two, to establish a democratic and responsible government. To canny out these objectives the United States wanted to dismantle the structure of militarism and expansionism which was led Japan to war and to suppressing its own people at home. The United States felt that the big business houses and the military exercised excessive control over the system and them, through government control spread an Emperor based ideology which created a pliant and submissive citizenry. Therefore, the people who carried out these policies would have to be purged and the system opened and made more democratic and less centralized.

To lay the basis of change the Occupation forces set about clearing the decks and they purged officials from the earlier government and abolished many offices. Ministries like that of Greater East Asian Affairs were abolished. The first SCAP directive ordered the demobilization of all Japanese troops and by October 1945 the Special Political Police and the Public Peace Maintenance Law were abolished. The International Military Tribunal of the Far East set up to try war criminals, as in Nuremburg, tried nearly six thousand and sentenced 920. Over 200,000 were purged because of their complicity with the previous government. It is interesting to note that for the top twenty-eight leaders tried, Hirohito's birthday 29 Apd,1946 was chosen as the day for indictment, and 23 December the birthday of his son (and today the Emperor) Akihito, for the day when the death sentences were came out.

Causes of the defeat.

After the acceptance of Potsdam Declaration, various causes were adduced by individuals in the press for Japan's defeat. Dr. Yagi attributed the defeat to jealousy and feudalistic sectionalism as well the absence of the freedom of press, speech and association. Professor Takasaka held irrationalism, lack of scientific attitude and objectivity, inferiority in science and technology responsible for defeat. Hatoyama Ichiro regarded monopolisation by Government and few individuals of economic affairs, arbitrary and self-righteous attitude, and blindness of bureaucracy towards duty as the reasons for defeat.

The newspaper Asahi lashed out at the bureaucratic corruption, avarice, selfishness and the lack of competence and conviction. In fact, the unholy alliance between the militarists and bureaucracy, which concentrated all powers in their hands by demolishing party-democracy, was greatly responsible for the national disaster.

The chauvinistic ambitions of military clique headed by General Tojo carried Japan to the brink of ruin. The militarists never thought that war would linger on so long and nor they were prepared for it. Their decision to jump into the war was chimerical and impracticable.

The belief in German victory was based on hollow propaganda. Matsuaka misplaced his confidence German victory. The Japanese also miscalculated about America’s strength and will to fight.

The boundless Japanese ambition was indeed the chief cause of Japan's defeat. After swift victories, the Japanese war machine lost resilience and began to crumble. In a long-drawn battle, the final victory belongs to those who wield better and greater economic, industrial and manpower.

The allies definitely had an edge over the axis Power in the matter. The proved technological and scientific military, naval and air weaponry and devices, possession of atom bombs etc. gave upper hand to allies in the war.

Harold Hakwon Sunoo, in his recent book Japanese Militarism: Past and Present' commenting on the defeat, observed that the blindness and conceit of the Japanese generals, the U.S. military and technical superiority and, most important, the U.S.A.'s use of the atomic bombs during the final phase of the War could be listed among the causes of the defeat.

No doubt, America played a major role in the rout of Japan but the huge role played by the U.S.S.R. should also be taken note of. Since its entry into the War in August 1945 the Soviet Union defeated a million-strong Kwartury Army in Manchuria and thereby destroyed a big chunk of Japan's military machine. Finally, the lack of co-ordination between various organs of war led Japan to the brink of precipice. Not only it lacked cooperation but there existed a "long standing, deep rooted, and smouldering army-navy cleavage that broke out in the open during the war, and this too played no small part in Japan's defeat" (C. Yanaga). This cleavage could not be patched up despite the formation of Koiso-Yonai cabinet after Tojo's downfall which was virtually army-navy co-premiership. The chasm remained unbridgeable while the table turned upon Japan.

UNIT V

JAPAN SINCE 1945

Consequence of Japan defeat

The defeat in the War reduced Japan almost to ashes and she was faced with the tremendous task of economic, political, social and military reconstruction. The flames of the War had burnt Japanese ambitions, dreams of Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere on the one hand and the imperialism of white nations on the other. In fact, colonial imperialistic structure of the world crumbled and dashed to pieces.

India, Ceylon, Burma, Indo-China, Indonesia, etc. became free because the War depleted the men and material resources of the imperial nations to an extent that they could not retain their hold upon them. Japan indirectly helped in the freedom of slave nations. Japan's empire was snatched from her hands and her boundaries shrunk to pre-1894 days. Formosa was restored to China. Korea was divided at the 38th parallel, the north of it falling under Russian influence while the South was under America. The Japanese imperial hunger had resulted in destruction and devastation. The American troops under Macarthur occupied Japan, declared an end to despotism, and re-instated, with a tinge of liberalism, the constitutional democratic political structure. The land of the rising Sun' was shrouded in dark clouds for some time as a result of chauvinistic militarism.

Japan was a distressed country at the time of its surrender in August 1945. More than 2.5 million Japanese, including more than 500,000 civilians, had perished since Pearl Harbor. Major parts of Tokyo and many other cities had been burnt to ashes. One third of the nation’s wealth had been destroyed. Internationally, Japan was a defeated country waiting for occupation by the Allied Powers. General Douglas MacArthur, Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers, landed at Atsugi airbase in late August to begin the occupation. Japan formally surrendered to the Allied Powers on the US battleship, USS Missouri, on September 2 nd.

Since it was the United States that had defeated Japan, the occupation of Japan was under taken by the Allied Powers. It meant the occupation of a single country that is the United States. President Harry Truman rejected the Soviet Union’s offer to occupy part of Hokkaido. According to America’s initial Post-Surrender Policy for Japan, the ultimate

objective of the occupation was, “to ensure that Japan will not again become a menace to the United States or to the peace and security of the world.” The Japanese military was completely disarmed but the Japanese government was not disbanded. The United States decided to rule Japan through the existing Japanese Government.

As in the pre-war period, prime ministers were appointed by the Emperor and organized their cabinets. The cabinet would submit draft legislations to the National Diet, which would in turn make them laws for the implementation of the post war reforms. The entire process of the parliamentary system was conducted under the strong directives of General Headquarters (GHQ). The GHQ ordered a series of sweeping reforms of the Japanese government. Those reforms included dismantling of the zaibatsu (business conglomerates that dominated the pre-war Japanese economy), agricultural reforms to distribute land to tenant farmers, and labour reforms. Democratization of politics was also an early and important item on the agenda of the occupation. General MacArthur ordered the Japanese government to draft a new democratic constitution. As the draft prepared by the (Japanese parliamentary) committee struck him as overly conservative, MacArthur ordered his staff to make its own draft reflecting his ideas, including an article that appeared to deny Japan even the right of self-defence. GHQ ordered the National Diet to use the GHQ draft as the basis for the writing of the new constitution. To transform the National Diet into a more democratic one, GHQ ordered the Japanese government to dissolve the Diet and call the first general election in the spring of 1946. Universal male suffrage was enacted in 1925 in Japan. At that time GHQ ordered the realization of complete universal suffrage by giving women the vote. Thirty-nine women were elected to the Diet in the election conducted in April 1946.

Subsequently, the Diet democratically reformulated, deliberated the draft constitution, made a limited number of revisions, and passed it in October 1946, to take effect in May 1947. The Emperor at that point became “the symbol of the State and the unity of the people who shall not have powers related to government.”

Economic Rebuilding

The Occupation powers also carried out important changes in the economy. When Japan surrendered it had lost an estimated one-fifth of its resources. Even though there were huge losses in industrial equipment and many factories had been dismantled much of the productive capacity of the heavy and chemical industry remained intact. There was a serious shortage of civilian goods as the economy had been diverted to producing for the war effort.

Inflation and lack of food in the cities made life difficult though there was not the kind of starvation that existed in China or the Philippines which had suffered under Japanese rule.

The SCAP initially played a punitive role, It was believed that Japan's industrial capacity was responsible for its aggression and therefore this capacity, which had made it the leading industrialized country in' Asia, be reduced. To this end the zaibatsu were dissolved and extensive land reforms carried out with the aim of introducing decentralization and democracy. The zaibatsu were immense conglomerates which dealt in a wide range of businesses making everything from pins to planes. The major groups were Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo and Yasuda. Each group was organized around a holding company and much of the control still rested with family members. The SCAP confiscated their holdings and dissolved the holding companies.

The land reforms helped to avert a crisis in rural Japan where the population had risen because of the returning soldiers and consequent hardship was felt by the small farmers who formed 70 per cent of the rural population. Land ceilings and confiscation of land from large holders together with the setting up of agricultural cooperatives helped to stabilize the rural areas. SCAP policy began to change when in 1946 food aid was provided to Japan. By the middle of 1948 the goal clearly became one of rebuilding a strong and self-reliant Japan. Many U.S. planners, even before the war had ended, had seen in Japan an ally against -the rising power of communism in China which they feared would form a monolithic ally with the Soviet Union. In Japan also many leaders were fearful of a socialist revolution caused by the defeat in war and in part the speed with which they surrendered was motivated by this fear.

This change of direction is often called the "reverse course" and it became clear once the Korean War broke out in 1953. In August 1950 a National Police Reserve had been set up and by 1954 a Self-Defence Agency. Defence Forces was set up, In the San Francisco Treaty of September 1951 a bilateral mutual security treaty was concluded in which it was made clear that Japan would increasingly assume responsibility for its own defence. Similarly many other changes were carried out both by the Occupation powers and after Japan became independent by the new government so the reverse course spans the occupation period and the initial years of the new government's rule. Because of the changed objectives Japan benefited from access to U.S. capital, technology and market. Japanese Reactions to the Occupation Japan After world War-II Japanese reactions to the Occupation were not highly ideological but motivated.

Causes of Economic Success

Economic Growth

Japan grew at the rate of ten per cent per year from 1954 to 1971 and this came to be referred to as the "miracle". During this period industrial facilities expanded to 36 per cent of GNP and Japan was transformed rapidly much as it had been transformed in the years after the Meiji Restoration. The question which comes uppermost in many minds is how did Japan achieve this? Was this miraculous growth a part of well-conceived and executed policies or was it the result of fortunate circumstances? Many scholars have argued that Japan achieved these results by deliberate policies. Chalmers Johnson, for instance has written on the role of the powerful MITI which played a crucial role in directing and guiding Japanese economic development. The central focus of many works is the close links between government-business-industry and the argument is that this close working made it possible to create a consensus or agreement on the economic goals and the policies necessary to pursue these goals. The economic boom of post-war Japan had started before Prime Minister Ikeda announced his "income doubling" plan which came to symbolize the creation of prosperity. By 1960 Japan's GNP had become the fifth largest in the world and by 1968 it was second only to the United States. The Japanese economy was subjected to controls and guidance by the government but competition was not discouraged, rather it was fierce and there was flexibility in the government's approach. In the 1950's the steel industry received special attention with loans and funds for expansion so that by the mid-1970s Japan had overtaken the Western steel firms in productivity.

MlTI had initially exercised close control and set targets but as the steel firms grew it allowed them to plan for themselves though it continued to exercise "administrative guidance". This guidance had no legal sanction but it was very difficult, if not impossible, for the companies not to follow this guidance. Similar steps were taken in industries like shipbuilding. Japan's initial success created problems for its trading partners who complained of closed markets and cheap exports. Japanese textiles, shoes, etc. They were making inroads into the European and US markets. The Japanese allowed some entry of foreign firms but restricted foreign ownership of Japanese companies to 25 per cent. In essence the policy was highly restrictive and even in the 1980s foreign ownership remained below 2 per cent.

The common view argued by many Japanese scholars was that it was not closed markets but the Japanese system which enabled Japan to grow. Central to this system was life time

employment, promotion by seniority and enterprise unions. In Japanese companies workers were employed for their working life with the company looking after many of tm needs, from housing to medical benefits to holidays. The employee was paid according to the number of years he worked and was accordingly promoted. This meant that there was no need to change jobs and rather than "merit" loyalty and dedication were values that were stressed. Unions were not formed across industries but at the level of the firm or enterprise which meant that there was no outside interference and the company and union could work together to increase productivity. However, this ideal system was. Largely practised in large firms while most workers were in small firms.

In Japan there was a dual structure. There were a few large firms which guaranteed benefits and gave high wages and their productivity was also high but over 53 per cent of the workers worked in firms employing less than a hundred employees in 1965. The gap between these workers was reflected in wages and working conditions though these began to narrow in the 1970s. Moreover workers' in small firms were rarely organized. Finally, women workers were discriminated against in terms of wages and types of jobs so that few were permanent employees within the lifetime system. The male-female wage gap narrowed in the seventies but the number of women among the lowest paid increased substantially. The economic growth of the 1960's altered the social landscape increasing mobility and leading to higher concentration of population in the urban centres, particularly the Osaka-Tokyo belt. Industry and population were concentrated in this region leading to cramped living and industrial pollution. Citizen’s groups and residents associations began to protest against the degradation of the environment and demand better living conditions.

The benefits of economic growth were making the country rich but the people still did not have the same access to social benefits as their counterparts in the Western countries. Television, washing machines and refrigerators transformed the lives of people and these symbols of success rapidly spread throughout Japan. In 1953 the Minamata disease was first noticed and its effect was that the victims lost control over their bodily movements. This was caused by industrial pollution a fact recognized in 1959 but it took till 1973 for the victims to get court compensation. Other diseases reflected the lack of understanding of the dangers of unchecked industrial ‘development. In 1967 a law to check pollution was passed and in the 1970s the government took measures to seriously check pollution.

Labour Movement

In December 1945 (Showa 20), the Labour Union Law was enacted, leading to the formation of many unions in Japan. As Occupation policy, however, shifted with the intensification of the Cold War, GHQ and the Japanese Government also increased their pressure on the labour movement. July 1948 (Showa 23) saw the issuance of Government Ordinance #201, based on a directive from General MACARTHUR, which denied public servants the right to enter into collective bargaining and to strike.

On 1 June 1949 (Showa 24), the state owned Japan Government Railways (JGR) was reorganized as the public corporation, Japan National Railways (JNR), formally independent of state control. With that shift came a massive layoff of workers, based on the law restricting the number of public employees, and it was announced that almost 90,000 railway workers would lose their jobs.

The Japan National Railways Workers' Union had started preparations for a labour struggle to oppose the layoffs, when several incidents in July 1949 occurred, the SHIMOYAMA Incident and the Mitaka Incidents put on end to the struggle. Subsequently, the layoffs were carried out almost exactly as planned.

Amidst these developments, a split occurred in the labour union movement as a more moderate current emerged in opposition to the militant leftists, with the organization of such groups as the anti-communist Democratization League (Mindo). Then, in July 1950 (Showa 25), the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (Sohyo) was formed, cantered on the Mindo. Sohyo then became the nucleus of the post-war labour movement in Japan, acting as the umbrella organization for nearly half of all organized workers.

WELFARE MEASURES:

Nutrition Improvement and Rural Life Improvement

As a result of the serious foodstuff shortages, the nutritional status of Japanese citizens was extremely poor. Therefore, the following measures were taken: a) To identify the

nutritional status of the general public, the National Nutrition Survey began to be taken in 1945, and emergency food assistance was extended by the United States Government; and b) American private relief organizations offered assistance for food and clothing, which were called "Lara relief materials." In addition, c) nutritionists were assigned to health centres, and a system was set up to provide professional dietary guidance in local neighbourhoods. Also, d) based on the Nutrition Improvement Law, nutritional guidance offered by nutrition counsellors and the assignment of nutritionists to mass feeding facilities among other activities were promoted.

The school lunch program was resumed after receiving relief materials, such as skim milk powder, from the United States and other countries in order to offer relief primarily to school children under the post-war food shortage. Later, an implementation system for the school lunch program was expanded when this program was positioned as part of school education based on the School Lunch Law which was enacted in 1954.

After the war, while the promotion of food production was urgently requested in rural areas, the farmers themselves remained poor. Thus, efforts were undertaken to overcome the delay in improving their living standards. The Rural Life Improvement Extension Services were provided through guidance provided by rural life improvement advisers who were equipped with the necessary expertise. The Extension Services included, for example, the improvement of traditional kitchens (especially ovens), the improvement of nutritional status, the development of preferable food products which were used during the peak agricultural season, and so on.Especially, activities related to the improvement of kitchen ovens contributed to the enhancement of young housewives' positions, the improvement of farmers' living standards, and the living environment in rural areas.

Prevention of Communicable Diseases

In post-war Japan, massive outbreaks of acute communicable diseases, such as cholera, were experienced. For this reason, measures to prevent the spread of communicable diseases became an urgent task, and the following measures were taken:

a) First of all, the notification, isolation and hospitalized treatment of patients based on the conventional Communicable Disease Prevention Law was in place. In addition, community residents organized vector control teams. Under the guidance and supervision of sanitation inspectors who were assigned to health centres,

activities to exterminate vermin and rodents which serve as vectors for pathogens were carried out throughout the country.

b) Later in 1948, the Preventive Vaccination Law was enacted. Six diseases, including smallpox, were specified as those for which the routine vaccination program would be offered, whereas another six diseases, including epidemic typhus, were specified as those which would be covered by a conditional vaccination program. More thorough implementation of vaccination was ensured through this law.

c) Moreover, a quarantine system was being developed to primarily target repatriates returning from abroad in an effort to prevent epidemics at ports of entry.

d) Public water supply development which was necessary to prevent epidemics was being promoted by various measures, including the provision of national subsidies to small-scale public water supply projects undertaken by municipalities.

Measures to address the sources of infection, infection routes, and susceptibility of the people, to communicable diseases, were taken in a comprehensive manner through the efforts mentioned above. Thus, we were able to see a prospect of controlling most of the major communicable diseases.

Additionally, during this period, parasitic diseases, such as those caused by acaroid and Ancylostoma duodenal, also spread widely. Though regular mass screening and vector control were performed, they did not work as decisive countermeasures. In the next period described below, infection opportunities of parasites via night soil decreased dramatically thanks to the increased use of chemical fertilizers in place of human excreta and the development of sewage treatment systems. Furthermore, municipalities and other organizations took the initiative in fully implementing regular stool testing and the use of vermicides, sharply reducing parasitic diseases thereafter.

Developing Basic Laws on Medical Care Delivery

We were in a situation in which it was difficult to deliver sufficient medical care, because many medical care facilities were destroyed and closed due to damage caused by the war, while medical personnel and supplies were in shortage. It was under such circumstances that the building of a foundation for medical care was in progress. In this context, the Medical Service Law which set forth the requirements for medical care facilities was enacted in 1947 with the purpose of providing scientific and appropriate medical care. The new Medical Practitioners

Law which defined the qualifications and status of medical personnel was also established in 1948 with the purpose of developing high-quality medical personnel.

In this period, former military-related medical care facilities were made available to the general public as national hospitals and sanatoria, playing an important role in the delivery of medical care, while, on the other hand, the development of private medical care facilities was being promoted. The Medical Service Law formalized a system, as the basic one, to allow physicians to open their own practice, a system which had been maintained since the Meiji era (19681912). Along with this came the creation of a non-profit medical corporation system which facilitated the accumulation of funds by private-sector medical service businesses, and at the same time, offered continuity in terms of business management.

Welfare and Income Security

Measures on Relief for Daily Living

Immediately after the end of World War II, an overwhelming majority of Japanese citizens, including those affected by the war and repatriates from abroad, were compelled to live in circumstances in which they were not able to locate food each day. Under these circumstances, in order to provide help to these needy people, temporary and emergency relief measures for daily living were extended to secure a minimum level of living for all citizens if they were in need regardless of the reasons. The focus of this effort was to provide needy people, those affected by the war, families whose members were abroad, etc. with lodging, meals, bedding and other daily necessities, and supplementary provision of food among other things. In 1946, people receiving such relief numbered about 3.17 million, or as much as 4.2% of the total population.

Following these activities, the old Public Assistance Law was enacted in the same year to establish, in some respects, a public assistance system which was based on the three principles of non-discrimination/equality, government responsibility and securing a minimum level of living.

Later on, in 1950, the new Public Assistance Law was enacted under the new Constitution, thus offering relief for daily living based on the principles set forth in the Constitution. The size of the public assistance budget for fiscal 1951 was approximately 20 billion yen or a share of about 2.7% of the general account budget of the national government, and people under public assistance reached about 2 million. While the national

experience was one of extreme poverty, the public assistance program played a key role in securing minimum standards of living for the general public.

Child Welfare and Welfare for People with Disabilities

In the period immediately following the end of World War II, the protection of street children, including those made orphans as a result of the war, became an important issue. In 1948, orphans without parents were estimated to number 124,000, and there were many children who were living on the streets. Many of these orphans engaged in work in a live-in style. For orphans who had the most urgent need for protection, sending them to host families, adopting them and accommodating them in institutions were the measures taken. In addition, street children were placed in child protection facilities as part of protective guidance efforts.

The need to take measures to help street children triggered the enactment of the Child Welfare Law in 1947. This law was to enforce not only measures for street children, but principles for child welfare in general, and to ensure the welfare of children through public responsibility.

In 1949, measures for disabled veterans prompted the establishment of the Law for the Welfare of People with Physical Disabilities. This law set forth a structure for helping people with physical disabilities to restore their vocational capabilities. Through the process outlined above, a system of the three welfare laws was established: the Public Assistance Law which generally secures a minimum level of living, the Child Welfare Law and the Law for the Welfare of People with Physical Disabilities. In addition, because the conventional laws became obsolete due to the establishment of these basic welfare laws, the Social Welfare Service Law was enacted in 1951 in order to develop a structure of social welfare services. This law institutionalized the administrative organization for social welfare services, such as welfare offices, and social welfare non-profit corporations which have a more public nature than ordinary non-profit corporations under the Civil Code, thus reinforcing the foundation for social welfare services.

Unemployment Measures and the Enactment of the Labour Standards Law

Immediately after the war, many people were jobless in Japan partly due to the influx of repatriated people returning from abroad. For this reason, in 1946, urgent employment

measures, such as the promotion of civil engineering projects, were taken and the public works system was created, in an attempt to absorb the unemployed and increase production.

In 1947, the Labour Standards Law was established. This law not only incorporated pre-war labour protection statutes but also included such basic philosophies as a) Labour standards are necessary for workers to maintain the minimum standards of wholesome and cultured living; b) The residual feudalistic relationships in social status in labour relations should be eliminated, and c) International standards on minimum working conditions should be adopted. The law set forth requirements regarding the sure payment of wages to workers, minimum wages (Currently minimum wages are set forth by the Minimum Wage Law.) and statutory working hours among other requirements.

Workmen's Accident Compensation Insurance and Unemployment Insurance

Before the war, employers' assistance related to workers' occupational accidents was considered to be benevolent measures for workers. However, in enacting the Labour Standards Law in 1947, the Workmen's Accident Compensation Insurance Law was established in order to ensure compensation by employers indicated in the Labour Standards Law. Moreover, while uncertainties about employment increased after the war, extreme inflation progressed and the unemployment issue became focused. Thus, in 1947, the Unemployment Insurance system under which benefits would be provided when workers lost their jobs was created.

Fundamental Law of Education and the School Education Law

The modern school system had been already established in Japan since the pre-war period. However, in the period discussed in this section, a variety of educational reforms took place under the guidance of the GHQ. In 1947, the Fundamental Law of Education which advocated the democratization of education and was called the "constitution of education," was enacted. In addition, the School Education Law was established. This law took steps, among other things, to a) secure equal opportunities for education; b) widely and thoroughly spread general education; c) implement the so-called 63 school system under which the compulsory education period was extended from the previous six years to nine yea, and d) implement coeducation. These efforts substantially reformed the school system in our country. The development of the school education system greatly contributed to improving the knowledge

and educational levels of the general public. It is fair to say that this effort served as one of the factors for the social security system to become so widely accepted in subsequent years.

Industrial Growth –Major industries, Transport- Trade and Economic Cooperation.

The key elements underlying Japan's industrial and technological rise have remained remarkably consistent over time. They include (1) central government policies that encourage the adoption and diffusion of foreign technologies through lowering private-sector risks, stimulating demand, and providing educational and other infrastructure; (2) a diffuse base of entrepreneurial vitality and a strong competitive private-sector that is receptive to new technologies and capable of improving them; and (3) a political and ideological climate that generally allows for consensus on national imperatives and flexibility in policy approaches to meeting them.

The foundation for Japan's assimilation of technologies from abroad for rapid industrialization was clearly present in 1853, when the West's challenge to the isolation policy of the Tokugawa shogunate appeared in the form of Commodore Perry's "black ships." Decentralized political power and economic competition between feudal domains led to the emergence of a large class of skilled crafts workers dispersed throughout the country and receptive to applying new innovations. Further, Japan had developed a complex commercial economy prior to industrialization, including a national distribution system for marketing a wide variety of goods between numerous urban centres. The national security crisis brought on by the black ships helped consolidate support for the importation of foreign technologies and industrialization to meet the Western challenge.

Under the government of the Meiji Restoration, established in 1868, regional programs to import and assimilate foreign know-how were enhanced by national-level initiatives to promote the development of modern industries central to arms making and military capability through government investment and ownership. Foreign experts were typically hired during the start-up phase and then dismissed when the necessary expertise had been absorbed by the Japanese. From the early 1880s, these companies were sold to entrepreneurs, with several developing into zaibatsu (industrial-financial groups), which played an important role in Japan's industrial and technological development. In addition to its direct role in launching enterprises, the central government established engineering faculties in the new imperial universities and other educational institutions to train engineers in the new techniques.

Japan's industrial and technological development accelerated through the early twentieth century. Extensive importation of foreign technologies continued, with important transfers occurring through the formation of joint ventures and other direct investments by foreign multinational corporations such as Western Electric, General Electric, and Ford Motor Company. At the same time, the Japanese industrial sector was growing and evolving rapidly, with the spread of modern management and the emergence of large-scale corporations. The zaibatsu, such as Mitsui and Mitsubishi, developed from an initial focus on nonmanufacturing industries into highly diversified conglomerates. Non-zaibatsu manufacturers, such as Hitachi, Takeda Chemical Industries, Kikkoman, and Ajinomoto, grew up in urban and rural areas. Partly because of rapid economic growth, Japan's industrial development was marked by firm specialization, no integration of production and distribution, and extensive utilization of intercompany links, rather than by vertical integration in the pursuit of scope economies in production. Along with the emergence of large companies, there remained considerable scope for technology-based entrepreneurial activity, supported by growing innovation networks built around industry associations; prefectural laboratories; technical colleges; and national technological institutions such as the Institute for Physical and Chemical Research.

The growing availability of formally trained engineers was critical to the continued accumulation of technological capability and the process of enterprise development. The number of trained technicians employed by private enterprises grew from 700 in 1900 to 2,500 a decade later, and exceptional companies like Hitachi had begun to organize research divisions. By the late 1920s, Japan possessed a considerable industrial and technological infrastructure. One Western observer rated the country as fourth in the world in the organization and scope of its research activities.

Through the 1930s and during World War II, government involvement in the Japanese economy and innovation increased in such areas as economic planning and control, the formation of cartels, growing limitations on and eventually expulsion of foreign companies, and policies designed to encourage innovation. These developments left a mixed but mainly positive legacy for post-war innovation and economic growth. The bureaucratic industrial planning structure set up in the Ministry of Commerce and Industry (MCI) beginning in the late 1920s is the predecessor of the post-war Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI). The expulsion of foreign capital prior to the war set the stage for strict controls over trade and foreign direct investment after the war. Industry and government gained experience in implementing collaborative technology development programs. The war

itself forced Japan to accelerate the pace of investment in science and technology, as access to foreign technology was shut off. This isolation meant that Japan fell considerably behind the technical levels of other advanced

Countries during the war, but it led to larger-scale R&D efforts on the part of industry and a large jump in the proportion of young people receiving technical training.

Nearly all the political-economic factors underlying Japan's industrial and technological ascendancy in the post-war period were in place when the war began, most notably: (1) government policies (often shaped by industry) that encouraged innovation through procurement, support for technology development, creation of a favourable environment for the importation of foreign technology and the provision of infrastructure for technical human resource development;

(2) a technologically savvy industrial sector largely focused on serving smaller scale, specialized demands rather than mass markets, and implementing flexible innovation and manufacturing strategies through focal factories and extensive utilization of subcontracting and corporate networks;

(3) A set of "bridging" public-private institutions (such as Riken, industry associations, and extension services for small-and medium-sized firms) that helped to diffuse technology and other forms of knowledge. Although Japan's ascendancy was not based on defence technology as such, these public and private approaches were shaped by an overarching focus on national security.

Favourable International Environment: The U.S. Occupation and Alliance

The U.S. occupation and its aftermath ushered in several important changes with mainly positive impacts on Japanese innovation and industrial development. Several U.S. occupation policies had a major long-term effect. Early on, initiatives such as land reform, the breakup of the zaibatsu, the expansion of educational opportunities, and the promulgation of a new constitution facilitated movement toward greater democratization and egalitarian income distribution. With the "reverse course" in occupation policy brought on by the onset of the Cold War, and the new imperative to encourage Japan's emergence as a U.S. strategic ally in Asia, the United States began to take active measures to promote reconstruction of Japan's industrial capability. These measures included "special vehicle procurement" by the U.S. military during the Korean War, which jump started the Japanese auto industry, and efforts to spread U.S. management and manufacturing techniques to Japanese industry through study missions. Many of Japan's engineering and technological capabilities that had been focused on the war effort were now diverted to commercial industries.

The U.S.-Japan alliance also served as the foundation for a favourable international environment for Japan's industrial rise. Not needing a large military establishment, Japan has

This was due to generous funding and the exemption of science students from military duties that was maintained until the last stages of the war.

Perhaps the main difficulty in "explaining" Japan's economic and technological success is over determination Japan had so much going for it that it is nearly impossible to isolate one or another dependent variable as being decisive. This point is made regarding the high-growth Asian economies in general by the World

Concentrated its resources on commercial industries and technologies. The open international trading environment, characterized by gradual liberalization over the post-war period, is largely a result of U.S. initiative and leadership. Because of relatively free access to global markets, Japan has been able to invest at an internationally competitive scale in several industries—such as steel—where Japanese companies had been held back before the war.

Of course, the generally favourable environment for trade and economic growth of the post-war period was not an advantage enjoyed uniquely by Japan. Several additional factors allowed Japan to take better advantage of this environment than other large economies.

Industry, the basic oxygen furnace, developed in Austria in the early 1950s, was much more rapidly incorporated in Japan than in the United States, even allowing for the more rapid build-up in Japan's capacity. As was the case in the shipbuilding industry, the process of importing and improving this critical technology was characterized by an active government role in organizing the importation process and negotiating favourable licensing arrangements. R&D collaboration between companies in developing complementary technologies, active promotion by industry associations, and fierce competition between firms in implementation improved efficiency and speeded adoption of the technology. In both steel and shipbuilding Japan dispelled the notion that possession of raw materials is a prerequisite to leadership in finished goods.

In contrast to shipbuilding and steel, where foreign innovators were more or less willing to license their know-how, computers and microelectronics are important examples of industries in which Japan confronted multinational corporations desiring access to the Japanese market. In these cases the government's leverage came from the Foreign Exchange and Foreign Trade Control Law of 1949 and the Foreign Investment Law of 1950. The latter provided the framework for government approval of foreign direct investments as well as technology agreements lasting for more than one year. The formal requests for permission for direct investments or technology imports were submitted to the Ministry of Finance,

which referred them to the agency with jurisdiction over the industry or technology—almost always MITI and often one or more additional economic ministries—for review.

The experiences of U.S. companies that sought to gain access to the Japanese market through exports or direct investment during the 1950-1980 time frame illustrate how Japanese industry and government worked together to gain access to foreign technologies while limiting access to the Japanese market. IBM, Texas Instruments, and a few other companies with very strong patent positions were able to negotiate restricted access to the Japanese market through wholly owned subsidiaries after protracted negotiations, conditional on widespread licensing of their basic technologies to Japanese competitors. Companies in an intermediate position, such as Du Pont, were able to access the market but were steered into joint ventures that involved technology transfers to Japanese partners and often left control of critical customer interfaces with those partners. Companies in a weaker position, like Fairchild, were left with licensing their technology as the only viable option.

Beginning in the late 1960s, Japanese restrictions on foreign investment and foreign exchange were gradually liberalized. Although informal market and investment barriers still impede foreign access to some of Japan's high-technology markets, the government's direct role in acquiring and diffusing foreign technology has declined. Yet the importance of this mediation in accumulating the technological foundation for Japan's growth is clear. Some point to the delay experienced by Sony when it sought permission from MITI to license the transistor from Western Electric in the early 1950s as a counterexample to show that the Japanese government's role was not always favourable to innovation. Closer examination reveals, however, that the actual delay was just a few months, during which Sony had an internal team working on the technology. As is the case for a number of the examples of failed or counterproductive industrial policy during the high-speed growth period, Sony's transistor licensing experience shows that the influence of the Japanese government on all aspects of Japan's industrial development, while considerable, was not rigid enough to impede companies with good ideas and the energy to pursue them. Indeed, industrial policy was often formulated or co-opted by industry. The transistor case also illustrates another key feature of Japanese innovation: creativity by industry in the application and modification of basic technologies imported from abroad.

U.S.-Japan cooperation in defence production and defence technology has also contributed to the capabilities of Japanese companies, particularly in the aircraft industry. Licensed production of U.S.-developed aircraft has represented an important business base for the aerospace divisions of Japan's heavy-industry firms, and the basic technologies for

several specific commercial products in which Japanese companies hold global leadership were originally transferred in military programs. Ishikawajima-Harima Heavy Industries, particularly its success in producing long shafts for commercial jet engines, is one example.

Industry Creativity in Applying and Modifying Foreign Technologies,As is well known, Sony first utilized the transistor to make small radios, an application that had not been pursued by American inventors. This is by no means an isolated case—developing new applications and markets for imported technologies, modifying technologies for new applications, and rapidly moving forward with complementary innovations have been hallmarks of the companies in most of Japan's internationally competitive industries. At the aggregate level, a late 1980s study showed that Japanese firms tend to develop and introduce new products and processes based on external technology more quickly and economically than U.S. companies do.

Starting with the transistor, several examples can be drawn from consumer electronics. In the late 1950s the importation of new commercial video recorders by Japanese government broadcaster NHK from U.S. inventor Ampex alerted MITI and led to a systematic effort to import the basic technology. Several years later Sony developed a much smaller machine that could be used to show movies in commercial jet aircraft, and in 1969 it introduced the U-Matic, which reached a large industrial market. Sony and Matsushita later developed video cassette recorders for home use, the Matsushita standard eventually winning out to achieve enormous commercial success around the world.

Japanese companies have continued to rapidly introduce new electronics technologies into consumer electronics products. For example, the first microprocessor was developed by Intel in 1969 in response to the request of Busicom, a Japanese calculator maker. Flat panel displays

Utilizing liquid crystals were first developed by U.S. companies in the 1960s, which conceived of the technology as a possible long-term replacement for cathode ray tubes, but did not persist in developing it to the point where it could be incorporated into marketable products. In contrast, Sharp Corporation introduced liquid crystal displays (LCDs) into its calculators in the early 1970s. Sharp continued to improve and develop LCDs as it diversified into other product lines, establishing a leading position in the technology that has continued to the present. Consumer electronics markets that Japanese companies either pioneered or took from U.S. rivals have been a powerful vehicle for the development and refinement of new electronics component technologies.

A prominent no electronics example is the machine tool industry. Japan's success in this industry has been largely due to the utilization of numerical control (NC) technology in small, general-purpose tools. In the United States, where NC technology was developed at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology with U.S. Department of Defence funding, industry mainly applied the advances to high-end applications—the potential market for general—purpose NC tools was not appreciated. As a result of their success in developing general purpose NC machine tools for smaller Japanese manufacturers, Japanese toolmakers achieved great export success in the 1970s and 1980s.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF JAPANESE CAPABILITIES IN SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY, AND INNOVATION

Japanese industrial organization practices have encouraged the creative adaptation of technology. Even as greater opportunities to pursue mass markets grew during post-war economic growth, Japanese industries generally did not pursue vertical integration and rigid production and management systems. Rather, interfere networks of various types have proliferated and evolved. The business and technology focus of even the largest Japanese firms remained with product centered factories integrating the activities of numerous subsidiaries and suppliers.

Another aspect of Japan's capability to innovate has been the relative success of large Japanese companies in diversifying into new technologies and businesses. This has been particularly true in the electronics industry. The relative disaggregation of Japanese companies like Hitachi and Matsushita—where the main company focuses on technology development, final assembly in core businesses, and corporate staff functions, while distribution, components manufacture, and peripheral businesses are spun off to subsidiaries—may be partly responsible for this flexibility. The human resource policies of Japanese companies have served to reinforce and perpetuate this disaggregation. With emphasis on entry-level hiring over mid-career hiring, lifetime employment, and wage differentials determined largely by seniority, rewards in large, prestigious Japanese companies are standardized across functions, providing a strong incentive to spin off noncore activities to subsidiaries with lower salary structures. This standardization of rewards encourages other management practices associated with superior product development

Other aspects of government industrial and technology policy are more difficult to evaluate in a general way. Policies toward industrial finance, regulation, market development,

and technology development have had a significant impact on several specific industries at particular times.

The contribution of Japanese trade policy to the development of the auto industry is one example. Although the Japanese auto industry did not receive direct government assistance on the scale of some other manufacturing sectors, imports were restricted through the use of quantitative limits and high tariffs. This discouraged foreign manufacturers from entering the Japanese market and allowed the Japanese auto industry to develop its manufacturing and technological capabilities in a protected domestic market. The semiconductor industry provides another example of a Japanese industry that was able to accumulate experience and raise productivity under the umbrella of trade protection.

Export promotion has played a role as well. Japan's general trading companies predated World War II and provided an important institutional foundation for Japan's exports, particularly during the period before Japanese manufacturers had become large enough to establish their own distribution channels overseas. The MITI-affiliated Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO) is widely regarded as a highly effective conduit of market and other information to Japanese businesses. There are no U.S. institutions comparable to the trading companies or JETRO. Although some critics have focused on the utilization of predatory dumping strategies by Japanese manufacturers, these have had a major impact in only a few specific cases, most notably the domestic price maintenance cartel organized by Japanese television manufacturers in the 1960s and the MITI-financed export of machine tools in the early 1980s. As noted above, the key developments that led to Japanese ascendancy in those industries had occurred earlier over a Considerable period, although the loss of U.S. competitiveness became apparent over a short time span because of the flood of Japanese imports.

Industrial policy measures to develop domestic markets, mainly financing incentives for customers of emerging industries, were also important to several industries. For example, large amounts of policy finance directed to merchant shipping companies allowed them to increase purchases from Japan's shipbuilders. The MITI-financed Japan Electronic Computer Corporation, which purchased and leased Japanese computers to domestic users, was a key factor in the growth of Japan's computer industry during the 1960s and 1970s. A financing program intended by MITI to encourage consolidation of small manufacturers was co-opted at the local level and mainly used to purchase sophisticated machine tools.

Technology development programs also have had a positive impact in a few specific industries. Unlike the United States, where a number of technologies underlying major industries have been developed with government funding, Japanese government funding has not yet yielded significant breakthroughs. However, most analysts agree that the extensive network of national laboratories, local and regional institutions for manufacturing and technology extension, and government-sponsored R&D consortia have played a positive, but mainly supportive, role in Japanese innovation.

Japan's government-supported R&D consortia have attracted the most attention from abroad and have spurred a certain degree of imitation in the United States. In the 1960s the Japanese government established a special funding program to support industrial consortia. During the 1970s and 1980s, overall funding and the number of consortia increased, the most important being those targeting semiconductors and computers. Japan's early computer consortia were aimed at catching up with the innovations developed by IBM in the 1960s, and some observers credit them with supplementing corporate efforts to prevent falling irretrievably far behind. The Very Large Scale Integration program of the late 1970s is often given credit for enhancing Japan's competitive prospects in semiconductors and semiconductor equipment, since the end of the project coincided with a market share surge by Japanese companies. In addition to helping device makers and equipment manufacturers gain familiarity with the latest chip making manufacturing technologies, providing a base for their subsequent advances, the VLSI project and other consortia have encouraged the formation of information networks among researchers, helped companies maintain R&D funding oriented toward long-term goals, and delivered other benefits apart from actual research results.