

Japan and the International Order 1914-1924.

7. Background of Research

The research aim of this project is to examine, through the lens of Japan and East Asia, the transformation of the international order during and immediately after the First World War. It will demonstrate that this transformation was not solely a question of the redistribution of power, but also of the change in the normative environment, in the principles and ideas which underpinned action in the conduct of international politics.

Through a chronological analysis, that will span from the beginning of the First World War to 1924, I present two opposing visions of Japan in the international order: internationalist and racially isolated. Most Japanese elites reconciled internationalism to a pragmatic quest to achieve national interest. Historian The significance lies in the ability of internationalists to articulate and pursue their vision of the national interest within a cooperative international framework, based on certain norms. Japan also found itself at risk of isolation from the international order. At Versailles, delegates were instructed from Tokyo to follow international consensus, however, this was different at the Washington conference. Japanese politicians were self-aware and concerned about Japan's seeming drift and dislocation from its international partners, even during war. Japanese elites had much more time to speculate and plan for peace than their Allies who were too busy actually fighting the war.

The focus of studies in English charting the stabilization of the international order in the 1920s and the normative transformations during the First World War has been largely restricted to Western Europe and the United States. One major aim of my project was to engage with Japanese language secondary source literature on the period of which there is an abundance. This is also not well-known outside of Japan. During my research in Japan, I worked on improving my Japanese enough to read these secondary source materials and I was also able to meet with and discuss my ideas with scholars in Japan. Japanese and English works show international transformation not just as the result of shifts in material power, but also how ideas also shaped the emerging international order. Even power politics had to be justified within the international public sphere, constraining and channelling action in particular ways.

One of the central aims of my project was to highlight East Asia as an essential cockpit of international politics during this period with a focus on the new style of multi-lateral diplomacy that developed during and after the First World War. The key purpose of this project is to present the input Japanese actors had on the development of norms to a western audience and how norms of the international order were internalised in Japan.

Perhaps the most important finding of my research was material related to a Japanese Ship, the Heimei Maru which was commissioned by the Turkish government through its Japanese counterpart in 1921, to repatriate Turkish prisoners of war to Turkey from Siberia. During the voyage back to Turkey the ship, along with the 1,000 prisoners and Japanese crew was captured by the Greek government which was at war with Turkey at the time. This brief and seemingly minor incident (there is only one other historian who has written on it) highlighted some of the main hypotheses of my project and through the diplomacy enacted by Japan to ensure the safe return of not only the Japanese crew but also the prisoners of war, shows Japan actively participating in the new model of multi-lateral diplomacy while at the same reinforcing and developing these new norms.

8. Research methodology

My project was structured chronologically, mapping the developments in international norms from

the beginning of the First World War to 1924. To clearly illustrate the operations of norms the project will focus on four case studies related to Japan and its interactions with the international order. These were: the beginning of the First World War and the 21 Demands issued to China; Japan's interaction with League of Nations, especially the Heimei Maru incident. Its control over the mandate for Shantung and negotiations over its return to China in 1922; and the Washington Naval Conference 1921/22. This project attempted to show two contrasting aspects of Japan's place in the international order and the roots of why Japan distanced itself from the international order and the rhetoric of peace.

Initially the bulk of my research focused on English language material while I studied Japanese to prepare for reading secondary and primary source material. A key part of the historian's work is done in archives and through the generous funding of the JSPS I was able to access international archives. I completed two trips to Europe during my two years to access the National Archives in London and the archives of the League of Nations and the International Red Cross in Geneva, Switzerland. In addition, along with Professor Naraoka and Professor Kajiwaru Katsuhiko (Ehime University) I conducted some primary source research in city archives in Qingdao, China and the Academic Sinica in Taipei, Taiwan, thanks to funding provided by Ehime University. The Switzerland trips were particularly useful as they archival material uncovered there created some significant developments for the testing of the hypotheses I began this project with.

The research on specific decisions will assess the relationship between public debates, the international public sphere, and private decision-making. I had initially expected that the bulk of the archival work would be done in Japan as the archives hold the personal papers and government files of the key actors, and most importantly newspaper reports which reveal the relationship between decision-making and public norms. However, I gained some key insights into Japan's interaction with the wider international community in the archives in Switzerland. My first trip to the League of Nations Archives uncovered a wealth of information related to Japan and the institution, so much so that it necessitated a second trip in the second year of my project which I also combined with a trip to the archives of the International Committee of the Red Cross where the archivist there introduced to previously unseen files relating to Japan and its policies in helping repatriate prisoners of war from Russia after the First World and concurrently during the Russian Civil war. This was in relation to the Heimei Maru incident of 1921 discussed above. A key methodological approach I adopted was historian of ideas Quentin Skinner's speech act theory, as a means of explaining the relationship between political rhetoric and action. Political action requires justification, in order for outcomes to enjoy legitimacy and stability. Political innovation, Skinner argued, required the adaptation of existing rhetoric to new institutions and departures. My findings show how Japanese politicians adapted discourses of international law, disarmament, self-determination, and civilization to East Asian politics.

I have also developed my Japanese language skills to achieve competence in reading primary sources and archival material, participate in seminars and conferences held in Japan, and write Japanese for academic purposes. I am now able, although, still with difficulty to read files from the Japanese Foreign Ministry Archives which I have accessed through the online source of the Japan Center for Asian Historical Records. Here again there is a wealth of primary source material on Japan its relationship with the wider world and coupled with multiple research trips to the National Diet Library to access papers and printed primary sources, even some trips to the Manga Museum in Kyoto and of course the facilities at Kyoto University I have built up an expertise on my While working on my language skills I developed an in-depth knowledge of Japanese language scholarship on international history in the early twentieth century through participating in regular seminars at Kyoto and engaging with leading Japanese scholars.

9. Results and Impacts:

This project is innovative in that it took seriously the issue of a normative transformation in East Asian politics, between 1914 and 1924. Changing norms redefined security policy, recalibrated understandings of the national interests amongst the leading powers in the region (Japan, the United States, and Britain), and reshaped the international order and the possibilities for political action. The norms reflected wider global debates, so that understandings of national self-determination, juridical internationalism, and limitations on sovereignty (through arms control) had their own particular iteration within East Asian politics. Through this investigation of Japan and the International Order in the period during and after the First World War, this project contributed to the wider debate of whether the international order simply changed in terms of the balance of power or if there was also a normative change. My first testing grounds for my project was at the Japan History Group organised at Tokyo University where I was invited in June 2017 to present on my findings to a group of Japanese experts and was lucky enough to have Professor Kurosawa Fumitaka (a leading expert) comment on my paper. Subsequently I was invited to Oxford University to take part in an international conference to discuss International Law and International Order at the end of the First World War from the perspective of Japan. My expertise in the field was further recognised when I was invited to chair a panel on 1919 in East Asia at the European Congress on World and Global history in Budapest, Hungary last year.

Throughout the project I maintained close contact with the Centre for War Studies at University College Dublin, one Europe's leading research centres for the conflict and conflict resolution during the twentieth century. As well as being invited to speak at their seminar, I was able to invite Professor William Mulligan to speak at Kyoto University in June as well as a former Centre for War Studies member Dr Mercedes Penabla now of Manchester Metropolitan University in the United Kingdom who spoke in Kyoto in May. The links between the Law Faculty at Kyoto University and the Centre for War studies in Dublin will be further enhanced now that I have a full-time position in Kyoto and I am in discussion with members of the centre about further academic exchange, and we are investigating the potential for student exchanges between Japan and Ireland.

This project enhanced the creative and innovative potential of my career in the social sciences and has made me a vital member of the international research community. Through the new skills I acquired and the multi-disciplinary approach taken my time as a JSPS research fellow diversified my individual competence to work allowing me to be internationally mobile and also created the opportunity for inter-sectoral transfer between disciplines of history and East Asian studies and through the trans-disciplinary approach taken in Kyoto University in a highly competitive academic jobs market. My career goal to become one of the leading researchers on early twentieth global history has been fulfilled through this JSPS project as I have been hired by Kyoto University as a tenured Associate Professor from December this year.

I had initially envisioned the continuation of this project through my return to Europe. However, as I am now fortunate enough to be able to remain in Japan, I can work deeper in the Japanese archives and in the coming months put together a book proposal that I have discussed with Michael Watson, the general editor for Cambridge University Press. Specifically, I will seek to publish a paper on the project in *The Journal of Contemporary History*. Additionally I have been appointed as a general editor of the *British Journal of Military History* which will further enhance my opportunities for publication.

Perhaps the biggest research impact of my time in Japan was the publication of my first monograph. 'Colonial Captivity during the First World War: Internment and the Fall of the German Empire 1914-1919'. This was published through Cambridge University Press in late 2017 and has been favourably reviewed with work already begun on a Japanese language translation. A further piece I wrote on the internment of prisoners of war by Japan during the First World War appeared in an

edited volume this summer, 'The Treatment of German Prisoners of War in Japan in the Global Context of the First World War', in Schmidt, Jan and Schmidt, Katja (eds) 'The East Asian Dimension of the First World War: Global Entanglements and Japan, China, and Korea 1914-1919', (Campus Verlag, Frankfurt, New York, 2018). Japan's treatment of prisoners of war during the period has developed into an important part of my research in the context of the JSPS project. Professor Naraoka secured SPIRITS funding from Kyoto University to put together an international project on Japan's treatment of prisoners of war from the Meiji period until the Second World War. We held our first conference in Cambridge University in March this year and will have a second session on the island of Malta in March 2019. Here I will discuss the above mentioned Heimei Maru incident which will then go on to form a chapter in the edited volume we will publish in Japanese from the conference.

In other areas, I was delighted to be invited to give a talk to High-school students in Nara on my research as part of the JSPS Science Dialogue initiative last year. It was great experience and the students displayed a surprising interest in my work. I have also appeared in podcasts and print media, I was recently interviewed by a journalist from the Japan Times about Japan and the end of the First World War for an article on the one hundredth anniversary of the end of the First World War. One of the most fun experiences during my time as a JSPS researcher is that I was invited to appear on *NHK Hoso-Daigaku* to discuss Japan and the First World War. The series will broadcast next year and I hope my Japanese will be understandable to the Japanese public.

10. Research Presentations during the period of the fellowship (Name of the conference, title, place, date)

21 June 2018 Waseda University, Japan, Public Lecture 第一次世界大戦期のアフリカ・アジアにおけるドイツのプロパガンダ

22 March 2018: Kyoto University, Japan, International Conference: 第二次世界大戦におけるアフリカ・アジア植民地の動員—兵士・労働者・女性— (Colonial Mobilization in Africa and Asia during the Second World War: Soldiers, Labourers and Women). Commentator.

16 March 2018: Department of History, Cambridge University, UK. International History and Prisoners of War Workshop, Keynote address: 'The Internment of German Colonial Settlers during the First World War'.

20 February 2018: École Française d'Extrême-Orient and the Italian School of East Asian Studies, Kyoto, Japan. Guest Lecture: 'Japan of the World: Japan, Peace and Internationalism in the Wake of the First World War'.

19 October 2017: The University of Haifa and Tel Aviv University, Israel. Military and Civilian Internment in World War I. Paper Title: The Internment of German Colonial Settlers during the First World War'.

12 October 2017: University College Dublin, Ireland. Centre for War Studies Research Seminar. Guest Lecture: 'Der Krieg ist Kein Afternoon Tea!: The Internment of German Colonial Settlers during the First World War'.

3 September 2017: Central European University, Budapest, Hungary. Fifth European Congress on World and Global History. Panel chair and commentator: 'Revisiting 1919 from within East Asia'.

1 September 2017: St Antony's College, Oxford, UK: Rethinking the World Order: International Law and International Relations at the End of the Great War. Paper Title: 'Taisho Japan and the International Order'.

27 June 2017: Tokyo University, Japan: Japan History Group. Guest Lecture: 'Isolated Internationalists? Taisho Era Japan and the Global Order'.

11. A list of papers published during or after the period of the fellowship, and the names of the journals in which they appeared.

Mahon Murphy *Colonial Captivity during the First World War: Internment and the Fall of the German Empire 1914-1919*, BOOK, Cambridge University Press, September 2017

Mahon Murphy 'The Hole-y City: British Soldier's Perceptions of Jerusalem during its Military Occupation 1917-1920', in Clarke, Joseph and Horne John (eds), *Peripheral Visions, European Soldiers and Cultural Encounters in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Palgrave, London, in press, 2018).

Mahon Murphy, 'The Treatment of German Prisoners of War in Japan in the Global Context of the First World War', in Schmidt, Jan and Schmidtpott, Katja (eds) *The East Asian Dimension of the First World War: Global Entanglements and Japan, China, and Korea 1914-1919*, (Campus Verlag, Frankfurt, New York, 2018).

12. N/A