

peace but without any armaments. In all events, Great Britain possesses so many colonies in every corner of the world, she will keep on resisting for a long period and externally the state of war will not terminate at once. But even if she should wish to keep on resistance, it is beyond imagination that only the Government and the governing class with stratagem and gold bullion should desert the realm of England leaving the forty five millions of people behind. Her colonies in Africa will be taken away and in the future India will become independent from Great Britain and these facts will make her quite powerless. Canada is not rich in resources, and is supposed to become naturally a part of the United States. But as this would be unbearable to English people, it is more probable that they would keep resisting bravely to heroic death in defence of their country. In any way, it will be inevitable that, owing to the marked inferiority in military strength, Great Britain will finally submit. The situation, however, will become clearer within next one or two weeks. Suppose Germany should venture landing operations, the war may come to an end earlier than expected. Some military experts are in the opinion that there is little possibility of landing operations. But Germany herself says that she will carry out it without fail.

NOHURA: The forecasts of military experts have often failed. The North European operation had not been imagined. The parachute troops had not been expected to be used till they were employed in Holland and Belgium, and military experts still say that the operation was unsuccessful even after the operation took place in Holland..

Editor: People say the same things in America.

NOHURA: They say that parachute troops were all captured and annihilated.

SHIRATORI: The parachute troops achieved a considerable success in Holland. It is in this war that the forecasts of military experts are not reliable.

## VI. Comment on Japan's Non-interference.

(The Greater ASIA Magazine, June 1939)

Within ten days since the invasion of German troops into Belgium and Holland, they obtained the same results as in the first one month or two of the First European War. The fall of Paris and the capture of the seacoast of Dover are near at hand, and it is considered likely that the German troops may also proceed to the British Isles. This is, literally, world-shaking. To the observers, however, who have witnessed the German's incessant efforts for the last 7 years and who properly appreciate the characteristics of the German people and the principles and structure of the politics and economy of their totalitarian regime, the present state of affairs is, in fact, only what was to be expected. It is therefore only natural that those who have hitherto been regarding liberalism and democracy as the pinnacle of human culture and who believe in the indomitable power of England or the Anglo-Saxon race have come to doubt their own observations.

England and France have compulsorily challenged Germany to fight. Why they have done so? We may, in short, say that the reason for it is that they have underestimated the real strength of Naziist Germany. They thought that Germany may be held down at present, but may become too much for their powers to do so if they let her grow unnoticed several years longer. But, alas! It was already then too late for them, as the strength of Germany had already become too much to be vanquished. Not only England and France, but also the U.S.A. in the same way, had been wrongly underestimating the strength of the German and Italian totalitarian Axis countries by believing that the management of all matters that concerned Europe might, in general, be conducted well if entrusted only to England and France, as it appeared to her that Italy and Germany would surely be defeated in the end and her own duty was to try, with all her efforts, to suppress Japan, the aggressor, totalitarian state in the Orient. In the first place, the one who had most wished for an outbreak of war in Europe is Roosevelt himself. It is not an exaggeration that, up to the beginning of the War, the efforts of the U.S., as shown by the German "White Paper" were directed towards provoking a European war. However, when the war actually broke out, the general opinion of the U.S. turned out in favour of non-interference. She did not modify her policy of cash settlement of trade balance and of not lending her vessels to any belligerent powers, although her government had revised the Neutrality Law, so that the degree of America's aid to England and France was very lukewarm, which gave rise to an atmosphere of considerable discontent in the said two countries. It happened that, as a war without fighting lasted for eight months, not only England and France, but also the U.S. were unaware of the approaching danger. We believe that

it can, however, be said that the North European War finally served to half open their eyes, and only by the recent collapse of the Western Front did they, for the first time, become fully awakened.

It appears, nevertheless, as though they are still possessed of an optimistic view regarding the future. As until now, they seem to still have hopes of success in leading nations to a protracted war by anticipating that the battle-front will fall into a state of stalemate due to the slackening of the German Army's offensive, as was witnessed in the First European War. But, now that the stronghold of the Maginot Line which took four years to construct has been penetrated in no time, no one, not even an amateur, could hardly think of the possibility of a deadlock in the front lines by resulting in mere trench warfare. The only way out of the difficulty for England and France would be to decide upon a large-scale counter-attack, which, however, would no longer seem to be possible inasmuch as there appears to be a marked difference between the respective Air Forces and Mechanized Troops.

Now, as for the U.S., she would by no means be able to render effective military assistance even if she should promptly participate in the War today. As Goering used to always say, there would be no spot for the landing of the U.S. soldiers even if the U.S. were to participate in the present War. His saying seems to have turned out true. The best that could be done by the U.S. would seem to be the granting of an unlimited credit to England and France, the offering of her vessels for the transporting of munitions, and to also ship a large number of more superior planes than in the past. The withdrawal of the U.S. fleet from the Pacific and despatching same to their aid would possibly be fairly effective, but it may be impossible for the U.S. at the present juncture when her relations with Japan have become so aggravated.

If Soviet Russia, a neutral power, should suddenly turn around to the aid of England and France and attack Germany from behind in full force, there might possibly be a complete change in the war situation, but this is absolutely inconceivable. Not only must it be considered that there must be some sort of understanding between Soviet Russia and Germany so as to make Germany feel perfectly easy, but Germany would certainly not have withdrawn her mechanized troops entirely from Poland in order to hurl her entire strength into the Western Front unless Germany had felt positively safe in doing so. It must be extremely reassuring to Germany to think of the millions of Italian soldiers who are sufficiently prepared to rise up at a moment's notice.

As for the future outlook of the present war, astounding developments will doubtlessly have been made by the time this article appears in print. Furthermore, not much actual benefit might be derived from purposely trying to predict the future outcome. However, we may nevertheless safely assert that the present war is destined to bring about a sort of solution unprecedentedly cruel and almost incredibly complete. Fuehrer Hitler a few days ago declared that the fate of the German race for a thousand years to come hangs upon this war, while it is warned in Italy that the destiny of Europe for three hundred years to come is about to be decided today. At any rate, it is apparent that there is no longer any room left for doubt that what Hitler and Mussolini are planning is the fundamental reconstruction of Europe. When a tendency of defeat on one side of the belligerent countries became clear in any previous war, it was customary for some to be brought to an end by peace negotiations which defined the ceding of some territory and payment of reparations. However, it cannot be imagined that the present war will be terminated in such a simple manner. In fact there even seems to be the possibility of Great Powers who have been boasting of their glory for several centuries past coming to a sudden collapse.

It is also extremely doubtful as to whether the minor Powers in Europe may be allowed to remain as independent states possessing absolute sovereignty rights. This must be said to be all the more so with the colonies of the minor Powers.

We have been advocating since the very beginning of the present war that the world is just on the eve of a gigantic transformation in which the Old Order based upon Democratic Capitalism will be doomed, in lieu whereof the New Order based upon Totalitarianism must be set up. As Japan has, ever since the Manchurian Incident, been assuming the leading role in establishing the New Order throughout the China Incident, the Japanese people should realize the New Order and act in close concert with the Axis Powers as Germany and Italy. The supporters of the Old Order in Japan have been reluctant in realizing the true significance of this gigantic world-wide transformation, and in fact the conclusion of the Triple Alliance between Japan, Germany and Italy finally fell through due to the Old Order element to both at home and abroad. However, no human power can do anything against the inevitable current of world history. The way for Japan to pursue has already been decided on. In fact, Japan has already been treading along the said path for nearly ten years. Those Japanese who do not know well where their way is leading to are looking on the present war in Europe with utter indifference and wrongly think that they can establish the New Order in Eastern Asia by merely continuing to act in a conciliatory manner with

those powers established upon the Old Order. They may be likened to persons who are unaware of a fire in which they are already in the midst. They imagine they can keep themselves free from the world-wide gigantic transformation so long as they are declaring their non-interference policy.

Some of the other Japanese are making similar mistakes. For instance, they think that Japan will not be dragged into the War as she did not conclude the Triple Alliance with Germany and Italy. These persons do not know the fact that Japan has contributed much towards the attainments made hitherto by Germany. But for the Alliance between Germany and Soviet Russia, Germany would probably not have been able to make up her mind to start this war; and, in making Soviet Russia friendly towards Germany, the presence of Japan in the East and the fair progress of the negotiations for concluding an Alliance between the Axis countries at Tokyo, Berlin and Rome are factors which have contributed considerably.

If the U.S. had participated in the War at its early stage, not only might it possibly have encouraged the morale of the British and French forces, but their fighting power might also have become actually enhanced. Germany too, might not have been able to acquire her absolute supremacy in the air, and it is likely that the attitude of Italy might also have been greatly affected. Is it not Japan that fastened the U.S. down to the Pacific? The U.S. has not as yet been able to assume a decisive attitude. Is not the presence of Japan practically the main reason for this? Germany owes a debt of gratitude to Japan. In defiance of this close relation between Japan and Germany, a certain group of Japanese have sought a certain kind of understanding with Britain at the Tokyo Parley after the Tientsin Affair. This fact was promptly reported to Germany. Of course Japan's attitude too has doubtlessly become clearly understood recently in Berlin. Under such circumstances, how can we expect Germany to be grateful towards Japan? The Japanese people should not forget the fact that the Japanese diplomacy has done something that does not pay for Japan, it has done much for Germany and yet lets itself open to incur her wrath.

If the world's map has to be drawn anew as a result of the European War, if the Netherlands, for instance, should become merged as German territory, the Dutch Indies would, as a matter of course, become added to German territory. If Japan continues to behave as she has in the past, Germany will be placed under no obligation whatsoever to Japan in giving the question of the Dutch Indies her special consideration. It must be remembered, however, that the South Seas has become Japan's Life Line economically and strategically. We, in establishing the New Order, do not mean to confine

its area only to China. Japan cannot remain idle as an onlooker in the event of a wholesale change of territory taking place in the southeast of Asia.

If Japan should devote herself exclusively to the solution of the China Problem by adhering merely to her non-interference policy, matters will doubtlessly become settled within a short period, and subsequent to this European War, the Dutch Indies as well as the colonies of England and France will have their ownership decided with Japan looking on as a mere spectator. Therefore, at this important juncture, Japan should realize the ultimate significance of this gigantic world-wide reform and should not fail to engage in active participation therein.

VII Conclusion of JAPAN-GERMANY-ITALY ALLIANCE  
(Asahi Shimbun September 29, 1939)

1. Everlasting Mutual Reliance

The significance of the JAPAN-GERMANY-ITALY TRIPARTITE TREATY concluded last September 27 is extremely important but the contents are simple and clear and do not require much explanation. Ordinarily, a protocol is attached to the treaty but even this is not required in this case. As stipulated in the provisions, details concerning the execution of the treaty are to be decided by a committee which is to be formed later. Since the treaty was not drawn up by specialists, its style differs considerably from the usual form. Viewed from the standpoint of treaty specialists, it may contain many passages that strike them as strange. If analyzed in details legally, it may give rise to various contentions but since the contents of this treaty is unprecedented in history and bluntly, since the fellow nations, JAPAN, GERMANY and ITALY pledged the coalition with their blood, it is only natural that the wording is simple and plain. If a detailed interpretation is attached beforehand legally or if a psychological hold-over exists in regard to mutual rights and duties, the value of the treaty will be destroyed. In short, I think it ultimately depends on the single phrase "mutual reliance".

Therefore, in regard to the treaty itself, the general situation is clarified by the Government proclamation and there is nothing such that would need adding. In the future, due to this, the problem of what effects will it give rise to or how will the treaty itself be carried out or how will its characteristics be developed can only be judged as time progresses. What I am going to say in the following is entirely within the limits of my personal opinion and observations. It must be remembered that I am not revealing special information regarding any agreement among the three countries nor have I any relation whatsoever in the Japanese Government's intentions and policies.

2. Treaty of the NEW WORLD ORDER.

This treaty is formally called the "TRI-PARTITE TREATY" but in general, it seems to be called the TRI-PARTITE ALLIANCE.

From the provisions in Article 3 of the treaty, it can be said that it is genuinely a defensive alliance and may be called a "Security Alliance" or a "Mutual Assistance Alliance". In short, it can be

interpreted as having its aim in preventing further expansion of the war in EUROPE and ASIA. Depending upon the transition of international political conditions hereafter, this Article 3 will be applied. Therefore, this article may be considered in some cases to be the substance of the treaty but it is my desire to seek the construction of the new order as the characteristic of this treaty instead.

Historians of the future generations, I think, will probably call it the Treaty of New World Order. The anti-war treaty drawn up in the closing years of the liberalism era was considered, at that time, to be a new treaty that broke the bonds of tradition. But this New Order Treaty is no less inferior than their treaty from the standpoint of breaking the bonds of convention. Similar to the anti-war treaty which treaty specialists felt it included many points that were very ambiguous, the New Order Treaty is also very untechnical. In the first place, the definition of New Order is not explained. There is no provision concerning the area in Greater East Asia and EUROPE where the New Order shall be established. I believe that these matters will gradually be clarified as time goes on but from the development of affairs up to the present, it is not difficult to generally surmise from common sense the significance of the New Order being planned by the three countries and also the area aimed at by the respective countries.

The so-called New Order is not merely a passive aspect to overthrow the status quo but is supposed to include a positive program of how the new world should be. The popular use of the phrase "new order" seems to have begun with the proclamation concerning the "Construction of the New Order in East ASIA" by the First KONOYE Cabinet. But beginning with HITLER and other NAZI leaders of Germany, they have taken a fancy to the use of this phrase since long ago.

As far as I know, I do not think a responsible explanation has been made in JAPAN as to what the import of the New Order in East ASIA should be. The New Order advocated by Germany seems also to gradually change with the transition of European political conditions.

### 3. Accomplishment of the Three Countries' Ideals.

Since the New Order pictured in the minds of the respective countries, Japan, Germany and Italy, are such, it cannot necessarily be said that they are understood by each other clearly. However, is it not extremely important to definitely clarify this point? Of course, as a treaty it will demarcate each other's sphere of influence and the

recognition of a free-hand within that sphere is in itself, a sufficient significance but this will have a taste of a very old era. I do not wish to regard the present world hostility as merely a contest for world supremacy or a contest for spheres of influence among the big powers. It is insipid if the rising countries, Japan, Germany, Italy and perhaps U.S.S.R. struggle for power against the old powers, Great Britain, America and France.

It is also too simple-minded to regard it as a racial feud between the Anglo-Saxons and the Teutons or between the yellow race and the white race. In brief, although this is a hackneyed expression, I believe it must be regarded as a cultural warfare and a battle of ideology. In a word, it is a struggle between democracy and totalitarianism but viewing it as an opposition of ideology and of culture, it signifies a great revolution unprecedented in the history of mankind.

The ideology of mankind from the standpoint of cultural history in the past several thousand years has seen many changes but since the Grecian era up to the present, the fundamental idea of the Occident has always been based on individualism. The totalitarian idea has been asleep for a long time during that period. Since such was the case of the totalitarian movement started in Germany and Italy, it dates back prior to the Great War and the Japanese, it can be said that it is a reversion to the fundamental and healthy ideology of early mankind which has been preserved and fostered with integrity since the founding of Japan. It is for this reason that the totalitarianism of Germany and Italy include much that is Japanese. In advocating the establishment of the New Order in the Far East through the China Incident, Japan is strongly emphasizing the ideals of OKUMURA/T.M. founding of the country/spirit and HAYASHI ICHIU and for this reason, it can be said that it follows the same line of the New Order movement in Germany and Italy.

In Europe it is retrospective to days before the Grecian age and in Japan, it is retrospective to the KAMUYO/T.M. age of Gods/;. Therefore, I think it can be said that the New Order movement in the East and West is a movement to restore the fundamental character of mankind. For this reason, British and American quarters are not altogether wrong in identifying Japan, Germany and Italy under the same category and calling them totalitarian countries alike. The collaboration coalition of the three countries is only natural when seen from such a fundamental and ideologic standpoint. Now, returning to the realistic problems, concretely, what kind of new culture will

Germany and Italy frame in Europe? What will Japan do in the Greater East Asia area? Furthermore, in the internal organization of the three countries, will they all take a similar type of political and economical path? Is it appears even to the general public and also as in regards to Japan, these are imminent problems of vital importance.

Recently in Japan, the New Order movement is becoming quite noticeable but today, it is the opinion of everyone that the CHOKOKU spirit should be restored and that the underlying principle of the national structure should be clarified to prepare the structure for HAKKAI-YOKUSAI. Popular support or assistance. Furthermore, the problem is what method should be used to actually carry out the mechanisms of politics and economy which manifest the principle of national structure. The New Order that Germany and Italy is trying to form in Europe does not include only Germany and Italy but the actual problem of the greatest importance is what to do with the political and economical structure of the other European countries. In regard to this, it is believed that today plans considerably definite have been drawn up by Germany and Italy. On the other hand, what form of New Order is Japan going to construct in the Greater Asia area? I think a clear and definite plan regarding the disposition of the New Order in Japan, which is to be the backbone of the New Order in Greater Asia, must first be established.

#### 4. Reformation of the National Structure.

Now, if the ideas and structure of the old order, which remains are still much in evidence in Japan, are to be left intact, can the New Order in Greater Asia ever be established? Assuming that it was possible, can such a New Order in Greater Asia act in concert with the European New Order of Germany and Italy? I have been advocating that the conversion of foreign policy and the National New Order are inseparable. I therefore predict that under the present conditions, Japan's coalition with Germany and Italy is impossible. It is my desire that the people give this careful consideration.

In my opinion, the cause which motivated the great world conversion lies chiefly in the stalemate of liberalistic economy. I have no particular respect for the historical materialism of MARXISM but I think that in many cases, the necessities of economic livelihood have been the cause of revolutions in human society. As long as the capitalistic exploitation economy of the Anglo-Saxon type is rampant

and as long as the boundless accumulation of wealth is permitted to fall into the hands of this small number of individuals, this earth will still be too small even if enlarged five times or even ten times.

To make a long story short, a race of forty and fifty million people control one-fourth of the world's territory and peoples and for the benefit of a small group of plutocrats, they are being exploited and the limitless underground resources are lying prostrate, prevented from being utilized by others. Under such conditions, it is inevitable that poverty prevails today in the materialistic living standard of mankind. To rectify this irrationality in the European and Greater Asia areas may be the principle contents of the New Order mentioned in the Tripartite Pact. But if such is the case, the requisitions of the new New Order Treaty by the three powers concerned must be first, to uphold the totalitarian world idea and second, based on this idea, to renounce the system of exploitation of the stranger preying upon the worker. If the tyranny of Great Britain, America and France is a horror and even if they are overthrown, it will degenerate to the heretofore "battle for power" and will not contribute to the civilization of mankind if the three countries are going to succeed them in doing the same thing. If that is the case, a permanent world peace can never be gained.

##### 5. Significance of FUNK's Declaration.

Recently, Germany's Economic Minister FUNK stated that as in NZI Germany, the gold standard may not be used hereafter in the new Europe. This is doubly not only a financial and economical problem of the new Europe but as being indicative of the character of the New Order itself, I think it possesses a significance of extreme importance. If one considers how important a role gold played as a tool to exploit the weak in the world heretofore, one cannot over-emphasize the importance of Mr. FUNK's declaration.

If the New Order planned by Germany and Italy would possess such characteristics, the Old Order powers, especially seen from the standpoint of the dominating class, will know clearly at a glance how strong an opposition totalitarianism is. Now, with the conclusion of the Tripartite Pact by Japan, she is actually standing at the crossroads of choosing one party or the other.

Since the MANCHURIAN Incident, in view of the policy Japan has

adopted and moreover, out of regard for having advocated the high ideals of establishing the Greater Asia New Order, actually Japan should have nothing to cause her to be at loss as to her course of action. But it seems that a portion of the people refuse to consider the problem in that light. With the conclusion of the New Order Treaty, is it not necessary for the government and the people to renew their feelings in regard to world problems?

C E R T I F I C A T E

W.D.C. No. \_\_\_\_\_

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and that as such official I have custody of the document hereto attached consisting of 168 pages, dated Nov, 1946, and described as follows: Discussion of the Japan - Germany - Italy Axis

I further certify that the attached record and document is an official document of the Japanese Government, and that it is part of the official archives and files of the following, named ministry or department (specifying also the file number or citation, if any, or any other official designation of the regular location of the document in the archives or files): Home Ministry

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Witness: /s/ Rishichi Onuma

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/s/ Richard H. Larsh  
NAME

Witness: /s/ Douglas L. Waldorf  
Chief, Inv. Div.  
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1616

Page No. 1

DISCUSSION OF THE  
JAPAN-GERMANY-ITALY AXIS

by

SHEPARD, Toshio

Special advisor to the Foreign Ministry

Nazi Series

Publishers

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Preface

I am presenting to my friends these various lectures I have given all over the country and which have appeared in newspapers and magazines since my return to JAPAN last autumn. They are here organized under one cover for publication.

Seen in today's light, they constitute opinions which might well be revised and since in the light of later facts there are several chapters that are false, I should perhaps be ashamed to offer this to the public as it stands.

However, it required considerable "courage" for me to offer them at the time I returned in an atmosphere in which such ideas were being ridiculed by certain groups saying "Is it not like making a landing in the face of the enemy?" Seen from such a historical viewpoint, this may still have some reference value.

However, now that the Tripartite Alliance has become a reality, we should of course not wander aimlessly over particulars of the past. The worldwide significance of this Alliance, particularly as regards the new view of the world and the New Order which is to govern human society in the future, requires profound explanation. It is hoped that through such efforts by competent persons those results will one after another be achieved in the world. I shall be happy if this book results in presenting a small beginning to that end in the future.

SHIRATORI, Toshio

November 1940.

"DISCUSSION OF THE  
JAPAN-GERMANY-ITALY AXIS"

I  
The Necessity  
of  
THE JAPAN-GERMANY-ITALY ALLIANCE

(December 1939)

When we discuss present foreign policies, we must firstly know the fact that the world is now on the eve of a great revolution. The last world war was not fought as the result of opposition between new powers and old ones, but countries of similar character determined their attitude toward the war according to old ideas about their respective circumstances and interests. Therefore, countries that were basically unable to cooperate fought on the same side. A conspicuous example is that Japan and Italy took sides with the old powers including BRITAIN, the UNITED STATES, and FRANCE. However, the Versailles Treaty reversed the course of history and returned the order of the world to that of one or two centuries ago, thus stimulating the rise of new powers. JAPAN's launching upon her continental policies, and ITALY's and GERMANY's completion of their totalitarian systems are evidence of this. At first these new powers could not be said to have awakened to their common mission, but, as the old powers, from the instinct of self-preservation, showed a tendency to combination and establishment of a united front, the new powers were inevitably compelled to cooperate with each other. Such is the present situation of the world.

Hitherto, these two sides have been distinguished as have nations and have-not nations. This is quite right, for most of the rising nations have poor resources with living spheres confined to too narrow areas, and are greatly dissatisfied with existing conditions. However, if the desires of these countries were for mere improvement of their economic conditions, there would be no difference between the existing struggle and past international struggles for supremacy. However, I think we can find higher significance in the present opposition in the world.

Now all our people know that JAPAN's advance in the continent is not the result of a desire for mere material gain, but aims at the realization of the Japanese people's great ideal established at the time of the foundation of our nation. This is clearly shown in the phrase "the new order in East Asia". As is known, the concept of the national structures of ITALY and GERMANY has something in common with the basic principle of the foundation of our empire. It is needless to say that the views of what in brief may be called totalitarian nations regarding the universe and the state form a sharp contrast to those of so-called democratic nations, whose keynote is individualism. When we examine the present situation of the world divided into two powers, the new and the old, we must focus our attention on the conflict of these ideas.

Now, probably the most controversial problem is the attitude of SOVIET RUSSIA. Communism's view of the universe is on the same plane as that of democracy and is utterly inconsistent with the totalitarian view of the world. Therefore, we can say that the formation of the so-called

popular front was natural. If the SOVIET UNION, however, sticks to the Marxian principle, close cooperation between it and the totalitarian countries will be very difficult to realize. GERMANY and the SOVIET UNION have concluded a sort of alliance and formed a united front against the old powers. If this cooperation aims at destruction of the old powers merely out of common interests, we cannot find much significance in it from the viewpoint of world history. Very important it is, however, if it means on the contrary the SOVIET UNION's abandonment of her former design for world revolution through communism, and a modification of her ideology which would lead to her gradual transformation into a totalitarian state with a national structure similar to that of GERMANY and ITALY. We must watch future developments most carefully.

When we study the matter from the viewpoint of world history, we can at the same time also view it from a different angle, though it is related to the foregoing. The group life of human beings shows a consistent trend to broaden its scope gradually. It is recognized that this is due mainly to economic necessity; on the other hand the totalitarian view of life naturally must stimulate this tendency. JAPAN's intention of forming an economic bloc of JAPAN, MANCHURIA, and CHINA, GERMANY's demand for lebensraum, and ITALY's ideal of establishing a great empire on the Mediterranean Sea may all be attributed to the same cause. As is well known, BRITAIN gave up her traditional principle of free trade and set a precedent of bloc economy when she contracted the OTTAWA Agreement. We can regard her, the founder of the principle of free trade, as having been compelled by economic necessity to adopt in part the actual principle of totalitarianism. The fact that while imposing the principle of racial self-determination upon JAPAN, GERMANY, and ITALY, BRITAIN herself is obviously ignoring it in her national structure makes her position extremely weak.

IF BRITAIN, AMERICA, FRANCE, and others wish to maintain their immense economic sphere which they themselves are at present enjoying, is it not proper for them in magnanimity to recognize that a superior race, no less inferior to them, should hold an economic sphere of the same degree? The birth of a new world cannot be realized without this. This, I believe, is the immediate problem confronting the world. To bring forth this new world, such ideas as natural rights of man, racial self-determination, and sovereign rights of nations must be considerably reformed and at the same time the so-called have nations should be prepared to sacrifice themselves. To put it plainly, the world hitherto has been divided into some sixty odd nations, each insisting upon the absoluteness of her sovereign rights, which has led all the more to obstruction of the growth and development of human society. Roughly, the

aim of totalitarian countries can be said to lie in the remedying of this irrationality. In other words, their plan is to divide the world into comparatively few groups or blocs and within their respective spheres to enable each race to lead a harmonious life of contentment and peace. In the old concept of thought, this is a drastic revolution and perhaps it cannot be realized without great strife. An extensive war has been waged in ASIA for these two and a half years, while in EUROPE a great conflict has come into existence between the new and the old powers and it is most likely to increase its intensity and scale. However, a European union has been advocated among the belligerent countries of EUROPE, and in the Orient also there is a demand for an EAST ASIA federation or bloc. Thus, we believe, future world history will necessarily proceed along the above-mentioned course.

In the light of the aforementioned premises as a whole, I feel there is no need for hesitation in determining JAPAN's future foreign policy. In fact, ever since JAPAN embarked on her continental policy with the Manchurian Incident, her foreign policy has been established and to back out of or swerve from it now is not permissible. Still, the presence of two different opinions in JAPAN today and the fact that the people are hesitating between them is truly a wonder of this world. However, this is a transitory phenomenon. The inevitability of history cannot be altered by human power. In the long run, that which is bound to happen, will probably happen. However, the domestic and foreign situations at present will not allow hesitation and indecision for long.

Now, let us suppose that JAPAN will succeed in her re-alignment with the trend of history, and consider the way which JAPAN's future foreign policy should follow. Then, there should of course be no change in her foreign policy which aims at the establishment of the new order in East ASIA. However, it goes without saying that the spirit to carry this out requires greater vigor and sincerity.

The phrase "the new order in East ASIA" viewed from the standpoint of the liberal elements in the nation is indeed a troublesome expression. Hence, they try to avoid this expression as much as possible. Foreign powers of the old order take every opportunity to criticize and ostracize "the new order in ASIA". Under present domestic circumstances, it is quite possible that this foreign and domestic mischief-making will succeed. Nevertheless, history is relentlessly proceeding its own fixed course. The cooperation between JAPAN, GERMANY, and ITALY, which seemed to have met with a hitch temporarily, still exists as a solemn fact in the world of today, no matter whether it has taken the form of an alliance or not. The Russo-German pact did not weaken this axis, but, on the contrary,

helped strengthen it and Japan's international position has become more secure. It is known that the isolation of JAPAN once rumored abroad and which Japanese people themselves were concerned about was after all nothing but the result of an imperfect grasp of the law of history and a lack of confidence.

Therefore, not only is it unnecessary for JAPAN to change any of her program for establishing the new order in East ASIA, but now she need not hesitate in expanding and completing them.

The new order of East ASIA is linked with the new order of the world. The new order cannot be realized in this part of the world alone, if the rest of the world adheres to the old order, or goes back in the opposite direction. It seems that JAPAN is going to withdraw utterly from the problems of EUROPE and make efforts to settle the CHINA Incident. Unable to understand and explain correctly the new phenomena which crop up one after another throughout EUROPE, she dismissed them with the single comment "Complicated and incomprehensible". This amounts to nothing more than seeking refuge in the popular but common policy of devoting herself in the future entirely to the problem of CHINA. However, the present situation of the world does not permit such an evasion. Problems of ASIA are inevitably those of EUROPE and AMERICA. A bold and brave foreign policy for new JAPAN should be established in a dignified manner and should display understanding of the international political situation which is now at a turning-point in world history.

II

THE EUROPEAN WAR

and

The Attitude of JAPAN

An address in November, 1939

Before I went to ITALY, every one in JAPAN talked of totalitarianism and of an anti-comintern axis. Many people thought that the relationship among JAPAN, GERMANY and ITALY did not end merely in the Anti-Comintern Pact, but that this relationship would be further strengthened. One of the reasons is probably that the people themselves keenly felt, in the light of present international relations, that the settlement of the CHINA Incident would owe much to GERMANY and ITALY. Before I went abroad, I observed a rather widespread feeling among the people that it would, therefore, be well if this anti-Comintern relationship were further developed into a military alliance. As regards the conclusion of a generally unconditional military alliance of JAPAN, GERMANY, and ITALY, it was definitely recognized that the people in general desired an "alliance," the type of alliance being a secondary matter. Thereupon, I left for ITALY with the thought of doing my humble best in this matter.

JAPAN, however, seemed to be for the settlement of the CHINA Incident by cooperating with BRITAIN. Such being the attitude of JAPAN, GERMANY and ITALY began to mistrust JAPAN on this point and, finally giving up JAPAN, went as far as the RUSSO-GERMAN Non-Aggression Pact. As there is not enough time to explain in detail the circumstances which led them to this Treaty, and as it also seems somewhat improper to make them all frankly known, I am going to omit this part. However, I can affirm here the indisputable fact that JAPAN also was perhaps responsible and should indulge in introspection for the course which led to conclusion of the RUSSO-GERMAN Non-Aggression Pact.

It is generally considered that GERMANY betrayed JAPAN and is treacherous, but in my opinion, GERMANY neither betrayed JAPAN nor was guilty of treachery. Considering the circumstances leading to her action, we cannot dare call GERMANY treacherous. Moreover, Germany allied herself with the SOVIET UNION, contrary to the spirit of the Anti-Comintern Pact which naturally seemed mutually advantageous to both JAPAN and herself. Furthermore, since this was a step nearer to an alliance and not a mere non-aggression treaty, it seems sensible that GERMANY's feeling toward JAPAN will become cool. However, the truth is quite the opposite. I can state as an absolute fact that GERMANY, in spite of her alliance with the U.S.S.R., is now still offering JAPAN her friendship as profound as ever. Of course ITALY has no reason to change her feeling towards JAPAN. She still feels as exceedingly friendly as ever. Moreover, the relation between ITALY and GERMANY is not at all aggravated by this Non-Aggression Pact. The fact is that ITALY preferred a GERMANY-U.S.S.R. rapprochement, and

had hitherto been recommending it to GERMANY.

The JAPAN-GERMANY-ITALY Axis, therefore, has not really undergone a change even today. However, JAPAN seems to think GERMANY in some way betrayed her, and that the latter's alliance with the SOVIET UNION is suspect. In view of the international situation in which JAPAN stands today, and from practical necessity, it is desirable that JAPAN cooperate with GERMANY and also go hand in hand with ITALY. However, the general sentiment of JAPAN seems to be that she cannot again put out her once-rejected hand to GERMANY. Nevertheless, the bias of JAPAN is such that the relationship between JAPAN, GERMANY and ITALY can be brought back again to the past not only in form but in fact.

The GERMANY-U.S.S.R. Pact, concluded in this way, is not due to GERMANY's ill will against JAPAN and GERMANY alone must not be denounced for a betrayer. Then, I feel we must consider coolly whether the conclusion of this RUSSO-GERMAN Pact is advantageous to JAPAN or not. The first fruit of the GERMANY-U.S.S.R. Pact is the current BRITISH-FRENCH War against GERMANY. If the GERMANY-U.S.S.R. Pact had not been concluded, GERMANY would probably not have adopted such a strong policy. It may be said that the GERMANY-U.S.S.R. Pact was a direct incentive to this war.

I do not blindly consider the present war in EUROPE as being a divine tempest or providential help for JAPAN. However, I firmly believe that the fact that this war has broken out can be developed in favour of JAPAN according to her aims and policies.

Further, it was generally believed that with the conclusion of the RUSSO-GERMAN Pact, the U.S.S.R. would be able to turn all her energies towards the FAR EAST since she would feel secure in the west, and, consequently, JAPAN would be more subjected to her pressure. However, we find the facts to be the contrary. The U.S.S.R. at present desires to adjust the relationship between herself and JAPAN. In fact, the MUMONKAN Cease-Fire Agreement has already been concluded. It seems that on such matters as the delimitation of the border, or a new commercial treaty, or the problem of concessions, the negotiations are progressing steadily. In one way or another, we can recognize the fact that the sentiment of the U.S.S.R. is becoming favourable towards JAPAN. In all likelihood, they are even ready to conclude a non-aggression treaty, if JAPAN wishes to do so. It is my strong belief that she is even prepared to stop her assistance to CHINA and the CHANG KAI-SHEK regime. At present, they are trying to

separate the National Party and the CHINESE Communist Party. It seems to me that the U.S.S.R. lost hope in CHIANG KAI-SHEK and her effort to separate them is for the purpose of preventing the CHINESE Communist Party from becoming involved in the danger of a common ruin with the National Party.

If it be true, here arises the important fact that, as a result of the conclusion of the RUSSO-GERMAN Pact, the relations between JAPAN and the U.S.S.R. have been improved. From this point of view, I feel the conclusion of the RUSSO-GERMAN Pact is definitely not disadvantageous to JAPAN. Furthermore, I think, various advantages will probably accrue to JAPAN from this relationship. For instance, as a result of the war between GERMANY, and BRITAIN and FRANCE, due to the conclusion of the RUSSO-GERMAN NON-Aggression Pact, BRITAIN today cannot support CHIANG KAI-SHEK and exert pressure on JAPAN. In short, the disappearance of the U.S.S.R.'s pressure has greatly relieved JAPAN. The position of JAPAN has become stable. Consequently, we can say that BRITAIN is at her wit's end.

The same thing may be said about AMERICA, I think. AMERICA is now very anxious about JAPAN's rapprochement with the U.S.S.R. With BRITAIN, AMERICA always hopes for deterioration of RUSSO-JAPANESE relations. This is because she fears JAPAN's position in the FAR EAST will be strengthened. If JAPAN were to fight with the U.S.S.R., she would have to relax her control of construction in CHINA. They hope that JAPAN will find it necessary to give up CHINA. The possibility of a compromise between JAPAN and the SOVIET UNION is truly annoying to them. The reason why AMERICA suddenly recognized the U.S.S.R. after sixteen years' refusal is this: After the outbreak of the MANCHURIAN Incident, JAPAN would not listen to AMERICA in every matter, and, moreover, AMERICA can do hardly anything to JAPAN. The U.S.S.R. is the only country within reach of JAPAN. Therefore, AMERICA adopted a policy of lending money, supplying materials, and furnishing technical experts to the U.S.S.R. in order to make her powerful so that AMERICA could oppress JAPAN.

The above policy has worked successfully, and the relation between JAPAN and the U.S.S.R. has been aggravated until today. Since JAPAN has up to now been exhausting her national strength in the CHINA Incident and her relations with the SOVIET UNION are strained, war may come at any time. BRITAIN's attitude towards JAPAN is as firm as ever. If, in addition, AMERICA should press JAPAN, it is thought that JAPAN would be entirely defeated. It was due to such ideas that AMERICA abandoned the Commercial Treaty.

However, if JAPAN felt secure in her relations with the U.S.S.R., even the abandonment of the Commercial Treaty would not cause her to pay the slightest heed. AMERICA must regret now that her trick proved disappointing. Therefore, she is greatly concerned about the possibility of conclusion of a non-aggression treaty between JAPAN and the U.S.S.R. when their relationship improves, and she desires to prevent it one way or another. At present, as the public opinion of JAPAN is not yet perfectly united in that respect, AMERICA thinks that by taking a rather firm stand, JAPAN may give up her relationship with the U.S.S.R., so AMERICA will probably follow that course. Thereafter, AMERICA will continue to show such an attitude for a while in the Commercial Treaty and in the CHINA Incident. However, we must not thoughtlessly be taken in by that; whatever attitude they may take, we need not fear. We should carry out our policy independently.

Thus, JAPAN's present diplomatic position in the world is being wholly improved, no anxiety is felt at present in regard to the U.S.S.R., and the pressure from BRITAIN and the UNITED STATES is diminishing. In a word, we owe this to the RUSSO-GERMAN Treaty.

For all that, there prevail expressions and feelings among the JAPANESE people to the effect that GERMANY is suspect for shaking hands with the U.S.S.R., that GERMANY is being dragged around by the U.S.S.R. today and that should the war be prolonged, GERMANY would be beaten for lack of money. I think this must be quite disagreeable to GERMANY. At any rate, such a way of thinking has darkened the path JAPAN should take in the future. It is because they are thus basically wrong in their thinking, that they do not know what to do.

In the first place, regarding the events leading to the conclusion of the RUSSO-GERMAN Pact, we must not only take many of the conditions of GERMANY into consideration, but from the point of view of world history, the cooperation between GERMANY and the U.S.S.R. was necessary and this would have been similarly achieved, I think, even if an alliance among JAPAN, GERMANY and ITALY had been concluded. JAPAN, as well as GERMANY, would have done so. Furthermore, this is not an unwise step, for after concluding a JAPAN-GERMANY-ITALY Alliance, we could further cooperate with the U.S.S.R. I believe it proper that we confront the SOVIET UNION with the power of three countries and cooperate with her under advantageous conditions for JAPAN, GERMANY, and ITALY, respectively.

At the beginning of July, 1939, I definitely submitted the above opinion to the Government.

In short, it is no wonder that the RUSSO-GERMAN Pact was concluded, and that it worked to great advantage for JAPAN. As I have just mentioned, it has worked to great advantage for JAPAN. Therefore, JAPAN has no reason to feel dissatisfied with GERMANY. I think we must not forget the good will shown to JAPAN by GERMANY and others during the CHINA Incident. Of course, under present international relationships, the JAPANESE people must not be so naive as to be vainly swayed by sentiment. I am not insisting that just because GERMANY and ITALY were nice to us during the CHINA Incident, we should be deeply moved by it and repay them however disadvantageous it might be to JAPAN. However, under the present international conditions, if such totalitarian countries as GERMANY, ITALY, and others which are trying to crush the old world order and to construct a new one, were defeated by the democratic countries of BRITAIN, AMERICA, and FRANCE which are trying to maintain the present condition of the world, what would become of JAPAN? I want you to consider this point carefully.

What would happen if JAPAN had stayed for the sake of the democratic countries to destroy the totalitarian nations, and if the old powers of democracy had come to dominate the world again? To the eyes of BRITAIN, the UNITED STATES, and others, JAPAN, today, is a rascal not inferior to GERMANY and ITALY, and is considered as an aggressor. If they win again, the result will not be as simple as that of the last WASHINGTON Conference. I am sure that they would force JAPAN to withdraw her army from CHINA, to return MANCHURIA and, furthermore, to get out of KOREA and FORMOSA. They would probably even insist that the whole JAPANESE navy be sunk off OSHIMA Island. Such is quite obvious.

However, if GERMANY really is unable to defeat BRITAIN and FRANCE, it is needless to say that JAPAN must think the matter over deeply. It would be unfortunate, but we cannot support those who are destined to be defeated. However, as for my forecast on this war, I simply cannot believe that GERMANY will be beaten again this time.

In the first place, will GERMANY continue this war by herself to the last? No, ITALY will join the war, and, I am quite sure, on the side of GERMANY. Besides, her relations with the U.S.S.R. are not as weak and uncertain as people think, and the SOVIET doubtless will in practice give worthwhile assistance to her, even without declaring war. In the present situation, such neutral countries as the Balkans will prefer to take the side of GERMANY after all. Might not others such as TURKEY, coerced by the joint forces of GERMANY, ITALY and the U.S.S.R., be estranged from BRITAIN and FRANCE? SPAIN will also side with GERMANY.

and ITALY sooner or later, I believe. In short, quite contrary to the time of the last war, one may say that no country will be an ally of BRITAIN and FRANCE. Just as OSAKA people are quick at business, the small countries in EUROPE are very sensitive to the power of large EUROPEAN countries or to the tones and movements of the big powers, so that their attitudes can be the barometer of the real abilities of BRITAIN, FRANCE, GERMANY and ITALY. The mere fact that the small EUROPEAN countries are observing a strict neutrality, contrary to the time of the last war, illustrates the disadvantage of BRITAIN and FRANCE.

Moreover, this time GERMANY, contrary to the previous time, is avoiding exhaustion as much as possible. It is now three months since the outbreak of the war, and she has not yet engaged in what might be called a war of attrition. This is due to the SIEGFRIED Line. Shutting themselves up in that fortress, the Germans have an elastic position; that is, whenever the battle is promising, they emerge, but if not, they confront their enemy from their fortress garrison without using up any materials, no matter how many months and years it may take. Moreover, the back routes of food supply are quite unrestricted today, that is, the backyard has been enlarged. Besides, the materials preserved by GERMANY this time are quite a great deal compared with the last time. She also has a good stock of munitions. She is not weakened and she has many more supply routes than last time. All these things are advantageous to her. Also, her political and economic structure is most suitable to a prolonged war. She is quite confident of victory whether it be in a war of nerves or of endurance.

In addition to all these, the great development of her air forces greatly restricts the action of the BRITISH naval power. Powers of submarines are also greatly improved. It must be pointed out that the old navy is no more invincible in present-day EUROPE. If ITALY and then SPAIN should join the war, it would be a serious affair for BRITAIN. There would be great danger of her defeat not only in the mere endurance contest, but also in the actual war.

Under such circumstances, GERMANY today will never be defeated, even under the worst possible conditions. Therefore, we reach the conclusion that there will be no great danger, if JAPAN, today, does show good-will to GERMANY and fights on her side. Furthermore, if the countries that are trying to establish a new order in EUROPE should not be able to win, it would be impossible for the JAPANESE people to construct a new order in ASIA. Generally speaking, the old order in EUROPE and ASIA is represented by BRITAIN and FRANCE. If the countries

that are endeavouring to maintain this old order cannot be defeated, a new order cannot be established either in the Occident or in the Orient. JAPAN, GERMANY and ITALY are all countries whose mission it is to build in cooperation the new world order. Even without concluding a treaty, the aim of the three powers is one.

The GERMANS used to say, "By no means do we ask for JAPAN to come and help us in EUROPE. She has her own mission to carry out. Her obligation to a treaty would be discharged by destroying the old order and establishing a new one in ASIA. Purging British power from ASIA by any means is actually what we would expect from JAPAN as her duty in this Treaty. We require nothing more than that." As long as JAPAN carries out that obligation, there is really no need for an alliance and the like. They want JAPAN to fight solely for the establishment of a new order in ASIA and press on towards the settlement of the CHINA Incident with a firm resolve never to compromise with the old powers or make concessions to them.

This is to wit, the position of JAPAN and the duty of JAPAN whether or not GERMANY and JAPAN conclude an alliance. We need not involve ourselves in the war in EUROPE. Japan's pushing forward to a solution in the true sense of the word of the CHINA Incident will result in her helping GERMANY. Furthermore, what GERMANY is doing at present will in effect aid in the settlement of the CHINA Incident. At present no one in JAPAN has any objections to the establishment of a new order in EAST ASIA. Therefore, I believe the only necessary and adequate policy is for JAPAN to exert her utmost to carry it out successfully by embracing it and insisting upon it.

However hard she may exert herself for the establishment of new order in CHINA, there is a limit to JAPAN's power. She has engaged in a war of attrition in the CHINA Incident for more than two years now. JAPAN must avoid as much as possible the waging of an even larger scale war, in order to conserve her national resources and to make provisions for the great efforts to come. Furthermore, I think that only in a war with the SOVIET UNION will JAPAN be liable to a war of attrition. Moreover, the U.S.S.R. wants to compromise with JAPAN and wash her hands of the FAR EAST. There is an opportunity for her again to take part in EUROPE. A chance has come for her to play an active part to the west and south of EUROPE. Under these circumstances, it is ridiculous for her to be hostile with JAPAN and keep large forces in the FAR EAST. She hopes, therefore, to conclude immediately a non-aggression Treaty or the like, and withdraw. For JAPAN, it is an excellent foreign policy which should be begun first of all.

To set the U.S.S.R. at ease in the FAR EAST will be a great factor, I believe, to make the EUROPEAN War more active. The U.S.S.R., with the force to be withdrawn from the FAR EAST, may emerge in the NEAR EAST or the PERSIAN GULF. Probably GERMANY expects it and the U.S.S.R. hopes for it. Furthermore, it would be a great menace to BRITAIN. In such a case, GERMANY would feel secure and ITALY might join the war earlier than we expected at first. Thus the war would become a real one. However, as the situation stands now, when neither GERMANY nor the U.S.S.R. can exert themselves sufficiently in EUROPE, ITALY will remain neutral for the time being.

And some day, if and when BRITAIN finds out that the chances of winning are against her, she might probably propose peace. GERMANY, to the present day, has always been prepared for such a thing. They, if the war should not continue to the last, and if it should end in reconciliation, an international conference would be sure to be held. JAPAN would take part in it, and the U.S.A.

would, too. If in JAPAN's policy toward GREAT BRITAIN and the UNITED STATES, she neither compromises nor cooperates, and in her policy toward GERMANY, ITALY and the U.S.S.R., she does not make concessions, and if she follows the so-called independent policy and makes no friends, JAPAN will be completely isolated in this peace conference.

Although we do not know when such peace will come, there is no war without reconciliation. We also do not know whether peace will come early or late, but it may come sooner than we expect. It may end in a draw without surrender on either side. In that case, if JAPAN is isolated, the problems of the East will be sacrificed and the settlement of problems of other areas will be accomplished in the sacrifice of ASIA. Therefore, I think that today we should not affirm the autonomous policy of JAPAN's diplomacy or press forward in the CHINA Incident, but should first of all readjust relations with GERMANY and ITALY and build friendly relations with the U.S.S.R. Moreover, there is neither danger nor insecurity for JAPAN by so doing. It is my firm conviction that by this the road to achievement of our mission of establishing the new order in EAST ASIA will be opened.

There are many things which confirm my conclusion, but having no time to explain them in detail, I shall omit them.

In fine, the SOVIET-GERMAN coalition has been achieved. Accordingly, since the European War has broken out, it is certain that JAPAN's international position has become very advantageous, and it would improve increasingly if only the government does not adopt wrong policy. It is necessary to utilize these favourable circumstances, make them better, and establish here on a solid foundation a great and far-sighted policy for the Far East. It is unthinkable that the people do not know what to do, although it is the rarest of opportunities. Above all else, the unification of national views is a pressing need. With that only can JAPANESE diplomacy return to its original course. Making the most of JAPAN's present favorable situation, I think we should exert our utmost for the nation to establish a permanent foundation.

## III.

SOVIET-GERMAN COALITION PROBLEM  
AND GERMAN POWER

(LECTURE GIVEN AT THE IMPERIAL UNIVERSITY ALUMNI  
ASSOCIATION /GAKUSHI-KAI/ IN FEBRUARY 1940  
/SHOWA 15/).

The recent diplomacy of JAPAN, before I went abroad, was based on the JAPAN-GERMANY-ITALY Anti-Comintern Axis, which the government constantly proclaimed and which all of the people believed. However, as the CHINA Incident gradually progressed, the people in general realized that German and Italian aid to JAPAN was extremely effective so that the opinion came to be expressed that a further step should be taken to make it into a military Alliance.

I think that the feeling of many people in JAPAN was in agreement with this. At any rate, I left JAPAN when praises for the German-Italian Anti-Comintern axis were being sung the loudest. I left for ITALY with the feeling that I wanted to render some service in the matter by doing my humble best from abroad. The relationship between the other parties, GERMANY and ITALY, has gradually assumed importance in EUROPE and they have come to recognize the great importance of tying up with JAPAN in the Orient. Of course, GERMANY and ITALY also had the same, or stronger, feeling as JAPAN to strengthen the JAPAN-GERMANY-ITALY coalition. Since both sides had the same feeling, I, too, had the hope of succeeding without much difficulty in the matter of a JAPAN-GERMANY-ITALY military alliance. However, I sensed upon my arrival that there was considerable discrepancy between what GERMANY and ITALY wanted and what JAPAN required. That is, there was a very widespread feeling to shake hands and compromise with BRITAIN and AMERICA despite their interference with JAPAN in the CHINA Incident. The only point upon which national opinion was agreed was that of relations with SOVIET RUSSIA. In regard to RUSSIA, a great many people openly said that she was JAPAN's enemy. Accordingly, the limit to which Japanese Cabinet decisions could agree was a JAPAN-GERMANY-ITALY military alliance aimed chiefly at the U.S.S.R.

However, upon going to GERMANY and ITALY, I found their views as regards this aim of the treaty were slightly different. For example, ITALY had no clash of interests with RUSSIA, and, moreover, since GERMANY's policy was to compromise with BRITAIN and FRANCE in the west and to turn exclusively to the east at a time when the JAPAN-GERMANY Anti-Comintern Pact had been concluded, GERMANY's eastern policy was gradually making headway. GERMANY made Anschluss with AUSTRIA, dismembered CZECHOSLOVAKIA next, and then when trying to settle the Polish question, her path was at this point obstructed by BRITAIN and FRANCE. Shall we call it destiny or traditional trouble that not until after western problems are solved, can GERMANY's eastern policy be settled? GERMANY was again confronted with this fact. Therefore, GERMANY may either combine with JAPAN to attack the SOVIET UNION or else her eastern policy of eliminating the Soviet obstacle will suffer a serious set-back. Accordingly, the desideratum of a German-Italian coalition with JAPAN is not to attack the U.S.S.R. but to use us in dealing with BRITAIN and FRANCE who represent the old European powers. It is in this regard that they desire the cooperation of JAPAN. Since, on one hand, JAPAN desires to compromise with BRITAIN and FRANCE to prevent Soviet aggression in the Orient, there was considerable difference in feeling between them. Of course, in event of the outbreak of war between JAPAN and RUSSIA, both GERMANY and ITALY plan to aid JAPAN, but this was not their chief aim. This fundamental difference, I think, is the reason the JAPAN-GERMANY-ITALY alliance could not then be concluded.

It cannot be denied that in the CHINA question JAPAN gradually became clearly pitted against BRITAIN. The anti-British movements throughout the country relative to the TIENSIN question clearly demonstrate this. Particularly at that time it was JAPAN's disposition to aim exclusively at the SOVIET UNION, but should not JAPAN alter that idea in the course of the CHINA question? In view of the inevitability of a clash between JAPAN and BRITAIN and the aforementioned attitude of GERMANY and ITALY, I felt that perhaps JAPAN should alter basically her former attitude. However, JAPAN's feeling was still determined to aim at the U.S.S.R. Since it was the idea of influential quarters to compromise with ENGLAND if possible and in certain cases to be friendly with AMERICA, I thought that it would be extremely difficult to put my ideas into practice.

In short, Germany, unlike JAPAN, has Britain and France as their chief objects instead of U.S.S.R. I could have asserted that although Germany would fight the U.S.S.R. if absolutely necessary, she took the old powers of democracy as the greatest hindrance. But since the circumstances within the country were as I have mentioned before, I submitted to the Government my opinion

that Germany would inevitably ally with the U.S.S.R., only if JAPAN hesitated to contract this alliance. However, a nation-wide anti-British movement broke out with respect to the TIENHSIN problem. And as I saw that this was supported by the whole JAPANESE nation, I thought that it was no time to hesitate and in early July I notified the Government twice in details as follows:

"Germany and Italy are not contemplating a war against the USSR. If the Government is going to conclude a Treaty on the assumption that war will be waged against USSR, the idea had better be given up. I believe the intention of Germany and Italy is to draw Russia to their side after concluding an alliance among JAPAN, GERMANY and ITALY. In order to establish a new order in CHINA today, we must drive out from CHINA the old order which is represented by Britain. Therefore, I believe that Japan should conclude a treaty as soon as possible with Germany and Italy in opposition to Britain and France, and furthermore, for her to confront the USSR with the combined powers of JAPAN, Germany and Italy; with the aid of Russia wash their hands off of the East; to have USSR stop the aid to CHIANG Kai-shek, and to have USSR withdraw the forces from the MANCHURIAN-Soviet border, and gradually effect the solution of the pending problems favorably. I believe that this policy is best suited to the occasion for JAPAN."

At this moment if we do not conclude on alliance with Germany and Italy, Germany will probably league with USSR. Moreover, it is drawing near. It is not the time for hesitation. If JAPAN tried to solve the problem between her and USSR after the alliance between Germany and USSR has been concluded, wouldn't things become unfavorable for JAPAN as the situation will have changed by then?"

But the Government of course was unable to from the beginning give thought to my opinion, because they had in view a treaty for fighting with USSR, whereas I was in favor of a treaty for making peace with her -- an idea very different from the original one. Moreover, it was in the midst of all that heated public opinion of the whole nation against GREAT BRITAIN on the occasion of the TIENHSIN Incident that the Anglo-Japanese Conference at Tokyo was held. And, strange to say, GREAT BRITAIN made concession to JAPAN. In the vicinity of TIENHSIN, the Englishmen were subjected to great insults in full view of the world. The old Premier CHAMBERLAIN also made a remark at the Parliament to the effect that his blood was boiling with indignation. The very next moment GREAT BRITAIN made a great concession. What is more, it came to the knowledge of the German Foreign Minister as a report from a reliable source that the Japanese Government promised to GREAT BRITAIN that they

would under no circumstances generalize the Tripartite Treaty, on condition that she should make a concession to JAPAN in CHINA.

Now GERMANY and ITALY were of the opinion that the policy adopted by JAPAN on the continent since the Manchurian Incident had for its object the destruction of the old order in the EAST and the establishment of a new order in its place; in other words, that it was JAPAN's continental policy to overthrow first in the EAST the status quo of the world established by the VERSAILLES Treaty -- the VERSAILLES order which in the East is expressed as the WASHINGTON Order is what JAPAN is trying to overthrow. They believe that the Manchurian Incident, the renunciation of the Naval Disarmament Pact, the establishment of a new order in CHINA now in question are all directed to that object. Therefore, nothing seemed to them to be more natural than that JAPAN, GERMANY and ITALY should enter into an alliance to overthrow the old order of the world in concert. They little dreamed of difficulty in the negotiation. They looked upon that treaty as all too natural and a matter of course. But the negotiations dragged on, until at last in June they came into possession of a report that JAPAN was going to make terms with GREAT BRITAIN, her enemy nation, greatly to their astonishment. Besides, this situation was brought about immediately after nation-wide anti-British movement. I suppose that JAPAN's actions and her national feelings must have struck them as strange and complex.

Such being the case, an impression grew with the Germans that they could expect little support from JAPAN, that they could not expect JAPAN's help in setting up against GREAT BRITAIN and FRANCE. On the other hand, in connection with the DANZIG problem, the European situation grew so acute that the relations between GERMANY and GREAT BRITAIN and FRANCE were strained to the breaking point. At that time GREAT BRITAIN and FRANCE tried to win USSR over to their side by sending their representatives to MOSCOW to negotiate for a treaty of alliance. It is no wonder that at the sight of these negotiations, ITALY felt restless. ITALY has a close treaty of alliance with GERMANY. If GERMANY could not join hands with JAPAN, and USSR should be gained over by GREAT BRITAIN and FRANCE, her enemies, ITALY would have to struggle between enemies on both sides.

It was natural that ITALY should feel alarmed, who shares the fate with GERMANY. I think it was not unnatural even if ITALY had proposed to GERMANY an interference in the alliance of GREAT BRITAIN and FRANCE and USSR. If GERMANY is bound by the promise made with JAPAN, that is, the promise that the two nations must not conclude any non-aggression pact with the SOVIET UNION, and clarify her isolated position by merely looking on the current

European situation with folded arms, it would mean that she would estrange her only ally ITALY from herself. Furthermore, since GERMANY obtained information that JAPAN was intending to shake hands with GERMANY's enemies, it is only proper that she should attempt to make a speedy compromise with USSR. Moreover, GERMANY seems to think that although JAPAN frequently speaks of the USSR, that which was really obstructing the path of JAPAN in the EAST was not the USSR, but GREAT BRITAIN. We assume that GERMANY may have thought that if GERMANY should now conclude a non-aggression treaty with the USSR, then the result will be that BRITAIN's position in the EAST will be weakened which JAPAN would eventually realize. Such being the case, hence, the Russo-German Non-Aggression Pact was concluded at the end of August. This Non-Aggression Pact, however, was not made in a day. As early as 1938, Fuehrer HITLER and others began to refrain from using malicious language in speaking of the USSR -- a thing which struck me as strange. Therefore, the inner side of the USSR began to approach GERMANY and ITALY, that is to say, that the USSR began to hold out her hand to the Anti-Comintern Axis. Towards April this year, Foreign Minister RIBBENTROP positively declared to us that if JAPAN would not enter into alliance with GERMANY, they must combine with the USSR; and that, if JAPAN would ally, they could offer 100% cooperation, while, if not, that she could offer 50% cooperation. Of course, this was telegraphed to the Government, but, in JAPAN, it was said that we have been threatened by GERMANY.

Such being the case, the RUSSO-GERMAN Treaty was concluded at last. At that time the German authorities said that they felt deeply regrettable and that they should have had JAPAN's understanding beforehand, but if they had said such thing to JAPAN, it would surely appear in all the papers of the world within 48 hours. Since such cases have been experienced number of times in the past, they were unable to notify JAPAN beforehand. They entreated us not to think ill of this action. They violated the pact because they adhered to legalities and formalities. They pleaded us not to say that it was a breach of faith. In the pressing situation, it was necessity that compelled them, so do not think ill of them. They assured us that their feelings towards JAPAN today have not changed the least. They still hold expectations of bringing about intimacy of the relations between the two nations. They have often and repeatedly suggested to JAPAN to compromise with the USSR, and if JAPAN is in that mood, they will offer their services as mediator. In short, as I have stated in the beginning this may be enough to confirm the supposed intention that GERMANY has no thought of fighting the USSR and when the JAPAN-GERMANY-ITALY Alliance is found, GERMANY had in mind to attract the USSR into this camp.

Soon after the Russo-German Treaty was concluded, ITALY also greatly welcomed this treaty, stating that, by this no war will

break out in EUROPE, and that hereafter Russo-Japanese relations will improve and things will turn out very favorable to JAPAN. During my stay there, I could not conceive anything in impression that ITALY was disapproved of the Russo-German rapprochement or that she holds enmity against the USSR.

At any rate, it can be said that, in spite of the fact that the Russo-German Treaty had been concluded, even today, GERMANY and ITALY still attach great importance to the concert with JAPAN. Today, the relations between JAPAN and GERMANY and ITALY are apparently the same as before the conclusion of the Russo-German Non-Aggression Pact. The only thing is that the feelings of the Japanese people are somewhat vague. They have a feeling that they were somewhat betrayed by GERMANY. One of its reasons is as I have just stated that, on the one hand, lack of accurate knowledge on the part of the people in regard to the distribution of the Tripartite Treaty, and, on the other hand, of the various forces both internal and external, that have brought the treaty to a failure, we must admit that those various forces disfavoring the alliance exercised the superfluous power which succeeded in breaking off the JAPAN-GERMANY-ITALY alliance, further maneuvered to excite antipathy towards GERMANY. We should not forget that dispatches from foreign countries today are chiefly from such sources, and that they are desperately trying to impel Japanese public opinion more towards that direction.

There are some people who state that if the JAPAN-GERMANY-ITALY Alliance had been formed, would not JAPAN have been involved in the war in EUROPE? It is lucky that the alliance had not been formed, for the bare thought makes them shudder. However, I think that this is fundamentally a misconception. If the JAPAN-GERMANY-ITALY Alliance had taken shape, the current war might not have broken out. GREAT BRITAIN and FRANCE would make a gradual diplomatic retreat and thus enable JAPAN in CHINA and GERMANY and ITALY in EUROPE, to solve their pending questions in a peaceful manner. GERMANY and ITALY have said from the beginning that the real aim of this treaty was for peace, and that since JAPAN, GERMANY and ITALY are originally destined to share the same fate, they would be beaten, if divided, but could never be beaten if they were united. They further said that since the alliance was of a spiritual nature, and that although it shouldn't be said which nation will benefit mostly by it, it is necessary to display to the public the real effect of the Alliance, and so they would begin by assisting JAPAN now actually fighting in CHINA so as to bring the CHINA Incident to a speedy conclusion. They said that with this shall they demonstrate the true value and power of the Alliance to the general public.

I believe, therefore, that had the JAPAN-GERMANY-ITALY Alliance been realized by about April this year, the results would have been very favourable to JAPAN. Of course, such as the NOKONHAN Incident would not have taken place, nor could have GREAT BRITAIN assumed a bold front concerning the DANZIG problem.

Even if GERMANY should attempt a speedy solution of her problems in EUROPE, and should she go to war against GREAT BRITAIN and FRANCE, it would have been possible for JAPAN to obtain GERMANY's consent to her neutrality, in case her immediate entry into the current war was inconvenient. It had been arranged that in the event a Triple Alliance is formed, the Foreign Ministers of the three powers would simultaneously meet together to discuss the diplomatic politics of the three powers. Probably, on that occasion, they would have discussed the USSR, CHINA, DANZIG and POLAND problems, and JAPAN could have had a great voice in connection with the German and Italian diplomatic politics. Should they undertake to war against GREAT BRITAIN and FRANCE, JAPAN could have declared that they could not offer efficient support soon after the CHINA Incident, and that they can go ahead with it if they are confident of it. There are examples of ITALY maintaining neutrality at present in spite of her military alliance with GERMANY. I believe that it cannot always be said that if the JAPAN-GERMANY-ITALY Alliance had been formed, JAPAN must have entered into the war, whether she had been willing or not.

More than that, it should be more probable that, as previously stated, if the Triple Alliance had been formed, the war between GERMANY and GREAT BRITAIN and FRANCE would not have broken out at that time. GERMANY and ITALY still have much to prepare for from diplomatic, economic, financial, and military points of view. In the first place, since it was necessary for JAPAN to have some rest after settling the CHINA Incident, the war would have been postponed as much as possible. The various powers would have decided upon war after complete military armaments had been provided after diplomatic relations have been bettered. I am inclined to say that it is an unfounded opinion to state that if triple Alliance had been formed, we would have been compelled to fight GREAT BRITAIN and FRANCE amidst all the difficulties now confronting us.

In regard to the conclusion of the Russo-German Non-Aggression Pact, there are not much for the German authorities to be blamed. As I have already mentioned, it had been rather for JAPAN to retrospect. Then, therefore, as the result of the conclusion of the Russo-German Alliance, I think we must also give consideration as to the influence received of this alliance. Of course, the general public opined that if GERMANY combined with the USSR, the latter will likely concentrate all of her armed forces in the FAR EAST and which JAPAN must extremely suffer. We, also, feared this. However, in actuality, it was on the contrary, for we

believe that USSR's feelings towards JAPAN have turned favorable. The Cease-Fire Agreement at NOMONHAN was readily concluded as if they had been awaiting the proposal. In regard to our negotiations concerning the Border Delimiting Committee, Commercial Treaty, and other problems, they are willingly taking this up with JAPAN. Moreover, in my opinion, she is thinking of concluding a non-aggression pact with JAPAN. This, in my opinion, is that they have hitherto been shut out from EUROPE. But now a Non-Aggression Pact has been concluded with GERMANY and I look at this Non-Aggression Pact as something of a relationship to an alliance. As a result of this concert with GERMANY, it became so that they can now return to the WEST. They can now return to the BALTIC. In other words, this is not the time for them to glare antagonistically with the daring Japanese in the FAR EAST. They can now return to the WEST and SOUTH of EUROPE where they, also as a race had cherished to go for many years. Moreover, they wish to compromise with JAPAN and be relieved of their anxieties in the FAR EAST. That is their desire. From this point of view, it had become so that one of the great factors which had obstructed JAPAN's settlement of the CHINA problems by rendering support to CHIANG Kai-shek could be removed immediately depending on JAPAN's determination.

Nextly, as a result of the Russo-German Pact, GERMANY attempted a speedy solution of the POLAND problem which caused the outbreak of the European War, but, I think that we cannot say it, unconditionally, that this war was a providential help, or "Divine Wind" for JAPAN. If JAPAN recognizes accurately the new and old forces in EUROPE thinking of it in terms, relating it to her fundamental policy of establishing a New Order in CHINA, and thus shape her policies, I think the very war in EUROPE seen from JAPAN's standpoint is a providential help. Seeing from this point of view, I think the result of the Russo-German Treaty was favorable to us. And, although indirectly there is no denying that the Russo-German rapprochement improved greatly, JAPAN's position in her relations with GREAT BRITAIN, or with AMERICA.

Hitherto, not only have the UNITED STATES always been antagonistic towards JAPAN on the CHINA problem, but also went so far as to take positive measures, such as the abrogation of the Commercial Treaty between the USA and JAPAN. The reason, if asked, is that they suspected something exists behind the Anti-Comintern Axis, and that JAPAN was not isolated. Negotiations for the Triple Alliance was not successful and the subsequent Russo-German rapprochement completely isolated JAPAN. JAPAN, fighting CHINA is being already exhausted. JAPAN, fighting in

CHINA, has no relations whatsoever with GERMANY and ITALY. She is isolated, and the Russo-Japanese relations were strained to the breaking point. The UNITED STATES saw that a push now would compel JAPAN to withdraw her hands from CHINA. But, as a consequence of the Russo-German Treaty, the USSR began to withdraw her hands from the FAR EAST, and owing to the European War, GREAT BRITAIN also was forced to withdraw her hands, too, and that the USA alone had to deal with JAPAN. What is more, it is probable that the USSR may actually league with JAPAN. This means that the UNITED STATES had to shoulder a great burden. The UNITED STATES may have thought that she could shoulder such a burden in view of JAPAN's exhausted state, but the Russo-German Treaty which she counted would be against JAPAN's interest, developed in JAPAN's favor. Moreover, the attitude which the UNITED STATES had hitherto taken against the German-Italians was similar to those of GREAT BRITAIN and FRANCE. The question of the UNITED STATES entry into the European War may be doubtful, but there is already sufficient proof of its danger. Considering the worst, the USA may be forced to fight against such powerful European powers as GERMANY and ITALY. The UNITED STATES, which possess such fears, cannot venture to bring pressure upon JAPAN. It is extremely dangerous. I think the UNITED STATES today is repenting her acts of notification on the abrogation of the Japanese Commercial Treaty. It is the appearance of one who is at a loss in disposing of the fist he has raised. This I think is the effect of the Russo-German Treaty. Then, if that is the case, I think it would be incoherent for JAPAN to complain of the Russo-German Treaty. Should the Japanese people have something of a vague feeling towards GERMANY because of that Treaty, should they not cast aside such a feeling? Nay, I think that they should be thankful to GERMANY. There is not a single cause for resentment. That is what I wish to say.

However, GERMANY is now at war. There are some who say that if GERMANY will be defeated soon as propagandized by BRITAIN, the UNITED STATES and FRANCE, it would be dangerous to be on intimate terms with GERMANY. Although it is an unpleasant way of saying things, I do not necessarily object to this. If GERMANY were to be defeated, it would not be in our interest to be friends with her. However, I am sure GERMANY will not be beaten. There are some of those who remember the last War, who state that if the war be protracted, GERMANY will surely be defeated economically. But they say it because they do not consider fully the real power of present day GERMANY.

Some in Japan say that it is only six years since HITLER came into power. They say that the economic power and military preparations are still far from being sufficient, but GERMANY today greatly differ from what these people made out of GERMANY. GERMANY of today possess several times in power compared with 1914. In economics and military preparations, she possesses several times of those compared to 1914. As a whole, in the last European War, not only GERMANY but BRITAIN and FRANCE also suffered blows. BRITAIN's power was for the most part wealth accumulated in the past, and that had been greatly diminished by the war. The extent of the damage may be seen from the fact that it is still not being compensated until today. GERMANY's power, however, lies in her people. The damages received were chiefly her human lives. This has been completely restored during the last twenty years. In that War, not a bit of German territory, not mentioning her towns and cities, were being ravaged. Only certain limits were imposed; such as the limitation of her armed forces to 100,000 men by the VERSAILLES Treaty, and the possession of submarines being objectionable, etc, while that of rehabilitation steadily progressed from the following day of the Truce. Although amount in reparations almost reached astronomical figures, I remember that what GERMANY actually paid was a little more than 300 million yen in money and goods. Moreover, BRITAIN and the UNITED STATES, especially, loaned sum after sum of money to GERMANY so as to keep GERMANY from collapsing. The UNITED STATES alone loaned GERMANY 400 to 500 million dollars. In results, it seemed as if GERMANY received reparations amounting to 400-500 million dollars instead of paying. Again, some say that GERMANY had been reduced to a state of emptiness by the well-known inflation.

It is true the inflation dealt a heavy blow on the German middle classes and brought about a very bad effect on the general social life; but, it was not all adversity, for all the German joint stock companies had their debts cancelled because of that inflation. That is why the German companies had up-to-date machines installed after the War. Consequently, post-war German industrial power became such that BRITAIN and FRANCE could not rival. Due to that industrial power, German rehabilitation saw striking progress, and the merchant marine that was completely wiped out by the war, suddenly found itself to possess 4-5 million tons, almost same in tonnage as JAPAN. Aside from this, the farming villages rehabilitated remarkably. When HITLER took the reigns of government, GERMANY had already completely restored its national power. Only from the point of formality was she bound by the VERSAILLES Treaty. As HITLER came forward, he severed one by one the yoke of this Treaty. With the severance of each bond, GERMANY's replenished power leaped upwards, and eventually extricating itself of all restraints enabled her to display her full powers. This is the GERMANY of today.

We must not forget that German restoration was not the fruit of HITLER's six years' rule, but the years and months extending 20 years following the war. Furthermore, it was thought that expulsion of the Jews from the country was ascribed to his nationalism which demanded racial purity. We did disapprove such extremity in the expulsion of alien race, but, the general opinion of the Germans were that the defeat in the last Great War was due to the Jews. The Jews disturbed the home front. They say that unless this parasitic evil is removed completely from the country, they cannot fight. In other words, the expulsion of Jews must be seen as their preparation for war. Now, looking at this today, we find the German home front to be greatly strengthened because of that, and moreover, the German people have all harboured, should we say, retaliatory spirit against GREAT BRITAIN and FRANCE, and also a deep dissatisfaction towards the VERSAILLES Treaty. She was much ridiculed by newly-born petty neighbor-states and FRANCE, leading these small nations encircled and oppressed GERMANY. With the advent of HITLER, this dissatisfaction was totally removed. The feelings of the whole populace towards HITLER is amazing. Even great scholars believe him to be a God-sent saviour of the German people. Again, some people say that GERMANY is destitute of resources and that the livelihood of the people is miserable. That it may be so, since huge armaments have been completed in a short space of time, and pressure on national life is heavy and control exhaustive. However, livelihood of the people today greatly differ from what is being told by outsiders. It has been greatly ameliorated when compared to those prior to the Nazi Regime. It can never be said that they are destitute. Internally, all are in good order. Even in unheard of and nameless towns, there are forests of chimneys protruding which emit briskly columns of black smoke. In rural railway stations we find surprisingly many locomotives and freight cars. Unless one actually sees it with his own eyes, the German real power is beyond comprehension.

The internal state of affairs in GERMANY are as stated. Her foreign relations also stand remarkably favourable to her. For example, the USSR is now in a state of alliance with GERMANY. During the last war GERMANY allotted two million of her force against RUSSIA for three years. Moreover, aside from fighting BRITAIN and FRANCE, she had to fight ITALY, SERBIA, ROUMANIA and others. But today, she is able to concentrate her entire strength on a single front in the west. Furthermore, GERMANY has her Siegfried Line here and it is impenetratable. If she defends herself by this line, she can relieve her fears however long the war may prolong. In this section, GERMANY is not waging any war of attrition. If necessary, she can continue fighting at this rate for any length of time. What she had

stocked from the outset now reaches several times of those of the last War. Now, she can receive supplies freely from the USSR and from the BALKANS and SCANDINAVIA. The extent of attrition could be properly adjusted. This is quite favourable for GERMANY. GERMANY is taking utmost caution in this War, saying that the time has now arrived for her to fight decisively in this current war for the supremacy of EUROPE against BRITAIN and FRANCE. GERMANY should have fought a short term war during the last war; that is, she should have beaten FRANCE by an impetuous attack and with the withdrawn sword, attack RUSSIA. In the last war, no wall separated FRANCE from GERMANY. GERMANY was forced to wage a war of attrition soon after the commencement of hostilities. Even today if the Siegfried Line did not exist, GERMANY will be forced to fight facing a vast force of British and French troops. If it became thus, ITALY, her ally, would not be able to look on with folded arms. A large-scale war would immediately follow. But now that there is the Siegfried Line, GERMANY is in no haste. She is slowly making preparations as she fights. Consequently, she does not ask for ITALY's assistance. This is why ITALY is observing neutrality.

To begin with the totalitarian system of GERMANY and ITALY is, to them, the representation of the natural progress of history, while the system of liberalistic individualism of the British and French should perish. It will perish even if it is left untouched. I believe they are of the view that mere confrontation by the powerful German-Italian New Order against the declining liberalistic order of GREAT BRITAIN and FRANCE will cause BRITAIN and FRANCE to lose faith. It seems that GERMANY will take stand in the Siegfried Line and bent to exhaust the nerves of BRITAIN and FRANCE, while on the other hand, she will aim to deal a finishing blow on them with her air forces and submarines. Of course, in practice matters will not be so simple, but I hold that a confrontation of the old against new forces today will give sufficient chances to the new powers to win this war. Of course, if the USSR, ITALY and JAPAN side with the British and French, it will be of grave consequence to GERMANY; but today, such things will not happen. As to ITALY, the people say that she is again sitting on the fence. She had to side with GREAT BRITAIN in 1914 because of her various weaknesses.

However, with the result of MUSSOLINI's rise, things have assumed a new aspect. Today ITALY possesses enough power that BRITAIN and FRANCE cannot easily sway her. The situation has changed so that ITALY of today is not what she had been in the last War, when she was forced to run to the Allies by BRITAIN and FRANCE. ITALY made full developments in her political powers under 17 years of Fascist rule. For further developments, there remains but territorial expansion. As MUSSOLINI puts it,

ITALY must expand or explode. There is no first-class power so destitute of resources as ITALY. Her population shows a yearly increase of 450,000. She must either expand or explode.

The surroundings of the Mediterranean Sea, however, are mostly spheres of influence under BRITAIN and FRANCE. Consequently, ITALY's expansion will oust the British and French influence the Mediterranean Sea. There is no alternative but to achieve this aim at the sacrifice of the British and French. ITALY can never think of riding with BRITAIN and FRANCE unless given a sufficient reward. When the time arrives, I expect ITALY to enter into the War in accordance with her treaty with GERMANY. ITALY's entry into the War will be very favourable to GERMANY, because BRITAIN imports 20 percent of her resources by the Mediterranean route. This importation will be completely stopped. FRANCE, also, will be cut off from AFRICA. It will be a matter of grave concern to BRITAIN and FRANCE. If ITALY join hands with the USSR and participate in the War while GERMANY is holding her ground against GREAT BRITAIN and FRANCE using the Siegfried Line as a shield, it will be a matter of grave concern to BRITAIN.

Most Japanese are of the simple opinion that the deciding factor in war is the Navy. Not so in EUROPE of today. To BRITAIN, the loss of her Navy means the instant collapse of her entire EMPIRE. The Navy, therefore, is an absolute necessity to her. Consequently, her Navy is not much effective as a combat weapon in event of a War against GERMANY and ITALY. GERMANY can exist without a Navy and therefore, she can dispense with it freely. Her Navy is lighter than that of GREAT BRITAIN. The treasured British Fleet cannot move actively in too free a manner in the narrow European Theater. It would be too risky for her. BRITAIN dares not expose her to such danger because its loss will affect the very existence of the nation. For instance, the British Navy is at a disadvantage in the Mediterranean Sea. ITALY possess aircraft carriers that will never sink. The small islands dotting the Sea are those carriers. Moreover, she has over 100 submarines at her disposal. It is a great menace to the British Navy in a place so small as a lake.

GREAT BRITAIN cannot be too optimistic of the current War. This is indeed a dangerous. Then why is it that she started this War? It is because that BRITAIN of today although being a democratic nation is in reality under an oligarchy. Among the British statesmen of today, there are many of Jewish descent, which includes Cabinet members. Antipathy against HITLER who rejected the Jews is extremely intense. The present attitude of BRITAIN seems much under emotional influence. Hatred against HITLER seems to be the cause of her bringing war recklessly

against GERMANY. In addition, there seems to be a misunderstanding on her part on the actual German strength and the attitude of RUSSIA. In the present state, GREAT BRITAIN may not resolve to fight it out to the last as some think here in JAPAN. Looking at the British diplomacy since the ETHIOPIAN War, we do not know when they change. It goes without saying that if she succeeds in isolating GERMANY, GREAT BRITAIN will fight it out to the last.

The most important is the Russo-German relations, and we must acknowledge that GERMANY-USSR relation is much closer than expected. Seeing that GERMANY is desirous of adjusting Russo-Japanese relations, GERMANY seems to feel at ease about the USSR. If JAPAN and the USSR compromise and that there is no fear whatsoever for the USSR to exert its full power on the EUROPEAN Theater, it could be said that GERMANY places a great deal of faith in the USSR. The GERMAN attempt to relieve USSR in the FAR EAST may be accounted for by her desire to have Russian power directed towards the SOUTH of EUROPE. Some say that Russian and ITALIAN interests will clash in the BALKANS, but if the USSR advance to the NEAR EAST instead of to the BALKANS. I do not agree with those who claim that due to ITALY's active denunciation of USSR, the friendship between GERMANY and ITALY must have cooled. The relations of GERMANY and ITALY are the relations of HITLER and MUSSOLINI, and that heroes, whether they are in the EAST or the WEST, are the same. They do not easily become friends or enemies. Then I think it would not be so easy for the BRITISH to sever USSR and ITALY from GERMANY.

We were sent on a mission to EUROPE and we did what we were able to form the Triple Alliance. Since an alliance is an important affair affecting the fate of a State, we did all our best to investigate and study fully their conditions. As a result, we arrived at the conclusion as we have explained above on the actual strength and attitude of the powers involved. As JAPAN did not join the Alliance and, on the contrary, the Russo-German rapprochement has been brought about, thus leading to the outbreak of the war, the European situation may have more or less changed since my return home. I will not decidedly affirm that all future developments will become as what I have stated. What I can say with confidence today is that what JAPAN is doing in the EAST and what GERMANY and ITALY are trying to do in EUROPE bear resemblance on the point that both possess the great historic mission to establish a new order in the EAST which is a national conviction in connection with the CHINA Incident, will help much, in a larger sense, what GERMANY and ITALY are trying to do in EUROPE.

Consequently, should JAPAN compromise with the old forces because of her consideration for resources and others, the spiritual blows that will affect the new rising power of EUROPE such as GERMANY and ITALY will be indeed great. Furthermore, it may tend to weaken their determination. As above explained, it is true that the Russo-German Pact and the current hostilities

have relieved JAPAN's international position for the time being. However, to entertain the idea that JAPAN should neither side with GERMANY and ITALY, nor bind itself with BRITAIN and the UNITED STATES, but utilize the present easy position and go on settling the CHINA Incident with the so-called principle of Independence and Self-Reliance will be opportune if they actually go on fighting forever, but there is no such war that has no end. There is always peace with war. JAPAN will surely be asked to participate in that Peace Conference. In such a case, JAPAN's principle of Independence and Self-Reliance; that is, siding with neither will mean isolation and without assistance at the conference meeting. JAPAN should be most careful that the white people should not form a united front and attempt solution of their problems at the sacrifice of the EAST. Should they suddenly awake and find that it is futile to fight among themselves in EUROPE; and realize whichever side may win, resources are short in EUROPE. Fortunately, there are much resources in the EAST, and that the people are weak. JAPAN is just but a fledgling state. If it becomes such that they come to agree upon carrying out a joint exploitation of the EAST, where BRITAIN has until now made it her domain rejecting other countries and herself not fully utilizing it, and that before JAPAN's power could be maintained, JAPAN must confront an indeed difficult situation. The reason why we advanced the forming of an alliance with the far-away powers of GERMANY and ITALY is because we gave thought to this question.

I believe that this should be the fundamental policy of JAPAN's diplomacy. In practice, our seniors have also taken up such policy. The people and government may have been unconscious of this fact, but for examples, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was a result of that--in other words, the white man's world was divided into two and we have bound ourselves with one of them. There is no reason why we should let them become one.

Independence and self-reliance is a question that should be considered after JAPAN's power has been fully developed. To JAPAN of today, non-implications to either of them seems, at a glance, most safe but, in fact, it is a most dangerous policy. Never has JAPAN succeeded unaided at an international conference of white people. It was only when she had allies that her assertions went heeded. Take the present CHINA problem, JAPAN can never settle it by segregating it as a CHINA problem in itself. JAPAN can never attain a satisfactory solution, unless the ulterior situation develops in JAPAN's favour. Unless the ulterior situation is settled, nothing could really be decided no matter what JAPAN decided with CHINA. It will surely be upset. There are the bitter ordeals which our seniors had time to time experienced.

Such was the case at the time of the Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War. It was the same during the last World War that had been in our custody once will be taken back. The current CHINA Incident will also never allow us to be off our guard. We shall again have to suffer misery if we pursue the policy we had been pursuing. If we don't, it is pleasant, but I don't think that this is ever a premature worry of my own.

## IV

## THE TREND OF THE GREAT WAR

(DIAMOND Magazine, June 1940)

## The Trend of the Great War.

We are told that the German Army which invaded BELGIUM and HOLLAND crushed the Allied armies with irresistible force and has already emerged at the ENGLISH CHANNEL. Reflecting on this, it seems that the Allied forces numbering upwards of one million on the Belgian Front will not be able to escape annihilation, and the final issue is already certain.

However, would the German Army, which has overwhelmed BELGIUM and assumed control of the STRAITS of DOVER make an attack on the British mainland without other preparation? Germany would probably think seriously about the adventure of crossing the DOVER Straits without disposing of the large French Army. She would probably do better to turn to the South and plan to conquer FRANCE first by joining forces with ITALY. Judging from the results up to the present the accomplishment of this object must be regarded as involving no great difficulty. By conquering in a short while the enemy countries in EUROPE starting with NORWAY and then HOLLAND, BELGIUM, and FRANCE in succession, might not GERMANY by establishing a continental bloc in co-operation with ITALY deliver in easy fashion a fatal blow to BRITAIN?

We who are not military specialists cannot say definitely that ENGLAND can be conquered by the Army. However, it is not at all difficult for the vastly superior German airforce to deliver severe attacks on ENGLAND which lies on the far shore of a narrow strip of water. Moreover, even the British Navy cannot hide itself behind ICELAND, aloof from the danger to her homeland, and must therefore face the German airforce no matter what the risk in this critical moment when the country may stand or fall. In such case, judging from past experience, the British Navy would soon suffer losses and be remarkably weakened. Moreover, with the participation of ITALY in the war, her airforce and submarines can be used to join the attack on ENGLAND. Therefore, it can be said that ENGLAND's chances of defeat in the naval battle are great.

So that as it may, the hope of the British and French to conquer Germany and ITALY must be considered entirely vain. Now the question is will BRITAIN with an eye to such a defeat immediately propose peace with GERMANY, and will GERMANY and ITALY accept this? We stated the following bold opinion in the early stages of the war: FUHRER HITLER claimed that he had no intention of going to war against BRITAIN and FRANCE; that it was

not necessarily correct, in spite of his proposals for peace, to view that as GERMANY's true object; that it appears to have been his policy to try to shift the responsibility for war to the British by proposing peace; and that BRITAIN is so to speak falling into his trap. Some people sneered at this for being a naive view of diplomacy. However, we firmly believed that since the two heroes, HITLER and MUSSOLINI, established the GERMANY-ITALY axis and began the re-building of EUROPE, they would not be satisfied merely with a trivial recovery of lost territories or expansion of their territories.

HITLER said to his army some time ago, "A war to decide the destiny of the German race for a thousand years in the future has begun." A spokesman for MUSSOLINI said also, "The time to decide the destiny of EUROPE for three hundred years in the future has come." From this it is easy to imagine what both countries, GERMANY and ITALY, are thinking of.

As a result of this war is it not probable that a cruel, rather ghastly great liquidation would take place? Now the question is: will BRITAIN and FRANCE, which have been basking in the favors of the world for countless centuries past, be permitted to exist as great powers or not? Furthermore, can the former absurd situation wherein the small countries of EUROPE hold absolute sovereignty and stand in the way of the big powers continue or not?

If the above-mentioned revolution should be carried out in EUROPE, it is unavoidable that it will have a great influence on ASIA as a matter of course. How would the colonies of BRITAIN and FRANCE, and those of HOLLAND be disposed of? This is a question of great significance from JAPAN's standpoint. The destiny of several hundred million Asiatic compatriots is now at a great turning-point. Would it be proper for this great problem to be decided in the presence of JAPAN without listening to JAPAN? What significance does the new order in East ASIA contain, and what significance should it have? Our people must at this time carefully consider this point now.

Since the outbreak of the second European war JAPAN has adopted a policy of non-participation and has said she will press exclusively for the solution of the CHINA Incident. However, this is fundamentally a point of view which ignores the trend of world history. Inasmuch as the European War is a war between old and new principles, it must be considered a great mistake for JAPAN, which launched a great undertaking in ASIA to destroy the old order and establish a new one, to think she can stay out of the European War. Whatever may be said of this, JAPAN is actually involved in the European War. Speaking even more briefly, it is not too much to say that the fuse of the European War was first attached by the CHINA Incident.

The reason is that the war between the East and the West centered on that common target. The forces which stand in the way of a new order in East ASIA-----the enemies of GERMANY and ITALY --- are these not the powers of the old order in the world? Our advocacy of the alliance

between JAPAN, GERMANY and ITALY was based upon this point of view. Moreover for this reason also the assertion is made that in spite of the fact that an alliance has not been concluded and apart from the question of a treaty, JAPAN, GERMANY, and ITALY stand in an inseparable relationship. For this reason in particular we have been crying loudly that we must not regard the European War with indifference, and that JAPAN must not let GERMANY lose. The inseparable relationship between JAPAN, GERMANY and ITALY is historically inevitable. Although it looks outwardly as if JAPAN, misguided by the influence of a certain group in the country, is inclined toward BRITAIN and the U. S. A., rather than toward GERMANY and ITALY, the path of world political trends cannot by this be changed even slightly. JAPAN, in spite of the opinion of forces of the old order at home, is making a great contribution to GERMANY, which is in an extremely advantageous position, in the latter's prosecution of the war. No one doubts that the Russo-German Pact was a prime requisite for this war. However, the fact that made the SOVIET UNION shake hands with her old enemy, GERMANY, so easily is the existence of the JAPAN-GERMAN-ITALY axis, although the progress of negotiations for the three power alliance is the main reason. Furthermore, it cannot be denied that AMERICA's remaining neutral for eight months contrary to pre-war expectation and her wrangling with JAPAN over the CHINA Incident has made her unable to participate in the European War. Therefore, although we talk about non-participation, JAPAN has actually played a great role in the European War and it must be said that GERMANY owes JAPAN a great deal.

However, the policy has rather been inclined towards BRITAIN and the U. S. A. and if the German invasion of BELGIUM and HOLLAND should be a little delayed, JAPAN would be in a position to establish an irrevocable relationship with BRITAIN. If so, GERMANY would not be able to express her gratitude to JAPAN, even if she so desired. Who has brought JAPAN to this unfavorable position in which she will incur ill will even while rendering great services?

The victory of the forces of the new order in the world political situation could probably induce the total retreat of the forces of the old order in JAPAN willy-nilly. There is no alternative but that the downfall of liberalism and capitalism in JAPAN will be inevitably hastened. In addition, due to the three years' duration of the CHINA Incident, this situation has been regarded as inevitable, but that which has barely supported the old order on the threshold of collapse was the connection with forces of the old order abroad. A great majority of the people firmly believe there is a democratic force in the background of the CHINA Incident, but we must say that the old powers in the country have tried to compromise and speak sweetly with enemy foreign powers, have been supported by schemes of assistance from foreign powers, and have barely kept alive. As a result of the Second European War, this support is even now being withdrawn. For this reason we must say that the recent progress of the war in the West had an extremely important effect where Japan is concerned.

If we understand foreign and domestic problems in this way, it is clear at a glance along what course in the future JAPAN's fundamental diplomatic policy must be guided. Moreover, as an antecedent condition, the rebuilding of her domestic organization is required.

## V.

## THE NEW ORDER IN EUROPE AND JAPAN'S POLITICS.

## ATTENDANCE:

SHIRATORI Toshio, Former Ambassador Plenipotentiary to Italy;  
 NOMURA Shigeomi, Chief of the Investigation Section, Spiritual  
 Mobilization Headquarters;  
 KOBAYASHI Goro, President of the National Review Company.  
 Reporter. (July, 1940)

## 1. JAPAN'S SPIRITUAL ASSISTANCE TO GERMANY AND ITALY.

KOBAYASHI: I called on you today because I wish to listen to all of your opinions concerning the international problem.

SHIRATORI: Until now, I have done what I could for the renovation of Japanese diplomacy, and in the world situation, what we have advocated in the past have generally become factual. However, since the situation in Europe have changed with such rapidity, we cannot merely boast of our far-sighted views. What we must firstly consider is whether Germany and Italy who have won a great victory may change their attitude. This would be, to a certain degree, unavoidable. The end of the war is now in sight, and I deeply feel that the present is indeed too late for Japan, who has been greatly limited in the scope of giving assistance.

KOBAYASHI—The situation has become exactly as you have maintained for a long time, but what about the future situation?

SHIRATORI: What I have always said to others is that the war will surely reach the conclusion as we had anticipated, and a situation will develop in which we can say, "Didn't we tell you so", but the situation would then be too late, and Japan will be placed in an awkward predicament. However, I am not at all pessimistic, because Germany, Italy, and Japan will essentially stand on common ground even in the future world. Generally speaking, due to the fact that the political leaders of Japan have misconstrued the inevitable course of world history, it is regrettable that Japan has somewhat deviated from this course. Irregardless of what one may say, the course which Japan has followed since the China Incident could not be controlled by a small number of people. We ought to follow the course which we must follow. As long as Japan follows this course, she, as a nation, must necessarily join the course followed by Germany and Italy. For instance, for the reason that that alliance was not established Japan, of course, has no obligation to assist Germany and Italy. Notwithstanding the fact that the Government has actually stated its policy of non-interference, what Japan is doing is becoming of great help to Germany and Italy. What they wanted of Japan in the alliance between Japan, Germany, and Italy was mainly that Japan weaken British and French positions in the Orient and to check the United States and although Japan was not asked to do this she has, in fact, done so. Now, even if the United States

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wishes to participate in the war, she cannot do so. During these nine months, they, being checked by Japan, have neglected Europe. Although diplomatically, they speak ill of Germany, and are more or less aiding England and France materially, their actual power is concentrated in the Pacific. For Germany, this is a great help. Before the war, it was generally said that America would participate in the early stages of this war, but if that were true the United States would have furnished England and France with many planes. Although England has predominant Navy power, it seems that her forces is still insufficient. If the American Navy had cooperated with that of Great Britain, it would probably have been very advantageous for England and France. Firstly, it would have been a great spiritual encouragement to England and France. Such a country as Italy would have hesitated to enter the war. If the United States Navy had operated together with that of England and France in the Mediterranean Sea, Italy would not have been able to make any moves. If viewed in this manner, the situation would probably have been considerably different from the present. For one thing, America had greatly under-rated Germany's strength. She had thought that Europe was safe if entrusted to England and France. She feeling that checking Japan was her chief mission, is now concentrating her real power in the Pacific Ocean. If viewed by Japan it is extremely bothersome, but if viewed by Germany, it is an extreme blessing. It is a great role that Japan has played for the sake of Germany. However since the fact that the concentration of the main power of the U. S. in the Pacific was painful to the political leaders of Japan, in trying to improve relations in some way, and to reach an economical understanding, they have followed a course which is contrary to Germany's intentions. Consequently, although Germany has no longer any reason to be thankful to Japan, actually, Japan has rendered services comparable to that extended by Italy.

## 2. THE NEW ORDER IN EUROPE AND THE OPPOSITION OF THE U. S.

By the above fact, it can be seen that looking from the standpoint that the position of Japan, Germany, and Italy lies in a mission aiming at the establishment of a new order in the East and the West, what each nation is doing separately is concentrated towards achieving the same goal. What each does independently becomes in effect mutual assistance. I think that the relationship between the three nations lies in such a fundamental relationship. Viewed from that standpoint, it is expected that Japan, Germany, and Italy can continue to cooperate, and even if Germany should expell English and French influences from Europe, it does not mean that from that very moment, a new order in Europe can be established. All the factors belonging to the old order in Europe will assemble in the American continent. The gold bullion, which is most typical of the old order, has already been quickly concentrated in the United States. Of course the Jews, who are the greatest enemy of the new order, have already the intention of moving to the United States, and all the ousted ruling classes of England and France, will also go to the United States. Since these elements have formerly followed individualistic and liberalistic philosophies, they cannot absolutely remain in Europe ruled under totalitarianism. Henceforth, they will move in groups to the United States as the Puritan did in olden times. As a result of this, all the old

elements of the world will be concentrated in the United States. America, which has been called the new world will become the old world, and Europe of the old world will become the new world, and this state of opposition will continue for a considerable period of time. Until the old elements in America are finally driven out, the struggle will continue. On the one hand, if the national system of Japan is abruptly converted to the new order, and proceeds rapidly towards the establishment of the new order in East Asia, it would naturally be unavoidable for her to collaborate and cooperate with Europe's new order. On the other hand, in the Pacific, she will have to stand in opposition with America's old order. Looking at it from its rough outline, it may be said that after all, the coalition of Japan, Germany, and Italy and the relation of mutual aid and communication will continue.

### 3. THE COMBINED POWER OF ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND THE UNITED STATES AND THE FAR EAST.

NOMURA:- Generally speaking, I think that your prediction that the old elements of the world would all be concentrated in the United States is an interesting observation. Since the outbreak of this war, I could not believe that the existing power of England and France could suppress the newly formed Italo-German Axis. In spite of that, the ruling classes of England and France themselves have a strong feeling of fighting against Germany and Italy. Viewed from this respect, I had the feeling that it was the influence of the Jews, who are the ruling class of England and France, who provoked this hopeless war, aiming only at the dealing of even a little blow against anti Jewish countries like Germany and Italy by sacrificing England and France. In the course of later developments, however, the situation is likely to move towards such a direction. For instance, the capital of England and France will flow to the United States. The Government would also probably seek shelter in America. Besides, probably, Jewish liberalists will also go. In such a case, what will become of the world? There will continue, for a considerable period of time, a struggle between the newly arisen influence in Europe and the old influence centered in the United States. This time, East Asia will be the scene of the conflict. In all cases, England and France will have to maintain Imperialistic domination of their colonies in the Orient, and the United States which is welcoming and providing shelter to England and France, also cannot disregard Anglo-American domination of these colonies. Thus, all the English and French fleets which escaped damage will assemble in the Pacific. If the United States finds it futile to save Europe, she will concentrate her entire forces in the Pacific and will defend Australia, French Indo China, or British India. She will also invade China. It is unmistakable that the United States will take such an action. Since the situation would be such that the forces of Italy and the Soviet Union and American forces which was united to those of England and France will eventually clash in the Far East, the Far East will be forced into the same position as the modern Balkans. In such a case no one can tell in what way the United States, which is suppressing Japan with a firm attitude for the reason that what has been done by Japan since the Manchurian Incident and the China Incident, namely the establishment of the

new order in East Asia, is contrary to America's principles, will alter her Far Eastern policy according to the situation at the crucial moment. In other words, she may change to a policy in which she intends to return Japan to the status of a watchdog as at the time of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and to use Japan as advanced guard troops for the democratic countries in the Far East in the same manner as Poland and the little entente countries. In such a case there seems to exist particular danger that the ruling class of Japan would be influenced by the simplicity of the present situation and eventually become so inclined. In the end, the United States will superficially change her policy in such a manner as to formally approve what has been done by Japan since the China Incident. In answer to this, Japan would also change her view relating to the United States and act in concert with the U. S. Actually, there exists a danger that a policy will be adopted that would make Japan a tool. If such a situation develops, the actual movement in Europe and Japan's movement in East Asia are at the present substantially based at the establishment of the same new world order. However, from that moment, both parties will be contradictory to the movement, and it is feared that Japan would support the maintenance of the old order.

## 4. ENGLAND AFTER HER DEFEAT AND THE CRISIS IN THE UNITED STATES

SPHATONI: If the present political rulers of Japan continue to be in control of Japan's administration, what you have just said may occur. The United States is now taking a very lenient attitude towards Japan. Particularly, the ruling class of Japan is ardently hoping for the free importation of American goods, or the establishment of credit and is trying to conclude a new trade treaty. Although there is a tendency among them to cooperate with the United States with complete disregard of the past, in accordance with the sentiment expressed by the great majority of the people of today, this should not be allowed. I cannot possibly imagine that Japan will reverse the course of world history, check the progress of civilization, and check her own development by disregarding her present mission in the Asiatic continent and the role she must take in the vast Asiatic sphere. In this respect, we need not be so pessimistic, but as you have said, England and France who have been expelled from Europe, by cooperating with the United States, will make up in Asia what they lost in Europe. It is certain that the Netherland Indies, French Indo-China and British India, which they hitherto failed to develop and utilize sufficiently under their spheres of influence, will become more precious to them than before. Consequently, there is likely to exist danger that they will concentrate their influences there.

But I think that it will be a long time before England and France, if they are expelled from Europe, will bear this silently and abandon her return to Europe. Even though the ruling class itself should evacuate to the United States with gold bullions, warships and merchant ships, there would still remain in England 45,000,000 people. There would also remain in France 40,000,000 people. It is impossible for them to take them all with them. They will leave with great reluctance. For instance, who will support the population of 45,000,000 remaining in England? There is only three or four months' supply of food. Hitler has no obligation to support them with materials in Continental Europe. Furthermore, he is unable to do so. They cannot live unless they depend on the Continent of America. In any case, the people in England must depend on the American continent. Even if the small number of people who had abandoned everything and had moved to Canada should cooperate with the United States to manage the colonies in the Orient, much cannot be expected of them. The movement for restoring Europe will be considerable and vigorous for the next five or ten years. During that period, they would not be able to exert their power in the Orient. During that time, the naval power of Germany and Italy will increase rapidly.

Then the continent of America will be in a defensive position. Whatever one may say, the population of Europe is increasing, and one cannot support himself. Germany and Italy will devote themselves solely in exploiting Africa. But even in that case, it is not probable that they have no connection with the American continent lying across the Atlantic Ocean. Their immediate object is South America, which is a branch of Europe. Racially speaking, aside from the natives, only Spanish, Germans and Italians are there. There are only a few Anglo-Saxons. These people do not like the United States. The world has been under absolute Anglo-Saxon domination up to now, and because of this, they were controlled by the United States with reluctance. However, if the world situation should suddenly become such that the Anglo-Saxons are defeated, they would rather favor Europe. America will be in an extremely defensive position. The very foundation of the Monroe Doctrine will crumble. The situation will become very grave for the United States. Since the U.S. herself has riches in excess of her needs, she will not be further tempted by the materials of Asia. If an agitation should break out in South America, which is so close by from the standpoint of self-defense, would not this be of extreme danger to the U. S., herself?

Therefore at this moment it cannot be imagined that the United States alone would increase her power in the Orient as you have now said. Although Canada has a population of only 10,000,000, people who escaped from England will gradually gather there. Since Canada alone is not capable of maintaining the power of a great nation, England, who has escaped from Europe, will consider India, Australia, New Zealand, etc., as becoming of greater value. However, it is questionable as to whether the British Empire, which has lost England and has moved to Canada, can maintain the same power she has held before. Although there is an extreme view that England Proper, so to speak, is like the site of office for the British Empire, no matter what one might say, it has been the motive power, and the continent was controlled from there. I think that the surviving influence of the British Empire, which has lost her foothold in Europe and which has escaped from England Proper, should not be feared by us. At any rate, the dispute between the new influence in Europe and the old influences which escaped to America will be engaged in a fierce struggle for the next five or ten years. During that time, at least, they probably will be unable to exert much pressure in the Pacific Area. This period of from five to ten years is very precious for the Asiatic race. If this period is idled away, it is clear that oppression of various nature will be inflicted upon them. After all, Europe also must depend on Asia. They are desirous of materials from Asia.

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Since the British Empire, France, and England herself, who are dependent upon the American continent, will after all endeavor to annex Asia to the old influence, it is necessary for Japan during this period to utilize to the utmost degree the extra time given her. This must be a great subject for the Japanese people. I think that the reason the Japanese people had somewhat felt that we had reached the critical turning point is due to a certain kind of intuition concerning this great significance.

##### 5. THE POSITION OF THE PRO-BRITISH FACTION IN OUR COUNTRY

KOBAYASHI: No one in the political and business world, and also Imperial University professors in the academic world, seems to understand anything in that sense. Still, their views are opposite. First, the opinion that Germany would be defeated was generally prevalent until recently, but now it seems that Germany is likely to win the war. We cannot fight reality. They are saying that victory in war is unimportant; that victory over military power is unimportant; and that it is an enemy of civilization. Their words imply that justice still exists in the democracy of France and England. Actually, the disease is too far advanced for remedy. They are a group which should go to the Continent of America. From Japan-----

SHIRATORI: There are many persons who should also leave Japan.

NOMURA: The point that the national feeling would not permit Japan to take a course contrary to current history of which you speak is a matter of course, but as Mr. KOBAYASHI has just stated, since there are some people who view the progress of history from the opposite point of view,-----

SHIRATORI: However, it cannot be conceived that such people will govern Japan forever. It should not be allowed.

KOBAYASHI: They appear to be possessed with such ideas.

SHIRATORI: No matter what you say, they are people who have been thoroughly imbued with the marrow of bones with tradition, in bad sense prejudice tradition, or to put it more strongly, with prejudice, which is very difficult to shake off. Under such a world they are maintaining their present position. The change of such a world immediately means the loss of their position. If that situation develops, this would be "self-preservation." There is a pro-British faction in Japan. I think the pro-British feeling will remain even if England is crushed. The pro-British feeling is one which expresses self-love. It is one that shows love for one's self.

KOBAYASHI: The business world is generally like that.

SHIRATORI: It is not only the business world. Hitherto they have been imbued in that manner. They are those who have taught this sentiment to others and those who have written books on this subject in order to safe-guard their positions. If the present world collapses their position will be lost.

KOBAYASHI: That is true. Although we, including SHIRATORI, are looked upon as the pro-German faction by the pro-British faction, I do not think that our group is particularly pro-German.

SHIRATORI: Since we call them the Pro-British Faction, they probably call us the Pro-German group.

KOBAYASHI: According to them although listening to the pro-German faction is very interesting, what they hear are not actually true.

NOMURA: They say that we are taking a course in the opposite direction from civilization.

KOBAYASHI: After all, the source of the present extent of Germany's might lies in her positive possession of new culture, new ideas, and new world outlook.

NOMURA: Ignoring new developments in present day Germany, they are after all, trying to judge Germany according to the principle of "might makes right" of the Middle Ages. I felt just as the Catholics did at the time of the Renaissance, as they viewed the progressive elements who admired the arts and literature of Greece and Rome, with a feeling that a great heresy had arisen, because, although the world was now progressing towards the country of God, there appeared heathens who were trying to worship the savage gods of Greece. I think that it is similar to this.

KOBAYASHI: Therefore, the situation will not be clear until time elapses.

SHIRATORI: Judging from the history of mankind, the Renaissance is a revival of the culture of Greece, which is the origin of democracy. However, the new world outlook of Germany and Italy is a movement which endeavors to go back to the pre-Grecian era. Also in Japan, Restoration always means a revival. However it goes further back to the mythological age. Totalitarianism, therefore, is a return to things fundamental and essential when viewed from cultural history of mankind. The culture to which they refer is not really culture. They must be speaking about superficial civilization or something of that nature. Isn't

that various man-made institutions or supercial civilization that only greets the eye. The German people make a distinction between culture and civilization. According to the English, American and Japanese people, it is this superficial civilization that Germany will abolish from this earth if she wins the war. Culture will not perish; on the contrary it will flourish. Up to now, what Japan has been told as being most valuable was this Western civilization based on liberalism.

## 6. ORIGIN OF EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION

NOMURA: Concerning that point, I once wrote a short article in the "National Review." It can generally be said that modern European civilization originated in Hellenism. However, Hellenism is a new civilization which originated in a Grecian colony at the time when the Aryans entered the Greek Peninsula, reached the Mediterranean Sea, and came in contact with the oceanic civilization of the Mediterranean. For the Aryans, it was a foreign civilization. What is the culture of the Mediterranean? The pirates of the Persian Gulf who entered the Mediterranean and assimilated with the Phoenicians established one of the metropolitan civilizations. Is not its origin in the caravan civilization of the Arabian desert? The caravans made their living by occasionally leaving their barren land and robbing and cheating the farmers of fertile Mesopotamia. These people later established the commercial empire called Babylonia and also, the militaristic country of Assyria. In either case, they made their living not by producing anything themselves, but by exploiting the farmers who were producers. The religion that developed here was Babylonian and Assyrian monotheism, and that was developed into Judaism which in turn, became Christianity. What is very interesting about Judaism and Christianity is that a contract of faith is made between God and mankind. This idea of a mutual and reciprocal contract was inherited by Europe through the Hellenism and Hebrewism that I just mentioned. These are the modern theories of social contract and the contract of sovereignty.

In such a society, either commerce or spoliation exists, and in such a way, these two forms appear in economics. And, in the construction of society since the powers are in opposition, it takes the form of a democracy if the powers opposing each other are in balance. However, if this balance is destroyed and one of these powers becomes very powerful, an extreme despotism will develop. These tendencies have appeared in Greece and Rome. Furthermore, even in international society, there will develop such unstable internationalism and pacifism as armed peace or the League of Nations or such principles of aggression and ideas of the world as one nation as it did in Macedonia and Rome.

Modern Europe is a world representing conflicting principles in which all of these principles are mixed. As a result, although economically it is called capitalism, it is a refined form of commercialism. After this commercialism has exploited domestic agricultural districts to the limit, it will then utilize to the utmost the agricultural districts of such overseas countries as India and Australia. Since that would not be sufficient, it will exploit Manchuria and China. This is the so-called Imperialism. Since Imperialistic countries other than England are appearing here and there, disputes and antagonism will develop concerning the problem of colonies. The situation will be passable as long as armed peace is maintained, but sooner or later, a situation will develop in which these countries will clash in an imperialistic war struggle for world domination. This is the substance of the European war. Such manner of living, way of existence, or forms of civilization are abnormalities that developed in unsuitable areas such as in deserts and seas which, in essence, cannot maintain human life by labor. The modern world is a product of the remarkable development of this abnormal civilization and the attempt to return to this abnormal civilization is the downfall of the Occident. Enlightenment comes from the East. Nazism, in a certain sense, is return to the Orient and the restoration of agricultural civilization. For instance even the Nazi national land plan has a tendency toward Japanism and is, after all, trying to return to the special character and nature of human life based on the soil.

## 7. JAPAN'S LEBENSRAUM AND THE BLOC THEORY

SPINATOKI: Indeed, it must be so. In the conversion of the present world it must be so. In short, it is not natural to establish an empire across the seven seas. I think that the future world will necessarily be divided into large spheres. Generally, these zones must be connected together by land. Japan must also consider herself as connected by land to the Asiatic continent instead of considering herself as a sea-bound country. On a map, the Japan-Manchukuo-China bloc system that Japan is now operating, is indeed widespread. But I think that the sphere may be a little small. If the South Seas area is added to this, it will become a splendid lebensraum. I think that this is not an oceanic empire but a splendid lebensraum connected by land and which has the forms of the theory of the bloc system of the new world. I think that we must consider the lebensraum of the Asiatics or the establishment of a bloc from this angle. The existing commercialism must, on this occasion, be completely liquidated. It seems to me that activities based on the soil, such as primitive industries, will become fundamental. If this is accomplished, the temptation of waging war will be greatly decreased.

In this sense, the interview given to the American press by Hitler is very interesting. He demanded that since

he does not infringe on the sphere of existence of others, others must not interfere with his own lebensraum. For this purpose, we must generally have the essentials for self-sufficiency. The United States advocates the Monroe doctrine; the reason is that the United States is not desirous of being invaded by the old world. He said that it would be tolerated if the United States confined herself to this doctrine, but he reprimanded the United States as being unreasonable in interfering in everything throughout the world.

KOBAYASHI: Therefore, unless Japan's statesmen either follow England and the U.S. or else abolish this course, she cannot accomplish anything on a large scale. A great nation-wide plan concentrated on national defense, in the future, must follow such a course.

SHIRATORI: We must follow such a course even though it is against our will; we must follow that course rapidly.

#### 8. CHARACTER OF THE GERMAN RACE

NOMURA: I only think that notwithstanding the fact that the situation is actually so, there are a great many people who take an opposite view. It must be taken for granted that interests cause them to take this opposite view. But after all, our minds, which are now controlled by past thoughts and ideas, are influenced in this way. There is also the misconception that world civilization originated in Greece and Rome and that modern civilization was perfected in France and England, and that since this was said to be of the highest level, any improvement in this direction is considered progress. After all, this does not differ fundamentally with the interpretation of history by Marx. In this banner, Europe is considered as the center of all history. However, although Japan speaks of a new order in East Asia, she has not contemplated at all as to the nature of the historical basis on which the new order stands. This is not only a problem of history. The old world outlook permeates the field of philosophy, and politics, economics, law, and society. As long as things are viewed with such a world outlook, they will be distorted. It seems to me that after all, a new cultural movement is absolutely necessary.

Although the Nazis in Germany have a fine new world outlook, it too did not appear suddenly but arose in Germany after the race and state were unified. For example, there were the cultural struggle of Bismark which has a deep political significance, and such things as

Hegelianism in the philosophical field, movement of romanticism thinking from the standpoint of literary thought, the historical school of economics, and proponents of ancient German law in the legal school. Therefore, it is said that the movement for the establishment of the new culture, which is based on a very wide scope and which would give the Nazi's world outlook a foundation, arose in Germany from the nineteenth century. Since that movement did not fully attain success, it was defeated by democracy or liberalism at the time of the last world war. However, this time, under Nazi domination, this movement has completely flourished. On the contrary, because of the existence of such a cultural foundation, the Nazi's domination became firm. That is my line of thought.

SPIRATORI: The keynote of the character of the German race varies greatly from that of the Anglo-Saxons. I think that principally, their racial characteristic has a very strong totalitarian tendency. At the same time, since they have accomplished such progress in science they have, of course, a respect for their individuality as one of their strong points. However, totalitarianism is what makes up this foundation. Therefore, the parliamentary government of the Anglo-Saxons cannot possibly take root on that point. I believe that Japan is similar on that point. I am inclined to believe that the wholesome instinct of all the races are principally totalitarian. I think that this was distorted and became what it is today. Man differs from animals on the point that man overcomes nature, and although God differentiated between human beings and animals by giving man excellent capabilities, Western civilization, in order to overcome nature, realized one triumph after another in science, and in its process fell victim to temptation. That field was greatly over-emphasized and over-rated. At the present, this evil advanced to the point where it has destroyed the collective livelihood of mankind, and I believe that it is the new world outlook of Germany and Italy that emphasized the original collective instincts of mankind to counteract this evil. It is a relatively short time since the individualistic tendency was introduced in Japan. Therefore, it is not so difficult for Japan, whose racial characteristic was originally based on the family system and totalitarianism, to return to national polity in its entirety. Consequently, I believe that the awakening of Japan in the period of the present world evolution will be very rapid.

NOMURA: Unless the /T.N. national/ organization is completed by the time of the awakening-----

KOBAYASHI: It must be completed as soon as possible. What do you think about this matter, concerning the treatment of this problem?

## 9. National Organization and Prince KONOYE.

SHIRATORI: As for the problem of the reorganization of the nation, I think that it must be fundamentally a thought movement which aims at returning to the basic principle of Japan's national structure. If we are engrossed only in the problem of the form of government, it will result in a distortion. Formerly, divine inspiration and the like was scorned by the intelligentsia, so we must consider methods of persuasion sufficient to gain the assent of the intelligentsia. However, the unlearned will not require such methods. They will understand at once if we merely say that we should do our best to serve the Emperor. If we, the whole /p.115/ seventy millions of the nation, begin by writing to offer our all to His Majesty, since we owe it all to him, and actually practice SHIMBUNDO /MN: the way of a subject/, then the questions of government, economy, education, and leadership of young men will naturally take the proper course. It is also unnecessary to emphasize that when everyone returns to that frame of mind, existing party politicians and partisans will be out. Everyone will have that frame of mind and on such a basis, the government will get along. Accordingly, Japan's social, economic, educational, and all other structures will be reformed. Then, Western individualistic or liberalistic and capitalistic structures will, as a matter of course, be completely regulated. That will be favorable. If things are done that way, since we are all children of His Majesty the Emperor, we should not be blamed so severely for what we may have thought, said, and done before. Let us forget the past entirely and together get on with a movement of service to the Emperor. Let us establish an organization in keeping with this. For this all can agree it will be entirely natural to have Prince KONOYE, who is of the noblest family of the seventy millions of the nation, lead and direct the movement. Looking at /p. 116/ it that way, there is no one who can take Prince KONOYE's place. In ability, knowledge, and personality there may be many among the seventy millions who surpass him. However, when we consider the new movement, or its organization, which aims to unite all subjects in a return to offering their services to His Majesty the Emperor, Prince KONOYE, by the very position his family holds in Japanese history, is the one we must have to lead it. I say this chiefly because we should build a new Japan by depending upon Prince KONOYE.

KOBAYASHI: Then, in short, you mean he is the representative of the whole nation?

SHIRATORI: I mean representative or flagman. Later, all the people will follow him.

KOBAYASHI: With that in mind, existing political parties or former politicians- if such groups then truly perceive their new mission and abandon their former platforms, naturally that will be good.

## 10. Methods of Reform and the National Structure.

SHIRATORI: It may be unreasonable for us to require that of all of them. It may also be unreasonable for the whole seventy millions of the nation to demand it at once. Since we aim at establishing a new organization and effecting a movement of service to the Emperor which will embrace all of the people, it will probably be well to accept for the time being those who venture to join it. I think we should not be so critical as to say that this or that person is objectionable because of his past connections. It is, however, another question who should play the lead in the new organization and by whom in the future the new policies should be made. There have been some people, of course, studying devotedly along this line, so these people, I think, ought to have the leadership. The past was an era of vain strife. Much has been discussed among the members of existing bureaucratic political parties. Therefore, wouldn't it be well if in the future everyone could become /p. 118/ of congenial spirit, frankly delve into the matter, and cooperate as a body, starting from a new foundation? A nation-wide organization will be useless, if we leave out political parties. After all we must build a firm organization like that of the Nazis and Fascists. Such arguments will probably arise. As for the formation of the organization, in all probability those which have been worked out by Germany and Italy should be taken into consideration. After many failures, great sacrifices, and much hard work, these have at last shown good results. I think that Japan, however, will be able to make use of their good features without paying that price.

Although there is no need to reject them because they are of Western nature, the spirit of Japan's national structure must be based fundamentally and permanently on the view of the world which has been traditional in Japan from time immemorial. Take the problem of economic reorganization for instance, we should of course avoid Marxism, but we should also avoid the Fascist economic theory as far as possible. By dint of the attributes deriving from the basic principle underlying Japan's national structure, I think we shall be able to shake off all the evils of capitalism and liberalism. In the external form by which the reform can be carried out, it is quite probable there will be things resembling /p.119/ those done by Germany and Italy. Nevertheless, I believe the fundamental concept will be different.

NOMURA: Among the arguments which are in vogue these days, while their expression takes the form of constant references to the CHOKOKU /TN: founding of the country/ spirit and the basic principles of national structure, their content seems still to contain a great many features of the old order. For instance, though they speak of the government of Imperial Japan and emphasize such expressions as, Imperial Rule assistance, actually there are a great many arguments in which democratic features are advocated. Moreover,

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they claim it is necessary to liquidate things feudalistic so as to pave the way for assistance to the Imperial Rule. They brand as feudalistic things which rather ought to be in essence Japanese, and thus reject them. In the final analysis, there is a tendency which seems to lean toward things Western.

SHIRATORI:

I also believe that there are terms, among those old slogans and expressions, which need scrutiny. For example, there are many people who, by ignoring the Emperor, interpret such phrases as IKKUN BAIMIN /TN: the whole /p. 120/ nation under one sovereign/ to mean the American idea of natural rights of man and the equality of all men. Moreover, the phrase BAIMIN HOYOKU /TN: assistance of the whole nation/ is liable to be interpreted as majority rule. Such things must not be.

#### 11. Shortcomings of the Reform Faction in Our Country.

SHIRATORI:

We must criticize such things closely. Those who advocate clarification of the national structure lay great stress on ideological aspects. They have emphasized only the national structure of Japan and have had little concern for the actual and the economic life of the people. It has been said that the so-called advocates of national structure, have no interest in economy. The group which lays so much stress on the immediate evils of Western capitalism tries to correct this by economic theory borrowed chiefly from Europe. This group calls the advocates of national structure unscientific and the latter call the former left-wing or red, so that they reject one another. Actually, however, in order to clarify the national structure, the spiritual and material aspects are correlative, and an economy and a government which are /p. 121/ based on the main principle of rule by the Emperor must be realized. In economics, furthermore, those who advocate socialism, completely forget the national structure and say let us have an economic re-organization by relying exclusively on Western theory and by referring to Western precedents. I can not admit either of them. These two must be reconciled, I think, if we would lay the foundations of Japan in the proper place. So-called reform factions and powers for reform should be united, provided that they are sincere. On this ground, I think the right path of Japan's government, diplomacy, and economy would become clear. Fundamentally, the emphasis should not be laid only on the material side, nor only on the spiritual side. Mutual hostility and strife among those who aim similarly at reform, I think, is one of the causes that have allowed the so-called advocates of the status quo to survive until now. It is because they offset each other that their strength is nullified. Recently, many who believe in Japanism have begun to advocate something called Imperial Way Economy. It is a good tendency.

- KOBAYASHI: It is extremely difficult to secure their reconciliation or to make them over, but /p. 122/ we must arrange it without delay. As has been previously discussed it will be possible for us to do this when, in a broad sense, the national reorganization is carried out. For this, as you say, KONOYE is very important. We wish him to make the great decision himself.
- SHIRATORI: KONOYE is himself determined, I think. If he does participate this time, he is intelligent enough not to say that he will resolve this vain strife. Since he ought to know what is water and what is oil, he probably won't venture to unite the two. I don't believe he will come out with any superficial determination.
- KOBAYASHI: Upon KONOYE's coming out in such a right direction to organize the nation, the present so-called politicians would join him. In such a case, it will mean we must give considerable thought as to their intentions.

## 12. The Objectives and Form of the New Government.

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- SHIRATORI: When the politicians join, I do not know what sort of position they will be given, but, after all, the important thing is toward what objectives will the new government advance and what sort of things will it undertake. If these are made perfectly clear, it will be all right to accept those who come with that knowledge. Men of old beliefs perhaps will lack new ideas and will be unable to work out new ones. Men of the old order perhaps can not cope with bold policies of reform. I think, at any rate, so-called new elements may be anticipated. It would be well if those who have formerly aimed for reform in Japan would assist sincerely this movement regardless of newspaper reports, etc., and unanimously participate in it so as to allow Prince KONOYE to discharge fully and without any error the duties that will be his. Furthermore, affiliation by all is the way, I think, for the new organization to achieve the desired results.
- KOBAYASHI: This differs greatly from the new party movement as traditionally thought of, doesn't it?
- SHIRATORI: The new party movement seems to have undergone a great change compared with the time when Prince KONOYE organized his last cabinet. When he undertook the formation of his last cabinet, it was, I think, /p.124/ with the prime object of resolving all vain strife, and I believe he thought the emergency could only be weathered through national unity. In an effort to achieve this, he organized a cabinet, and since fortunately or unfortunately the China Incident occurred, national unity was for the time being realized. However, in the duration of war for one year or more, national unity reached its utmost limit. Thus the feeling came about that a national re-

organization in a new sense had to be made. The first thought might have been to unite political parties. However, this would make the cleavage between the new and the old all the greater. He knew that would not be feasible. He might have resigned in order to withdraw and organize his ideas. For this, I think many people criticized him saying that he shunned responsibility for solution of the Incident and that he had resigned without any reason. I suppose the reason why Prince KONOYE retired was that if he had gone on as before, the national reorganization could not possibly have been achieved. Especially, being in a position of authority in the government and hard-pressed with various daily affairs, he could not organize his ideas, and I think he decided to withdraw and wait until circumstances became favorable. As a direct and indirect effect of the war, there arose /p. 125/ in the world a situation in which this was no longer feasible. Foreign and European situations have undergone sudden changes, and a powerful impulse has daily been given this. He might have, I think, made up his mind because he may perhaps be successful this time.

- KOBAYASHI: Such men as Mr. ARIMA and Mr. KAZAMI, who are now devoting themselves to this by KONOYE's side, should apprehend the meaning clearly, I think.
- SHIRATORI: As for that, I really don't know to what extent Mr. KAZAMI acts in Prince KONOYE's behalf, but I doubt that their ideas are in complete agreement. So, what those persons say perhaps can not be said to be exactly what Prince KONOYE intends. The most sincere elements of the so-called reform faction are what Prince KONOYE now desires most of all. Probably what he wants most of all is for such elements, even in small numbers, to unite and put themselves at his disposal. It would be well at this time for those who are confident to make themselves known.
- KOBAYASHI: Even if numbers are required, by no means - - - -  
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SHIRATORI: If there are too many they will not agree, I think.
- NOMURA: If many persons who differ totally in viewpoint come together and agree only superficially, it will be of no value. After all, if the greatest common measure is not called for - - - -
- SHIRATORI: In a parliamentary body, only the supporters, after all, attend meetings. It will be very commonplace and immaterial whether we have it or not. The smaller the number, the better the quality. To speak in the extreme, one is the best.
- KOBAYASHI: As for scholars, as previously discussed, when we look for them among the Imperial universities all are of no value, and, consequently, if we examine them too carefully - - - -

SHIRATORI: Even if we examine a great many, it will avail nothing as far as the old system of national unity is concerned.

NOMURA: At the beginning of the last European War no one in Germany was opposed to the war for the time being. At any rate, all were united in support of the war. However, the phenomenon appeared that they all differed as to the reason for the war.

SHIRATORI: When the war was prolonged for so long a time and the situation turned unfavorable, general strikes took place.

### 13. Conversion of the Foreign Policy of Our Country.

KOBAYASHI: If we do not rebuild the interior of our country, a trouble is imminent. According to the papers, Great Britain and America seem to support Dutch East Indies and French Indo-China. How about the information you received?

SHIRATORI: France as well as Great Britain can not afford to attend the problems of Dutch East Indies and French Indo-China. America also can not afford to do so, either, for time being. Their minds are full of anxiety of how to combat Hitler's menace.

NOMURA: I heard that Germany's reply concerning Dutch East Indies had raised a serious issue. What was that?

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SHIRATORI: Germany is not interested in Dutch East Indies. But she wouldn't like it if Japan, Great Britain, America, and France should play into each other's hand on Dutch East Indies. If we should consult about Dutch East Indies, Germany would like to be first informed. I think it is quite natural.

KOBAYASHI: Indeed, I can not help thinking that we must make up our mind as soon as possible.

SHIRATORI: Though Japan's foreign policy must be converted thoroughly, 180-degree turning round can not be made under the present system, and it ought not to be made under the present government system. We can not tolerate, for the grave of our Emperor's righteous diplomacy, that the present Government adopt a strong policy without changing its constitution. It is not right that we take Dutch East Indies by taking advantage of the bustle simply because Germany won victory. When we adopt our righteous policy arising from a renovated constitution, it is natural that Japan should collaborate with Germany and Italy, so that Japan may, by the negotiations with them, /p. 129/ settle the problems of the colonies in Asia.

KOBAYASHI: After all it is a question of a renovation of governmental system of Japan, or of the interior reconstruction.

- SHIRATORI: That must be the premise.
- Editor: What will be the extent of America's supply of resources to Great Britain and France?
- SHIRATORI: I think it can not be done sufficiently under the present circumstances. American war industry is spoken about quite in exaggeration. However, the scale of industry which has been developed naturally by dint of activities based upon pursuit of individual profits in the society of capitalism, is not large enough as is supposed, judging from the present day standard. Take the production capacity, for instance, of airplanes or of tanks, America is considerably inferior to Germany. And, America is now rapidly enlarging her armaments, having the budget passed in the Congress. But, that is only because America fears for her own safety. The main object is to defend herself. There is not big enough surplus to supply to Great Britain and France. America seems to have sent old-fashioned weapons which were used in the last war. At any rate, she can not cope with the urgent necessity.
- KOBAYASHI: Our Foreign Office has changed quite /p.130/ bit. Once there were those who said that SHIRATORI was misleading the country.
- SHIRATORI: Even at the present time, there are those who say that kind of thing. A man can not convert his thought so suddenly partly because of his feeling. He can hardly say that his prospect was wrong but inclines to think up some pretext or other. He does not want to confess plainly that he was wrong.
- KOBAYASHI: The situation is getting on as exactly as foretold by Mr. SHIRATORI.
- SHIRATORI: Since October last, I have been saying that the British Empire was on the eve of downfall. People at the Foreign Ministry were astonished by my prophecy. What deep blind faith (in Britain) they have!
- KOBAYASHI: Younger people, however, seem to be changing in their thought.
- NOMURA: What do you think of Ambassador KURIYAMA's opinion? Old-fashioned, isn't it?
- Editor: In the event of Germany's victory, I think our people in general will become much more interested /p.131/ in Germany and come to believe in downfall of democracy.
- SHIRATORI: That will spur the interior renovation of Japan.
- NOMURA: In the same sense as the Soviet revolution once had great influence on us.

SHIRATORI: The Communist revolution of Russia has changed greatly in quality. After all, it has been proved that what Marx taught us was impossible in practice. But, that revolution as well as the French Revolution, had undoubtedly great influence on human society. Both Germany and Italy were drastically affected by it. Japan was also influenced. If we wish to suppress it, we can do so as we wish. But, after all, it is an achievement of Marxism that it has pointed out its own illogicality and defects, and at the same time it is a fact that capitalism itself has become impossible. That Bolshevik revolution took place as a direct result of the war. But the real cause of the revolution was the deadlock of capitalism. So, any other country could not escape from this influence.

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KOBAYASHI:

It accords with the fundamental characters of Japan, and it means to create a totally new character of state. If such a science and systematic thought should be born general public will come to understand gradually, leaving the intelligentsia behind.

SHIRATORI:

For instance, the saying of Bolshevism that one who does not work should not eat, does not apply to the conditions of our country. The Japanese people being equally His Majesty the Emperor's children, none of them should starve. We must not have even one person, who has been born as a subject of His Majesty, starved. We must make every one live. I do not necessarily mean that every one should eat equally.

KOBAYASHI:

One hundred million people are the same. Not materialistic individualism that we live in.

SHIRATORI:

My opinion is that man does not live to eat. But, we eat to fulfill the duty as a subject of His Majesty. His Majesty enables us to eat and live. Some people think they live by their own ability, but /p. 133/ that is wrong, and that is the cause of old evil. Since even those who can not serve His Majesty are supplied with necessity, we can be carefree for living. We do not like such a cold-hearted saying as "One who does not work should not eat."

KOBAYASHI:

Even in Soviet Russia, some sort of spiritualism must be added to their principle. Otherwise, Soviet will come to a deadlock.

NOJIMA:

On a whole, Marxism is an abstract argument thought out with contemplation of capitalistic society purer than England and with a kind of conceptional process. That is, Marxism is a theory thought out with presumption that almost all portion of the nation would become proletariat. And it was clear at the very beginning that, if such one were applied to agricultural country like Russia, certainly unreasonableness will be caused. In other words, as there were no settlement of agricultural problem /p. 134/ should Marxism be applied in accordance with the formula, Leninism found a different thought in connection

with the farmers. This is quite an unnatural theory that the farmers are considered as the ally of the proletarians. Furthermore, Marxism can not solve racial problems. Soviet Republic was harassed by these, but a more difficult problem was that she could not make such leaders as engineers and clerks her friends, and consequently she could not utilize their techniques to the full extent. When she tried to put the five years plan into practice in order to enlarge her productive power, she was harassed with shortage of engineers and she could do nothing unless she brought engineers from Germany. These points will be gradually rectified in the face of reality, and consequently its class theory will fail.

14. Relations Between Hakko-ichi-u (the ideal which lets all nations live peaceably under one roof) and Sphere of Livelihood.

Editor: As to Living sphere to which you referred a moment ago, some people say, for example, that although the aim of this holy war is said to be Hakko-ichi-u, they can not understand it well because it is so abstract and covered /p. 135/ with mystic cloud. On the other hand, some people regard it as Imperialism. On the contrary, the Germans have a clear insistence of "Living Sphere," so it is easy to understand. Sometimes people say that we had better have clearer aims of this holy war. What are the relations between Hakko-ichi-u and Living Sphere?

SHIRATORI: I understand that Hakko-ichi-u stands for the ultimate object that the benevolence of the Imperial rule blesses all the nations alike. This is because His Majesty, great father of Japanese people as well as great father of all mankind. It resembles "Universal Brotherhood" of Christian creed in form, but it is different in principle. I think it right to deal with China with this ultimate object. It does not mean affiliation of China to Japan nor territorial annex of China to Japan. Hakko-ichi-u has been advocated to make a clear distinction between our ideal and western imperialism or aggressive policy. The so-called Japan-Manchukuo -China Bloc is, I think, of the same nature with /p. 136/ Hitler's "Lebensraum". That is, Japan, Manchoukuo and China are to have the common "Living Sphere". This is not the capitalistic exploitation which has been committed by western people. At the base lies the idea of Hakko-ichi-u, the spirit of the foundation of Japan. The new order of the Orient must be of this kind. What kind of new order could be established with the old western-type treaties between China with the western-type prerogative right, Manchoukuo with the same prerogative right, and Japan? The old ideas and the old methods bring nothing new. These three nations must be united with a new idea with which the existing international law can not deal.

As a matter of fact, Japan and Manchoukuo recognize each other's independence in the light of international law, but there exist some special relations between them which can not be explained by international law. This fundamental principle should be applied to China. This scope may be extended to any degree. The question of the concrete relations between China and Japan, we may study in various ways in future and decide the matters gradually also with consent of the /p. 137/ Chinese people. It is not necessary to follow the examples of Manchoukuo in every respect. There may be much to be amended in the case of Manchoukuo. The only thing which we have to do is to clear off the old order established by western countries in China as a preamble to build up the new order. This must be done at any cost. If this was successfully done, the New East Asia Order will be established in substance. This does not mean only to sweep away aggressive and exploitative system of western nations out of China. The old order is not referred only to the materialistic conditions, but also to the spiritual conditions. It must also be a preamble to the new order that western ideas be cleaned up out of the Chinese mind. But it should be necessary to sweep away the old order ideas first from the Japanese mind. On account of these I say that the new order of China will not be established unless and until the interior constitution of our country is rebuilt.

## 15. Forecast of the World War.

Editor: You will please tell us your forecast of the World War in the near future.

SHIRATORI: As I have given an outline a moment ago, France would be disposed of in the very near future. As for Great Britain, she would be subdued shortly if Germany should succeed in her landing operations. There are many difficulties involved in landing operations. If it should be too dangerous to carry out, it would not be necessary for Germany to attack by her land forces. Suppose that Germany should control the sea-coast ranging from Norway to Spain, and establish the bases for air forces and submarines along the said coast and should effect continuous air raids on Great Britain on a large scale. All the harbour facilities and the munition factories would become targets. As Germany has excellent air forces the result will be very effective. Italy, I suppose, will have the command of the Mediterranean and she will, in cooperation with Germany, attack her enemy with submarines in the Atlantic, especially at the mouths of harbours where submarine attack is comparatively easy. Thus Great Britain would be actually blockaded. Being confronted with these, Great Britain would necessarily be stumped. By landing operations, the engagement will come to an end by August, as Hitler said. In any way, Great Britain would not be able to bear her sufferings till the end of this year. The worst conditions on the part of Germany will be that, if Great Britain should make decisive resolution to hold out her resistance at the cost of her whole Navy, the term of resistance will be prolonged. But in spite of this, Great Britain will be hopeless.

The question is whether Great Britain would submit on cruel conditions which will be proposed by Germany or would go on fighting after having drawn back to Canada. In the latter case, however, she will be unable to resist without the cooperation with America. With France destroyed first and with Great Britain in a narrow escape to Canada, would America still venture to declare war upon Germany? In case America should not aid Great Britain the latter would gradually be compelled to bear her unfortunate decline. If so, I think, Germany, Italy and U.S.S.R. would remain as the three big nations in Europe, while Great Britain and France would necessarily be compelled to fall down to the second and third class nations with culture and

peace but without any armaments. In all events, as Great Britain possesses so many colonies in every corner of the world, she will keep on resisting for a long period and externally the state of war will not terminate at once. But even if she should wish to keep on resistance, it is beyond imagination that only the Government and the governing class with stratagem and gold bullion should desert the realm of England leaving the forty five millions of people behind. Her colonies in Africa will be taken away and in the future India will become independent from Great Britain and these facts will make her quite powerless. Canada is not rich in resources, and is supposed to become naturally a part of the United States. But as this would be unbearable to English people, it is more probable that they would keep resisting bravely to heroic death in defence of their country. In any way, it will be inevitable that, owing to the marked inferiority in military strength, Great Britain will finally submit. The situation, however, will become clearer within next one or two weeks. Suppose Germany should venture landing operations, the war may come to an end earlier than expected. Some military experts are in the opinion that there is little possibility of landing operations. But Germany herself says that she will carry out it without fail.

NOMURA: The forecasts of military experts have often failed. The North European operation had not been imagined. The parachute troops had not been expected to be used till they were employed in Holland and Belgium, and military experts still say that the operation was unsuccessful even after the operation took place in Holland..

Editor: People say the same things in America.

NOMURA: They say that parachute troops were all captured and annihilated.

SHIRATORI: The parachute troops achieved a considerable success in Holland. It is in this war that the forecasts of military experts are not reliable.

## VI. Comment on Japan's Non-interference.

(The Greater ASIA Magazine, June 1939.)

Within ten days since the invasion of German troops into Belgium and Holland, they obtained the same results as in the first one month or two of the First European War. The fall of Paris and the capture of the seacoast of Dover are near at hand, and it is considered likely that the German troops may also proceed to the British Isles. This is, literally, world-shaking. To the observers, however, who have witnessed the German's incessant efforts for the last 7 years and who properly appreciate the characteristics of the German people and the principles and structure of the politics and economy of their totalitarian regime, the present state of affairs is, in fact, only what was to be expected. It is therefore only natural that those who have hitherto been regarding liberalism and democracy as the pinnacle of human culture and who believe in the indomitable power of England or the Anglo-Saxon race have come to doubt their own observations.

England and France have compulsorily challenged Germany to fight. Why they have done so? We may, in short, say that the reason for it is that they have underestimated the real strength of Naziist Germany. They thought that Germany may be held down at present, but may become too much for their powers to do so if they let her grow unnoticed several years longer. But, alas! It was already then too late for them, as the strength of Germany had already become too much to be vanquished. Not only England and France, but also the U.S.A. in the same way, had been wrongly underestimating the strength of the German and Italian totalitarian Axis countries by believing that the management of all matters that concerned Europe might, in general, be conducted well if entrusted only to England and France, as it appeared to her that Italy and Germany would surely be defeated in the end and her own duty was to try, with all her efforts, to suppress Japan, the aggressor, totalitarian state in the Orient. In the first place, the one who had most wished for an outbreak of war in Europe is Roosevelt himself. It is not an exaggeration that, up to the beginning of the War, the efforts of the U.S., as shown by the German "White Paper" were directed towards provoking a European war. However, when the war actually broke out, the general opinion of the U.S. turned out in favour of non-interference. She did not modify her policy of cash settlement of trade balance and of not lending her vessels to any belligerent powers, although her government had revised the Neutrality Law, so that the degree of America's aid to England and France was very lukewarm, which gave rise to an atmosphere of considerable discontent in the said two countries. It happened that, as a war without fighting lasted for eight months, not only England and France, but also the U.S. were unaware of the approaching danger. We believe that

it can, however, be said that <sup>the</sup> North European War finally served to half open their eyes, and only by the recent collapse of the Western Front did they, for the first time, become fully awakened.

It appears, nevertheless, as though they are still possessed of an optimistic view regarding the future. As until now, they seem to still have hopes of success in leading matters to a protracted war by anticipating that the battle-front will fall into a state of stalemate due to the slackening of the German Army's offensive, as was witnessed in the First European War. But, now that the stronghold of the Maginot Line which took four years to construct has been penetrated in no time, no one, not even an amateur, could hardly think of the possibility of a deadlock in the front lines by resulting in mere trench warfare. The only way out of the difficulty for England and France would be to decide upon a large-scale counter-attack, which, however, would no longer seem to be possible inasmuch as there appears to be a marked difference between the respective Air Forces and Mechanized Troops.

Now, as for the U.S., she would by no means be able to render effective military assistance even if she should promptly participate in the War today. As Goering used to always say, there would be no spot for the landing of the U.S. soldiers even if the U.S. were to participate in the present War. His saying seems to have turned out true. The best that could be done by the U.S. would seem to be the granting of an unlimited credit to England and France, the offering of her vessels for the transporting of munitions, and to also ship a large number of more superior planes than in the past. The withdrawal of the U.S. fleet from the Pacific and despatching same to their aid would possibly be fairly effective, but it may be impossible for the U.S. at the present juncture when her relations with Japan have become so aggravated.

If Soviet Russia, a neutral power, should suddenly turn around to the aid of England and France and attack Germany from behind in full force, there might possibly be a complete change in the war situation, but this is absolutely inconceivable. Not only must it be considered that there must be some sort of understanding between Soviet Russia and Germany so as to make Germany feel perfectly easy, but Germany would certainly not have withdrawn her mechanized troops entirely from Poland in order to hurl her entire strength into the Western Front unless Germany had felt positively safe in doing so. It must be extremely reassuring to Germany to think of the millions of Italian soldiers who are sufficiently prepared to rise up at a moment's notice.

As for the future outlook of the present war, astounding developments will doubtlessly have been made by the time this article appears in print. Furthermore, not much actual benefit might be derived from purposely trying to predict the future outcome. However, we may nevertheless safely assert that the present war is destined to bring about a sort of solution unprecedentedly cruel and almost incredibly complete. Fuehrer Hitler a few days ago declared that the fate of the German race for a thousand years to come hangs upon this war, while it is warned in Italy that the destiny of Europe for three hundred years to come is about to be decided today. At any rate, it is apparent that there is no longer any room left for doubt that what Hitler and Mussolini are planning is the fundamental reconstruction of Europe. When a tendency of defeat on one side of the belligerent countries became clear in any previous war, it was customary for some to be brought to an end by peace negotiations which defined the ceding of some territory and payment of reparations. However, it cannot be imagined that the present war will be terminated in such a simple manner. In fact there even seems to be the possibility of Great Powers who have been boasting of their glory for several centuries past coming to a sudden collapse.

It is also extremely doubtful as to whether the minor Powers in Europe may be allowed to remain as independent states possessing absolute sovereignty rights. This must be said to be all the more so with the colonies of the minor Powers.

We have been advocating since the very beginning of the present war that the world is just on the eve of a gigantic transformation in which the Old Order based upon Democratic Capitalism will be doomed, in lieu whereof the New Order based upon Totalitarianism must be set up. As Japan has, ever since the Manchurian Incident, been assuming the leading role in establishing the New Order throughout the China Incident, the Japanese people should realize the New Order and act in close concert with the Axis Powers as Germany and Italy. The supporters of the Old Order in Japan have been reluctant in realizing the true significance of this gigantic world-wide transformation, and in fact the conclusion of the Triple Alliance between Japan, Germany and Italy finally fell through due to the Old Order element to both at home and abroad. However, no human power can do anything against the inevitable current of world history. The way for Japan to pursue has already been decided on. In fact, Japan has already been trodding along the said path for nearly ten years. Those Japanese who do not know well where their way is leading to are looking on the present war in Europe with utter indifference and wrongly think that they can establish the New Order in Eastern Asia by merely continuing to act in a conciliatory manner with

those powers established upon the Old Order. They may be likened to persons who are unaware of a fire in which they are already in the midst. They imagine they can keep themselves free from the world-wide gigantic transformation so long as they are declaring their non-interference policy.

Some of the other Japanese are making similar mistakes. For instance, they think that Japan will not be dragged into the War as she did not conclude the Triple Alliance with Germany and Italy. These persons do not know the fact that Japan has contributed much towards the attainments made hitherto by Germany. But for the Alliance between Germany and Soviet Russia, Germany would probably not have been able to make up her mind to start this war; and, in making Soviet Russia friendly towards Germany, the presence of Japan in the East and the fair progress of the negotiations for concluding an Alliance between the Axis countries at Tokyo, Berlin and Rome are factors which have contributed considerably.

If the U.S. had participated in the War at its early stage, not only might it possibly have encouraged the morale of the British and French forces, but their fighting power might also have become actually enhanced. Germany too, might not have been able to acquire her absolute supremacy in the air, and it is likely that the attitude of Italy might also have been greatly affected. Is it not Japan that fastened the U.S. down to the Pacific? The U.S. has not as yet been able to assume a decisive attitude. Is not the presence of Japan practically the main reason for this? Germany owes a debt of gratitude to Japan. In defiance of this close relation between Japan and Germany, a certain group of Japanese have sought a certain kind of understanding with Britain at the Tokyo Parley after the Tientsin Affair. This fact was promptly reported to Germany. Of course Japan's attitude too has doubtlessly become clearly understood recently in Berlin. Under such circumstances, how can we expect Germany to be grateful towards Japan? The Japanese people should not forget the fact that the Japanese diplomacy has done something that does not pay for Japan, it has done much for Germany and yet lets itself open to incur her wrath.

If the world's map has to be drawn anew as a result of the European War, if the Netherlands, for instance, should become merged as German territory, the Dutch Indies would, as a matter of course, become added to German territory. If Japan continues to behave as she has in the past, Germany will be placed under no obligation whatsoever to Japan in giving the question of the Dutch Indies her special consideration. It must be remembered, however, that the South Seas has become Japan's Life Line economically and strategically. We, in establishing the New Order, do not mean to confine

its area only to China. Japan cannot remain idle as an onlooker in the event of a wholesale change of territory taking place in the southeast of Asia.

If Japan should devote herself exclusively to the solution of the China Problem by adhering merely to her non-interference policy, matters will doubtlessly become settled within a short period and subsequent to this European War, the Dutch Indies as well as the colonies of England and France will have their ownership decided with Japan looking on as a mere spectator. Therefore, at this important juncture, Japan should realize the ultimate significance of this gigantic world-wide reform and should not fail to engage in active participation therein.

VII Conclusion of JAPAN-GERMANY-ITALY ALLIANCE  
(Asahi Shimbun September 29, 1939)

1. Everlasting Mutual Reliance

The significance of the JAPAN-GERMANY-ITALY TRIPARTITE TREATY concluded last September 27 is extremely important but the contents are simple and clear and do not require much explanation. Ordinarily, a protocol is attached to the treaty but even this is not required in this case. As stipulated in the provisions, details concerning the execution of the treaty are to be decided by a committee which is to be formed later. Since the treaty was not drawn up by specialists, its style differs considerably from the usual form. Viewed from the standpoint of treaty specialists, it may contain many passages that strike them as strange. If analyzed in details legally, it may give rise to various contentions but since the contents of this treaty is unprecedented in history and bluntly, since the fellow nations, JAPAN, GERMANY and ITALY pledged the coalition with their blood, it is only natural that the wording is simple and plain. If a detailed interpretation is attached beforehand legally or if a psychological hold-over exists in regard to mutual rights and duties, the value of the treaty will be destroyed. In short, I think it ultimately depends on the single phrase "mutual reliance".

Therefore, in regard to the treaty itself, the general situation is clarified by the Government proclamation and there is nothing much that would need adding. In the future, due to this, the problem of what effects will it give rise to or how will the treaty itself be carried out or how will its characteristics be developed can only be judged as time progresses. What I am going to say in the following is entirely within the limits of my personal opinion and observations. It must be remembered that I am not revealing special information regarding any agreement among the three countries nor have I any relation whatsoever in the Japanese Government's intentions and policies.

2. Treaty of the NEW WORLD ORDER.

This treaty is formally called the "TRI-PARTITE TREATY" but in general, it seems to be called the TRI-PARTITE ALLIANCE.

From the provisions in Article 3 of the treaty, it can be said that it is genuinely a defensive alliance and may be called a "Security Alliance" or a "Mutual Assistance Alliance". In short, it can be

interpreted as having its aim in preventing further expansion of the war in EUROPE and ASIA. Depending upon the transition of international political conditions hereafter, this Article 3 will be applied. Therefore, this article may be considered in some cases to be the substance of the treaty but it is my desire to seek the construction of the new order as the characteristic of this treaty instead.

Historians of the future generations, I think, will probably call it the Treaty of New World Order. The anti-war treaty drawn up in the closing years of the liberalism era was considered, at that time, to be a new treaty that broke the bonds of tradition. But this New Order Treaty is no less inferior than their treaty from the standpoint of breaking the bonds of convention. Similar to the anti-war treaty which treaty specialists felt it included many points that were very ambiguous, the New Order Treaty is also very untechnical. In the first place, the definition of New Order is not explained. There is no provision concerning the area in Greater East Asia and EUROPE where the New Order shall be established. I believe that these matters will gradually be clarified as time goes on but from the development of affairs up to the present, it is not difficult to generally surmise from common sense the significance of the New Order being planned by the three countries and also the area aimed at by the respective countries.

The so-called New Order is not merely a passive aspect to overthrow the status quo but is supposed to include a positive program of how the new world should be. The popular use of the phrase "new order" seems to have begun with the proclamation concerning the "Construction of the New Order in East ASIA" by the First KONOYE Cabinet. But beginning with HITLER and other NAZI leaders of Germany, they have taken a fancy to the use of this phrase since long ago.

As far as I know, I do not think a responsible explanation has been made in JAPAN as to what the import of the New Order in East ASIA should be. The New Order advocated by Germany seems also to gradually change with the transition of European political conditions.

### 3. Accomplishment of the Three Countries' Ideals.

Since the New Order pictured in the minds of the respective countries, Japan, Germany and Italy, are such, it cannot necessarily be said that they are understood by each other clearly. However, is it not extremely important to definitely clarify this point? Of course, as a treaty it will demarcate each other's sphere of influence and the

recognition of a free-hand within that sphere is in itself, a sufficient significance but this will have a taste of a very old era. I do not wish to regard the present world hostility as merely a contest for world supremacy or a contest for spheres of influence among the big powers. It is insipid if the rising countries, Japan, Germany, Italy and perhaps U.S.S.R. struggle for power against the old powers, Great Britain, America and France.

It is also too simple-minded to regard it as a racial feud between the Anglo-Saxons and the Teutons or between the yellow race and the white race. In brief, although this is a hackneyed expression, I believe it must be regarded as a cultural warfare and a battle of ideology. In a word, it is a struggle between democracy and totalitarianism but viewing it as an opposition of ideology and of culture, it signifies a great revolution unprecedented in the history of mankind.

The ideology of mankind from the standpoint of cultural history in the past several thousand years has seen many changes but since the Grecian era up to the present, the fundamental idea of the Occident has always been based on individualism. The totalitarian idea has been asleep for a long time during that period. Since such was the case of the totalitarian movement started in Germany and Italy, it dates back prior to the Great War and as a Japan, it can be said that it is a reversion to the fundamental and healthy ideology of early mankind which has been preserved and fostered with integrity since the founding of Japan. It is for this reason that the totalitarianism of Germany and Italy include much that is Japanese. In advocating the establishment of the New Order in the Far East through the China Incident, Japan is strongly emphasizing the ideals of CHOKONU/T.M. founding of the country/spirit and HAKYO ICHIU and for this reason, it can be said that it follows the same line of the New Order movement in Germany and Italy.

In Europe it is retrospective to days before the Grecian age and in Japan, it is retrospective to the KAIYO/T.M. age of Gods/?. Therefore, I think it can be said that the New Order movement in the East and West is a movement to restore the fundamental character of mankind. For this reason, British and American quarters are not altogether wrong in identifying Japan, Germany and Italy under the same category and calling them totalitarian countries alike. The collaboration coalition of the three countries is only natural when seen from such a fundamental and ideologicistic standpoint. Now, returning to the realistic problems, concretely, what kind of new culture will

Germany and Italy frame in Europe? What will Japan do in the Greater East Asia area? Furthermore, in the internal organization of the three countries, will they all take a similar type of political and economical path? Is it appears even to the general public and also as in regards to Japan, these are imminent problems of vital importance.

Recently in Japan, the New Order movement is becoming quite noticeable but today, it is the opinion of everyone that the CHOKOKU spirit should be restored and that the underlying principle of the national structure should be clarified to prepare the structure for BAMMIN-YOKUSAN /T.N. popular support or assistance/. Furthermore, the problem is what method should be used to actually carry out the mechanisms of politics and economy which manifest the principle of national structure. The New Order that Germany and Italy is trying to form in Europe does not include only Germany and Italy but the actual problem of the greatest importance is what to do with the political and economical structure of the other European countries. In regard to this, it is believed that today plans considerably definite have been drawn up by Germany and Italy. On the other hand, what form of New Order is Japan going to construct in the Greater Asia area? I think a clear and definite plan regarding the disposition of the New Order in Japan, which is to be the backbone of the New Order in Greater Asia, must first be established.

#### 4. Reformation of the National Structure.

Now, if the ideas and structure of the old order, which remains are still much in evidence in Japan, are to be left intact, can the New Order in Greater Asia ever be established? Assuming that it was possible, can such a New Order in Greater Asia act in concert with the European New Order of Germany and Italy? I have been advocating that the conversion of foreign policy and the National New Order are inseparable. I therefore predict that under the present conditions, Japan's coalition with Germany and Italy is impossible. It is my desire that the people give this careful consideration.

In my opinion, the cause which motivated the great world conversion lies chiefly in the stalemate of liberalistic economy. I have no particular respect for the historical materialism of MARXISM but I think that in many cases, the necessities of economic livelihood have been the cause of revolutions in human society. As long as the capitalistic exploitation economy of the Anglo-Saxon type is rampant

and as long as the boundless accumulation of wealth is permitted to fall into the hands of this small number of individuals, this earth will still be too small even if enlarged five times or even ten times.

To make a long story short, a race of forty and fifty million people control one-fourth of the world's territory and peoples and for the benefit of a small group of plutocrats, they are being exploited and the limitless underground resources are lying prostrate, prevented from being utilized by others. Under such conditions, it is inevitable that poverty prevails today in the materialistic living standard of mankind. To rectify this irrationality in the European and Greater Asia areas may be the principle contents of the New Order mentioned in the Tripartite Pact. But if such is the case, the requisitions of the new New Order Treaty by the three powers concerned must be first, to uphold the totalitarian world idea and second, based on this idea, to renounce the system of exploitation of the stronger preying upon the weaker. If the tyranny of Great Britain, America and France is abhorred and even if they are overthrown, it will degenerate to the heretofore "battle for power" and will not contribute to the civilization of mankind if the three countries are going to succeed them in doing the same thing. If that is the case, a permanent world peace can never be gained.

##### 5. Significance of FUNK's Declaration.

Recently, Germany's Economic Minister FUNK stated that as in NAZI Germany, the gold standard may not be used hereafter in the new Europe. This is simply not only a financial and economical problem of the new Europe but as being indicative of the character of the New Order itself, I think it possesses a significance of extreme importance. If one considers how important a role gold played as a tool to exploit the weak in the world heretofore, one cannot over-emphasize the importance of Mr. FUNK's declaration.

If the New Order planned by Germany and Italy would possess such characteristics, the Old Order powers, especially seen from the standpoint of the dominating class, will know clearly at a glance how strong an opposition totalitarianism is. Now, with the conclusion of the Tripartite Pact by Japan, she is actually standing at the crossroads of choosing one party or the other.

Since the MANCHURIAN Incident, in view of the policy Japan has

adopted and moreover, out of regard for having advocated the high ideals of establishing the Greater Asia New Order, actually Japan should have nothing to cause her to be at loss as to her course of action. But it seems that a portion of the people refuse to consider the problem in that light. With the conclusion of the New Order Treaty, is it not necessary for the government and the people to renew their feelings in regard to world problems?

C E R T I F I C A T E

W.D.C. No. \_\_\_\_\_  
 I.P.S. No. 1616

Statement of Source and Authenticity

I, Shibata, Kosaburo, hereby certify that I am officially connected with the Japanese Government in the following capacity: Second Secretary, Home Ministry

and that as such official I have custody of the document hereto attached consisting of 168 pages, dated Nov, 1946, and described as follows: Discussion of the Japan - Germany - Italy Axis

I further certify that the attached record and document is an official document of the Japanese Government, and that it is part of the official archives and files of the following, named ministry or department (specifying also the file number or citation, if any, or any other official designation of the regular location of the document in the archives or files): Home Ministry

Signed at Tokyo on this  
 third day of January, 1947

/s/ Shibata, Kosaburo  
 Signature of Official  
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Witness: /s/ Rishichi Onuma

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I, Richard H. Larsh, hereby certify that I am associated with the General Headquarters of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, and that the above certification was obtained by me from the above signed official of the Japanese Government in the conduct of my official business.

Signed at Tokyo on this  
3rd day of Jan., 1947

/s/ Richard H. Larsh  
 NAME

Witness: /s/ Douglas L. Waldorf  
 Chief, Inv. Div.  
 IPS

Investigator, IPS  
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