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Translated Title :: 日本のドイツ化、そしてその逆も少し。相互振興と国家社会主義の時代

Abstract :: 本文は、日本とドイツの相互理解の始まりと、1933年に国家社会主義者が政権を握った直後のその激化を描いている。1936年の反コミンテルン条約以降、ドイツでは日本の武士道に対する大きな賞賛が、かつての「黄禍」のレトリックに取って代わられた。総統と日本の天皇の間に類似性を構築することも流行し、侍とSSは同じメンタリティーを共有していると描かれた。当時、ドイツの国営新聞は、他のどの国よりも日本について多くの報道を行った。また、文化財の公開を中心とした相互展示のほか、映画も共同制作された。

このテキストは、プロパガンダの最も興味深い作品をいくつか紹介しているが、ワイマール・ドイツでマルクス主義を含む新しい潮流を学んだ日本の社会主義者の物語を語ることも忘れてはいない。1930年代初頭、ヒトラーという人物が日本の聴衆や読者の間で非常に人気のある話題となったとき、日本におけるドイツの国家社会主義を語ることに大きな意味がある。日本のドイツに関する講演やパンフレットの展開は、中立的な観察から党派的な主張へと変化していった。1938年、ヒトラーエージェントによる公式代表団は、日本を通過する際、強い印象を残した。大々的な報道活動を伴う彼らの旅は、ほとんど国賓訪問のようなものであった。

本文の最後の部分は、ユダヤ人移民に捧げられている。彼らの多くは、ドイツの政権が変わる前に、すでに日本で芸術家として生活していた。彼らは当初、日本での亡命生活に不自由はなかったが、やがてドイツに住む民族主義者たちから嫌がらせを受けるようになる。1942年にドイツが在外ユダヤ人の無国籍化を宣言すると、日本もこれに同調し、やがて彼らは日本への入国を禁じられることになった。

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## Germanisation of Japan and a little viceversa

A time of mutual promotion and National Socialism

10 2020

Cultural relations between Germany and Japan began somehow with Engelbert Kämpfer (1651-1716) and Philipp von Siebold (1796-1866) in the 17th and early 19th centuries respectively.

After the opening of Japan to the Western states they were intensified, but were extremely asymmetrical and resembled more of a teacher-student relationship. German science and technology, above all medicine, law and military affairs, philosophy etc. contributed unabatedly a lot to the modernization of the Japanese state and society at the turn of the century.

Those relations began to flourish, although Japan had taken part in the war on the Allies' side with respect to its 1902 alliance with Great Britain and had conquered the German colony of Kiautschou in China in November 1914. While for contemporary Germans, Japan remained an exotic island country in the Far East, many Japanese saw the new German culture, the so-called *Waimaru bunka*, as a model for the future development of their country.

The German democratization process and especially the Weimar constitution had a strong ideological impact on Japanese liberal and left-wing thinking as well as on Japanese social movement in the 1920s.

More Japanese learned the German language and read German literature in translation or even in the original than during the Meiji era. Scholars and artists adopted Weimar culture as a new trend.

After the war, however, the German Reich 'discovered' foreign cultural and scientific policy and turned to Japan out of its own interest, not least to circumvent the international boycott of German science. In fact, Weimar diplomats thought of culture as a decisive means of Germany's revisionist policy. This interest corresponded with initiatives by Japanese scientists and politicians who had studied in Germany before the war to re-establish scientific and cultural relations with Germany.

After WW I, the number of travelogues ballooned, peaking in the late 1920s, and a handful of adventurers and pioneers enjoyed celebrity status in Germany.<sup>1</sup> In the writings of these travellers, Japan, especially in contrast to other Asian countries, often appeared positively as an oasis of Western civilization and modern amenities in the exotic Orient.

Japan became familiar enough to be accessible, different enough to be fascinating, and restrained enough to be safe. However, to the extent that ordinary Germans crossed paths with any aspect of Japan in their everyday lives, the encounter most likely took place on newsprint. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, Japan gained more attention and recognition in international affairs, therefore the number of studies on the country also increased.

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<sup>1</sup> Colin Ross (1885-1945), was an Austrian journalist, war correspondent and was one of the best-known German-language travel journalists between the world wars along with Egon Erwin Kisch (1885-1948), Richard Katz (1888-1968), Alfred E. Johann (1901-1996), and Kurt Faber (1883-1929). Some of their travelogues enjoyed multiple printings.

As a result of this rapprochement, binational cultural institutes were founded in both countries, the Japan Institute in Berlin in 1926 and the Japanese-German Cultural Institute in Tokyo in 1927, based on the principle of complete parity and equality.<sup>2</sup>

The implementation in real life, however, proved to be extremely difficult and outside the institutes, the asymmetry in cultural relations also persisted in the 1920s.<sup>3</sup> The founding of the Japan Institute was accompanied by the establishment of the German-Japanese Society in Berlin, which soon after the assumption of power became an instrument of National Socialist public relations work.<sup>4</sup>

The purpose of the institutes was "to promote mutual knowledge of intellectual life and public institutions in Germany and Japan." Among other things, as an essential medium various exhibitions formed the presentation of Japan in Germany, and the quarterly *Nippon 'Zeitschrift für Japanologie'* was published jointly by the Japan Institute and the Japanese-German Cultural Institute in Tokyo.<sup>5</sup>

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2 About the same time, Germany was accepted into the League of Nations in 1926 and immediately gained a permanent seat on the council alongside Britain, France, Italy and Japan. Japan in 1933 became the first nation to withdraw from the League of Nations, with Germany following a few months later.

3 An exemption was made by Hoshi Hajime (1873-1951), a Japanese businessman who was the owner of the Hoshi Pharmaceutical Company in the early Weimar period. On the request of German ambassador Dr Wilhelm Solf, to Goto Shinpei for Japanese support for German scholars in times of financial hardship, Hoshi contributed two million Reichsmark (about 80,000 Yen at the time) to the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft from 1919 through 1925. This was called the Japan Fund Hoshi-Ausschuss. Fritz Haber, the 1918 Nobel Prize winner in chemistry managed this fund in Germany. The Japan Fund did not only help Haber but also sponsored Richard Willstätter (1915 Nobel Laureate in Chemistry), Max Planck (1918 Nobel Laureate in Physics), Otto Hahn (1944 Nobel Laureate in Chemistry, a member of the Manhattan Project which developed the first atomic bomb to be dropped later on Hiroshima), Leo Szilard (a student of Albert Einstein and also an important member of the Manhattan Project) and others.

Eberhard Friese: *Japaninstitut Berlin und Deutsch-Japanische Gesellschaft. Ein Kapitel deutsch-japanischer Wissenschaftsbeziehungen*, Tōkyō Dōgakusha-Verlag, 1990

4 In 1927 the Japanese-German Cultural Institute *Nichi-doku bunka-kyōkai*, sister institute of the Berlin Japan Institute, began its activities in Tōkyō. The Berlin Institute and the Tōkyō Institute had the same organizational form, i.e. they were organized as associations and financed themselves in Berlin from German, in Tōkyō from Japanese public funds, which were supplemented by private donations. The actual cultural and scientific work of the institutes was carried out by one German and one Japanese director each.

5 Already in 1928 the new institute showed his acquired manuscripts, documents, pictures and rare prints by and about Philipp Franz von Siebold and his Japanese students. This exhibition aroused lively interest in Japan and led to a large Siebold show in Tokyo. In 1934, an exposition of extraordinary significance for the history of Asian cartography followed at the Japan Institute: the great Russian collector and cartography historian Leo Bagrow shared his treasures of old maps of Japan and the East Asian mainland with the public.

The Institute had a good library on Japan's past and present, and the Institute twice introduced the Germans to the achievements of the Japanese book industry. The first time was in 1927 during the great international book art exhibition in Leipzig, where the Institute took part on behalf of the Japanese Embassy, and then in 1936, when a show on Japanese book and reproduction technology, supervised by the Japan-

A broadening and deepening of knowledge about Japan took place in Germany until 1933 only to a very limited extent. The German mass media propagated a static but schizophrenic image of Japan as a country of juxtaposition between West and East, familiar and exotic, integration and isolation, etc, which underwent over the years no great changes. Clichés such as 'land of the rising sun,' geisha and samurai, and the homogeneous island nation were applied in the press, the cinema, non-fiction, and interest clubs to highlight aspects of Japan to suit their political needs. Indicating a strong public curiosity in Oriental issues in general, the papers frequently advertised artistic performances with Japanese themes, such as the successful musical comedy *The Geisha* by Sidney Jones in 1919.<sup>6</sup>

Meanwhile, the Japanese mass media reported on Germany selectively, pining nostalgically for the *Kaiserreich*, downplaying the Weimar Republic, and then trumpeting the Third Reich.

In Japan in the 1920s there were numerous translations of German classics and contemporary authors as well as philosophical and social science works.

For some years, Germany's industrial and military leaders continued to favour China, mostly for economic reasons. The good German-Chinese relations, especially in the military field, in the 1920s and 1930s were due to the more than a decade long consultation of Chiang Kai-shek (1887-1975), by a semi-official group of Germans. When Japan attacked China in 1931, all the newspapers leapt at the opportunity to interpret the news in accordance to the German diplomatic practice in East Asian affairs. Some of them foreshadowed already the Nazi departing from the cooperation with China, and re-approaching with Japan.<sup>7</sup>

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ese Society for International Cultural Relations (Kokusai Bunka Shinkūkai), took place on its premises. Natori Yūnosuke spent a long time in Berlin as the KBS's representative, organizing the exhibition. The show of Japanese consumer goods, which was shown in Berlin in 1938 and then travelled throughout Germany as a travelling exhibition, also left a vivid impression of the simplicity and solidity of Japanese craftsmanship.

Eberhard Friese: *Das Japaninstitut in Berlin (1926-1945)*, Weinheim: VCH, Acta Humaniora, 1989, p. 73-88

6 The show enjoyed such popularity among German audiences that in the first half of 1919, an already turbulent year, it ran uninterruptedly for at least seventy-five nights. The first performance was on 25 April 1896 at Daly's Theatre in London.

Vossische Zeitung: 'Die Geisha', 29 March 1919, page 8 of the morning edition – digitised by Berlin Staatsbibliothek

7 After the so-called Marco Polo Bridge incident in July 1937 did Ja-

## German National Socialists and Bushidō

Soon after the National Socialists came to power in 1933, Germany's image of Japan began to change and focused on Japan as a model of an alternative modernity.<sup>8</sup> After the Anti-Comintern Pact of 1936 a great admiration in Germany for the Japanese tradition of bushido, the 'way of the samurai' gave way to a former coexisting rhetoric of the 'Yellow Peril.'

The mythos of the samurai, generated only a couple of years ago by NITOBÉ Inazō (1862-1933), replaced the pre-existing stereotype of a quaint, traditional, and geisha-filled Japan and began to appear with greater frequency in German publications, and even in women's magazines.<sup>9</sup>

This heroic Bushidō concept was readily adopted and reinforced by Western authors, such as geopolitician Karl Haushofer (1869-1946), who was a key figure in ideological relations between Germany and Japan. In his book *Dai Nihon*, published in 1913, in which he sees it as "the decisive question for the future of the Japanese armed forces", "whether it will be possible to preserve the core of Bushido ... And this core consists in the 'sacrifice of the single life for the whole.'<sup>10</sup>

In publications from the late 1930s bushido was described as a divine service, occasionally compared to the spirit and ethics of the Nazi's paramilitary units, the virtues of the Roman Empire, and the soul of Fascist Italy. German authors and the public were impressed by the descriptions of Japanese devotion

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panese involvement in China lead to a full-fledged Sino-Japanese war, and Germany, like all other countries, had to decide between China and Japan.

Bernd Martin: Deutsche Beraterschaft in China: Militär – Wirtschaft – Außenpolitik, Droste, Düsseldorf, 1981

8 Hitler, however, did have some respect for Japan's military and was impressed that the country had remained untouched by 'International Jewry.' In 'Mein Kampf' he stated that the Japanese were merely 'bearers of culture' (kulturtragend) in contrast to the Aryans, who he saw as being 'creators of culture' (kulturschöpfend). Regarded as an 'exile country, until 1941, Japan was tolerant toward the Jews, sometimes even helping them to escape from Nazi Germany. After Pearl Harbor, however, the Japanese authorities changed their policy and expelled Jewish refugees from the Japanese archipelago, especially to Shanghai, underlining the unpredictability of their attitude towards Jewish refugees.

9 See Thomas Pekar: Der Japan-Diskurs im westlichen Kulturkontext (1860-1920), Iudicium Verlag, 2003

10 Karl Haushofer: Dai Nihon. Betrachtungen über Groß-Japans Wehrkraft, Weltstellung und Zukunft. Berlin 1913

In the book he propagated both Japanese and German imperialism. Haushofer was a professor in Munich from 1921 and a close advisor to leading National Socialists.

For more on the issue see: Thomas Pekar: Held und Samurai. Zu den ideologischen Beziehungen zwischen Japan und Nazi-Deutschland, Archiv für Kulturgeschichte 90, 2008 H. 2, pp.437-448

Christian W. Spang: Karl Haushofer und Japan: Die Rezeption seiner geopolitischen Theorien in der deutschen und japanischen Politik, Iudicium Verlag, 2013

to faith as found in the reprint of Inazō Nitobe's 1900 bestseller *Bushido: The Soul of Japan*, in 1937.

Even Heinrich Himmler (1900-1945) was among those strongly impressed by the Japanese soldierly spirit, as this Bushidō discourse engaged considerable effects in the National Socialist ideology and the German war discourse.<sup>11</sup> In the quest for a common racial origin, Nazi publications compared the Japanese admiration of the sword to the worship among ancient Germanic tribes, as portrayed in the national epic *Nibelungenlied*.<sup>12</sup>

Himmler supported these attempts to find a relationship between the Japanese and old Germanic cults, as the bushido emphasis on the protection of honour was seen as comparable to ancient Germanic, or Teutonic values.

Although General Ludendorff's (1865-1937) book 'The Total War', draw parallels between Japanese and German concepts of heroism in 1935, when he speaks of the 'unity of the Japanese people', and the especially of their 'own faith'.<sup>13</sup> To argue their own Nazi ideology of racial superiority, German scholars didn't shy away to assert that the original Aryan culture had covered all of Northern Europe and Northern Asia. And Himmler was a staunch believer in this theory.

Constructing similarities between the Führer and the Japanese emperor, the Tenno, also became popular. The samurai and the SS were portrayed as sharing the same mentality, the heroic obligation to sacrifice one's own life on behalf of the leader in the desire to maintain racial purity *Reinhaltung der Rasse*, and in a common respect for the 'heritage passed down from ancestors' *Ahnenerbe*.

The SS pamphlet *Samurai - Ritter des Reiches in Ehre und Treue*, by Heinz Corazza (1908-1978),

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11 Ernst Jünger (1895-1998), a most important propagandist author of the right political spectrum, published an essay titled 'The Pain' is preceded by two quotations, from which one comes from Nitobe's Bushidō book.

12 Araki Sadao (1877-1966), regarded as the leader of the radical faction within the politicized Imperial Japanese Army reintroduced the Japanese sword (Yasukuni-tō) as the weapon of Japanese officers in 1934, and made a cult of the sword a central element of his push for a return to the 'Japanese spirit'. His ideology of the imperial way thus drew on a long list of reinvented traditions: Shinto ideas of the divine land, samurai rituals of sacrifice on the battlefield, and the mythological narrative of the family state that unified emperor and subject. His Army Ministry glorified sacrificial death on the battlefield and unwillingness to surrender as expressions of the Japanese spirit of bushidō.

Edward Drea: Japan's Imperial Army: Its Rise and Fall, 1853-1945 (Modern War Studies Series), University Press of Kansas, 2009

13 Erich F.W. Ludendorff: Der totale Krieg. Ludendorffs Verlag, München 1935, p.17

was published by the *Zentralverlag der NSDAP* in 1937 and was intended as a reading for SS troops and therefore followed Himmler's ideological direction loyally.<sup>14</sup>

In a short historical outline he describes important sections of the history of the Samurai and uses quotations from historical and literary sources from German translation. Already in 1935 his first popular depiction of Japanese history appeared under the title *Japan - Wunder des Schwertes* (Wonders of the Sword), written on the basis of German-language texts. Already here Corazza offered an outline of Japanese racial history as well as an overview of Japanese religion and culture since the Neolithic, emphasizing the male and heroic traits in Japanese history and culture. In the preface of the 'Samurai book' Heinrich Himmler wrote how important it would be to learn that "even in early times this people in the Far East had the same honour laws as our fathers" and emphasized the elitist character of the Samurei which "would give a people eternal life for earthly concepts." He ended his introduction with the affirmation: "And in this spirit many, especially the SS men, may read this booklet."

With historical stories from the time of an alleged samurai collectivism, which Corazza reproduced full of pathos, he referred to the struggle of the religions in Japan, the feudalistic social order conceived by the Tokugawa regime and emphasized the cruelty of the warrior, his determination and loyalty towards the Lord. Although the SS slogan 'My honour is loyalty' is not directly expressed, its parallelism between the Samurai and the SS is latently implied in the text, as the Samurai as an ancient version of the SS. Stories like those of the 47 Rōnin are distorted by him so far, not only to give a good example for SS people, but also to correspond to that of the Japanese propaganda machine. Thus the image of the samurai was a German-Japanese construction, shaped by the samurai myth of the Meiji period.<sup>15</sup>

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14 Reichsführer SS and Chief of the German Police Heinrich Himmler, had a great interest in Japan at all, and contributed a preface to Heinz Corazza's book 'The Samurai'

Heinz Corazza: *Die Samurai - Ritter Des Reiches in Ehre und Treue*, Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1937, p.19

15 The Japanologist Sepp Linhart estimates that by 1944 about 100,000 copies of the monograph had been printed.

Sepp Linhart: *Das heroische Japan - Deutschsprachige Japan-Literatur zwischen 1933 und 1945*, in Martin Kubaczek und Masahiko Tsuchiya eds.: *Bevorzugt beobachtet. Zum Japanbild in der zeitgenössischen Literatur*. München: Iudicium 2005, pp.41-65,p.56

Race theorist Hans F. K. Gunther (1891-1968), for example, attempted to 'Aryanize' certain Asian nations as he determined that these people were not 'pure Asians,' but rather descendants of Indo-Aryan tribes who had migrated eastwards in prehistoric times.<sup>16</sup>

President of the Research Foundation of German Ancestral Heritage, Walther Wüst (1901-1993) related his quest for shared German-Japanese origins to Buddhism and its relation to the Teutonic religions.<sup>17</sup> Ideologue and SS Führer at the Race and Settlement Main Office Johann von Leers (1902-1965) was a most active propagandist, suggesting a Nordic connection with the Japanese people on a ritual level, observing similarities of Japanese elements to old Nordic symbols like oak leaves, swastikas, axes, and hammers.<sup>18</sup>

In order to learn about the current mood circulating among the people, the German National-Socialist government resorted to a form of domestic espionage, which led to an enormous amount of background reports on the opinions, rumors and views.

Collected as 'Report from the Reich' *Meldung aus dem Reich*, this reports also give a detailed picture of the image of Japan that emerged among the German people. The exclusively positive elements of the German view of Japan led to an idealization of Japan which were viewed with increasing skepticism by those in power. One of the reports states: "The Japanese presents himself as 'Germans to the square' (*Germanen im Quadrat*), so to speak.

It is thought that even today the Japanese possess characteristics attributed to the mythical heroes of prior centuries in our country. Along with slogans warning of the 'yellow peril', a certain pessimism is spreading that in Japan the full power is still in effect that once characterized our own history, ... and that the Japanese power could one day be turned against us."<sup>19</sup> In the description of the Japanese as 'Germans to the square' speaks a lot of uncertainty, concern, but also recognition, even admiration.

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16 Hans F. K. Günther: *Die nordische Rasse bei den Indogermanen Asiens*. J. F. Lehmann, München 1934; reprint by Jürgen Spanuth: *Hohe Warte* - von Bebenburg Pähl, 1982

17 Michael H. Kater: *Das „Ahnenerbe“ der SS 1935–1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*, Oldenbourg, München, 1997

18 Johann von Leers: *Geschichte auf rassischer Grundlage*, Reclams Universalbibliothek, 7249, Leipzig 1934

19 *Meldung aus dem Reich*, No. 306, dating from August 6, 1942

Finally, the text explicitly addresses the question of the extent to which Japan could serve as an ideological model for Germany.

### Spiritual Ties

However, glorifying its embrace of political violence, defiance of international order, and offensive war, the distorted Nazi understanding of the samurai spirit lacked any of Japanese social and military history and therefore remained beyond comprehension, so that they wrongly interpreted 'the spirit' as an innate characteristic of the Japanese mentality.

Nevertheless, Japan was seen as a country that, despite its modern technology and economy, had been able to preserve its cultural traditions. To use these characteristics of social and racial homogeneity in National Socialist Germany, Japan was presented at industrial exhibitions with its latest achievements and on cultural occasions by its traditional characteristics as a bearer of Asian culture.

In order to acquaint German citizens with their new ally in the Far East. Alleged historic, social, and cultural similarities and affinities between Japan and Germany were emphasised to grow popular thought of a national solidarity and a common 'national rebirth' *Nationale Wiedergeburt* of both countries.

Japanese visual arts, shown in Germany at that time featured mainly traditional art such as woodblock prints showcasing Japan's portrayals of Westerners in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>20</sup>

Founder of German Korean Studies Andreas Eckard (1884-1974) contributed articles to familiarize readers with Japanese poetry. Head of the feuilleton of the liberal *Neue Leipziger Zeitung*, which belonged to the Ullstein group, Hans Natonek (1892-1963) wrote short stories, such as one on *Yoshiwara*, the pleasure quarter of old Edo.<sup>21</sup> Regardless of their ideological leanings, the Marxist publications *Rote Fahne* and *Vorwärts* appropriately carried poems and texts describing the livelihood of workers in Ja-

pan, while the conservative *Kreuz-Zeitung* cheered the popularity of German war films in Japan, and the Catholic *Germania* covered the reception of German paintings of Madonna and Child in Japan.<sup>22</sup>

Japanese Buddhist priest Kitayama Jun'yu (1902-1962), a graduate of Heidelberg University, with a dissertation on Buddhist metaphysics under Karl Jaspers (1883-1969) and a doctorate thereafter, became one of the most prolific Japanese authors in Germany during the Nazi era, with dozens of publications that introduced Japan to a local audience.<sup>23</sup>

As the Japanese Foreign Ministry mentioned, his lectures aimed mainly at the elevation of the Japanese spirit and those he occasionally held about current problems in Japan were received with great interest and made a considerable contribution to the practice of international Japanese cultural policy.<sup>24</sup>

Although Kitayama was active in both Japanese and religious studies, his influence was greatest in the field of intercultural exchange, which kind of started with his 1935 essay *Japans wirtschaftlicher Aufstieg* 'Japan's Economic Rise', when he regularly held lectures about Japanese economic and culture ascent, at several places in Germany. In his earlier writings he depicted Japan as culturally parallel to Germany in their respective appropriations of Chinese and Greek classical culture and confirms German preconceptions, by 1936 he started to focus on conditions unique to Japan and their mastery of the art of self-discipline.<sup>25</sup>

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22 From 1929 to 1932, the *Yamato*, a German language journal, was published as the organ of the DJG. Its content was a typical expression of exotic Orientalism, Japonism and Spiritualism. It did not have a large circulation, but was read only by the narrow circle of specialists in both countries. There were also some journals published in Japanese.

*Linden* for instance was a monthly issued between 1921 and 1924. It included information about the Japanese Society (Nihonjin-kai) in Berlin and offered an advertisement section for Japanese companies in Germany. In 1924, a journal was published called *Nichi Doku Hyōron* (Japanese German Review). Since 1926, *Doitsu Jijo* (German Affairs) appeared four times a month. *Berurin Shuho* (Berlin Weekly) began its publication in 1928 and continued until 1935. In 1929, *Doitsu Geppan* (German Monthly) was launched, and from 1930, the weekly *Doitsu li-hō* (German Information) appeared. From 1922 through to the 1930s, *Nakakan Shoten*, a Japanese book and convenience store in Berlin, edited a free weekly called *Nakakan Jihō* (Nakakan Times). It contained useful information and news on Germany as well as on Japan.

Tetsuro Kato: Paving the Way? Cultural Relations and the Political Rapprochement in the 1920s, in Christian W. Spang, Rolf-Harald Wip-pich eds.: Japanese-German Relations, 1895-1945 War, Diplomacy and Public Opinion, Routledge 2006

23 See Erin L. Brightwell: Refracted axis: Kitayama Jun'yū and writing a German Japan, *Japan Forum*, 27:4, 2015, pp.431-453

24 Tano Daisuke: The Axis of Leisure: The World Recreation Congress of 1936 and Japanese German Cultural Exchange, paper for the International Sociological Association World Congress, Gotheburg, 2010

25 Given financial support by the Japanese Foreign Ministry in the shape of a monthly stipend, from the middle of the 1930s Kitayama

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20 Vossische Zeitung: 'Japanischer Europäer-Spiegel. Die ältesten künstlerischen Darstellungen', 29 September 1931

21 Andreas Eckardt: Japanische Poesie, *Germania* 3 March 1932  
Hans Natonek: Yoshiwara, *Vossische Zeitung*, 3 August 1919

Moriyama Kae: Aus der Mandschurei zieht der Sturm auf, *Die Rote Fahne*, 15 March 1932; and Fritz Tenes: Takagi streikt. Aus dem japanischen Arbeiterleben, *Vorwärts: Berliner Volksblatt*, 5 October 1932

At the 1936 World Summit for Leisure and Recreation, he refers to the issue of leisure time and relaxation in Japan and that the European concept of 'Pleasure in Life', referring to it as decadent and completely alien to the Japanese people.<sup>26</sup>

In his article *Die japanische Frau und die Freizeit* 'The Japanese Woman and Leisure Time', also prepared for the World Summit, he describes the ideal of Japanese woman similar to Goebbels' description of the women the *Bund deutscher Mädel* 'League of German Girls,' but even takes things a step further with his statement: "The Japanese woman is proud to be the slave of her husband, of her child, of the people, and of the Emperor."<sup>27</sup>

However, his promotion of Japan as the ultimate embodiment of the totalitarian state, was negatively received by the authorities, refraining him from a teaching position at Humboldt-University and to be included in the NS Cultural Association. By 1940, however, Kitayama displacement of Germany as the model to be mimicked was forgotten and with an honorary professor at the Philipps University in Marburg, his career begins to move forward again.

While there was talk of German-Japanese commonalities to the point of tediousness also by other authors, in 1941 de Gruyter in Berlin published a book entitled 'West-Eastern Encounter', by Kitayama Jun'yu, which represented a most sophisticated challenge to National-Socialist-centred ideology.<sup>28</sup>

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regularly held lectures about Japanese culture at several places in Germany. In 1936 he accepted the role of deputy to the Japanese director of the Berlin Japan-Institut, which had been established to foster both cultural and academic mutual understanding and cooperation between Germany and Japan. Kitayama's reward for his support of the Nazis was appointment as director of the Department of Japanese Studies at the German-speaking Karls-Universität in Prague in 1944. The year 1944 also marked the publication of Kitayama's *Heroisches Ethos*.

26 Weltkongreß für Freizeit und Erholung, vom 23. bis 30. Juli 1936 in Hamburg, see: Sepp Linhart: Die Anwendung des Freizeitbegriffs auf Japan, NOAG 143, 1988, pp.69–82

27 Jun'yu Kitayama: Das Problem der Freizeit und Erholung in Japan. Bericht über den Weltkongreß für Freizeit und Erholung: Hamburg, vom 23. Bis 30. Juli 1936, Berlin. Hamburg: Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt, 1937

in Erin L. Brightwell: Refracted axis: Kitayama Jun'yū and writing a German Japan, *Japan Forum*, 27:4, 2015, pp.431-453

28 A critical study of Germans perception on Japanese culture as such had, however, already appeared several years earlier in 1935, titled: *Das Wahre Gesicht Japans* 'The True Face of Japan', by Nohara Komakichi (1899-1950). Nohara, who authored several books on Japan, son of a Japanese father and a German mother, was a member of the League of Proletarian Revolutionary Writers, and married to a Latvian Jewess To save her, he became a staff member at the Japanese Embassy in Berlin, where he served as speechwriter for Ambassador Oshima and interpreter for military talks of the Wehrmacht leadership with the Japanese military leadership under the direction of Admiral Nomura in Berlin. During the Second World War he passed on his findings to antifascist circles in Sweden. Nohara, authored several books on Japan to offer a contemporary account of Japan, rid of idealising stereotypes, as he ascribed to Lafcadio Hearn. Who he attested to be

It outlined in his critic the insulting Japanese-specific remarks by Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831) and Oswald Spengler (1880-1936), in a way reproduced by Hitler's *Mein Kampf*.<sup>29</sup>

The text presents Japan in a way that does not overtly threaten German culture, and provides a consistent internal logic to the coexistence of national particularities in a non-confrontational relationship, allowing Japan and Germany to engage without threatening each other.<sup>30</sup> Despite he does suggest a totalitarian vision, using many NS rhetorical tropes in his construction of Japan, and highlights the West, specifically German culture, referring heavily to Goethe's *West-östlicher Divan* 'West-East Divan' (1819), the work does not explicitly subscribe to an NS-authored worldview.

The 'Report from the Reich' *Meldung aus dem Reich* No. 306 raised with reference to Kitayama Jun'yu's book 'West-Eastern Encounter' *West-östliche Begegnung*, the question "whether the Japanese way is not also feasible for us and whether Japanese educational methods can also be incorporated into our military educational plan. [...] In the whole book the National Socialist forces of a reorganization on a Germanic-German basis were not mentioned at all.

In comparison to Japan, Europe appears to be a continent torn back and forth by the forces of various kinds."<sup>31</sup>

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the best author on Japan to date, with every word that stands in his books true, but has perhaps done the most damage to accurate perceptions of Japan by depicting only one side of reality. Nohara wrote about Hearn: 'With the great, warm heart of a poet, he created an ideal Japanese one who belongs in heaven or in a museum, but certainly not in this world.'

Lafcadio Hearn (1850-1940), who gained great popularity in Germany for contributing a large part to the emergence of exoticism in European literature on Japan in the last decade of the nineteenth century, was together with Basil Hall Chamberlain (1850-1935) without doubt one of the leading Japanologists working in late 19th century Japan.

Komakichi Nohara: Das wahre Gesicht Japans. Ein Japaner über Japan, Dresden: Zwinger-Verlag Rudolf Glöß, 1935

Siegfried Prokop: Ich bin zu früh geboren. Auf den Spuren Wolfgang Harichs. Dietz, Berlin 1997, p.20f.

29 He writes (original in German): 'One says: The western culture is an active one and the eastern one a passive one. Hegel claims: The western culture is a culture of freedom and the eastern a culture of servitude. Spengler emphasizes: 'The culture of the West is a creative one and that of the East a supportive one. Against this consideration and general comparisons it is to be objected that they did not hit the truth because of a lack of knowledge of East Asian culture and because of the superficiality of their investigations and consequently looked at and believed to understand the culture of the East one-sidedly with Western eyes.' Kitayama's work was even read by members of the SS, as a book stamp of the Ordensburg Sonsthofen in one copy proves.

Jun'yu Kitayama: *West-östliche Begegnung*. Japans Kultur und Tradition, Walter de Gruyter&Co, Berlin, 1941, p.12ff

30 To a great part his aim is to separate Japan from China through by dividing classical Chinese culture from the country's current stagnation.

31 *Meldungen aus dem Reich* 'Reports from the Reich' meant the

The 'Report from the Reich' ends with the conclusion that the "image of Japan without the clear and positive juxtaposition of our own standard of value would leave an ever stronger impression on the German population."

### Japanese Communists in Germany

In 1926, the group *Berliner Vereinigung für Sozialwissenschaftliche Studien* 'Berlin Association for Social Science Studies' formed out of the circle of Marxist-oriented scientists and students in Berlin. They reorganized themselves from 1928/29 as the 'Berlin Hantei Groupe' *Berurin Hantei Gurūpu* (*Berliner Anti-Imperialisten*) and were partly active as the Japanese department of the KPD (Communist Party of Germany).<sup>32</sup> Together with other Asian students in Berlin, such as Indian revolutionary Virendranath Chattopadhyaya (1880-1937), Japanese scholars founded the left intellectual group 'The Association of Revolutionary Asians', of whom many later led the Japanese academies and culture.<sup>33</sup>

For Japanese socialists, Weimar Germany was the most attractive place not only from the viewpoint of the tradition in Japanese academics, but also as a

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secret internal political situation reports of the security service of the Reichsführer SS during the period of National Socialism. Between the beginning of the war in 1939 and July 1944, the latter collected reports on the mood of the German population in order to make them accessible to a small circle of high-ranking Nazi functionaries and civil servants. By the end of May 1943, 387 'Reports from the Reich' had appeared, with an average of 18 to 20 pages. From June 1943 the 'SD Reports on Domestic Issues' followed, of which 229 have been preserved.

Heinz Boberach: *Meldungen aus dem Reich 1938-1945. Die geheimen Lageberichte des Sicherheitsdienstes der SS, Bd. 1 – 17*, Herrsching 1984

32 *Berurin Shakaikagaku Kenkyūkai* 'Berlin Association for Social Science Studies' (*Berliner Vereinigung für Sozialwissenschaftliche Studien*) was founded at the end of 1926 and had a total of 32 members. Half of them studied at the Friedrich-Wilhelms-University, some stayed at other universities or Berlin institutions. In July 1928 a second group called *Berurin Hantei Gurūpu* 'Berlin Antiimperialist Group' was formed, 13 of the 28 members were students of Berlin University. A third left group, the *Berurin Ajiajin Gurūpu* 'Group of Asians in Berlin', united mainly Chinese studying here and maintained close contacts with Japanese leftists.

Rudolf Hartmann: *Japanische Studenten an der Berliner Universität 1920 – 1945, Mori-Ōgai-Gedenkstätte der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Band 22*, 2003

33 Chattopadhyaya have initially met some of his Chinese and Japanese contacts through his first wife, the American journalist Agnes Smedley who accompanied him to the Third Communist International in 1921. He became a member of the German Communist Party and also set up the Indian News and Information Service in Berlin, which developed ties with the INC after J. Nehru became INC president in 1929. In 1933, he would eventually flee Berlin and the Nazis for Moscow. He was arrested in Moscow in the summer of 1937, being included on a death list signed by Stalin on 31 August 1937 and executed after the death sentence was pronounced on 2 September 1937.

Nirode K. Barooah: *Chatto, The Life and Times of an Anti-Imperialist in Europe*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004

new model of democracy, learning new trends of sciences including Marxism from Germany.

Active in radical politics, they sent many reports to leading Japanese monthly journals like *Kaizo*, *Chuo Koron*, *Senki*, etc. expressing alarm at the dangers of fascism in the West and, arranged public meetings to make Germans aware of Japanese intervention war in the East. Some of the artists performed street theatres on the themes of resistance movement, and published at least five issues of a German journal, named 'Revolutionary Asians', between March 1932 and January 1933 when Hitler finally came to power. Quite a few of the central figures in this group, such as political scientist ROYAMA Masamichi (1895-1980) and economist ARISAWA Hiromi (1896-1988), both professors at the Imperial University of Tokyo before coming to Berlin, were arrested after their return to Japan and removed from office.

SENDA Koreya (1904-1994), a leader in the modern theater movement in Japan and founder of the *Haiyūza* theatre company, was the first and the leading artist of this group. In 1930 Senda founded the design studio *Tomoe* in Berlin, with the painter SHIMAZAKI Osuke (1908-1992), member of the *Berurin Hantei Gurūpu* who later would become a war-painter when returning to Japan, lacquer artist Kotaro Fukuoka, photographer Yoshizawa Hiroshi, and Bauhaus students YAMAWAKI Iwao (1898-1987), a photographer and architect, and his wife Michiko, a textile artist.<sup>34</sup> The studio produced posters, gift-wrap paper and leaflets, and undertook window dressing and interior design for Japanese restaurants. Senda and his wife, Irma, returned to Japan on January 1931.

KUNIZAKI Teidō (1894–1937), on the other hand, a social hygienist, came to Berlin in November 1926 and joined the Communist Party of Germany in 1927. Member of the *Berurin Shakaikagaku Kenkyūkai* (*Berliner Vereinigung für Sozialwissenschaftliche Studien*) 'Berlin Association for Social Science Studies' and the *Berurin Hantei Gurūpu*, he was dismissed from University in 1932 because of his political activities.

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34 Fujita Iwao was asked by Michiko's father to adopt her family name, which he did in return for the new family-in-law financing, which was the opportunity for both of them to study at the Bauhaus. In May 1930 Iwao and Michiko left Japan for New York, where they spent two months, before travelling to Berlin, where they reunited with Senda Koreya, who had already been living in Berlin for about two years.



Afterwards, he emigrated to the Soviet Union to join the Communist International in Moscow to work for his country's Communist Party. But in 1937 he was the victim of Stalinist persecution and executed.

Some other artist members were BUNZO Yamaguchi (1902-1978), SEKI Sano (1905-1966) and FUJIMORI Seikichi (1892-1977).<sup>35</sup> Bunzo, worked for Walter Gropius's private office, and when Gropius, persecuted by the National Socialists, fled with his wife and some belongings via the Netherlands to England, it was him who accompanied the couple. Playwright Fujimori Seikichi, first Chairman of the NAPF Committee, *Zennihon Musansha Geijutsu Renmei* 'All-Japanese Proletarian Art League', travelled with his wife to Europe and stayed in Germany from Januar 1930 until Mai 1932.

He had barely returned to Japan when he was arrested in 1933 for violating the Public Security Act, that's why he revoked his views with *Tenkō* and subsequently turned to historical novels. Seki, grandson of Gotō Shimpei, like many other activists in Japan, was arrested in May 1930, and one year later was given the opportunity to go to Moscow as a representative of the Japanese proletarian theatre association PROT.

In contact with affiliates throughout the United States and Europe, after the political changes in the Soviet Union he and his colleague HIJIKATA Yoshi (1898-1959) were classified and expelled as 'dangerous Japanese' in August 1937. Finding exile in Mexico, he was known as the 'father of Mexican theatre' and influenced numerous directors and actors both in Mexico and in Latin America.

Even when these groups became more politically active at the beginning of the 1930s, the 'revolutionary' Berlin found little resonance in Japan outside the narrow circle of the Japanese avant-garde, since the intellectual culture of the late 1920s and 1930s increasingly bowed to the totalitarian control system and censorship, but also frequently swung to the side of imperialist cultural policy. The revolutionary and critical political forces in Berlin also disappeared more and more in the 1930s. A current *Zeitgeist* was represented by a new generation of students, who of-

<sup>35</sup> Kinugasa Teinosuke (1896-1982), stayed August 1928 to May 1930 in Berlin, was one of the pioneers of Japanese film and is regarded as a stylistic forefather for Akira Kurosawa and others.

Yoshi Hijikata (1898-1959) cofounder of *Tsukiji Little Theatre*, emigrated in 1933 to the Soviet Union, from where he fled to France to escape the Stalinist purges. He returned to Japan in 1941.

ten came to Germany in the interest of the Japanese youth leadership movement in order to establish new contacts.<sup>36</sup>

## Cultural Exchange

The popularization of Japanese art in Germany in the 1930s can be traced back to the propagation of a Nazi art policy, especially by the East Asia expert and general director of the Berlin museums Otto Kümmel (1874-1952), who at the turn of the century joined the National Museums in Berlin and built up the collection of East Asian art.

In 1912, together with William Cohn (1880-1961), he founded the *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, which was the leading specialist journal until its end in 1943. The East-Asian Art Collection in Berlin obtained permanent gallery at the former Applied Art Museum (now Martin-Gropius-Bau) in 1924.

From the early 1930s to 1936, lectures by Kümmel and other museum directors were increasingly published in response to the need to document one's own scientific position and locate it in the political landscape of the Nazi state. Kümmel, who was one of the first Western researchers to direct his interest to East Asian art. He used his explanatory approaches to emphasize the importance of East Asian art and to support the initiation of closer cooperation between the two states in cultural studies. For him, the task of Japanology was not only to train diplomats for the foreign service, but above all to understand the foreign culture.

In 1931, a much acclaimed exhibition of contemporary traditional Japanese painting *Werke Lebender Japanischer Maler*, was held in Berlin at the Prussian Academy of the Arts from January 17 to February 28. KOMURO Suiun (1874-1945) was selected to travel to Berlin as the main representative of the Japan-German Friendship Special Envoy on the occasion of the German government's exhibition.

<sup>36</sup> Matsuno Shigeko, was one of the few women who stayed at Berlin University from 1941 to 1945 and called herself a youth leader's representative. The same applies to Furuta Paul Seiichirō and Watanabe Akira, who described themselves as youth leaders, or Miyamoto Morio, who even enrolled himself as the Japanese youth liaison leader for the Hitler Youth and in 1941 published the tendentious writing *Shōri e no michi: Doitsu seishōnen kyōiku no jissai* 'The Path to Victory: The Practice of German Youth Education' in Japan.

Rudolf Hartmann: *Japanische Studenten an der Berliner Universität 1920 – 1945*, Mori-Ōgai-Gedenkstätte der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Band 22, 2003

Within six weeks more than 20,000 visitors turned up.<sup>37</sup> Further efforts in this direction took place in the period before the conclusion of the German-Japanese Anti-Comintern Agreement on 25 November 1936. Thus Kümmel was instrumental in the return to Japan of a portrait of the *Tennō Saga* (786-842), which he himself had acquired in 1907 for the National Museums in Berlin.<sup>38</sup> The return of the painting in order to strengthen German-Japanese relations was initiated by Reich Education Minister Bernhard Rust (1883-1945), after Kümmel had drawn his attention to the picture in question. The Reich Chancellery showed a strong interest in the return when Kümmel brought the sensitive picture to Hitler's inspection on April 12, 1935. After the tour, Hitler agreed to the return of the state museum-owned painting in the form of a gift to the Emperor of Japan. The presentation to the Japanese Count KINTOMO Muschakoji (1882-1962) took place on 27 June 1935 on the occasion of a meeting with Hitler. On April 3, 1936, the portrait was ceremoniously presented in Tokyo, before being made accessible to the public in a special exhibition in Tokyo. It was meant to promote cultural relations between Germany and Japan and mutual understanding as equal partners.<sup>39</sup>

In November 1936, the Japanese-German Anti-Comintern Pact was finalized and a year later, Italy joined the Pact and the Axis powers proclaimed the 'global triangle.' The political and cultural ties between the countries grew stronger, and in December 1938, Japan and Germany signed a mutual Cultural Agreement.

37 An exhibition of contemporary Japanese nihonga art that was being planned in the early 1940s in Nazi Germany was never realized.

Suiun was head of the Japan Nanga Institute *Nihon Nangain*, a collective founded in Kyoto 1921 by a group of six artists, Mizuta Chikuho (1883-1958), Kōno Shūson (1890-1987), Mitsui Hanzan (1881-1934), Yamada Kaidō (1870-1924), Ikeda Keisen (1863-1931), and Tajika Chikuson (1864-1922). Disbanding in 1936 due to internal disagreements, the final annual exhibition of the Japan Nanga Institute was attended by French artist and writer Jean Cocteau (1889-1963).

See: Komatsu Kiyoshi: Kokutō, Maruroo, nanga. Nanga Kanshō 5, no. 7 1936, pp. 5-9

38 On his several-month journey through East Asia in 1907, Kümmel had made 'some really excellent purchases', including a painting of the Tosa School, the portrait of the Emperor Saga, from the possession of a priest in Tokyo. Kümmel was very happy about the cheap purchase of an important cultural asset and 'proud to have kidnapped the painting to the museum in Tokyo and Baron Kuki, who eagerly applied for it.' Kümmel to Bode, published in Hartmut Walravens: Otto Kümmel, Hamburg, 1984, p.58

39 For more about representation of Japanese culture in Germany, see Hans-Joachim Bieber: Images of German-Japanese Similarities and Affinities in National-Socialist Germany (1933-1945), p.313-326 in Mostow, Rose, Nakai eds.: Brill's Japanese Studies Library Volume 59, Mutual Perceptions and Images in Japanese-German Relations, 1860-2010, Edited by Sven Saaler, Kudo Akira and Tajima Nobuo, 2017

The state controlled press submitted more reports on Japan than on any other country and after May 1939, Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop (1893-1946) initiated the publication of a monthly periodical entitled Berlin-Rom-Tokyo, to further spread an image of close ties between the countries of the 'global triangle.' In accordance with the media, different cultural exhibitions and productions sought to familiarize Germans with the East-Asian culture for the purpose of strengthening an awareness of German-Japanese kinship.<sup>40</sup>

### Intercultural Cinematography

After film was liberated from wartime control in 1919, like the press, it grew in variety, number, and sophistication as a mass medium.<sup>41</sup> Vignettes of Japanese daily life such as religious festivals debuted in German newsreels in the relatively calm of the middle Weimar years. What began as documentary of daily life, mostly of rural and traditional encounter, shifted to more relevant news in the early 1930s as war gripped Japan and China, and German viewers saw footage and heard sounds of fighting.

When in the early attacks on Shanghai, the camera zoomed in on Chinese victims of air raids and the narrator expressed sympathy with the civilians, in 1937 the camera literally sided with the attacker by shooting from the bomber's point of view, and the voice over lauded the Japanese troops.

Austrian National Socialist Colin Ross (1885-1945), a dear friend of Baldur von Schirach (1907-1974) and Henriette von Schirach (1913-1992), sympathized with the Japanese in his film *Achtung Australien! Achtung Asien! Das Doppelgesicht des Ostens* 'Attention Australia! Attention Asia! The Double-face of the East' in 1930.<sup>42</sup>

In this movie he described the Japanese in a formulation pregnant with the Nazi worldview, as a 'people without space', a slogan quite familiar to

40 Sadao Araki, Japanese Minister of Education, wrote in September 1938 in the HJ journal 'Wille und Macht' that Japan and Germany wanted together would fight communism, the enemy of all mankind and thus become 'saviours of human culture.' But the words were not followed by common deeds. It was precisely in relations with the USSR that the different strategic interests between Berlin and Tokyo soon became apparent.

41 The major studio Universum Film-AG (Ufa) began life as a brainchild of the War Ministry in 1917.

42 Henriette was born the eldest child of the photographer Heinrich Hoffmann, who became known as the photographer of Adolf Hitler. In 1930, Henriette Hoffmann worked as Hitler's secretary alongside her studies at the University of Munich.

German propaganda of the time. Another documentary, filmed in 1931, *Kampf um die Mandschurei* 'Fight for Manchuria' went as far as to argue even before the attack on China that Japan must wrest control of Manchuria for its own future.<sup>43</sup>

In feature films, the representation of Japan and its people, in that time relied heavily on existent orientalist stereotypes and did little to go beyond of re-making simple popular musicals or plays from the nineteenth century. In an random oriental exoticness all Japanese looked alike interchangeable and without distinguishing identities, with little individuality or originality, but demonstrating the quintessential Japanese trait of obsequiousness, which was taken for granted by many Europeans.

Both, Fritz Lang's drama *Harakiri* with Lil Dagover (1937-1938) as female lead, for instance, which adopted a plot that closely followed that of *Madama Butterfly*, and the romantic comedy 'The Girl from Japan' *Das Mädel aus Japan*, based on the storyline of the musical *The Geisha*, relied much on such familiar stereotypes, putting the Japanese female adorning the Western male, in center of the plot.<sup>44</sup>

In 1926 not only, *Die weiße Geisha* 'The White Geisha', with the romantic plot of a European engineer that travels to Asia and falls in love with a local geisha, was released. Also *Bushido, das eiserne Gesetz* 'Bushido, the Iron Code', hit the theatres as the first movie made jointly by Germans and Japanese.<sup>45</sup>

But despite a Japanese screenwriter, however, the movie rendered any less predictable, by setting the story in the sixteenth century, checking all the boxes of hara-kiri, geisha, samurai, and daimyo. The depiction of Japanese in the movies more or less stayed the same throughout more than a decade of cinema, with only a few movies beginning in the late 1920s, that departed from the explicit stereotypes shared by both the producers and consumers.

The notion of a Japan dangerous for its ambitions in imitating the West found its first expression in the 1933 feature film *Polizeiakte 909* 'Police Dossier 909', also titled *Taifun, Der Fall Tokeramo* 'The Case Tokeramo', and *Sturm über Asien* 'Storm over Asia'.<sup>46</sup> Japanese successful achievements of modernity fundamentally unsettled many in Europe and visions of a dangerous Japan with the capacity and motive to pose a threat to the world also became the narrative of some fiction.<sup>47</sup> In 1935 Arnold Mehl had in his novel *Schatten der aufgehenden Sonne* 'Shadows of the Rising Sun' Japan defeated by a Euro-American air armada, after stealing chemicals from Europe in order to attack the continent with poison gas stored at its facilities in Manchuria.<sup>48</sup>

The rehabilitation of Japan's villainous role in German popular mass media would come only after the Anti-Comintern Pact, illustrated by the coordinated film production *Die Tochter des Samurai* 'The Daughter of the Samurai' by Arnold Fanck (1889-1974) and 'The New Earth,' by Itami Mansaku (1900-1946) in 1936/37. The movie project represented not only a general regression of Japan's usual representation on screen as the joint German-Japanese production that was released in both countries in early 1937. It also stressed the unity of National-socialism and the ideology of the Japanese as opposed to the weak spirit of democracies.<sup>49</sup>

The script was about a Japanese who returns home from a stay in Germany filled with awe and his conversion from democracy back to a belief in Ja-

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43 *Achtung Australien! Achtung Asien! Das Doppelgesicht des Ostens*, directed by Colin Ross, 91min, premiere: 14.11.1930, Berlin, Gloria-Palast, Ufa-Kulturabteilung, Berlin, 1930

*Kampf um die Mandschurei: Die Welt der gelben Rasse*, directed by Gustav von Estorff and Johannes Häussler, 55 min, premiere: 25.01.1932, Herold-Filmgesellschaft, Berlin, 1931.

Karl Sierck: *Der lange Arm der Ufa: Filmische Bilderwanderung zwischen Deutschland, Japan und China 1923-1949*, Springer-Verlag, 2017, p.378

44 *Harakiri*, directed by Fritz Lang, 2238 m, premiere: 18.12.1919, Berlin, Marmorhaus, Decla-Film-Ges. Holz & Co. Berlin, 1919

*Mädel aus Japan*, directed by Toni Attenberger, Bayerische Filmindustrie A. Ankenbrand GmbH München, 1919

Although the titles of several other movies from the early 1920s like *'The Geisha and the Samurai'* *Die Geisha und der Samurai*, (directed by Carl Boese, 1439m, Firmament-Film, Berlin, 1919), 'The Kwannon of Oka Temple' *Die Kwannon von Okadera*, (directed by Carl Froelich Decla-Bioscop and Uco-Film, Berlin, 1920), and 'The Japanese Mask' *Die japanische Maske*, (directed by Heinz Carl Heiland, Eiko-Film, Berlin, 1921), hint at depictions of a Japan that dwelled on the traditional and mystic rather than exploring the new, dynamic urbanity.

45 *Bushido, das eiserne Gesetz* 'Bushido, the Iron Code' directed by Heinz Karl Heiland and Kako Zamnu, 35mm, Deutsch-Nordische Film-Union, premiere: 08.05.1927 Beba-Palast Atrium Berlin, 1926. The film was released in Japan as *Bushidō*.

*Die weiße Geisha* 'The White Geisha' directed by Heinz Karl Heiland and Valdemar Andersen, Deutsch-Nordische Film-Union, Berlin, 1926

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46 Directed by Robert Wiene, Valerij Inkjinov playing the Japanese Tokeramo, 81 min, premiere: in Austria August 1933, Camera-Film-Produktion GmbH Berlin

47 Ludwig Anton described as early as 1922 in *Die japanische Pest* 'The Japanese Plague', a mysterious country, readying itself for germ warfare against the United States. Ludwig Anton: *Die japanische Pest*, Bad Rothenfelde: J. G. Holzwarth, 1922

48 Arnold Mehl: *Schatten der aufgehenden Sonne*, Leipzig: Wilhelm Goldmann Verlag, 1935

49 Peter B. High: *The Imperial Screen: Japanese Film Culture in the Fifteen Years War*, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 2003

panese verities. Played by Japanese, Isamu Kosugi (1904-1983) the male hero had fallen in love with a German woman, played by Ruth Eweler (1913-1947), which was not approved by his Japanese fiancé. Following the raw political intent of the film, the script stages a conversation of the hero and the father of his Japanese bride. After the talk, when her father praises Japan's accomplishments during the last years of his absence, he decides with his Japanese love to take up farming in Manchuria.

In conflict with Fanck's intention of a clear, pro-Nazi message, Japanese director Itami insisted on his own version of the picture, which was implemented on the spot. Both shot by cinematographer Richard Angst (1905-1984), the crew and actors had to work all day and all night, doubling the costs for the project, which premiered in Tokyo in February 1937, first Itami's film and a week later, Fanck's.

The German version was a commercial success and well reviewed in both countries, whereas the Japanese version was quite ignored.<sup>50</sup> Been regarded as both an unfortunate experiment and historical curiosity, the concept was only repeated once with the co-production of 'The Holy Goal' *Das heilige Ziel*, in 1938, set on the snow-covered slopes of Hokkaido.<sup>51</sup>

With all the interethnic pairings in the movies ending in tragedy, the presentation and representation of Japan in all categories of film in fact corresponded with reality only marginally. In search of 'real Japan', German films exhibited a certain Orientalism by reducing such as the former imperial capital Kyoto and the countryside to increasing irrelevance as little more than an open-air museum. As the Japanese collectively departed from the rural outskirts for urban factories in central cities like Tokyo, international cinematography perpetuated well-known clichés, displacing images of geisha and frail cherry blossoms by time with one of soldiers and uniforms.

Richard Angst stayed 1938 for some more month in Japan, trying to produce a feature film project

called *Samurai im Stahlhelm* 'Samurai in a steel helmet' which was turned down. Finally he was recruited by the Japanese naval ministry to shoot a documentary film about exploratory tours of Japanese landing corps in the Chinese war zone. The documentary premiered end of January 1939 in Tokyo under the title *Lied der Kameraden* 'Song of the Comrades'.<sup>52</sup>

## Mutual Exhibitions

Cultural relations did not intensify as expected after the signing of the Cultural Agreement, and exchange programmes on a larger scale on the Japanese side were hardly feasible due to the war in China.

Despite official statements by the Berlin Office for Racial Policy in January 1939, which did not interpret the otherness of the Japanese with inferiority, mutual scepticism remained. On the Japanese side, mistrust of the esteem of the new allies therefore remained alive and a rapprochement proceeded only hesitantly.<sup>53</sup> In Germany, however, the realization of the Cultural Agreement was pursued with remarkable energy until the outbreak of the European war in September 1939 severely impaired it or made it completely impossible. After the signing of the Cultural Agreement, the Japan Institute in Berlin was to become the 'central mediator' of German-Japanese cultural relations in Germany and ensure that cultural exchange became more lively.

In keeping with its cultural policy, the exhibitions of hand drawings by old German masters in Tokyo (1937) and the exhibition of old Japanese art subsequently shown in Berlin (1939) not only presented an insight into the essence of German and Japanese culture to a wider public, but were also of particular significance from a foreign policy perspective.<sup>54</sup>

Organized jointly by the two nations, such exhibitions took new paths towards mutual cultural penetration in German-Japanese cultural policy, as the president of the German-Japanese Society, Admiral Richard Foerster, put it. The 'Old Japanese Art Exhibition' *Ausstellung Altjapanischer Kunst* in Berlin

50 Christin Bohnke: The Perfect German Woman: Gender and Imperialism in Arnold Fanck's *Die Tochter Des Samurai* and Itami Mansaku's *The New Earth*, *Women in German Yearbook*, vol. 33, 2017, pp.77ff

Ricky W. Law: Knowledge is Power: The Interwar German and Japanese Mass Media in the Making of the Axis, University of North Carolina, 2012

51 *Das heilige Ziel* 'The Holy Goal', directed by Kōshō Nomura, Cocco-Film Tokyo, Deutsch-Japanische Gesellschaft Berlin, 1939, camera-work by Richard Angst.

52 Hans-Joachim Bieber: *SS und Samurai: Deutsch-japanische Kulturbeziehungen 1933–1945*, Iudicium Verlag, 2014, p.591

53 Hans-Joachim Bieber: *SS und Samurai: Deutsch-japanische Kulturbeziehungen 1933–1945*, Iudicium Verlag, 2014, p.615

54 The exhibition was opened with a speech by Ambassador Hirosho Oshima and the guests of honour, A. Hitler, Field Marshal H. Göring and Reich Minister of Foreign Affairs J. von Ribbentrop and Reich Minister of Science B. Rust.

1939, the climax of Kümmel's career, played a significant role as a tool for propaganda. It was less the overwhelmingly widespread presence of the 'Führer' in all media at the opening of the show than the careful selection of exhibits from Japan made possible by political cooperation, including no less than 29 *kokuhō* 'national treasures.'

The preceding German research to the presentation on Japanese art history in Berlin brought with it a substantial change in the historical boundaries of the epochs. The exhibition of ancient Japanese art in 1939 classified the epochs differently than they had been defined in the first Japanese catalogue of modern art history, *Histoire de L'Art du Japon*, for the Paris World's Fair in 1900, and were valid until then. The new epochal boundaries established at the time were maintained until the 1980s.<sup>55</sup>

At the end of 1938, German newspapers began to report on the upcoming exhibition over a hundred times. On the day of the opening, 28 February 1939, fifty newspaper reports appeared. By the end of March 1939, the end of the exhibition, a total of around three hundred and fifty more or less detailed positive reports had been published about the exhibition.<sup>56</sup>

### Italian Intermezzo

Many Japanese scholars that were neither sympathetic to Italian Fascism nor spokesmen of Japan's new order, painted an image with Italy as center and Renaissance as historical high point of cultural Europe, that suited both Italian and Japanese wartime rhetoric. By stressing that, they replicated the claims of some Italian and German intellectuals, who regarded humanism as a foundation for a new cultural order in Europe. Similar to the new-order ideology ascribed to Japanese culture, the Renaissance was characterized by a capacity to absorb ancient and diverse cultural traditions and mold them into a harmonious totality.

For the proponents of Western philosophy, the Renaissance contained a unified core where the spiritual and material components of Western civilization coexisted in harmony, equal to that of Eastern

civilization. In the goal to redeem Japan from the pernicious influence of Western civilization, which was equated with modernity, a group of thinkers and writers associated with the Kyoto School of Philosophy, the Japan Romantic Group, and the Literary Society, resisted this universalist interpretation of the Renaissance. They argued that Japan and Italy were not equals in their own cultural spheres, instead Japan's culture towered over that of the West, even where it carried the spirit of Italian history. As a consequence, they saw Fascism as a botched Western attempt to overcome Western modernity.

However, a new phase with the two Western hegemons started on a next level with Italy's joining of the Anti-Comintern Pact in November 1937 (signed November 25, 1936 between Japan and Germany). To overcome modernity itself and replace the international order set up at Versailles 1919, the new relationship mattered foremost as an ideological signal on both, national and international stage.

When the governments began to host commemorative events to celebrate the important dates in the mutual Axis calendar, Japanese officialdom sought to conjure a cordial image of Italy and Germany, disentangled from the rest of the West. This unprecedented exposure in the journalistic, academic, and official debates, installed this new paradox about relating to the history of Italy and Germany to Japan, and the urge to distance from, what was called Americanism to restore 'authentic' Japanese culture.

Intended to create stronger diplomatic and commercial relations between Italy and Japan a first official mission of members of the Italian National Fascist Party, was sent in February 1938 for purely political and ideological purposes and chaired by Ambassador Giacomo Paulucci di Calboli (1887-1961).

The Italian economic mission to Japan was sent to Japan and Manchukuo by the Italian Government in May and June 1938 and led by Senator Ettore Conti di Verampio (1871-1972), a leading figure in the Italian economy and former president of Confindustria and Agip.

Accompanied by six official representatives and ten technical advisors of each specific sector of Italian industry, the mission's tasks were to articulate eco-

55 Yasumatsu Miyuki: Widersprüche der Äusserungen über die Ausstellung altjapanischer Kunst in Berlin 1939, *Bigaku* 59 (1), 2008, p.71-84

56 Hartmut Walravens eds.: Pressedokumentation zur Altjapanausstellung 1939 in Berlin. Teil 1 bis 3. Staatsbibliothek Berlin, 2010

conomic and commercial exchanges.<sup>57</sup> The group arrived in Nagasaki on May 5, 1938 welcomed by 100,000 students who cried out 'welcome' and 'ban-zai.' The Italians were engaged throughout the month of May in a very rigorous program on Japanese territory. Highly publicized, the delegation toured Japan's major cities as well Manchukuo, accompanied by a close eye of the media, reporting on their activities and meetings with local and government notables.<sup>58</sup> Advertised in newspapers and on radio, the delegation was paraded through various cities and sites of Japan, Korea, and Manchukuo, greeted by a sea of bystanders, lined with both national flags.<sup>59</sup> Numerous meetings were organized with the members of the Japanese committee at the *Circolo degli Industriali* 'Industrial Circle' in Tokyo.

All these commitments were alternated with various ministers, by the Chamber of Commerce, by the Italian-Japanese Institute of Tokyo and by the magnates of industry such as the Mitsubishi and the Mitsui barons, the main supporters of Japanese expansionism and militarism. From Kobe the Italians landed in Dairen, China on June 2, and after the meeting with various ministers and the Japanese General Ueda Kenkichi (1875-1962), an audience with Emperor Pu Yi (1906-1967) followed.

Among the meetings with authorities, military and industrial (mostly Japanese) stood out the one with Aikawa Yoshisuke (1880-1967), founder of Nissan and president of The Manchuria Heavy Industry Development Company which controlled the regions

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57 Two years later, between April and June, few months before the signing of the Tripartite Pact, a similar Japanese mission visited Italy. A military mission was also planned, entrusted to the Italian Royal Air Force, with the task of training Japanese personnel in the use of aircraft in 1938. The military mission was then charged with carrying out a series of visits to civil and military bodies as well as industrial groups with the aim of implementing exports.

Sergio Raimondo, Valentina De Fortuna: Bushido as allied: The Japanese warrior in the cultural production of Fascist Italy (1940-1943), *Revista de Artes Marciales Asiáticas* Volumen 12(2), 82-100 ~ Julio-Diciembre 2017, p.184

58 A film crew from Italy's cinematographic center, the Istituto Luce documented the travelling party. Introduced by premier minister Konoe Fumimaro (1891-1945) the Italian fascist were celebrated in a stadium full of thousands of cheering Japanese.

GIORNALE LUCE B / B1299, La missione italiana del partito fascista, 04/05/1938, code B129904, Istituto Nazionale Luce, directed by Arturo Gemmiti

They collected an impressive number of gifts for Mussolini, such as a three-hundred year old puppet, from Shirai Matsujirei, director of the Osaka Bunraku Theatre Company, from Arita, a rural township in Saga Prefecture famous for its pottery, came a porcelain plate, while in Tokyo the mayor added a large stone lantern, and in Manchukuo, Emperor Puyi gave a skin of a tiger.

59 Reto Hofmann: *The Fascist Effect: Japan and Italy, 1915-1952*, Cornell University Press, 2015, p.113

entire industry.<sup>60</sup> The main result of the mission was, on July 5, 1938, the signing in Tokyo of a trade agreement between the kingdom of Italy and the empires of Japan and Manchukuo.<sup>61</sup>

In March 1939 Japan and Italy also concluded such a cultural agreement, and in May the new journal Berlin-Rome-Tokyo was published to facilitate the cultural tasks assigned to Germany, Japan and Italy. Elaborately written, bilingual in German and Italian, printed on glossy paper and with many, often coloured pictures, the magazine was intended to show the essence of the creative intellectual and artistic forces of Germany, Italy and Japan.<sup>62</sup>

Under the patronage of Joachim von Ribbentrop (1893-1946), Reich Minister of the Federal Foreign Office, in the editorial of the first issue he emphasized the commonality of the three nations as peoples without space and other common values such as devotion to the national community, the state and its leadership. The first issue was printed in approx. 100,000 copies, with each German bookseller receiving a free copy and further free copies going to members of the government, journalists, diplomatic missions abroad and hotel and ship libraries all over the world. The publication of Berlin-Rome-Tokyo was

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60 There had been an economic diplomacy toward the United States that aimed at cooperation in the industrialization of Manchuria between 1937 and 1940 as the region became more heavily dependent on American capital and technology than it was on European investments. Beyond the goal of industrializing Manchuria, Ayukawa Yoshisuke also hoped to avoid war between the United States and Japan by fostering mutual economic ties.

Under Japanese occupation, Manchuria's industrial sector grew to be the largest in mainland China, where the multinational automobile manufacturer Nissan had its start. A modern, urban environment grew in Changchun as it was renamed the 'New Capital' (Chinese Xinjing; Japanese Shinkyō) and became home to one of the largest movie-making enterprises in Asia, the Manchukuo Film Association, which ultimately became one of the leading mainland Chinese film production companies, the Changchun Film Group Corporation. Japanese consumer goods spread through local marketplaces. The population of Manchukuo grew by a third, mostly Chinese migrants fleeing war and poverty for the relative security of the region. Quite infamously, it became also a location for military industry with such as Unit 731, a biological warfare operation, which carried out experiments on human beings.

Sheldon H. Harris: *Factories of Death: Japanese Biological Warfare, 1932-45 and the American Cover-Up*, Routledge, 1994

61 The Italian objectives were ambitious, since they did not only hope for the development of Asian markets, but also for a participation in the exploitation of Manchukuo itself and of northern China. The following September, a Manchurian mission led by Han Yun Chien, accompanied by the Japanese ambassador Hotta, arrived in Naples and was received by the highest Italian authorities, first of all Galeazzo Ciano. Between April and June 1940, a Japanese economic mission to Italy followed. In September of that year, in Berlin, Japan and Italy signed the Tripartite Pact with Germany.

Adolfo Tamburello: *Italia-Giappone - 450 anni*, Istituto Italiano Per L'Africa E L'Oriente Napoli, 2003

62 Authors from all three countries wrote on political and cultural topics, although Germans were far more frequent than Japanese and Japanese more frequent than Italians.

and remained one of the few joint cultural-political undertakings of the three Axis powers, otherwise cultural relations would remain essentially bi-national. A common cultural policy of the three did not even begin to exist.<sup>63</sup>

### German National-Socialism in Japan

As the person of Hitler became an extremely popular topic among audiences and readers in Japan in the early 1930s, the development of Japanese lectures and pamphlets on Germany shifted away from neutral observation to partisan advocacy.

The first Japanese biography of Hitler appeared as early as September 1931, just a year after the initial Nazi electoral breakthrough. The first works on Nazi Germany appeared within three years of the regime's establishment. Indicating the confidence the writers had in the dictatorship's survival, by the mid-1930s, a handful of publishers even emerged to focus exclusively on importing and translating materials from Nazi Germany.<sup>64</sup>

Since 1932, the NSDAP has made itself apparent in East Asia, initially in China. In the winter of 1931/32 a base of the NSDAP's foreign organization was established in Shanghai, and in the summer of 1933, however, the first NSDAP local group was established in Tokyo /Yokohama, and the first base in Kobe.<sup>65</sup> After 1933, following the Nazi takeover, the German East Asiatic Society - OAG members offered little resistance against the Nazi policy.

Since its foundation in 1873, the OAG was a site of semi-official exchange between both countries in Japan, and became to some extent, under the influ-

63 Andrea Hoffend: Zwischen Kultur-Achse und Kulturkampf. Die Beziehungen zwischen „Drittem Reich und faschistischem Italien in den Bereichen Medien, Kunst, Wissenschaft und Rassenfragen, Frankfurt, 1998

64 In 1931, when the book was published, the Führer held no official position, headed only the second largest party, and did not even possess German citizenship. Most of the book was derived from the highly favourable biography of Hitler by the English author Wyndham Lewis. However, it consisted the transcript of the interview with the Führer by Momo Minosuke, likely the only Japanese to have met Hitler before the latter's ascension to power.

Lewis Wyndham: Hitler, London: Chatto & Windus, 1931

Izeki Takao: Hitler: The Giant of Rising Germany *Hittoraa shinkō Doitsu no kyōjin*, Tokyo: Senshinsha, 1931 in Ricky W. Law: Knowledge is Power: The Interwar German and Japanese Mass Media in the Making of the Axis, University of North Carolina, 2012

The best-selling Japanese edition of *Mein Kampf*, would run a print of at least 219,000 copies.

Murobuse Kōshin trans.: Adolf Hitler, *Wa ga tōsō*, Tokyo: Daiichi shobō, 1940 in Ricky W. Law: Knowledge is Power: The Interwar German and Japanese Mass Media in the Making of the Axis, University of North Carolina, 2012, p.397

65 In Japan, the NSDAP had only 16 members in January 1933.

ence of local Nazis, a tool for spreading German propaganda in Japan.<sup>66</sup> As early as the autumn of 1933, a *Arbeitsgemeinschaft der deutschen Frau im Ausland* 'Working Group of German Women Abroad', an analogy to the NS Women's Association, a base of the German Labor Front (DAF) and a National Group of the National Socialist Teachers' Association (NSLB) were established.

The first leader of the local group Tokyo-Yokohama, Fritz Scharf, director of Siemens, gave the local group members regulations for church celebrations, theatre performances and concert visits. Since some of the most famous musicians in Japan at the time were German and Austrian Jews, Scharf prohibited also any contact with them. In the end, he could not last long, as had crossed the line by interfering in cultural policy matters. Although membership grew only slowly, the NSDAP gradually expanded its influence in the German colony.

In 1936 in Tokyo and Yokohama all of the German associations - OAG, Club Germania, *Deutscher Schulverein*, *Evangelische Kirchengemeinde* and *Deutsche Vereinigung* - were merged into one unified organization, the *Deutsche Gemeinde* 'German Community'.<sup>67</sup>

### Hitler Youth

The joint cultural agreement between Japan and Germany, which was signed in 1938, provided for the promotion of contacts between youth organizations and the exchange of professors and students, artists and athletes, books and magazines, radio broadcasts and films. During this period, the German Embassy in Tokyo transformed itself from a remote observer post of German politics to one of its most important centers with the task of bringing the

66 The German Society for Nature and Ethnology of East Asia (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, OAG for short) was founded by scientists, businessmen and diplomats in Tokyo on 22 March 1873 and had set itself the task of researching East Asia. After 1900 the focus shifted to the humanities and social sciences.

Rolf-Harald Wippich: „Max von Brandt und die Gründung der OAG (Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens) – Die erste deutsche wissenschaftliche Vereinigung in Ostasien“, in: Studien des Instituts für Kultur der deutschsprachigen Länder, 1993, Nr. 11, p. 64–77

Among the more influential organizations dealing with Japanese-German relations, there were also the Japanese German Society (Nichi Doku Kiki), which had been founded in Tokyo before World War I. And there had been a corresponding German-Japanese Society (Deutsch Japanische Gesellschaft DIG) as well but it had been dominant for many years before it was re-founded in Berlin in 1929.

67 Hans-Joachim Bieber: Nationalsozialistische Organisationen in Japan, OAG Notizen 2010/2

Anti-Comintern Pact to life. After the conclusion of the Anti-Comintern Pact, between 1937 and 1939, there were more and more events to demonstrate German-Japanese solidarity. For more cultural understanding, contemporary art from Germany and Italy was introduced to Japan, when in 1937, art critic Uemura Takachiyo (1911-1998) translated Eugène Wernert's (1898-1977) book about Nazi art in the art magazine *Atorie* in October 1937, which he considered as quite useful for Japan.<sup>68</sup>

In mid-January 1937, at a Japanese-German event on the Anti-Comintern Pact in Osaka, in the almost complete presence of the German colony, a group in the Nazi brownshirt presented itself for the first time on the podium, with the flag of the NSDAP local group at its side. In 1938 the Munich constitutional lawyer Otto Koellreutter (1883-1972), a declared National Socialist, with a delegation of German military physicians, further a delegation of the Hitler Youth escorted by officials of the empire-youth-leadership *Reichsjugendführung* Reinhold Schulze (1905-1993), and the former employee of Ribbentrop as propagandist of National Socialism, Count Karlfried von Dürckheim - Monmartin (1896-1988), among others, came to Japan.

Reinhold Schulze stayed for a time in the country to further intensify cooperation between Japanese and German youth organizations and to design further exchange programs. When he spoke at his rallies about "Hitler Youth and Labour Service", he was accompanied by Walter Donat (1898-1970), the head of the NSDAP Japan. At his speeches he lectured about *Nationalsozialistische Weltanschauung, deutscher Sozialismus und kulturelle Aufgaben der Anti-Komintern-Bewegung* 'National Socialist worldview, German Socialism and cultural tasks of the anti-Comintern movement.'<sup>69</sup>

In this respect, the Nazi government had planned exchange programs for musicians and artists, skilled workers and civil servants, and members of leisure organizations such as *Kraft durch Freude* 'Strength through Joy.'

68 Eugène Wernert: *L'art dans le IIIe Reich, une tentative d'esthétique dirigée*, Paris : P. Hartmann, 1936, 144 p

69 The first of these trips took place under the protectorate of the Japanese Ministry of Culture, in the context of the 'spiritual mobilization of the nation. Baron Mitsui Takaharu had the trip recorded on silent film.

Due to the outbreak of the open war between Japan and China in 1938 and the war in Europe in September 1939, they were hardly realized, but they do show the dimensions of the exchange plans, at least on the German side.

The thirty brown uniformed young men, members of the *Hitlerjugend*, with the swastika armbands were received enthusiastically in Japan.

After a six-week voyage by ship, they went ashore on August 17, 1938 in Tokyo Harbor and were greeted by Japanese schoolchildren, who waved swastika flags they painted themselves to see *the Nazisu* coming from the country of *Adolfo Hittorer*.

The appearance of the Hitler Youth impressed the public and were welcomed enthusiastically by Japanese crowds everywhere they went during their three-month travel in the Japanese empire.

The official delegation of Hitler Youth members was accompanied by a large journalistic effort on their trip through Japan. 40,000 records with HJ songs are said to have been sold out within a few days. With the active participation of the media they travelled through the whole country and left a strong impression. Prime Minister Prince Konoe Fumimaro, the foreign and culture ministers received the HJ and members of the government even gave the guests the 'German greeting.' Even the oldest brother of the emperor spends time with the young Nazis.

During the visit to Japan, when meeting rural youth organisations *seinendan*, both parties performed songs in a harmonious atmosphere, expressing Japanese-German friendship.<sup>70</sup> As far as the support of Japanese ministries, official receptions, and press escorts were concerned, the journey of the Hitler Youth had almost the rank of a state visit.

In return, thirty Japanese young nationalists came to Germany and were received by Baldur von Schirach, 'Youth Leader of the German Reich,' in Munich at the beginning of September 1938.

70 On their travels through the country, young Japanese sang them a song of praise with the refrain 'Long live the Hitler Youth! Long live National Socialism.'

The rural youth organisations transformed over time into modern imperial groups and employed the ideology of Japanese nationalism to challenge the dominance of urban, educated youth, and the older generation. In the long term they provided a rural basis for Japan's nation-building, empire-building, and total war mobilization.

See Sayaka Chatani: *Nation-Empire: Rural Youth Mobilization in Japan, Taiwan, and Korea 1895-1945*, Columbia University 2014



### **NSDAP in the Department Store**

Organised by the Japan German Cultural Association and the *Nishi Nishi Shimbun* Newspaper the *Großdeutschland* 'Great German' exhibition, under the patronage of Ribbentrop and Goebels, was a mere propaganda show für German Nationalism.

The exhibition, conceived by Donat and the architect Max Hinder (1887-1963), opened in September 1938 in Tōkyō, and was attended by Prince Chichibu. Later the show travelled to Osaka, and was presented in a reduced form in several provincial towns in Japan and seen by over over 2 million Japanese visitors.

Above all, it showed the mobilization of the masses in all their forms, from the Labor Service to the Reich Party Rally. The model also featured the Olympic Stadium in Berlin and the 'House of German Art' in Munich, which had been opened with great pomp a year ago.<sup>71</sup> From a propagandistic point of view Germans activities in Japan 1938 can only be described as successful, with tens of thousands of attendants directly reached through the rallies and the exhibition. In his report to Berlin, Walter Donat welcomed the progressive shift of both leadership and youth from liberalist and democratic views to authoritarianism and an increasingly passionate experience of nationalism.<sup>72</sup>

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71 Hans-Joachim Bieber: *SS und Samurai: Deutsch-japanische Kulturbeziehungen 1933–1945*, Iudicium Verlag, 2014, p.544,589

Gerhard Krebs, Bernd Martin eds: *Formierung und Fall der Achse Berlin–Tōkyō*. München: Iudicium Verlag, 1984

72 Karl Löwith, who fled with the help of Kuki Shūzō to Japan wrote 1940 in his text *Nationalsozialismus in Karuizawa*: 'The swastika could not be avoided in the east either. ... the actually dangerous man was Dr. D.[onat], Japan's 'Culture Officer.' He could speak and even read Japanese well and was therefore doubly influential. ... I listened to the public lectures in Karuizawa, in which the Japanese nationalists Fujisawa and Kanokogi and D. spoke. Confucius was laid out with Hitler and this with that, and the hands of the axes were extended over all the abysses of race and culture. Only once was it too much for the Germans: when F. compared Japan's relationship to China with that of Germany to Austria and only regretted that the 'annexation' of China was somewhat more difficult, whereupon Mr. D. mockingly remarked that the population of Austria was, after all, German-blooded. Mr. F. then corrected his thesis that China should 'obey' under the leadership of Japan. Both Japanese - and they were very well-known representatives of pan-Asian politics - invoked unrestrained Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, Alfred Rosenberg and Ernst Kriek. The world was supposed to recover on Japanese beings, as it did on German Europe. ... Mr. D. had also written a book on *The Heroic in Japanese Literature*. In Somer 1939, thirty Hitler Youth men were allowed to travel through Japan to show the Japanese German nature. Dr. P. rightly remarked to me during her march past Karuizawa that this was a 'Salvation Army' and that nothing was more suitable than constant marching and singing to drive all thoughts out of one's head.

Karl Löwith: *Mein Leben in Deutschland vor und nach 1933*. Ein Bericht, Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag 1989, translated by author

In his opinion, the movement finally asserted itself in 1938 on a growing scale in the ranks of the hitherto most liberalist university intelligence.

He wrote: "The anti-comintern idea, originally understood only little, was finally and decisively reflected in popular opinion in the past year. The tremendous foreign policy successes of the German Reich in recent years have filled the Japanese people with amazement and admiration. The name and image of the leader, the swastika flag and the word 'Nazis' are among the best known and most popular things in Japanese life today. It is unlikely that in any other country of the world, Italy not excepted, the understanding of National Socialism today finds such an open and emotional readiness as in Japan. The cultural-political commitment has the greatest conceivable prospects in Japan."<sup>73</sup>

Despite cultural similarities, Germany did not coordinate its foreign policy with Japan when the National Socialist regime concluded the non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union in August 1939. Shortly afterwards, Germany invaded Poland and thus triggered the war in Europe, without previous notice to Japan. The government in Tokyo was deeply surprised and disappointed by the Hitler-Stalin Pact and perceived it as a breach of the Anti-Comintern Pact. Relations with Germany sank to a low point and Japanese living in Germany were ordered to leave German soil immediately.<sup>74</sup>

About 200 Japanese women and children returned to Japan, and only a few students and artists who had lived in Germany for a long time, such as dancer and choreographer Masami Kuni (1908-2007) and conductor Konoe Hidemaro (1898-1973), remained in Europe.

Japanese who visited Italy at the beginning of September 1939 and were invited as "guests of honour of the Führer" to the party congress of the NSDAP in Berlin renounced their trip and took the 61 paintings, which were intended as gifts for Hitler, back home with them.<sup>75</sup>

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73 Translated by author: Activity report Walter Donat, 19.1.1939, BA Kobl R64 IV/226, p.138, in Annette Hack: *Das Japanisch-Deutsche Kulturinstitut in Tōkyō zur Zeit des Nationalsozialismus*. Von Wilhelm Gundert zu Walter Donat, NOAG 157–158, 1995, p.77-100

74 Harumi Furuya Shidehara: *Nazi Racism Toward the Japanese: Ideology vs. Realpolitik*, in: *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens*, Bd.157–58, 1995

75 Hans-Joachim Bieber: *SS und Samurai. Deutsch-japanische Kulturbeziehungen 1933–1945*, Iudicium Verlag, 2014, p.544,682

A cultural-political rapprochement between the two countries began again at the beginning of 1940 and on April 3 of the same year the German-Japanese Cultural Committee was finally formed, which was to serve to disseminate knowledge of Japanese affairs in Germany. Due to travel restrictions, however, the exchange of cultural as well as economic goods faltered and Japanese artists came to Germany only in exceptional cases.

### Jewish Fate in Japan

In April 1920, when the allied powers met at San Remo, Italy to decide the peace treaty with Ottoman Turkey, the Japanese delegate attended the conference and approved, among others, the allocation of mandates in Palestine to Britain. On May 15, 1920 Israel Cohen (1879-1961), director of publicity and propaganda of the World Zionist Organization (WZO), started a mission to East Asia, which led him land in Japan on December 7, 1920.

Astonished by the lack of knowledge of the Jews and Zionism among the Japanese media and people, he noticed that it was the first time of an official journey to Japan for the Jewish national cause. In the 1920s only a few works on Zionism appeared in Japanese academic journals and the small and unsteady local Jewish population had little enthusiasm for their cause.

However, in 1927, the Japanese Army dispatched its officer, Major YASUE Norihiro (1888-1950), to Palestine and Europe for a fact-finding mission on Jewish affairs, as he previously encountered the Jewish problem when being attached to Japan's expeditionary forces in Siberia. After his return he contributed to journals and gave lectures on the topics. In the late 1930s he stood in the spotlight as an expert on the problem of Jewish refugees from Europe who flocked into Japan's puppet state, Manchukuo.<sup>76</sup> For the Japanese occupying forces, the Jewish population played a subordinate role at first, as the army administration attempted to establish effective control over the Russians living in Manchukuo.

<sup>76</sup> In connection with the construction of the railway in the 19th century, and especially in the wake of pogroms that flared up periodically and the revolution in their homeland in 1917, many people had settled in Manchuria.

Joshua A. Fogel: *The Japanese and the Jews: a Comparative Analysis of their Communities in Harbin, 1899–1930*, in: Robert Bickers and Christian Henriot eds.: *New Frontiers in East Asia, 1842–1953*, Manchester: Manchester University Press 2000, p.88–108

Of the approximately 80,000 Russians in Manchukuo, half possessed Soviet passports, the rest were stateless Belarussians who fled to Manchuria after the victory of the Bolsheviks in the Russian Civil War. However, despite the relations with Nazi Germany, the Japanese decided to use this opportunity to exploit the Jewish influential power for their own purpose, namely to introduce American capital into Manchuria to activate the local economy and thus also to promote the international recognition of this puppet state.<sup>77</sup>

Army Major General HIGUCHI Kiichiro (1888-1970), assisted by Colonel YASUE Norihiro (1886-1950), offered in the name of Manchukuo's national manifesto of *Gozoku Kyowa* 'five-family harmony', sufficient protection and tolerance for the Jewish people.<sup>78</sup> In the hope that it would pave the way for mutual cooperation between the two nations he had an idea of offering some lands and absolving Jewish refugees into Manchukuo.

The first step towards cooperation with the Jews was the formation of the Far Eastern Jewish Council of Jewish communities in Japan. In order to secure the sympathies of the Jews in the United States and thus their supposed financial power for Japan, a public declaration of cooperation between the Jews in Japan and the Empire was required.

This was to be achieved at the First Congress of Jewish Communities in the Far East in December 1937. Despite the further congresses in 1938 and 1939, which also consisted of the mutual assurance of goodwill, the propagandistic successes of the meetings of the Jewish communities in the Far East in the West fell short of the expectations of the Japanese.

On the other hand, Germany's protest against this public Japanese-Jewish sympathy demonstration increased year by year. Finally, through diplomatic pressure, the Germans managed to prevent the

<sup>77</sup> Despite the Anti-Company Pact concluded on 25 November 1936 and the Cultural Agreement of 1938 between Nazi Germany and Japan, this connection was marked by partly conflicting foreign policy interests, which were also reflected within the NSDAP around the economic interests in the Far East. Initially, the Foreign Ministry favoured China because it saw greater economic potential for Germany there, and for this reason took a negative view of Japan's expansion on the Asian mainland and feared economic losses. It was not until Joachim von Ribbentrop took over the foreign ministry in 1938 that Japan's favour was established there as well.

<sup>78</sup> The German Embassy in Tokyo filed a protest, but the Japanese ignored it.

Maruyama Naoki: *Facing a Dilemma: Japan's Jewish Policy in the Late 1930s*, in: Guy Podoler ed.: *War and Militarism in Modern Japan: Issues of History and Identity*, Kent, UK, Global Oriental, 2009

Fourth Conference, planned for 1940, and all that followed. All the time the Jews faced mixed emotions in Harbin when they tried to unify the Jewish communities of the Far East.<sup>79</sup>

Since the Japanese occupying power was dependent on cooperation with the Belarusians in the fight against communism, it did nothing against the ever-increasing acts of violence against Jews. Additionally, when the Tripartite Pact with Germany and Italy was concluded, it brought also changes to Japan's stance toward the Jews. Despite the propagandistic conferences, the consequence was a mass emigration over time of Jews to other parts of China, especially to Shanghai.

When the National Socialists came to power in Germany in 1933, soon a new chapter in the attitude towards Jews also began in Japan. A special group among the Jewish exiles were intellectuals and artists who often came to Japan for professional reasons during the Weimar period, but for whom the way back was blocked after Hitler's seizure of power.<sup>80</sup> Especially from 1938 on, Japan was confronted with a new Jewish problem of an ever-increasing stream of refugees from Europe, which also affected the Japanese territories. Until 1938, German nationals would not need visas to enter Japan on the basis of a bilateral agreement, but this changed in the end of 1938 as the border guards were confronted with an ever-increasing influx of Jewish refugees.

In reaction to the *Reichsprogromnacht*, which took place in Germany from November 9 to November 10, 1938, the Japanese government felt compelled to distance itself from the anti-Semitic policies of its

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79 In 1910 about 1,500 Jews lived in Harbin. By 1930 there were already 13,000, making the Jewish community in Harbin the largest in East Asia. Three years later, in 1935, the Jewish community in Harbin had only 5,000 members.

Herman Dicker: *Wanderers and Settlers in the Far East: a century of Jewish life in China and Japan*, Twayne New York, 1962, p.22

80 Kurt Singer (1886-1962), who was well acquainted with Maynard Keynes, had been in a position at the University of Tōkyō since 1931, initially for a limited period of two years, with two one-year extensions, but was unable to return to the University of Hamburg as a Jew. He emigrated to Australia in 1939, where he was interned in 1940/41 as a member of an enemy power, although he was born half Englishman. Singer died impoverished in Athens in 1962.

Kurt Singer: *Spiegel, Schwert und Edelstein. Strukturen des japanischen Lebens*, Frankfurt a. M. 1991

Karl Löwith, a pupil of Martin Heidegger, had to emigrate from Germany because of his Jewish origin and after a stopover in Italy in 1936, accompanied by his 'Aryan' wife Ada, he arrived at the Tōhoku University in Sendai, where he taught philosophy. In the summer of 1941 he acquired a position at a theological seminary in Hartford/Massachusetts and shortly thereafter American citizenship.

German ally. The main concern here was not to alienate American Jews in the eyes of the American public, especially their supposed financial strength.<sup>81</sup>

In December 1938, in establishing an official Japanese Jewish policy, the decisions of the following conference laid down an ambiguous strategy.

The results consisted of a compromise to treat Jews in Japan, Manchukuo and the occupied parts of China fairly and to grant transit to Jewish refugees wishing to cross these territories in accordance with the valid entry regulations. At the same time, however, no action should be taken to induce Jews to flee to Japan unless they are Jewish engineers or capitalists who could be of use to Japan.<sup>82</sup>

Although in the first years after the seizure of power the National Socialists encouraged the Jews to emigrate, the Nazi regime put pressure on the Japanese ally from the outset to adopt its anti-Semitic policy. However, after Japan made it possible for German-Jewish musicians to hold high positions at universities and orchestras, the German embassy in Tōkyō protested. The agreement on cultural cooperation concluded between Japan and Germany on 25 November 1938 did not change Japan's attitude towards accepting emigrants who had been banned from working in Germany because of their origin.

Rather, Japan saw this as unacceptable interference in its internal affairs and did not bow to pressure from Germany, and until 1941 it resisted the constant urge to dismiss Jewish scientists and artists. With the outbreak of the Pacific War, however, anti-Semitic articles in Japanese newspapers increased, so that public opinion slowly turned against the Jews. After Berlin's influence also increased, they were gradually released from their jobs, had to make ends meet with poorly paid jobs and in some cases even placed under house arrest.<sup>83</sup>

Among the German Jews living in Japan, which from 1938 also included many Austrians, one of the most famous was the composer Klaus Pringsheim, who worked at the Tōkyō State Music Academy.

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81 Birgit Pansa: *Juden unter japanischer Herrschaft. Jüdische Exilfahrten und der Sonderfall Karl Löwith*, Iudicium Verlag, 1999, p.49

82 See Heinz E. Maul: *Japan und die Juden: Studie über die Judenpolitik des Kaiserreiches Japan während der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus 1933 – 1945*, Universität Bonn, 2000

83 Françoise Kreissler: *Japans Judenpolitik (1931-1945)*, in: Gerhard Krebs u.a. eds.: *Formierung und Fall der Achse Berlin-Tokyo*, München, 1994, p.192

He enjoyed a high degree of recognition as a recognized artist, but also because he was the twin brother of Katia Mann (1883-1980), the wife of Nobel Prize winner Thomas Mann (1875-1955). Others were the Vienna-born violinist Robert Pollak (1880-1962), professor at the Music Academy Tokyo (1930-1936), and the composer, conductor and pianist Leonid Kreutzer (1884-1954), born in St. Petersburg as the son of German-Jewish parents, who in 1938 was entrusted with a master class for piano at the Imperial Academy of Music in Tokyo.<sup>84</sup>

In 1944, Kreuzer was expatriated by the German Embassy in Tokyo and probably dismissed from the Academy of Music under pressure from the latter. Shortly before the end of the war he was interned by the Japanese, but already in 1945 he was engaged again at a private music college in Kunitachi.

The Austrian conductor Joseph Rosenstock (1895-1985) came to Japan in 1936 after disputes in the Jewish community in Berlin and in the same year he became the conductor of the State Japanese Symphony Orchestra, today's NHK Symphony Orchestra.<sup>85</sup>

Helmut Fellmer (1902-1977), Professor of Music and Conductor of the NHK Symphony Orchestra, who performed Richard Strauss's *Japanische Festmusik* for large orchestra on December 14, 1940 in Tokyo to celebrate the 2600th anniversary of the Japanese Empire, was considered to be a National Socialist musician officially supported in Japan by the Germans.

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84 The great influence of German-speaking artists and music teachers on Japanese music history dates back to the twentieth century. Clara Matsuno (1853 - 1949) was the first Japanese music teacher to systematically teach piano to women in Japanese schools and pioneered the establishment of the modern kindergarten system in Japan in 1876. The Austrian music teacher Rudolf Dittrich (1861-1919) was the first artistic director of the Tōkyō Music Academy and one of the pioneers in the introduction of Western music in Japan. The German violinist and concertmaster August Juncker (1868-1944) was a music teacher at the Tokyo Music Academy and performed as a violinist and conductor. The Jewish concert singer Margarethe Netke-Löwe (1889-1971) taught at the Imperial Academy of Music from 1924, then at the Kunitachi Academy of Music in Tokyo.

The bassist Hermann Wucherpfennig (1884-1969), Imperial Music Academy Tokyo, was also considered by the German Embassy in the 1930s to be one of the musicians of German nationality who worked in Japan and whose profession the German Embassy was not interested in, since he was married to a Jewish woman.

Rudolf Dittrich: Beiträge zur Kenntnis der japanischen Musik, in: Mitteilungen der OAG, Band VI, Heft 58 (1893-1897)

85 He was considered to be the best foreign conductor, and the introduction of the conductor's baton in Japan goes back to him.

Irene Suchy: Joseph Rosenstock, in Claudia Maurer Zenck, Peter Petersen eds.: Lexikon verfolgter Musiker und Musikerinnen der NS-Zeit, Hamburg: Universität Hamburg, 2007

The opera conductor and composer Manfred Gurlitt (1890-1972), younger half-brother of the art dealer Wolfgang Gurlitt (1888-1965), was also one of the emigrants, as he had to leave Germany for political reasons. He emigrated to Japan in 1939 and worked in Tokyo as an opera, concert and radio conductor, at the same time teaching at the Imperial Academy of Music. However, at this was not racial intended, he enjoyed for now the goodwill of the German Embassy in Tokyo. By time, at the instigation of the National Socialists, like many other exiles, he was harassed and dismissed by the Japanese government in 1942 and had to make a living by writing music reviews for an English-language newspaper.

Joseph Laska (1886-1964) was an Austrian composer and conductor who can be seen as a pioneer of orchestral music in Japan. In 1923 after Russian imprisonment, he arrived on a ship in Yokohama, where he was first to experience the consequences of the Great Kantō Earthquake at the beginning of September. He began working as a piano teacher in the revue theatre *Takarazuka* and in 1924 formed the first permanent symphony orchestra in the region with its members. In 1933 the orchestra consisted of 70 members and four further conductors, who together gave about 150 concerts of different composers. Laska not only teaches musicians and singers, but was also dedicated to educating an audience with multi-page detailed work introductions. Between 1931 and 1935 he premiered Anton Bruckner's symphonies in Japan.

His employer, the omnipotent Hankyū railway line, made it possible to pay the orchestra, the soloists and the purchase of the sheet music without imposing any conditions. The expenses for the orchestra served his employer to make the entertainment center at the terminus more attractive. Laska's creative period in Japan ended abruptly when he was banned from entering the country during the summer holidays of 1936 after returning from Russia.<sup>86</sup>

Among the Japanese who experienced the first few months of the Nazi regime in Berlin, was TAKEHISA Yumeji (1884- 1934), a popular romanticist painter of the Taisho era, whose graphics, water-coloured drawings, and gouaches acquired great popularity among ordinary people.

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86 Irene Suchy: Mehr als Maschinen für Musik, Beiträge zu Geschichte und Gegenwart der österreichisch-japanischen Beziehungen, Literas Universitätsverlag Wien 1990

In May 1931, Takehisa travelled to California, where he held exhibitions and gave lectures. From there, in September 1932, he travelled on board a German cargo ship to Hamburg, where he stayed in Berlin for two months. In Germany he watched the early development of Nazi oppression against the Jews in 1933, when he taught oriental painting at the Johannes Itten School, which had been part of the former Bauhaus. Many of his students were young Jews and Takehisa helped some of them to flee from Germany through the underground network of Christian churches.<sup>87</sup>

Due to changed regulations, most refugees tried from 1940 onwards to bypass Manchukuo and to get directly to Japan via the Russian port of Vladivostok with a transit visa.

In Japan itself, the city of Kōbe was the center of Jewish transit refugees, and most of them were able to quickly leave the city for their respective host countries. For those who did not succeed, there was an agreement between the Japanese port authorities and the Jewish aid organization JEWCOM that even refugees who did not actually have the necessary prerequisites for a transit stay in Japan could go ashore.

However, as Japanese-American relations began to deteriorate in 1940 and the Japanese government was already preparing for war, the Japanese government ordered the evacuation of all remaining refugees to Shanghai two months before the attack on Pearl Harbor.

As of 1 January 1942, Germany declared the German Jews living abroad stateless, and Japan followed this view. On March 11, 1942, Jews were finally banned from entering Japan, Manchukuo or the occupied parts of China. In addition, similar to Germany, the abbreviation *yu* for *yudayajin* 'Jude' was entered in their passports with a red stamp.

In reality, however, the entry ban had hardly any effect since the last escape route from Europe was blocked by the German invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941.<sup>88</sup>

There are hardly any traces of the Nazi organizations in Japan from the further war period, since after the German invasion of the Soviet Union in the summer of 1941 all transit connections between Japan and Germany were terminated completely. Only von Dürckheim did not give up his propaganda for National Socialism and for German-Japanese friendship until the bitter end, preaching Nazism and the idea of the Reich incessantly in Japan.<sup>89</sup>

When American and Soviet troops approached the German borders in September 1944 and the Japanese were preparing for a US invasion, and later while both nations suffered from massive bomb attacks, the magazine still assured its readers until December 1944 that Tokyo had 'the same spirit as Germany' that once drove away the Mongolian enemies.<sup>90</sup> In Tokyo, the *Reichsdeutsche Gemeinschaft Tokio-Yokohama*, led by the foreign organization of the NSDAP, held the ideological position even after the collapse of Nazi Germany. The approximately one thousand members of the community, who until then had been ideologically sworn in by the party on a regular basis at meetings, kept their political course in shock in Nippon's empire when Hitler had already been dead for almost a week and a half.

On May 9, 1945 in Tokyo, Ambassador Heinrich Stahmer set the swastika flag of the representation to half-mast and invited to an hour of commemoration for the Führer Adolf Hitler, who "had fallen in the battle for Germany." The celebration began with Richard Wagner's *Siegfried-Idyll* and ended with the 'Badenweiler March,' which used to announce the arrival of the Führer at rallies.

87 He returned to Japan in September 1933 and died the following year on tuberculosis.

Tetsuro Kato: Personal Contacts in German-Japanese Cultural Relations during the 1920s and Early 1930s, in Christian W. Spang, Rolf-Harald Wippich: Japanese-German Relations, 1895-1945 War, Diplomacy and Public Opinion., Routledge, 2006, p.129ff

88 Heinz E. Maul: Warum Japan keine Juden verfolgte, Die Judenpolitik des Kaiserreiches Japan während der Zeit des Nationalsozialis-

mus (1933–1945), Iudicium Verlag, 2007, p.197ff

89 Hans-Joachim Bieber: Nationalsozialistische Organisationen in Japan, OAG Notizen, 02 / 2010

90 At the same time, the Japanese government discussed for the first time measures for the case of a German collapse.