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# Japan And Pan-Asiatic Movement

BY

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(WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY DR. ALFRED ZIMMERN)

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## INTRODUCTION

After I had had the honour of acting as chairman of the meeting of the Congress of the International University League of Nations Federation at which Mr. Zumoto delivered the address which is here reproduced, I begged him to allow it to be printed in order that it might reach the wide public which its interest merits. Now that the request has been granted I am happy to accede, in my turn, to the request that I should contribute a few brief introductory remarks.

Mr. Zumoto, in his opening words to the Congress, described his essay as a chapter from the reminiscences of a journalist. He is far more than that, as his fellow-countrymen know better than the present writer. And, similarly, his essay is far more than what he claims for it. It is a most valuable contribution -- all the more valuable because of its autobiographical colouring -- to that understanding between the thinking minds of East and West which constitutes one of the main tasks of our time.

To have realized this a little earlier than some of

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my countrymen constitutes perhaps my only title to write these lines; for, though I have never been further East than Palestine and Asia Minor, the problem of the intellectual and spiritual relationship between the East and the West has haunted me almost all my life. During the years in which I was a young instructor -- Fellow and Tutor as we call it -- at Oxford, it was my task to study and teach the history of ancient Greece. Steeped in the literature of the first European people to assimilate, and then to withstand, the superior civilization of Asia -- superior because of the power and wealth on which it the battles of Marathon and Salamis, which turned the tide and asserted the physical supremacy of the West over the East.

"The flying Mede, his shaftless broken bow  
The fiery Greek, his red pursuing spear"

The famous lines of Byron haunted our imaginations, and we saw in the conquests of Alexander and in the growth of European science and political institutions the natural consummation of the victories of the Greek spearmen and sailors.

Then in the midst of our studying and dreaming, come the Russo-Japanese war. I remember, as though

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It were yesterday, our incredulity when wiser heads than ours told us that this time victory would

most likely go to our Eastern allies. I remember the shock of surprise and pleasure when these predictions were realized. And I remember not without shame, how it was the discovery that Japan had learned to apply Western science to the arts of war which raised her in the estimation of our public and made us feel that she was entitled to the rank of a Great Power. As for myself, I was so deeply impressed by the significance of the events happening in the Far East, that I remember neglecting my duty to my class and dilating upon the Japanese victories as the most important political event likely to take place in the life-time of any of us.

After a lapse of twenty years I think that this judgment was sound. But I have learned in the interval to correct my judgment as to what constitutes, or should constitute, the criterion of a "Great Power." And nothing in Mr. Zumoto's address is more interesting than the passage in which he insists that the movement of renaissance that is taking place today among the Asiatic people is not essentially political at all, but springs from the deeper region of religion, art and philosophy. It is here, rather than

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in the necessarily ephemeral contributions of states men and diplomats, that the real meeting of minds must and will take place.

And indeed it is taking place already. The League of Nations, which seemed at first to be a purely political institution, has begun to spread its roots into the richer subsoil of international society, and in this activity Japan has had a leading share. The Committee of Intellectual Cooperation, appointed in 1921, has been guided in its labours throughout the past five years by the wisdom and discretion of the Japanese Assistant Secretary General of the League of Nations, my well-loved colleague Dr. Nitobe. If the tender plant of 1921 has now grown into a vigorous young tree, no little share of the credit is due to its Japanese gardener. And now that the Committee has a permanent home and workshop in the Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, installed, through the generosity of the French Government, in the Palais-Royal at Paris, we hope that scholars and artists from Japan and throughout the East will increasingly find their way thither, and that the League of Nations, on its intellectual side, will be a permanent instrument for bringing about that deeper understanding between East and West of which Mr. Zumoto,

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in his writings and his personality, is at once such an admirable advocate and illustration.

Alfred Zimmern

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Institute of Intellectual Cooperation;

honorary President of the International

University League of Nations Federation.

## **JAPAN AND PAN-ASIATIC MOVEMENT**

[Address delivered before the Third Annual Congress of the International University League of Nations Federation, Geneva, September 1, 1962.]

The world was never confronted with so many problems of profound interest and far-reaching consequences as it now is. Take, for instance, the problem of the United States of America. How will that nation face the tremendous opportunities of good and evil which the march of history has placed in its hands -- opportunities such as have never fallen to the lot of any nation before? Will America rise to the high plane of moral responsibilities attaching to her position of undisputed supremacy in wealth and power? What America will or will not do in the next ten years may possibly mean to the world even more than the stirring events of the past dozen years. In any case America is now face to face with a position of such stupendous potentialities as may well stagger the imagination of even the most stout hearted of her thinkers and leaders. Then again look at Russia and China; these, together with the United States of America, constitute the three largest countries in the world, and blessed with boundless resources of nature, they can each live unto themselves, if they be so minded. Singly or combined, these three nations, therefore, cannot help but exert immense influence upon the course of events in the world. China and Russia are now in a bad way, but their return to a

normal condition is only a question of time. How they are going to do it happens to be of absorbing interest, demanding sympathetic and careful consideration on the part of the rest of the civilised world.

## **WILL EAST AND WEST MEET?**

The problem I propose to discuss is one at least of equal interest and importance as either of those just mentioned. It is the problem of the future relationship between East and West. It is, indeed, an old problem, as old as history itself. Many people seem to believe, with the well-known English poet, that "East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet." When Kipling wrote this oft-quoted verse, it did not matter much whether or not East and West were to meet, for the question was then only of academic interest. But the question now assumes practical importance of an acute character, for East and West have been brought face to face, and how the impact will turn out is a matter of the deepest interest from the standpoint of practical politics. That they will eventually come to understand each other sufficiently well to permit a relationship of mutual trust and friendliness, no serious student of human nature and human history can for a moment doubt. The question before us is, whether or not the initial process of their coming together and getting acquainted with each other will involve the danger of an armed conflict on a large scale along racial or color lines.

As is well known, the deposed Kaiser answered

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this question over twenty years ago in a decided affirmative, and according to a recent press despatch, he still holds the same view with increased assurances. He is unfortunately by no means alone in taking a pessimistic view of the matter. He has in fact a large following, which, strange to say, includes not a few men of scholarly pretensions.

## **AWAKENING ASIA AND ITS SPIRITUAL SOLIDARITY**

In justice to these prophets of evil, it has to be admitted that the situation is not lacking in facts and portents of more or less ominous significance. There are, for instance, unmistakable signs of an awaking race consciousness among all Asiatic countries from Turkey eastward. In its practical manifestations it is apt to take the form of a revolt against the West. The most popular formula in which this spirit of revolt expresses itself is the cry of Asia for the Asiatics, which is heard in all Asiatic lands from Angora in the west to Tokyo in the east.

Nor need we close our eyes to the fact that there is a certain something -- you may call it a temperamental sympathy, or a common sentiment of religion, or a common bent of mind -- that unites the Asiatic peoples, the Turks, the Persians, the Indians, the Chinese and the Japanese, in mysterious bonds of spiritual sympathy and fellowship. When, for instance, Tagore stands before a Japanese audience, as he has often done, the hearts of his listeners beat in unison with his heart even before his lips part. To take another illustration, the spirit of humility, that sublime

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essence of true religion, which Gandhi exemplifies in his daily life more truly and abundantly than any other living master, makes an appeal to the Oriental imagination which I presume it will be difficult for average Occidentals to realise.

## **ASIA'S PHYSICAL HELPLESSNESS**

All this is true, and yet a little reflection will convince you of the needlessness of any fear of a clash between East and West along racial lines. In the first place, we must never lose sight of the fact that the nations of Asia, with too few exceptions, are still in an infancy of material and scientific progress. But no group of nations, however formidable in point of mere numbers, can ever wage a successful war against another group far superior in industrial and scientific resources. Asia pitting itself against Europe would, therefore, be like a child challenging a grown up man of great vigour. Asia is being industrialised and will in course of time become wealthy and strong, but at the present rate of progress it will be many, many years before East can really come up within a visible distance of West in the domain of material development.

## **ASIA'S POLITICAL WEAKNESS**

Then again it must not be forgotten that efficient, combined action by a number of nations for a common political purpose is only possible where there exists a high order of political organisation in every one of such nations. Look at the continent of Asia, how

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many nations or it can be said to possess anything approaching to the kind of political efficiency required for purposes of united international action? Time may come, and I hope and trust it will come, when in this matter of political progress also East will catch up with West. But political growth is a much slower process than industrial progress. Consequently it seems highly probable, nay almost certain, that the danger of a racial clash such as the ex-Kaiser and his fellow alarmists talk of will not materialize in our own time or in the time of our children or even of their children.

### **SELF-INTEREST RATHER THAN RACE**

But for the sake of argument let us suppose that a miracle takes place and the nations of Asia succeed in the course of, say a generation, in making a sufficient progress in industrial and political development to render hostile combination against Europe a contingency not to be lightly dismissed. Suppose then that twenty to thirty years from now most of the Asiatic countries have become rich and strong, perfectly able to take care of themselves in the arena of international race in peace and war. Would the danger of their combination against West for hostile political purposes become more imminent than it is now? I cannot think so. For history teaches us that racial affinity counts for very little as a deciding factor in the alignment of nations for political purposes. It is the consideration of self-interests rather than of race or colour that determines a nation's

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foreign policy, especially when issues of war and peace are at stake.

### **ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE**

Proud Britain, for instance, did not disdain to ally herself with Yellow Japan against common dangers from White Powers. In fairness to Great Britain, I gladly take this opportunity of paying her a tribute of warm appreciation and admiration for the honourable manner in which she carried out her part of the agreement during the twenty long years of its existence. I trust on the other hand that Japan's behaviour has not been less satisfactory to Britain. The truth of the saying that the proof of the pudding is in the eating has been singularly well demonstrated by the experience of this alliance. Not only has its eating been pleasurable, but I believe it has left such an after-taste in the mouths of its eaters as to induce them to eat it again whenever occasion presents itself in the future in the interest of peace and security. And in the late World War was it not a conspicuous fact that Asiatic assistance was much sought after on both sides of the fighting line?

### **NO LIKELIHOOD OF RACE WAR**

It is unfortunate but well-attested fact of human nature that proximity breeds contempt and hatred. This is equally true of individuals and of nations. Proximity may be geographical or racial. We are not, for

instance, loved by our Asiatic neighbours any the more affectionately because we are near to them

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in distance and blood; nor does amiable sentiment seem always to unite peoples so closely akin to each other as the English and the Americans. Mutual contempt and hatred between nations closely situated will grow stronger rather than weaker as they increase in wealth and influence. So in proportion to the advance they make in power and prosperity, the Asiatic nations, you may rest assured, will certainly not love each other more. When they have grown sufficiently powerful to make them look for trouble abroad, they will most probably sooner fight among themselves than they will combine against Europe along the colour line, in which they will be only following the example set by Europe.

From what I have said there seems little likelihood of war of race between East and West. In spite of these obvious facts, however, it is strange that alarmist views of possible racial struggle with Asia continue to be nursed with assiduous persistency in Europe and America. This is a phenomenon which one finds it difficult to account for, unless perhaps one looks at it in the light of a bogey born of the guilty conscience. In that case we may safely let it alone; it may even do some good.

## ASIATIC RENAISSANCE

Now, joking aside, there is an aspect in the Asiatic situation which I am afraid has not received the amount of attention its importance demands. The ferment that is stirring the Asiatic peoples, Buddhist or Hindu, Confucianist or Muhammedan, is essentially

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intellectual and spiritual; its political manifestations are only incidental and secondary in significance. The movement that is now taking place among these value and meaning of the great heritage of religion, art, and philosophy, which East has developed during long centuries of quiet meditation, high thinking, and patient labour. Dazzled by the magnificent achievement of West in these respects, we Asiatics for a time lost sense of population. We paid to Western civilisation a homage which upon the whole it well deserved but which tended to weaken our allegiance to our own civilisation. But the reaction was bound to come, and it has now come with a self-assurance which must be rather disconcerting to West, because it has so long been accustomed to regard East as a thing of the past and Eastern civilisation as a spent force.

A number of events have combined to facilitate this process of spiritual emancipation among the peoples of Asia. But two events stand out in this respect more conspicuously than any other, namely, Japan's victory over Russia and the tragic lessons of the World War. No historical event ever produced such a stir and commotion throughout the length and breadth of whole Asia as the news of Japanese achievements on the battle-fields of Manchuria in 1904-5. The surrender of Port Arthur and Kropatkin's crushing defeat at Mukden, followed by the annihilation of Rodjestvensky's fleet in the sea of Japan, not

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only put a stop to Russian expansion in Eastern Asia, but ushered in a new era in the history of relationship between East and West. The process of awakening started by Japanese guns in Manchuria was completed ten years later by the World War, which disclosed the utter collapse and helplessness of the spiritual forces for good whose potency and beauty the Christian Church, through its missionaries, had never ceased to impress upon the so-called heathen nations of Asia. It was, indeed sad to observe how little effect the pacific teaching of Jesus had really had upon the savage and ferocious nature of the primitive men. It became pitifully clear to the followers of Buddha and Confucius as well as the worshippers of Brahma that in matters of spiritual and moral attainment East had no reason to bow its head before West. East thus came to the full realisation of the fact that in its philosophy, religion and art it had a reservoir of energy and inspiration for which it may justly be proud. East knows that in the domains of art, religion and philosophy it has made valuable contributions to the world at large, and it would not be true to its glorious past if it did not play a very important part in the drama of human civilisation in the centuries to come.

### **PACIFIC ASIA-JAPAN NO EXCEPTION**

Asia's awakening is spiritual in its character and peaceful in its tendency. Peace and quietude is, indeed, the chief characteristic of Oriental peoples. In this respect some critics might possibly suggest exceptions

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in the case of the Turks and the Japanese. Asia's advanced guards at the opposite extremities of the continent, these two peoples show some marked similarities in their position and their character. For one thing they have proved themselves possessed of no mean degree of those manly qualities which are necessary for a forcible defence of national independence. But it must not be forgotten that their warlike exploits, at any rate in modern times, have been forced upon them by the stern necessity of self-preservation. Speaking of Japan in particular, I wish to establish the truth of my assertion by a brief modern history. In so doing I need not offer any apology. For obviously no student of world politics can afford to miss any opportunity of acquiring an accurate understanding of the aims and aspirations of a nation, which, although it neither claims nor has been offered a status of recognised leadership in Asia, occupies a unique position as one of the best organised and most efficient and progressive among the many Asiatic nations, and which, consequently, is bound to exert, as it has already exerted, most far-reaching influence upon the course of events in that continent.

### **JAPAN'S FEAR OF EUROPEAN MENACE**

When Japan's door of seclusion was battered down in the middle of the 19th century by the United States of America, who by the way, 70 years later, deliberately closed her own door against us,-- such is the strange irony of history --when, I say, Japan's door

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was forced open by America in the middle of the last century, what was the state of things that greeted her astonished eyes? She was amazed to find Asia all but swallowed up by the advancing tide of European aggression. It was just after the Opium War which had cost our great neighbour China dear;

she had had to cede Hongkong and submit to other humiliating terms of peace. And looking northward the Russian eagle was slowly but steadily swooping down upon the warm waters of the Pacific. The situation was, indeed, a desperate one; not a moment was to be lost if we were to save ourselves from the fate that had overtaken the rest of Asia. Confronted by imminent danger from every side, the one absorbing problem for our leaders was how to meet this danger. The conclusion to which they inevitably came was to find out the secret of Europe's strength and beat it by its own weapons.

## **JAPAN'S SALVATION**

Fortunately in Japan eight centuries of hard discipline and training under a unique system of feudalism had evolved a hereditary ruling class of rare capacity of leadership and organisation. Nor had our people yet lost the sterling qualities of manhood fostered under that vigorous regime of government. Even with these important advantages in their favour, the determined band of statesmen and soldiers who set out to undertake the task of saving Japan from European menace faced a problem of uncommon complexity and difficulty. First they had to overthrow

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the feudal government which had done much good to the country but which had outlived its usefulness, and then they had to reorganise the whole machinery of government so as to fit it for the requirements of modern life and progress. The whole process required a period of 25 years, and involved two most sanguinary civil wars, one in 1868 completing the fall of feudalism and the other in 1877 freeing the country from the baneful influence of reactionary elements. In this way all the obstacles in the path of modernising Japan were removed, and from that time the work of reorganisation went on with accelerating speed in all departments of our national life.

## **JAPAN'S EXISTENCE TWICE IN PERIL**

When Japan had succeeded in equipping herself with a fairly serviceable army and navy of a modern European type as well as in modernising her life and institutions in all other respects, with the purpose of being prepared against the threatened menace from Europe, it is strange to say that the first danger to her national existence came out from Europe but from one of her Asiatic neighbours. Conservative China under Manchu rule had been regarding Japan's rapid Europeanisation with a great deal of displeasure and even suspicion; she considered Japan as a betrayer of Oriental civilisation. She wanted to teach Japan a lesson, and as a preliminary step in that direction she began in late eighties a policy of pinpricks in Korea. Now if you look at a map of Eastern Asia, you will see that the peninsula of

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Korea, as the late Prince Ito used to say, is like a dagger pointed at the very heart of Japan. Any strong power which seizes that dagger will have Japan at its mercy. When, therefore, China showed in 1894 her determination to establish a military supremacy over that peninsula, there was no alternative for Japan but to accept the challenge. But scarcely had the Chinese menace been effectively disposed of, when Russia stepped into China's shoes, and once more we had to stake every thing in a fight for our very existence, fortunately with the result well-known to history.

I have ventured to refer to Japan's modern history at some length, because I wanted to make quite clear to you, first, that it was Europe's aggressive career in Asia, or to return the ex-Kaiser's compliment, it was the White Peril which forced Japan to arm herself; and next that, if any nation ever fought a strictly defensive war, the two wars which modern Japan fought with her continental neighbours undoubtedly belong to the category. I thought it not useless to place this chapter of modern Japanese history in its proper light before you, for otherwise Occidental students will be liable to much needless confusion and misconception in interpreting the history of Asia.

## **JAPAN IN CHINA**

The Japanese are naturally a quiet and peace-loving people, although they are not lacking in pride of race or love of country. But they have had to arm them-

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selves, for the alternative was enslavement by Europe. There was, it is true, a time after their successful war with Russia when their national policy might possibly have lent colour to the charge of being militaristic. This was especially the case with the policy pursued in China during the early stage of the World War. Everybody has heard of the so-called Twenty-one Demands, which refer to the Treaty signed at Peking in May, 1915. There are people who believe that these much criticised stipulations are still in full force, whereas as a matter of fact they are practically out of operation. To begin with, the provisions which roused the bitterest criticisms at the time, namely those comprised in Group Five, were dropped by Japan before the Treaty was signed, and as for the arrangement concerning the disposal of the German stronghold at Tsingtao captured by Japan and other matters pertaining to the province of Shantung, they were virtually surrendered at the time of the Washington Conference. The only portion of the Treaty still in force concerns Japan's status in Manchuria. These provisions, however, mainly consist in the reaffirmation and renewal of the rights Japan had secured from Russia by the Treaty of Portsmouth and which were subsequently approved by China. The few fresh concessions provided for in the right of leasing land for agricultural and industrial purposes, are practically in abeyance, owing to the systematically obstructive attitude of the local Chinese authorities. That is how the matter actually stands with respect to the so-called Twenty-one Demands.

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## **TWENTY-ONE DEMANDS AND JAPANESE OPINION**

What is interesting to observe about this Treaty is that it has never been so popular among the Japanese people as seems to be generally believed. As soon as the terms of the proposed Treaty became known, they at once formed the subject of severe criticism among the liberal section of the population. The *Herald of Asia*, for example, which had shortly before been started in Tokyo, under my editorship, made no hesitation to condemn both the method and purpose of the negotiations, on the ground that the concessions asked were not only unnecessary but were calculated to do serious harm to Japan's best interests by antagonising the Chinese and creating a general atmosphere of suspicion in the world against Japan. This view of the matter gained in influence so rapidly that the general election in 1917, at which the Chinese policy formed one of the main issues, resulted in an overwhelming defeat for the Cabinet responsible for the fateful Peking Treaty of 1915.

## FEAR OF WHITE PERIL ONCE MORE

There is another aspect of the question which should not be lost sight of, if this regrettable diplomatic incident is to be correctly understood. However unfavourably you may consider the nature and tendency of the policy which that Treaty embodies, you must not take it for granted that the idea which prompted its adoption was one of wanton aggression. To tell you the truth, the motive force in this case was the old fear of European aggression ingrained in our very

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nature as the result of the past fifty years' experience of foreign relations. The World War had only just begun, and it was impossible to foresee exactly how it would terminate. The sponsors of the treaty thought that, whatever might be the way in which the War might end, the result would most probably be increased European imperialism in all directions but particularly in Eastern Asia. It was to be prepared against such danger that they sought to strengthen our position in China and prevent the latter's falling an easy prey to Occidental ambition. You may rightly blame these men for their shortsightedness and errors of judgment, but they do not deserve the charges of wanton aggression and land hunger which have been freely hurled at them. Their aim was essentially defensive. They fancied dangers, which, as the event proved, were not destined to materialise, but which the whole course of the past history as it pertained to the relationship between East and West certainly did not tend to make incredible.

## LIBERALISM IN JAPAN

The most important thing about the situation in Japan, is the phenomenal growth which Liberalism in all its forms has attained during the past ten years. A few generation of young men and women with an entirely fresh outlook on life and conduct, is fast pressing to the front in all spheres of activity. Their influence is felt nowhere more strikingly than in the Press, daily as well as periodical. The Japanese Press is not free from shortcomings of which it

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has a large share. At the same time it has some redeeming qualities, most conspicuous of which are its liberalism, independence, and open-minded tolerance. The Press has made a wonderful progress in Japan; it is a power which neither men of action nor leaders of thought can ever afford to ignore. This is not surprising, seeing that practically everybody can read in Japan. To cite a few instances of the influence our Press exerts over the course of our history, I may remark that its voice has been the determining factor in connection with the three question of practical politics which in importance overshadow all other public questions Japanese statecraft has had to deal with in recent years, namely, (1) the military evacuation of Siberia, (2) the reduction of armament both on land and sea, and (3) the adoption of a system of universal manhood suffrage. Furthermore our Press as a whole is solidly in support of the League of Nations and other movements and organisations tending to promote international peace and harmony.

## JAPAN'S INDUSTRIALISATION

Another factor which has been powerfully instrumental in fixed the orientation of Japan's national outlook in the direction of peace and harmony with the world at large but more particularly with her immediate neighbours, is the process of industrialisation that has made wonderful strides in the past twenty years. With a large population eager to work and naturally intelligent, and with a geographical

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situation peculiarly advantageous for the distribution of manufactured goods, Japan is blessed with most of the important requisites of a successful industrial career. She is, however, lamentably deficient in natural resources, for which she is absolutely dependent upon countries which are fortunately comparatively near to her, such as Siberia, China, India, Australia, and the United States of America. These also happen to be the principal customers, actual and potential, for her products. It is obvious then that self-interest, if nothing else, makes it absolutely necessary for Japan to do everything in her power to cultivate the friendliest of relations with the countries from which she has to obtain the raw materials for her mills and to which she has to export her produce and manufactures.

### **RENAISSANCE IN JAPAN**

As in order countries, we find a strong renaissance in progress in Japan. One of the most remarkable features of this movement is the revival of Buddhism. For a time this religion suffered from the general wave of indiscriminate Europeanisation, but of late the tide has turned in its favor, and we notice unmistakable signs of a new spirit stirring in the Buddhist circles of Japan. In this connection I may call attention to the remarkable activity noticed in the Buddhist press, the establishment of higher institutions of learning under most of the leading denominations, and the rise of new schools of Buddhist is also shown in the study

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of ancient Chinese philosophy and the various metaphysical systems of India both before and after Buddha. The hopeful thing about Buddhism is its pervading spirit of peace and tolerance. The history of its dissemination throughout the greater part of Eastern and Southern Asia, is on the whole singularly free from those intolerant persecutions and barbarous wars which unfortunately disfigure the history of religious propagation in other parts of the world.

### **JAPAN A HOSTAGE OF PEACE**

To sum up, Japan has definitely accepted her position as a responsible and important member of the family of civilised nations. She has irrevocably identified herself in every way with the broad and general interests of world civilisation. Scrupulously loyal to the League of Nations and to the high ideals of world peace which it embodies, Japan imposes upon herself the role of harmoniser between the civilisations of East and West. If Japan's influence counts for anything in Asia, all that influence will always be exerted in the interest of peace and harmony between East and West. West, therefore, finds in Japan a self-constituted hostage pledged to see that East remain true to its traditional spirit of peace and loyally fulfil its responsibilities for the general welfare of humanity at large. How faithfully Japan fulfils this self-imposed mission was shown in connection with the so-called Pan-Asiatic Congress held at Nagasaki at the beginning of August in the present year, about which more or

less sensational press despatches appear

to have been printed in Europe and America. During the last twenty years Japan has been visited by a succession of radical leaders and political adventurers from different parts of Asia for the purpose of enlisting Japanese sympathy and assistance in various propagandas against one or another of European Powers. Always finding deaf ears turned to their pleadings, some of these indefatigable plotters recently struck upon the bright idea of realising their aim under the inoffensive guise of promoting the Asiatic renaissance, and finally succeeded in interesting in their plan a few notoriety mongers of no consequence whatever, no person of any importance in any country taking part in it. And what is most significant, it was scarcely noticed by the Press in Japan.

**Motosada Zumoto**