

Transnational Nazism

In 1936, Nazi Germany and militarist Japan built a partnership that culminated in the Tokyo–Berlin Axis. This study of interwar German–Japanese relations is the first to employ sources in both languages. Transnational Nazism was an ideological and cultural outlook that attracted non-Germans to become adherents of Hitler and National Socialism, and convinced German Nazis to identify with certain non-Aryans. Because of the distance between Germany and Japan, mass media was instrumental in shaping mutual perceptions and spreading transnational Nazism. This work surveys the two national media to examine the impact of transnational Nazism. When Hitler and the Nazi movement gained prominence, Japanese newspapers, lectures and pamphlets, nonfiction, and language textbooks transformed to promote the man and his party. Meanwhile, the ascendancy of Hitler and his regime created a niche for Japan in the Nazi worldview and Nazified newspapers, films, nonfiction, and voluntary associations.

RICKY W. LAW is Associate Professor of History at Carnegie Mellon University. He has received grants and fellowships from the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, the Japan Foundation, and the Royster Society of Fellows. In 2013, he received the Dean’s Distinguished Dissertation Award at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, where he earned his PhD, and the Fritz Stern Dissertation Prize of the Friends of the German Historical Institute.

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-47463-4 — Transnational Nazism
Ricky W. Law
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

Publications of the German Historical Institute

Edited by

Simone Lässig
with the assistance of David Lazar

The German Historical Institute is a center for advanced study and research whose purpose is to provide a permanent basis for scholarly cooperation among historians from the Federal Republic of Germany and the United States. The Institute conducts, promotes, and supports research into both American and German political, social, economic, and cultural history; into transatlantic migration, especially during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; and into the history of international relations, with special emphasis on the roles played by the United States and Germany.

A full list of titles in the series can be found at:
www.cambridge.org/pghi

Transnational Nazism

*Ideology and Culture in German-Japanese
Relations, 1919–1936*

Ricky W. Law

Carnegie Mellon University

GERMAN HISTORICAL INSTITUTE

Washington, DC

and



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-47463-4 — Transnational Nazism
Ricky W. Law
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre,
New Delhi – 110025, India
79 Anson Road, #06–04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108474634
DOI: 10.1017/9781108565714

© Ricky W. Law 2019

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2019

Printed in the United Kingdom by TJ International Ltd. Padstow, Cornwall

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

NAMES: Law, Ricky W., 1979- author.

TITLE: Transnational nazism : ideology and culture in German-Japanese relations, 1919-1936 / Ricky W. Law, Carnegie Mellon University, Pennsylvania.

OTHER TITLES: Ideology and culture in German-Japanese relations, 1919–1936

DESCRIPTION: First edition. | New York : Cambridge University Press, [2019] | SERIES: Publications of the German Historical Institute | Includes bibliographical references and index.

IDENTIFIERS: LCCN 2019004780 | ISBN 9781108474634 (hardback : alk. paper) | ISBN 9781108465151 (pbk. : alk. paper)

SUBJECTS: LCSH: Germany–Foreign public opinion, Japanese. | National socialism in popular culture–Japan. | National socialism–Germany. | Japan–Foreign public opinion, German. | Japan–Civilization–German influences. | Germany–Civilization–Japanese influences. | Japan–Relations–Germany. | Germany–Relations–Japan. | Public opinion–Germany. | Public opinion–Japan.

CLASSIFICATION: LCC DS849.G4 L39 2019 | DDC 303.48/24305209042–dc23
LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2019004780>

ISBN 978-1-108-47463-4 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

To my parents

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-47463-4 — Transnational Nazism
Ricky W. Law
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	page viii
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	ix
<i>Note on Languages</i>	xiii
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xiv
Introduction	1
Part I Transnational Nazism in Japan	27
1 Germany in Newspapers	29
2 Germany in Lectures and Pamphlets	66
3 Germany in Nonfiction	97
4 Germany in Language Textbooks	134
Part II Transnational Nazism in Germany	165
5 Japan in Newspapers	167
6 Japan in Films	204
7 Japan in Nonfiction	235
8 Japan in Voluntary Associations	266
Conclusion	295
<i>Bibliography</i>	304
<i>Index</i>	336

Figures

1.1 Advertisement in the <i>Tōkyō nichinichi shinbun</i>	page 53
1.2 Advertisement in the <i>Kokumin shinbun</i>	54
1.3 “Japan and Germany Linked in Friendship,” <i>The Japan Times and Mail</i>	55
1.4 “German-Japanese Friendship Number,” <i>The Japan Times and Mail</i>	56
1.5 Photographs in the <i>Japan Times and Mail</i>	59
1.6 “Japan-Germany Amity Special,” <i>The Osaka Mainichi & The Tokyo Nichi Nichi</i>	61
2.1 Cover of <i>Germany’s Bombshell Announcement and Shuddering Europe</i>	85
2.2 Cover of <i>Japan, Germany, Italy, and the League of Nations</i>	87
2.3 Cover of <i>The Japanese-German Agreement and Japan’s Leap of Progress</i>	92
3.1 Cover of <i>Hitler: The Giant of Rising Germany</i>	119
3.2 Cardboard case of <i>Hitler the Dictatorial King</i>	125
3.3 Dust jacket of <i>The Truth of the Nazis</i>	126
3.4 Cover of <i>An Overview of Germany, 1936</i>	127
3.5 Cover of <i>An Overview of Germany, 1937–38</i>	129
4.1 Poster for Seminar Germania	135
5.1 Cartoon in <i>Vorwärts</i>	186
5.2 Cartoon in the <i>Völkischer Beobachter</i>	187
5.3 Cartoon in the <i>Rote Fahne</i>	189
5.4 Cartoon in <i>Vorwärts</i>	191
5.5 Articles in the <i>Völkischer Beobachter</i>	200
8.1 Poster for German-Japanese student contest	292

Acknowledgments

Though writing this book has mostly been a solitary, late night endeavor for well over a decade, I could not have completed it without the assistance of many individuals and organizations.

Foremost, I had two superb *Doktorväter*, Christopher Browning and Miles Fletcher, at the University of North Carolina (UNC) at Chapel Hill. Their steadfast support, encouragement, and confidence in me created the perfect environment for tackling a sprawling dissertation covering two countries and historical traditions. They continued to guide me after the dissertation defense and shared with me their thoughts on the manuscript. I learned much from them and am only now beginning to appreciate some of their wisdom and insights on teaching and research. The other dissertation committee members each left their intellectual marks on me and the project. Konrad Jarausch inspired me to have a vision and challenged me to view my work in a broader perspective. Dominic Sachsenmaier gave suggestions on issues in East–West interactions and global history methodologies. Daniel Botsman led me to think more about continuities in Japanese–German interactions from the nineteenth century. Cemil Aydin showed me Pan-Asianism’s impact in pre-1945 Japan. Beyond the committee, Richard Talbert indulged me in my fascination with Roman history. Jan Bardsley offered much kindness and valuable practical advice on researching in Japan. Jennifer Smith and Paul Roberge introduced me to basic Japanese and German linguistics.

Several institutions furnished indispensable material support. The German Chancellor Fellowship of the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation funded my research stay in Germany. I not only collected the necessary historical sources but also learned much about German society, economy, culture, and politics. This book and I personally greatly benefited from the fellowship’s interdisciplinary ethos. The Doctoral Fellowship of the Japan Foundation enabled my research in Tokyo. Kitaoka Shin’ichi of the Graduate Schools for Law and Politics at the University of Tokyo supervised my work. Suzuki Tamon familiarized me with the National Diet Library. The Royster Society at UNC Chapel Hill

x Acknowledgments

granted me a dissertation fellowship that let me concentrate on writing. I am also grateful to the UNC Graduate School for the Dean's Distinguished Dissertation Award. The History Department at Carnegie Mellon University (CMU) gave me leave so that I could finish the manuscript. I was honored to be awarded the Fritz Stern Dissertation Prize by the Friends of the German Historical Institute. I thank prize committee members Ann Goldberg, Paul Lerner, and Jesse Spohnholz for the recognition. David Lazar of the German Historical Institute invited me to submit my manuscript and shepherded the project throughout the publication process. Editor Liz Friend-Smith of Cambridge University Press and content manager Ian McIver have been very patient and accommodating to this first-time book author. Elizabeth Stone of Bouchier meticulously copy-edited the manuscript. I thank Berghahn Books for permission to reuse a previously published piece.

Talented, committed archivists and librarians facilitated my research. In the United States, the librarians of Davis Library at UNC, especially those of the interlibrary loan department, deserve high praise for their patience and responsiveness. Kris Troost of Perkins Library at Duke University was generous with her time and always ready to answer my questions from the beginning to the end of the project. Andrew Marshall of Hunt Library at CMU distinguished himself with his attention to detail and resourcefulness. In Germany, the archivists at the Federal Archives in Berlin, Koblenz, and Freiburg were all professional, helpful, and knowledgeable. Sven Schneidereit and Herr Klein at Berlin-Lichterfelde patiently handled my requests for obscure documents and located them without fail. David Parrett of the film collection taught me much about pre-1945 motion pictures. The Political Archives of the Foreign Office, Berlin State Archives, and the library of Humboldt University of Berlin also proved rich depositories of sources. I spent months at the German National Library in Leipzig, where the librarians were thorough and efficient. I also appreciate the assistance of the staffs of the library and archives of Leipzig University. In Japan, the National Diet Library is a model of accessibility, innovation, and user-friendliness. I thank especially the rotating staffs at the microfiche and rare books reading rooms and copy services.

My colleagues at CMU have been supportive and engaged ever since I joined the History Department. They asked profound, insightful questions at my first presentation of the project. Donna Harsch helped me revise crucial portions of the manuscript. Nico Slate read and commented on the entire manuscript, many parts repeatedly. Stephen

Brockmann and Elisabeth Kaske were great company. Ema Grama was always available for emotional support.

The outside reviewers invited by the CMU History Department encouraged me to reorient the project and elevate its theoretical aspect. I thank the two anonymous referees solicited by my editor for their extremely useful feedback. They are my teachers. Of course, I am solely responsible for any remaining errors.

Speaking of teachers, I am endlessly grateful to Michael Grüttner at Technical University of Berlin for two decades of wisdom, mentoring, and friendship. I owe much of what I know in German history to him. I have the deepest appreciation for Erich Gruen at the University of California, Berkeley. His gentle but forceful exhortations to interpret evidence more critically and creatively were never far from my mind when I wrote this book.

I am thankful for opportunities to present my findings and grow from comments and questions at conferences at the Association for Asian Studies, German Studies Association, University of Southern California (“Approaches to Wartime Japan: Militarism, Fascism and Religion,” convened by John Person and Clinton Godart), University of California, San Diego (“Germans in the Pacific World from the Late 17th to 20th Century,” convened by Hartmut Berghoff, Frank Biess, and Ulrike Strasser), Seton Hall University (“Encounters: Travel and Tourism in Historical Perspective,” convened by Sarah Fieldston), and Berlin Program of Advanced German and European Studies at Free University of Berlin (“Strange Bedfellows/Unexpected Allies,” convened by Deborah Barton, Jeremy DeWaal, Karin Goihl, Thomas Haakenson, and Carol Hager).

Along the journey from Chapel Hill to Germany to Japan to Pittsburgh, numerous people took care of me. Michael Meng, Sarah and Ben Vierra, Rebecca Archer, Pearl Chang, Michael Smith, Philipp Stelzel, Megan Kassabaum, and others made my time in graduate school pleasant and stimulating. Michael Meng in particular was a great *senpai* and model. In Germany, fellow “Buka” Andrea Stith was a caring listener and good friend. The Kuschminder, Albani, and Eck families opened their doors and let me celebrate holidays with them. Fellow graduate students Mari Webel, Stephen Gross, Dan Bullard, and Stephen Scala provided solidarity and tips during my stay. In Japan, I very much appreciated the intelligent, enjoyable company of Max Ward, Nick Kapur, and Benjamin Uchiyama at the Modern Japan History Workshop. Kari Shephardson-Scott and Anne Giblin Gedacht showed me the wonders of Jinbōchō. Meghen Jones educated me about Japanese art

xii Acknowledgments

museums and accessing collections. Birgit Schneider is a fine fellow student of German-Japanese relations. The Iwata family and everyone in Atsuta-mura again treated me as one of their own. In Jacksonville, Florida, Charles Closmann, David Courtwright, and Chau Kelly took time to listen to me as a beginning academic. In the last days of revision, I met a group of conscientious educators from around Pittsburgh through Classrooms without Borders, made possible by the indefatigable Tsipy Gur and Patti Askwith Kenner. I had the honor to meet and learn from Howard Chandler, who reminds me why I am a historian.

During this project and beyond, Brian Mathias put up with me through his gentleness and ability to see the best in people. May we have many more years of good food and togetherness. I dedicate this work to my parents, May-lan Lau and Kwai Law, whose sacrifice and love made me the person I am.

Note on Languages

All non-English quotations are translated by the author, unless an English translation is cited. German words retain the spelling prevalent in the interwar years. Japanese words are romanized according to the modified Hepburn system. Japanese surnames precede given names, except in citations of works in European languages. Long vowels in familiar terms such as Tokyo or Showa are not marked with macrons other than in titles of publications or organizations.

Abbreviations

AEPM	Allgemeiner Evangelisch-Protestantischer Missionsverein
BArch	Bundesarchiv
BLA	<i>Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger: Zentral-Organ für die Reichshauptstadt</i>
BTH	<i>Berliner Tageblatt und Handels-Zeitung</i>
DAZ	<i>Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung</i>
DJAG	Deutsch-Japanische Arbeitsgemeinschaft
DJG	Deutsch-Japanische Gesellschaft
DTW	<i>Deutig-Tonwoche</i>
EE	Evening edition
EW	<i>Emelka-Woche</i>
G	<i>Germania: Zeitung für das deutsche Volk</i>
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
JTM	<i>The Japan Times and Mail</i>
K	<i>Kokumin shinbun</i>
KAZ	<i>Königsberger Allgemeine Zeitung</i>
ME	Munich edition
NGE	North German edition
NPK	<i>Neue Preußische (Kreuz)-Zeitung</i>
NSKK	Nationalsozialistisches Kraftfahrkorps
OM	<i>Ōsaka mainichi shinbun</i>
PA AA	Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts
RF	<i>Die Rote Fahne: Zentralorgan der Kommunistischen Partei Deutschlands</i>
RM	Reichsmark
S	<i>Sekki</i>
TA	<i>Tōkyō asahi shinbun</i>
TN	<i>Tōkyō nichinichi shinbun</i>
UAL	Universitätsarchiv Leipzig
Ufa	Universum Film AG
UTW	<i>Ufa-Tonwoche</i>
V	<i>Vorwärts: Berliner Volksblatt, Zentralorgan der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands</i>

Abbreviations

xv

- VB *Völkischer Beobachter: Kampfblatt der nationalsozialistischen
Bewegung Großdeutschlands*
- VZ *Vossische Zeitung: Berlinische Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten
Sachen*
- Y *Yomiuri shinbun*

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-47463-4 — Transnational Nazism
Ricky W. Law
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)
