reserves direct

at the General, Health, Law, Oxford, and Theology Libraries

The United States copyright law (Title 17 of the US Code) governs the making of copies of copyrighted material. A person making a copy in violation of the law is liable for any copyright infringement. Copying includes electronic distribution of the reserve materials by the user. The user should assume that any works in the reserve items are copyrighted.
V. The countries of Greater East Asia will cultivate friendly relations with all the countries of the world and work for the abolition of racial discrimination, the promotion of cultural intercourse, and the opening of resources throughout the world and contribute thereby to the progress of mankind.

THE AXIS ALLIANCE

The war in China brought Japan into conflict with the Western powers and caused Japan's diplomatic isolation. The Tripartite Pact (Document 5) concluded between Japan, Germany, and Italy on September 27, 1940, was an attempt to secure for Japan a new international standing, to permit Japan to advance southward before Germany also claimed these territories for herself, to facilitate Japan's rapprochement with the Soviet Union and to negotiate with the United States from a "position of strength." The notion of the so-called bloc policy was also very much in evidence. Designed by Foreign Minister Matsuoka Yosuke (1880-1946), it divided the world into four major blocs, each placed under the leadership of Japan, Germany, and Italy, the Soviet Union, and the United States, respectively. The preamble and the first and second articles of the pact were expressions of this grand design, which was consistent with Nazi Germany's notion of Lebensraum.

5 The Tripartite Pact between Japan, Germany, and Italy, 1940

The Governments of Japan, Germany, and Italy consider it the prerequisite of a lasting peace that every nation in the world shall receive the space to which it is entitled. They have, therefore, decided to stand by and cooperate with one another in their efforts in the regions of Europe and Greater East Asia respectively. In doing this it is their prime purpose to establish and maintain a new order of things, calculated to promote the mutual prosperity and welfare of the peoples concerned.

It is, furthermore, the desire of the three Governments to extend cooperation to nations in other spheres of the world that are inclined to direct their efforts along lines similar to their own for the purpose of realizing their ultimate object, world peace.

Accordingly, the Governments of Japan, Germany and Italy have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE 1. Japan recognizes and respects the leadership of Germany and Italy in the establishment of a new order in Europe.

ARTICLE 2. Germany and Italy recognize and respect the leadership of Japan in the establishment of a new order in Greater East Asia.

6 Imperial Conference, November 5, 1941

Agenda: "Essentials for Carrying Out the Empire's Policies"

I. Our Empire, in order to resolve the present critical situation, assure its self-preservation and self-defense, and establish a New Order in Greater East Asia...

RISK OF ULTRANATIONALISM AND THE PACIFIC WAR

ARTICLE 3. Japan, Germany, and Italy agree to cooperate in their efforts on aforesaid lines. They further undertake to assist one another with all political, economic and military means if one of the three Contracting Powers is attacked by a Power at present not involved in the European War or in the Japanese-Chinese conflict.

ARTICLE 4. With a view to implementing the present pact, joint technical commissions, to be appointed by the respective Governments of Japan, Germany and Italy, will meet without delay.

ARTICLE 5. Japan, Germany and Italy affirm that the above agreement affects in no way the political status existing at present between each of the three Contracting Parties and Soviet Russia.

ARTICLE 6. The present pact shall become valid immediately upon signature and shall remain in force ten years from the date on which it becomes effective.

In due time, before the expiration of said term, the High Contracting Parties shall, at the request of any one of them, enter into negotiations for its renewal.

DECISION FOR WAR

Throughout most of 1941, policy disputes between the United States and Japan widened, which eventually led to Pearl Harbor. The Imperial Conference held on September 6 agreed to put a time limit on the decision for war or peace but also agreed on placing the emphasis on diplomatic negotiations. Another Imperial Conference was called on November 5 to reconvene the basic premises of the September 6 decision. This time with General Tojo (1884-1948) replacing Koyanagi as prime minister. With the probability of success in diplomacy diminishing, the die was cast in favor of war. Yet the prospect for victory was not certain. Document 6 below reproduces the main part of the proceedings.

6 Reprinted from Japan's Decision for War: Records of the 1941 Policy Conference, edited and translated by Nishiyama Iku with the permission of the publisher, Stanford University Press; © 1967 by the Board of Trustees of the Leland Stanford Junior University, pp. 205, 211-27. In addition to those officials whose statements are excerpted, the following also attended: Hata Yoshijuku, president of the Privy Council; Shigemitsu, foreign minister; and Tojo, navy minister; and to Secchi, navy vice chief of staff. The secretaries were Hidira Nishimura, chief of the Cabinet Secretariat; Muto Atsushi, chief of the Military Affairs Bureau, Army Ministry; and Oka Takeshi, chief of the Naval Affairs Bureau, Navy Ministry. The document "Essentials, etc." on the agenda was not identified with the September 6 version.