

units are operating under Mongolian commanders.

The military organization is patterned strictly on the lines of the Red Army and its technical equipment is of Soviet manufacture. The uniforms of the Mongolian Army as seen in Moscow are almost indistinguishable from the Soviet uniforms.

The maintenance of its quasi-independence against the Japanese in just such fighting as is now going on along Outer Mongolia's rather intan-

gible frontiers is the Mongolian Republic's not disinterested way of compensating the Soviet Union for the trouble taken in training and equipping this army. An Outer Mongolia overrun by the Kwantung Army would establish Japanese bases at points only 150 miles from the vital Trans-Siberian Railway. The route from these potentially vulnerable points on the railway to Lake Boirnor, the scene of the recent fighting, is about a thousand miles.

III. 'MIKADO DOCTRINE'

By HIKOMATSU KAMIKAWA

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EAST ASIA and the American continents show considerable similarities in many respects. It is strange, therefore, that there should be so few among the intelligentsia of Western countries, especially in the United States, who appreciate this fact. If thinking people on the other side of the Pacific would understand that East Asia and the American continents have similar interests and a common purpose in world politics, there is no doubt that American opinion regarding events in East Asia would undergo a radical change.

Relations between Japan and the continent of East Asia closely resemble those between the United States and the American continents. In fact the continental policy of Japan since the Manchurian Incident has been frequently called the Japanese 'Monroe Doctrine' or the East Asiatic 'Monroe Doctrine.' But not a few Western writers find fault with the Japanese 'Monroe Doctrine,' while

they justify the American doctrine, by stressing unduly the negligible differences they discover between the two. It should be pointed out, however, that these doctrines are essentially similar, the only difference being that the Japanese 'Monroe Doctrine' has East Asia for its field of operation and the original Monroe Doctrine, the American continents. The essential characteristics of the two, as far as international policies are concerned, are the same, though the processes of their development have differed.

Like its prototype in America, the Japanese 'Monroe Doctrine' is Japan's policy toward East Asia with reference to the latter's relations with the Western Powers. It has no concern with the relations between Japan and other countries of East Asia. The present condition of East Asia greatly resembles that which existed in the Western Hemisphere in the early part of the 19th century in that, with the only exception of Japan, all the

regions of East Asia are virtually colonies or semi-colonies of European and American powers. Naturally the Japanese 'Monroe Doctrine,' now in its first stage of development, bears a close resemblance to the original Monroe Doctrine of the United States.

Japan's 'Monroe Doctrine' must of necessity contain the principles of non-colonization, non-territorial acquisition and non-intervention. It cannot but be operated, therefore, as a principle of defense and preservation of East Asia, since the acquisition of territory in this region by any one of the European or American Powers is a violation of the territorial integrity of this part of the globe and is a menace to its security; and Japan, as the defender of East Asia, must determinedly oppose such an encroachment. And if the Western Powers intervene and extend their political influence over this region, such action must be construed as disturbing the peace and order of East Asia which Japan, as the guardian of peace in this region, must vigorously oppose. These principles of non-colonization, non-intervention and non-territorial acquisition are the minimum claim of Japan under her 'Monroe Doctrine.'

As to the principle of isolation contained in the American doctrine, Japan also observes a similar principle in her 'Monroe Doctrine' as strictly as circumstances permit. She has not only withdrawn herself from the League of Nations but participated in no political affairs of Europe. Moreover, she has never had anything to do with political affairs in the American continents. Unlike the United States, which has abandoned the principle of isolation in the Pacific area and East Asia where she has intervened un-

restrainedly, Japan has been acting strictly within the confines of East Asia making no positive attempt to interfere with European or American political affairs.

II

The American Monroe Doctrine is fundamentally an economic principle despite its apparent political feature and has served effectively to facilitate the United States' policy of territorial expansion to meet the demand of her internal economy in the first half of the last century. It cannot be denied that the principle of Japan's 'Monroe Doctrine' is primarily a political one, but at the same time it contains an economic principle as a secondary attribute. However, it has never been invoked for the purpose of territorial expansion as in the case of the American doctrine. Manchukuo, though established with the help of Japan, is clearly an independent country and is not in any respect the territory of Japan. In brief, Japan has no territorial ambitions at all. This attitude has been clarified beyond any doubt by various public statements of the Japanese Government since the outset of the current Sino-Japanese hostilities.

In the economic sphere the Japanese 'Monroe Doctrine' envisages what may be termed East Asia continentalism, which is none other than a movement, based upon the geographical, racial, cultural and economic solidarity of the countries of East Asia, with the object of bringing about the closest possible intercourse among them. This is not at all an activity of an imperialistic character; it is a joint movement of the East Asiatic peoples. The countries of East Asia are already a single community viewed from a geo-

graphical and historical standpoint; and they are now in the process of forming an economic community. Japan is at present undergoing rapid industrial development while the other countries of that region are still in the stage of agrarian economy. But, because of this they complement one another, maintaining a relationship of mutual aid. Thus Japan's requirements arising from her capitalistic system and the needs of her neighbors arising from their agrarian economy are mutually harmonious and reciprocal. It is utterly erroneous, therefore, to regard Japan's 'Monroe Doctrine' as a doctrine of imperialism.

There are some American writers who criticize Japan, asserting that while the United States does not close the door of the American continents under the pretext of the Monroe Doctrine, Japan closes the door of East Asia under her 'Monroe Doctrine.' Needless to say, such assertions are wholly groundless. That the United States has in fact kept the door of Latin America closed under her Caribbean policy cannot be refuted. Even if it is conceded for argument's sake that she has maintained the open door in her part of the world, the open door

has always been and will continue to be maintained to the same extent, if not more, in East Asia, Monroe Doctrine or no Monroe Doctrine.

Since it is clear that the Japanese 'Monroe Doctrine' is essentially the same as the original Monroe Doctrine of the United States, it should be admitted that the Japanese policy in East Asia is entirely justified—just as the American Monroe Doctrine was justified in its early stage. Thinking people in the United States who vindicate the Monroe Doctrine of their country as a matter of course should, from the standpoint of equity, recognize the justice of Japan's 'Monroe Doctrine' regarding East Asia.

The Monroe Doctrine is an effective manifestation of regionalism as against universalism. The United States which conceived this idea is really the originator of regionalism, which Japan is striving at present to establish in East Asia by following the example of that country. In claiming the 'Monroe Doctrine' for East Asia, Japan naturally expects sympathy and encouragement from the United States, a senior in regionalism, who for her best interests should lead and inspire her junior, Japan.

IV. TWO-SEAS CANAL

By HECTOR GHILINI

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SIXTY years of bitter struggle have marked the first phase of the so-called Two-Seas Maritime Canal project, that simple yet monumental plan for a short cut from the Atlantic to the Mediterranean through the South of France. Since 1880, when the Cham-

ber of Deputies named the first commission to investigate the possibilities of the project, Canal proponents and opponents have continued the fight, stopping only for the duration of the World War. To one part of the French population, the proposed canal be-