

CHART 1.-PERCENTAGE EXPRESSING PARTY CHOICE

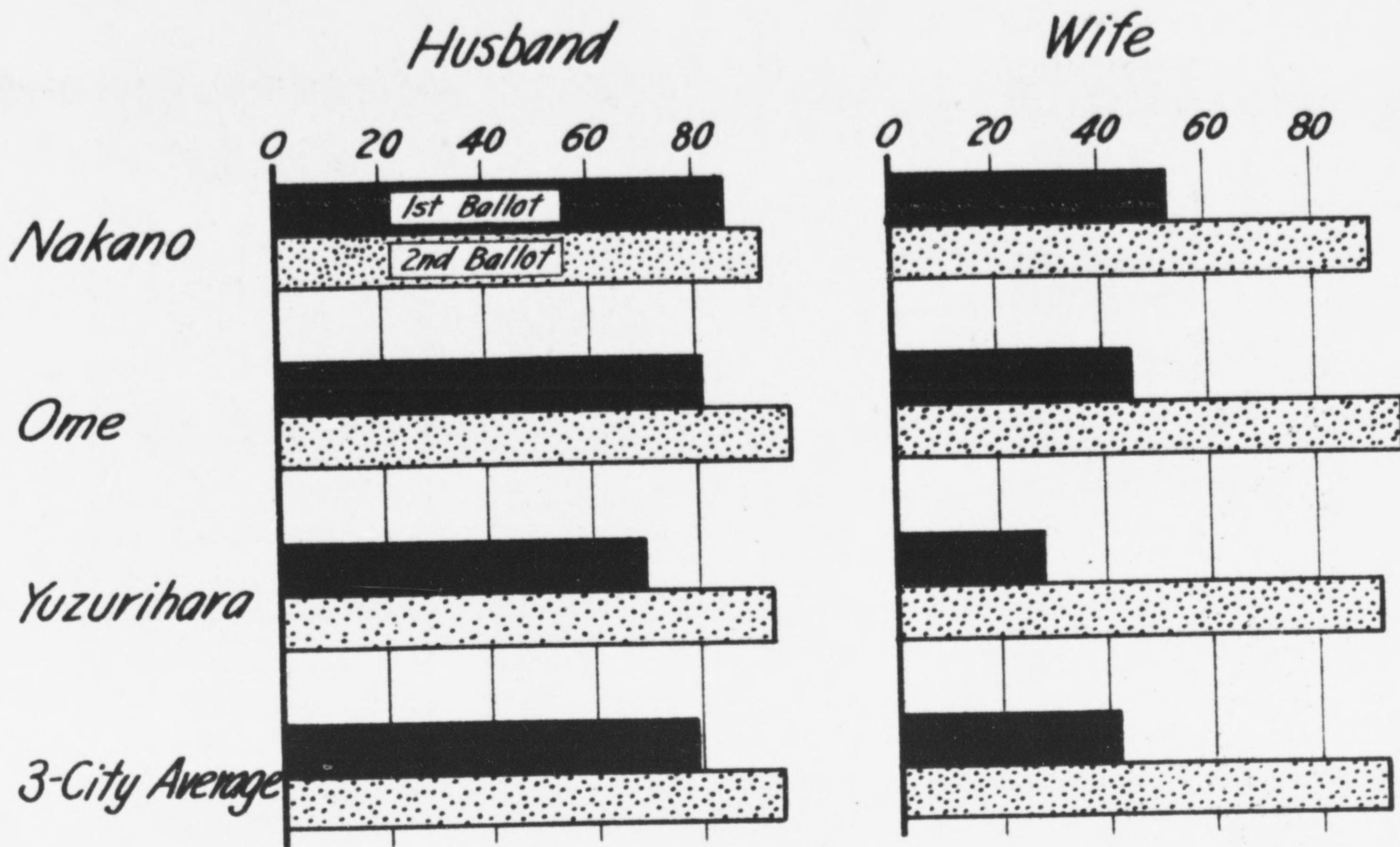


CHART 2.-PERCENT INCREASE ON 2ND BALLOT

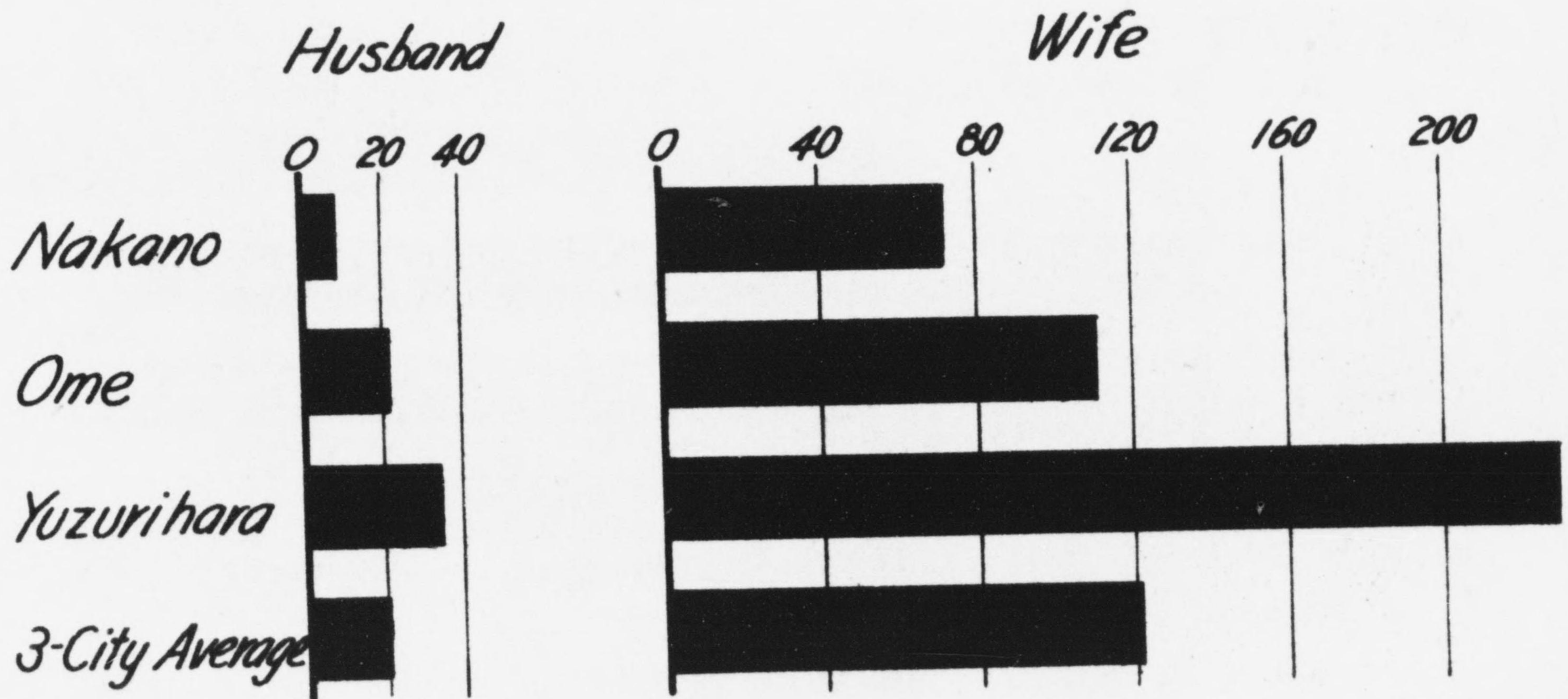
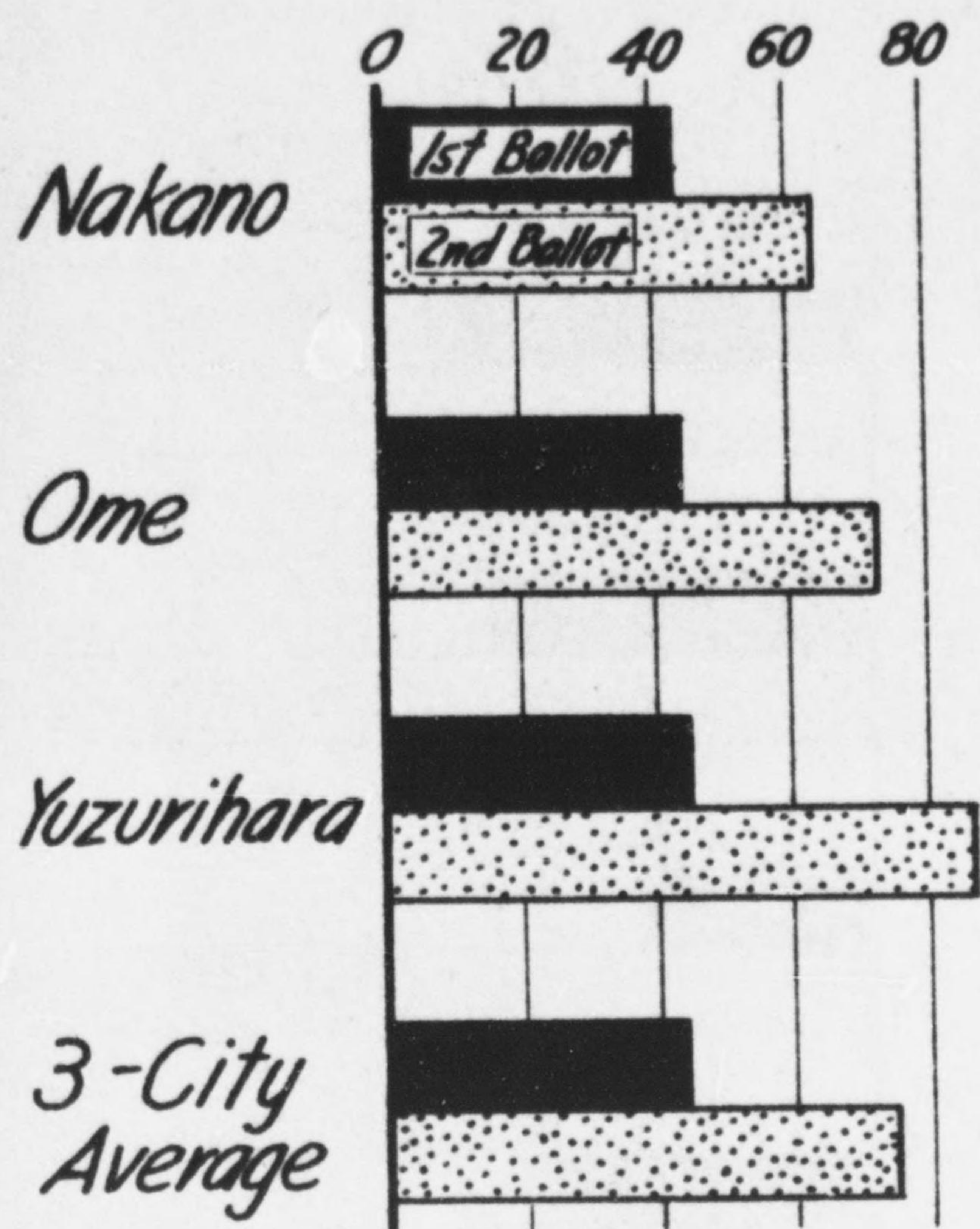


CHART 3.-PERCENTAGE OF COUPLES IN AGREEMENT.



Percent Increase in Agreement On 2nd Ballot

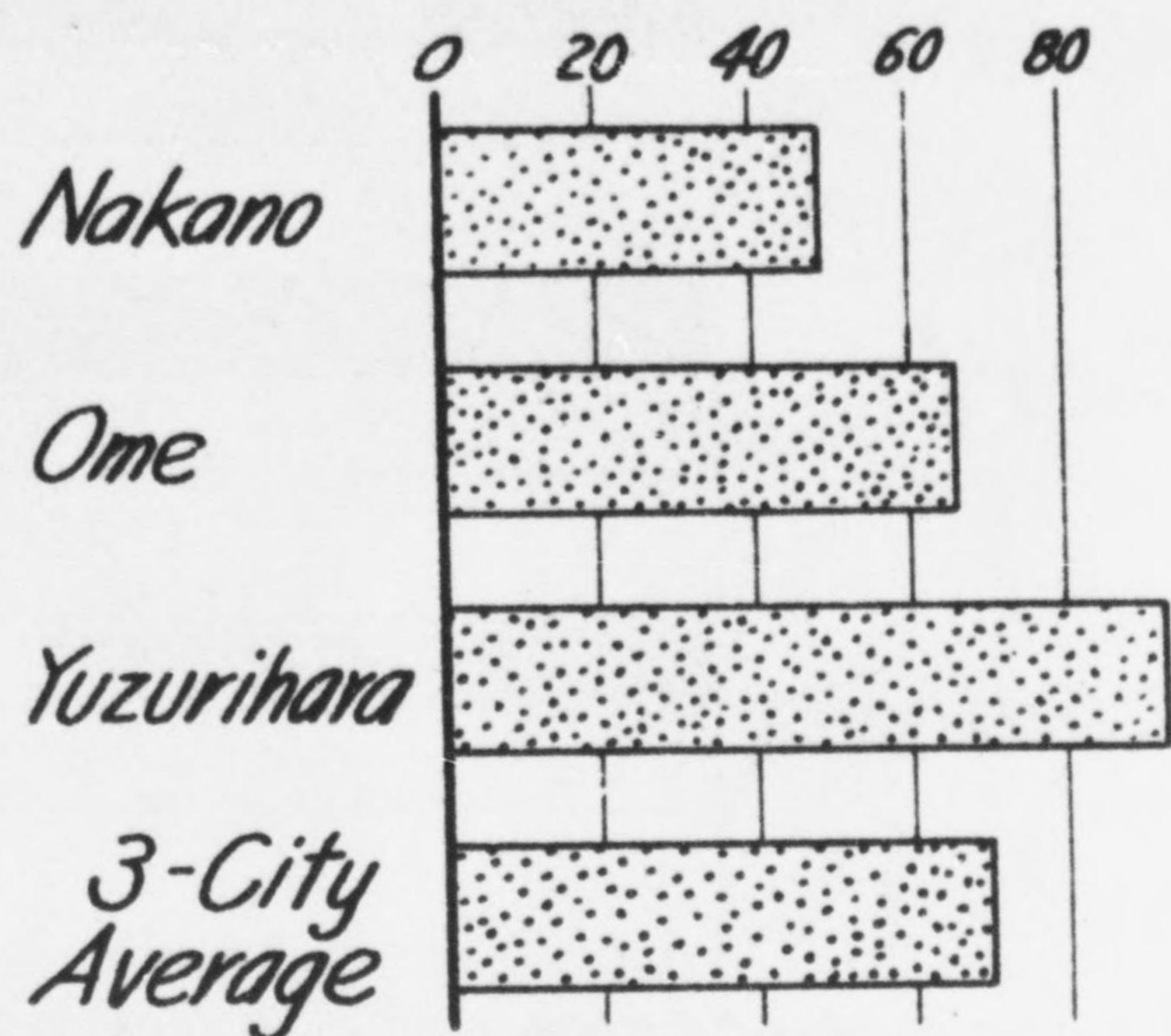
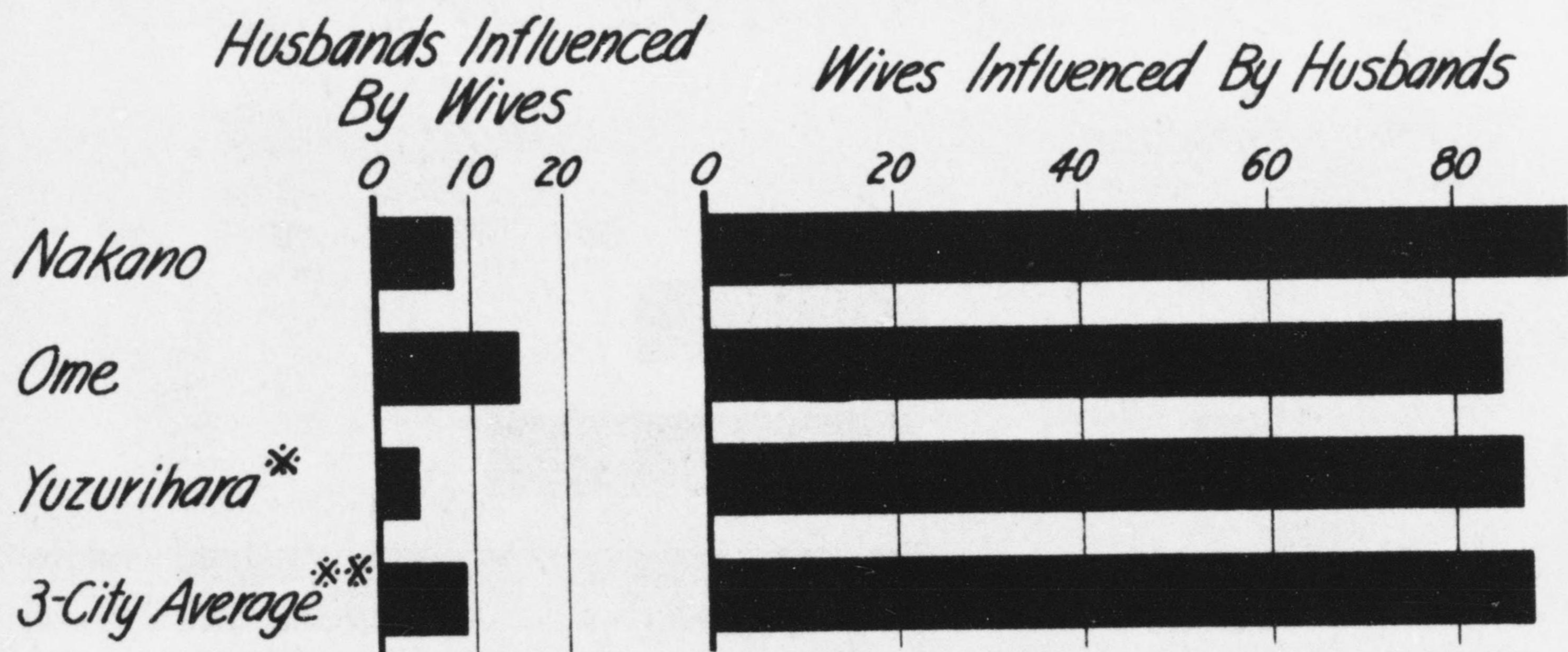


CHART 4.-DIRECTION OF HUSBAND-WIFE OPINION CHANGE (Percent of Total Agreement Reached)



* 9 Percent Indeterminate

** 3 Percent Indeterminate

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The second ballot may then be analyzed by a correlation of the amount of agreement on the first ballot with the amount of agreement shown on the second ballot. In both cases the most important measurement is the direction of change, whether it is in the direction of the wife's or of the husband's original response. For the purposes of the study the analysis is made from the point of view of agreement between spouses.

It can be observed immediately that on the first ballot, not only is the wives' average answer rate for the three communities less than that of their husbands, but even in Nakano, the urban community with the greatest relaxation of the old patterns binding women, with the greatest opportunity for political information, and with the highest educational level, only 53 percent of wives expressed political choice, as against an 86 percent response by their husbands. Also to be noted is the fact that the initial response rate for both husbands and wives decreased progressively from the urban to the rural community, illustrating here the degree of difference in political interest among communities of greater and lesser urbanization. (Chart 1).

On the second ballot the most striking factor concerning answer rate is the percentage of interest change on the average for the three cities. There is a 20 percent increase over the first ballot for husbands and a 121 percent increase for wives. (Chart 2).

It seems significant that such a large percentage of wives should express political choice after conferring around the dinner table with their husbands. The fact that only 42 percent of all wives expressed political choice before these discussions took place, and 93 percent chose a candidate afterwards, would indicate that women were influenced greatly by their husbands. This can be borne out upon examination of the set of charts on rates and directions of agreement between couples.

Here it can be seen that only 44 percent of all couples interviewed were in agreement on the first ballot, whereas 75 percent of these same couples agreed in choice on the second ballot. This is a 70 percent change on the second ballot as an average for all couples. It must also be understood at this point, however, that the conditions of the study were not perfectly controlled. That is, influence undoubtedly was exerted in a general way before the interviews were taken, so that agreement between spouses on the first ballot is still relatively high. The tech-

nique of the experiment simply allowed maximum mutual independence of statement by obtaining as uninfluenced a statement as possible from the wife. Therefore, if it were possible to set up perfectly controlled conditions, the percentage of opinion change most probably would have been even higher than the 70 percent here evident. It also can be seen that the percentage of opinion change for the three cities on the second ballot was greater from urban to rural communities: 49 percent for Nakano, 66 percent for Ome, and 93 percent for Yuzurihara (Chart 3).

This seems to bear out the variance that was expected in the strength of the family system and family controls from urban to rural areas. Furthermore, of these couples who veered from their original choice, 88 percent were wives, and only 9 percent were husbands, 3 percent of these couples having changed their minds for indeterminable reasons (Chart 4). That is to say, 900 percent more influence was wielded by husbands upon their wives than by wives upon their husbands in this study. The evidence here seems quite clear cut.

Women, rather than using independently the vote guaranteed to them by law, still seem to show much greater ignorance and apathy about political questions than their husbands, and still are influenced considerably in political choice by their husbands. Thus it is clear that the legal change in women's status is not yet implemented by a complete change in their traditional thinking.⁶

6. A comparison of the results of this pioneer Japanese study of the influence of husbands upon women's political attitudes with comparable studies in England and America would be most interesting. Unfortunately, to the best knowledge of Public Opinion and Sociological Research, CIE, SCAP, no such studies have been published.

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MAINICHI STUDY OF WOMEN'S POLITICAL ATTITUDES

5. Of those who disagreed on the first ballot, 76 percent of rural women, 52 percent of town women, and 36 percent of city women respectively changed their minds in the direction of their husbands' choice on the second ballot.

6. Only a small percentage of men changed their minds in the direction of their wives' choice on the second ballot.

From these data it seems possible to conclude that:

1. Women are less interested in political matters than men.
2. Women still are influenced very considerably in their political behavior by their husbands' opinions, in spite of their recently acquired rights of political franchise.

STUDY OF WOMEN'S POLITICAL ATTITUDES

Under the new Constitution of Japan women have been given equal rights with men. Article 14 states: "All of the people are equal under the law and there shall be no discrimination in political, economic, or social relations because of race, creed, sex, social status, or family origin."

In spite of the new emancipation accorded women, the question arises as to how deeply the new laws penetrate the traditional pattern of passivity and self-abnegation. Those who oppose the granting of rights to women constantly have put forth the argument that women do not use these rights properly. They maintain that single women fall easy prey to those who would buy their rights or coerce them, and that married women do not use these rights independently, but simply follow the dictates of their husbands. Because of the feeling that women have little political importance, some public opinion agencies in Japan deliberately under-represented women in their samples, stating that this would not change the results of their surveys at all, since Japanese women only reflect the attitudes and opinions of their husbands or family heads.

What is the truth of these contentions? The answer to this question obviously has great political and social importance. An approach to this question may be made by studying the actual changes in the attitudes and the behavior of the Japanese people which have occurred since the recent liberation of Japanese women. One method is to examine the behavior of women in one of the areas of newly acquired rights.

MAINICHI STUDY OF WOMEN'S POLITICAL ATTITUDES 3

The advent of the April 1947 Diet elections presented the Mainichi Newspaper Public Opinion Unit with a valuable opportunity to study the manner in which women exercise their "equality of franchise," and to measure their political interest. This is a very difficult thing to measure, and several key factors had to be examined and meaningful controls set up.

In the present study, two factors known to have some influence on the independence of women's political attitudes were employed in the selection of a sample with which to work. These were urban-rural differences and the strength of familial controls. In the case of urban-rural differences there are the highly conventionalized and relatively rigid social patterns of the conservative, rural farm community exerting strong and exacting pressures upon the individual, especially the woman, as opposed to the loosely knit social organization of communities consisting primarily of salaried urban workers, where the old rigid controls are relaxed to a great extent. Furthermore, the rather great sociological isolation of farm villages in Japan has tended to prevent much interchange of ideas, whereas such interchange is almost inescapable in the crowded urban areas.¹ That is, it is reasonable to believe from general experience as well as from the results of other public opinion and sociological surveys, that country women are less interested in political matters than are city women, less educated, and consequently less articulate and less likely to cast independent ballots.

1. The term "isolation" as used herein and elsewhere in this report has the technical meaning of separation from centers of movements of thought, corresponding to what the sociologist terms "mental isolation" and the isolation of the "sacred society." Rural people in Japan are not isolated from each other physically or geographically, as they are in the United States, but they are relatively isolated from the development of new ideas and concepts. They live in a sociologically isolated environment, dominated by sacred values, immobile, dominated by primary (face-to-face) contacts, and by kin relations, as distinguished from the city people, who are characterized by high mobility, dominance of secular values, constant communication, dominance of secondary contacts (non-face-to-face), and dominance of non-kin relations (employer-employee, associations, government, unions, etc.)

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It is also reasonable to believe that women's political independence will be affected by the extent to which their position within the family is traditionally subservient to the rule of the husband, who is termed in Japanese shujin or dannasama meaning boss, lord and master, etc.

In Japan the extended family is more than just a general term. It is a specific type of social organization. It is called, technically, the dozoku² (same family) and consists basically of a honke (main house) with its bunke (branch houses). The main family units consist of the father and mother and eldest son and his family. The bunke are branch families usually set up for the younger sons, adopted sons, grandsons, servants, loyal retainers of the family, etc. When the main house has sufficient land and money, it will build a house for one or more of the younger sons, depending on the extent of their resources. Thus the bunke are set up. In instances where the younger son or sons of the bunke family can be provided with house and land, a magobunke (grandchild branch family) is set up, either by the head of the dozoku or head of the bunke. These relations of main house to branch house then continue generation after generation in a line of transmission through the eldest sons. All of these branch families, whatever their number, are under direct control of the main house, specifically the male head of that house, to whom they owe many obligations and duties, and from whom they receive many benefits. In many cases, as for example, in the village studied in this survey, the head of the main house is also the oyabun (boss), and his branch houses his traditional kobun (retainers). Thus the Japanese extended family tends to be a working unit--economic, social, and familial, under responsibility to its main house, its units bound together for mutual aid and social action, co-operating in their ritual life--through many complex reciprocal relationships.

With consideration of all the foregoing factors, therefore, the study of women's political attitudes was set up by Mainichi Newspaper just prior to the April 1947 Diet election. Three areas within 40 miles of each other, illustrating significant differences in these diagnostic characteristics, were chosen for the survey. They were: Nakano, an urban ward of Tokyo with a high percentage of salaried workers and the modern "western" type of family structure;

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2. Also known as jirui (land relative), maki (extended family), ichimaki (one extended family), itto or ikke (one house). These terms are used in different parts of the country.

MAINICHI STUDY OF WOMEN'S POLITICAL ATTITUDES

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Ome, a small country market town, part of Tokyo Prefecture, which has the extended family system, now partially broken down because of increasing pressures from the metropolis;³ and Yuzurihara, a farm village in Yamanashi Prefecture near Tokyo, having a strongly extended family system.⁴

Since the purpose of the study was the measurement of the extent to which women would express independent political preference, two situations had to be created; the first to maximize the opportunity for independent response to questions on political choice; the second to maximize the opportunity for either spouse to exert pressure upon the other in expressing that choice. Because of the necessity for this kind of control procedure, only husbands and wives were included in the study, while single, separated or widowed persons were excluded.⁵ The study was accomplished through the use of a double set of ballots asking the identical question: "In the coming House of Representatives election, what political party do you intend to support?"

On the first ballot the wife and husband were interviewed separately and by direct interview procedure. The wife was interviewed so that the husband would remain outside the interview situation and ignorant of it until after his spouse had given her reply. This procedure was rigidly enforced in order to obtain maximum independence of opinion on the part of the wife. In this ballot both the degree of political interest and the amount of agreement between the spouses were measured.

The second ballot was administered by leaving the inter-

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3. The extended family in Ome is strongest among merchants.
 4. Ninety percent of rural areas in Yamanashi Prefecture have the extended family system.
See KITANO, Seiichi, The Extended Kinship Organization and Practice of Simulated Parent-Child Relationships in a Mountain Village in Koshu (Yamanashi Prefecture) (Koshu Sanson no Dozoku Soshiki to Oyakata-Kokata Kanko), Minzokugaku Nenpo, vol. 2, pp.41-95.
See also, KITANO, Seiichi, Materials on Extended Kinship Organization and the Simulated Parent-Child Relationship (Dozoku Soshiki to Oyakata-Kokata Kanko Shiryo), Minzokugaku Nenpo, vol. 3, pp. 161-89.
 5. It was found that many of the men of Yuzurihara had not been repatriated from Manchuria, so that an unusually high percentage of women were living alone and had to be excluded from this study.

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view form with the same respondents, to be filled in over night and collected the following morning. This time, changes in degree of political interest and changes in the amount of agreement between the spouses were measured in order to ascertain the rate of agreement change from the first ballot. It also enabled a measure to be taken of the direction of agreement, in order to ascertain which of the spouses' influence was predominant. If the agreement was in the direction of the wife's initial choice, it was evidence of the wife's political influence; if the direction was towards the husband's first choice, it was evidence of the husband's influence. For the purposes of this measure, it did not matter whether the spouses initially indicated a choice or were undecided. What was important was whether the spouses retained their original positions or changed their minds, and if they changed their minds, in which direction was the change. This process may be visualized by the following table.

POSSIBLE RESPONSES ON FIRST BALLOT

Choice	Wife	Husband
*1. Same party choice	X	X
2. Different party choice	Y	X
3. Wife undecided, husband decided	N	X
4. Husband undecided, wife decided	X	N
*5. Both undecided	N	N

Key: X one party choice Y another party choice
 N no choice expressed * area of agreement

The first type of choice described is one in which both the spouses have chosen the same party; the second in which the wife has chosen one party and the husband another; the third in which the wife has expressed no choice and the husband has chosen a party; the fourth in which the wife has chosen a party and the husband has not; and the fifth in which both spouses expressed no choice. It can be seen that within items 2, 3, and 4 is the area of possible disagreement. The second ballot, therefore, measures the degree of retention of the original disagreement of the respondents and also the degree to which the respondents changed their minds. Viewed in another manner, the area of agreement, items 1 and 5, rather than that of disagreement, may be measured.

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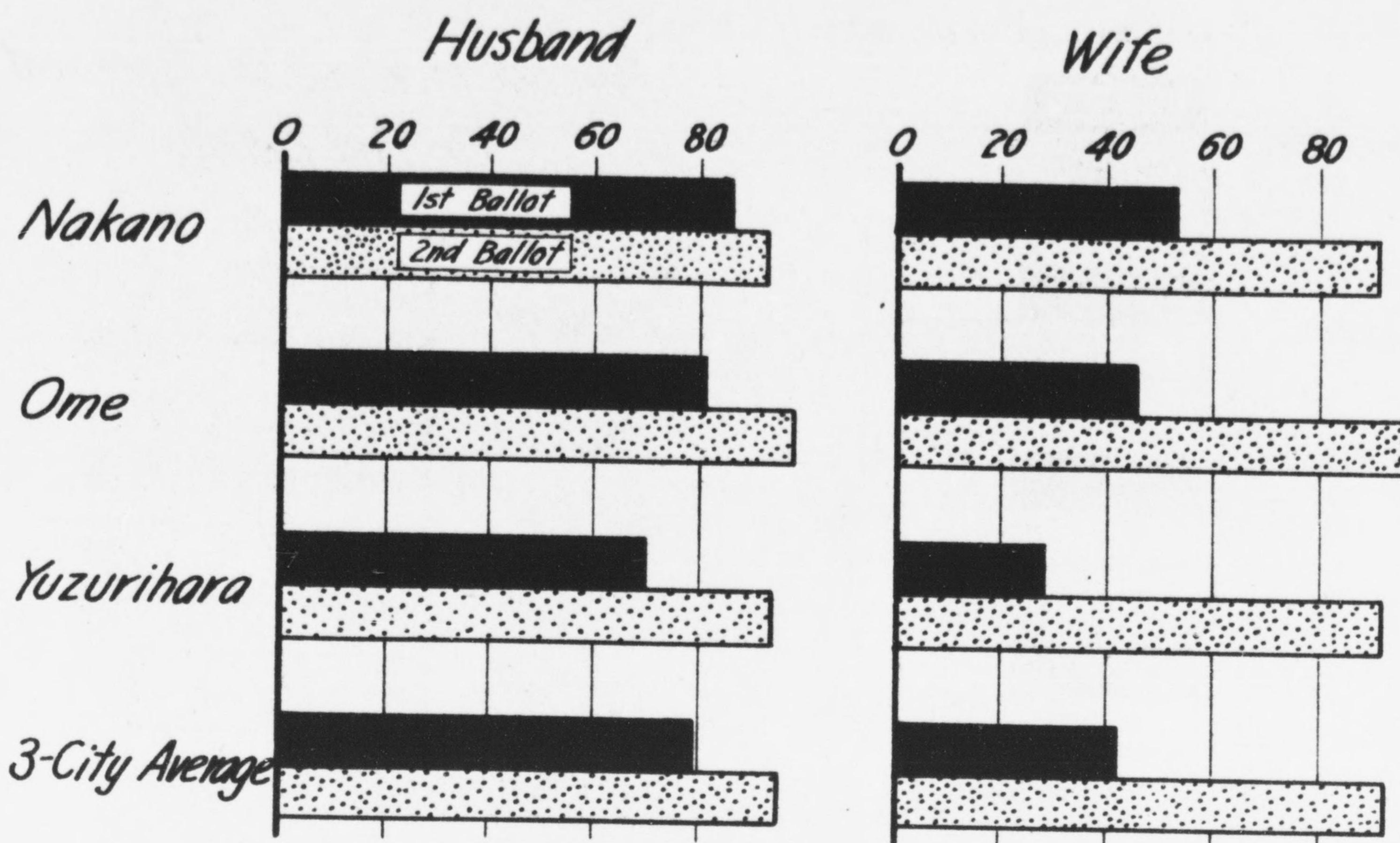


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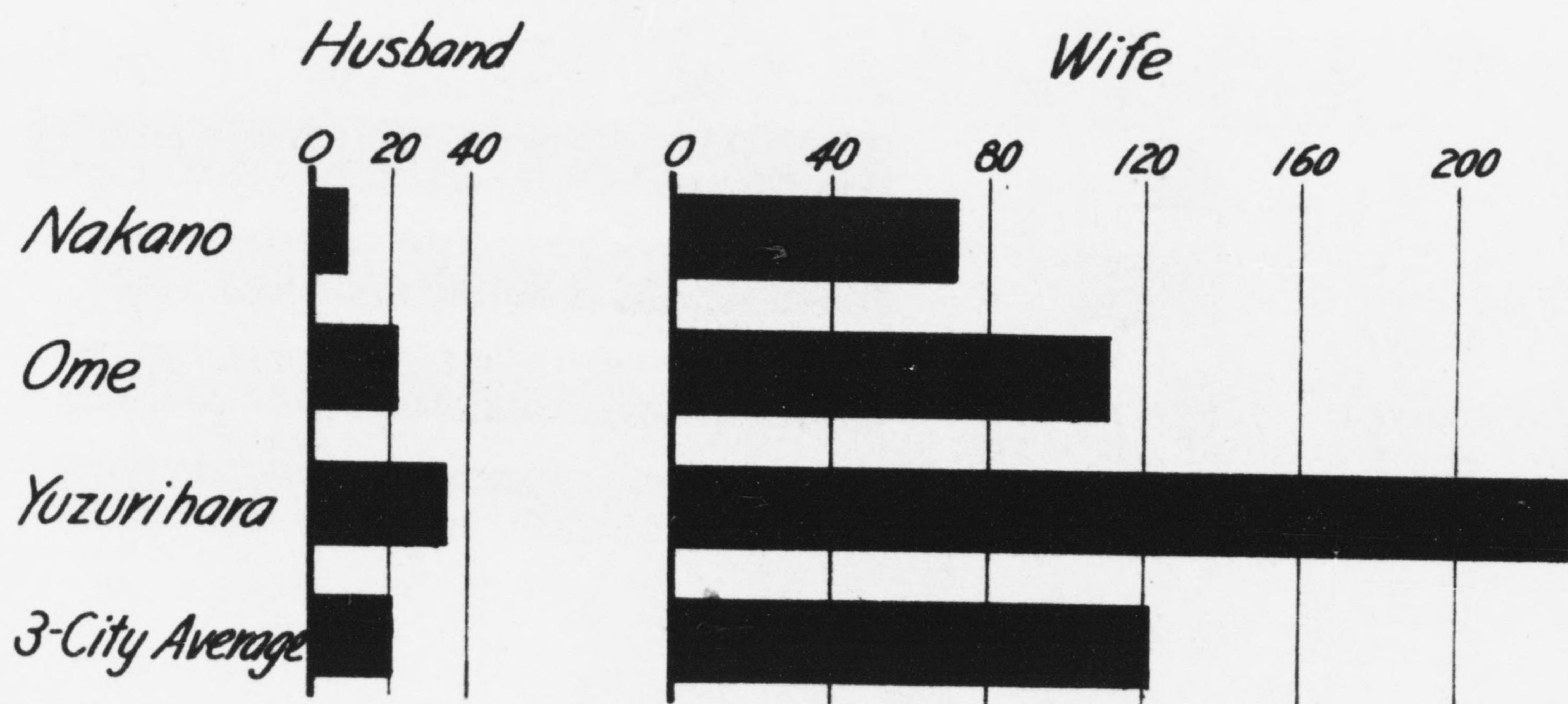
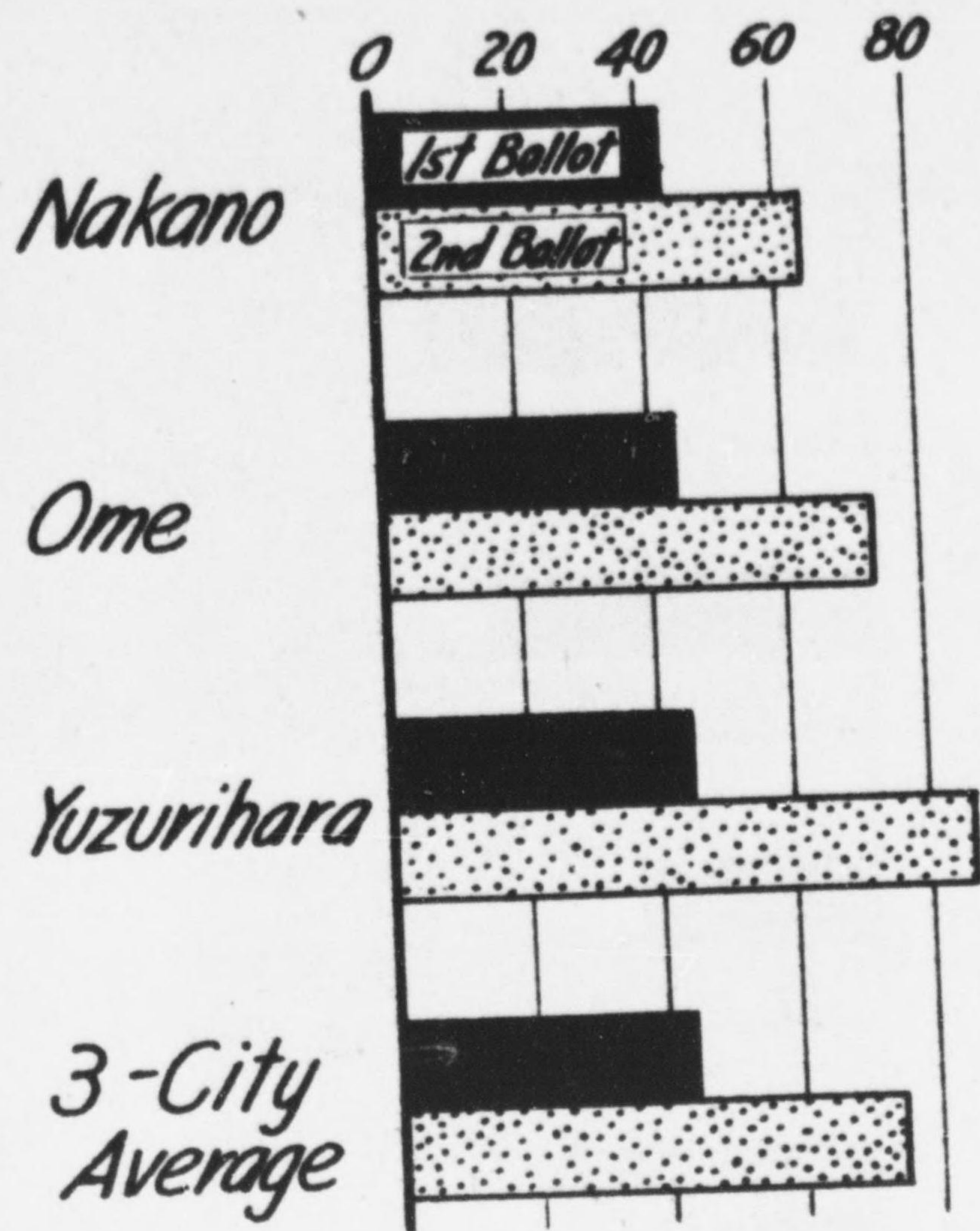


CHART 3.-PERCENTAGE OF COUPLES IN AGREEMENT



Percent Increase in Agreement On 2nd Ballot

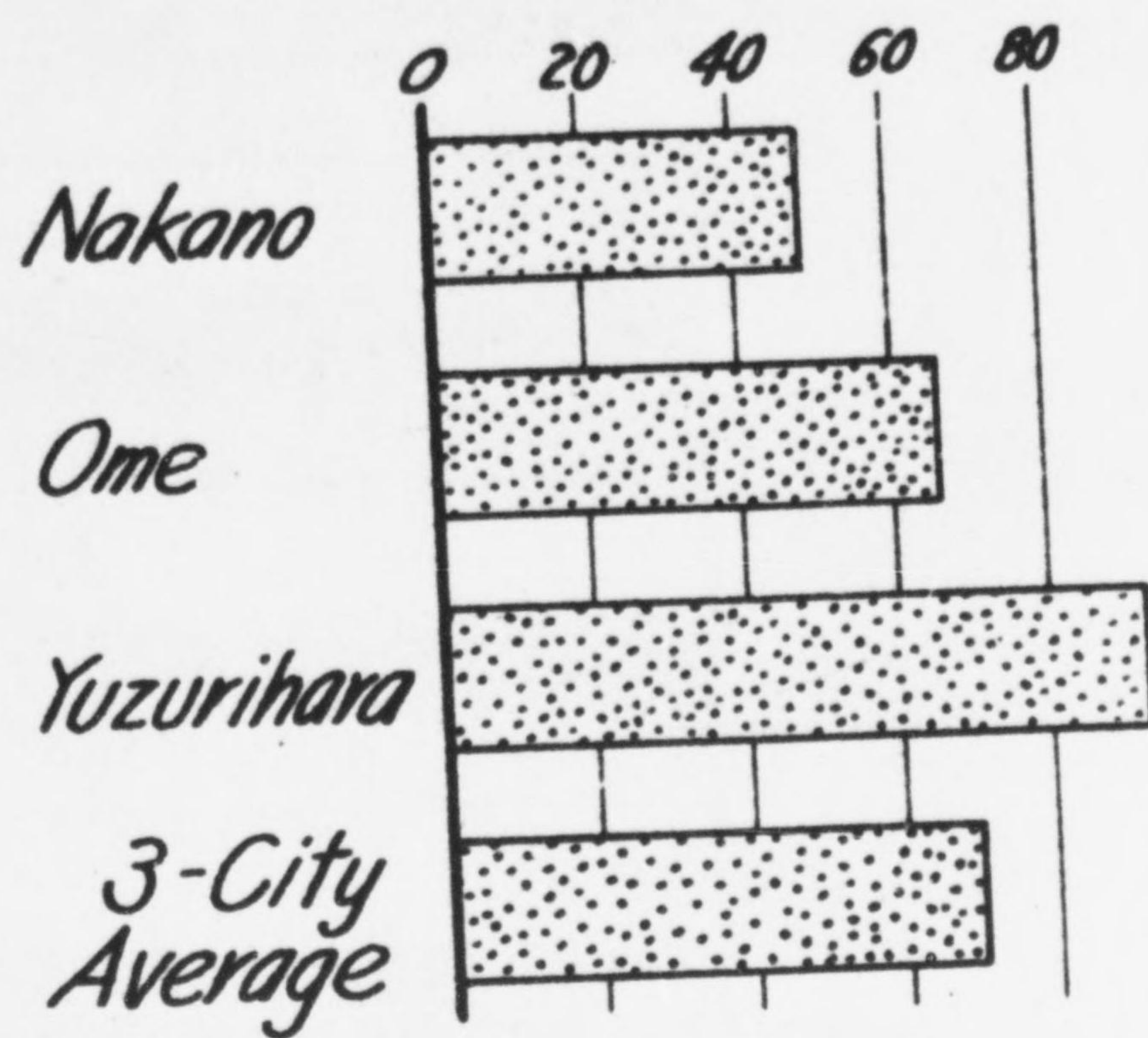
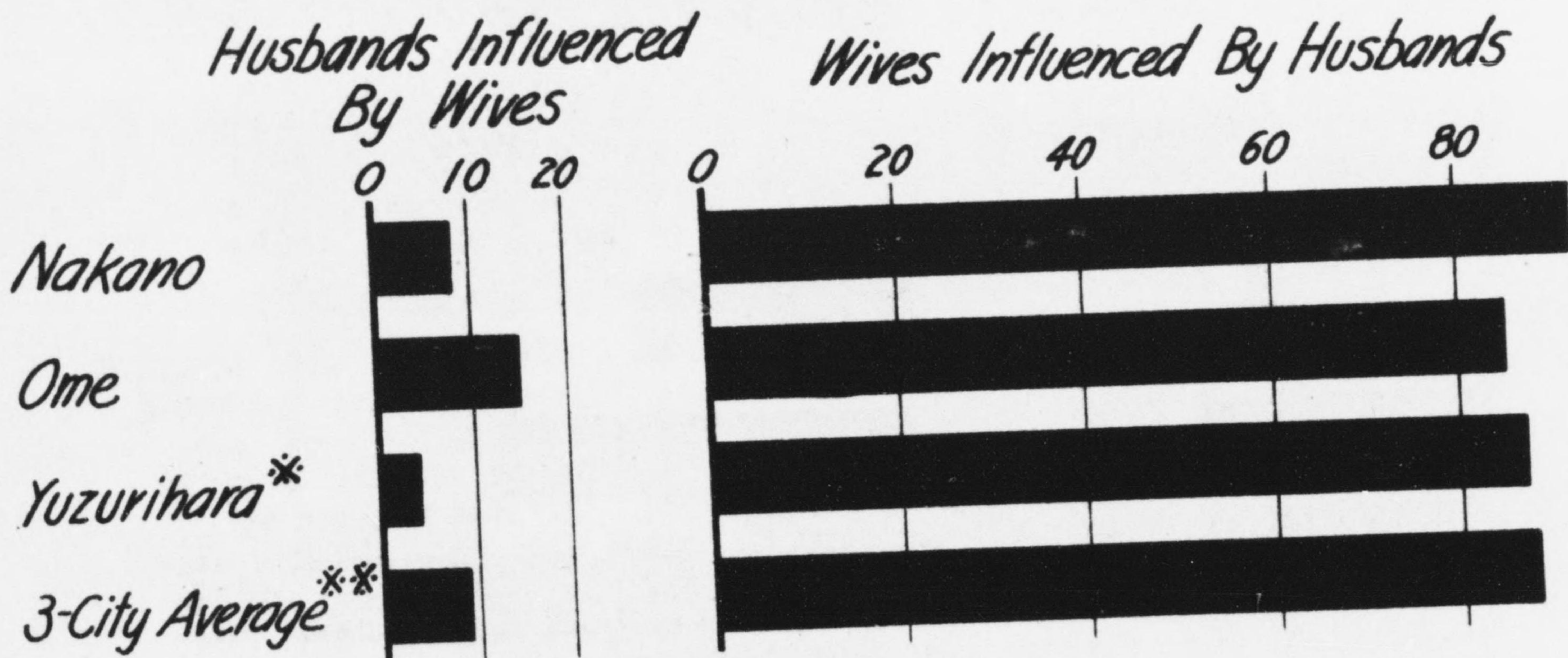


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DIVISION OF
THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

NORTHEAST ASIAN AFFAIRS

JAN 12 1948

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

American Embassy
London, December 30, 1947

AIR MAIL

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No. 2990

Subject: Transmitting Further Article from Daily
Telegraph on Japan

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The Honorable
Secretary of State,
Washington

Sir:

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1. In reference to the Embassy's despatch No. 2956, December 23, 1947, on the above-cited subject, I have the honor to transmit copy of a second article on Japan appearing in the December 30, 1947, issue of the Daily Telegraph, a Conservative newspaper published in London.

2. The enclosed article comes from Mr. Malcolm Muggeridge, the able Washington correspondent of the Telegraph, who is on a special mission to Japan.

3. In his present article Mr. Muggeridge draws a sympathetic sketch of General MacArthur, and describes certain of the more important programs embarked on by General MacArthur in Japan. He also discusses the future of Japan, particularly in terms of the situation obtaining in China and Korea. He considers that the United States intends the "application to Japan of something like the Monroe Doctrine whereby any attack on that country would automatically constitute an act of war against the United States."

Respectfully yours,

For the Charge d'Affaires a.i.:

Everett P. Drumright
Everett P. Drumright
First Secretary of Embassy

Enclosure: att

Copy of article, as stated

- (Original and hectograph to the Department)
- Copy to U.S. Political Adviser, SCAP, Tokyo
- Copy to Embassy, Nanking
- Copy to Embassy, Moscow

EFDrumright/wg

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Enclosure to Despatch No. 2990, dated December 30, 1947,
from American Embassy, London, England.

GEN. MACARTHUR'S FAITH IN JAPAN'S REGENERATION

Source: Daily Telegraph

Malcolm Muggeridge

TOKYO

There is one name which will be forever associated with the defeat of Japan and the subsequent military occupation of the country, and that is, of course, Gen. Douglas MacArthur.

He has shaped and executed occupation policy. As Mr. Byrnes once frankly admitted to Senator Brewster in the course of a session of the Senate War Investigation Committee, Washington has had little hand in the Supreme Commander's conduct of Japanese affairs. His pronouncements are rarely, if ever "cleared" with the State Department. He goes his own way. In Tokyo he is supreme.

Gen. MacArthur was kind enough to find time for a talk with me. He received me in his office, seated with his back to the window, smoking an exceptionally large pipe. He looks younger than his 67 years, bright eyed, scarcely grey at all, though with his hair somewhat thinning in front.

His voice is resonant, and readily becomes fervid. He talks impersonally rather than intimately. As he gets into his subject the flow of words gains momentum until it is difficult, probably impossible, to stem it.

He is well versed in British affairs. Like most Americans he has a profound admiration for Mr. Churchill, with whom, though he has never met him personally, he naturally had much to do during the war.

REPUBLICANS' CHOICE?

Inevitably, such a man in such a position is a subject of controversy.

There are those who complain of his theatricality, and allege that he is surrounded by officers who are so anxious to please him that they only tell him what they know he wants to hear. Others consider him the greatest living American, and compare the order which prevails, at any rate superficially, in Japan with the strife and confusion elsewhere.

He is being freely mentioned as a possible choice for the Republican Presidential nomination next June. The General himself, despite repeated attempts to extract from him a statement of his position, has so far scrupulously refrained from any but equivocal comment.

On this/

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Encl. to Despatch 2990, December 30, 1947, from London

On this subject, unlike most others, he is prepared to listen but not to pronounce himself. The fact that he listens suggests that the White House is not beyond his consideration; the fact that he will not pronounce himself suggests that he has still an open mind on the subject.

Those who know him best believe that if he were offered the nomination he would feel in duty bound to accept it, and that with his now almost mythical reputation among Americans he would prove a formidable candidate.

OCCUPATION POLICY

Even Gen. MacArthur's severest detractors all admit that he is without question a great soldier. Whether history judges him likewise to have been a great administrator will depend on how his work in Japan turns out.

On that it is too early yet to form a final opinion. The General himself is firmly, even passionately, of the opinion that the Japanese after centuries of slavery have come to appreciate their new political freedom, and that whatever may happen subsequently they will not be persuaded or coerced into letting it go.

He sees the occupation troops as having brought to Japan, both by precept and example, the essentials of democracy and Christianity, the one embodying politically and the other spiritually the sanctity of the individual.

In this way, he considers, through his agency a revolution unparalleled in history has been brought about which will infallibly result in the regeneration of the Japanese people.

There is no question of the General talking like this just for effect. He believes what he says profoundly and utterly. His officers have made it the basis of the whole occupation policy of S.C.A.P. (Supreme Command Allied Powers), and post-war Japanese political leaders have been quick, whether sincerely or not, to echo the Supreme Commander's sentiments.

THE PURGE

As part of this process of regenerating Japan it was necessary to ensure that those Japanese who had led the country into authoritarian ways, and finally into war, should be deprived of the possibility of future leadership, and to break up the concentration of economic power in the hands of a few families, the so-called Zaibatsu.

The former/

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The former task was undertaken by means of a purge aimed in Gen. MacArthur's words, at the "removal from public office of undesirable leaders." This is, of course, quite apart from the relatively few actual war criminals who have been, or are in process of being, tried on specific charges.

Unlike the German purge, Gen. MacArthur's is specifically not punitive, and involves neither imprisonment nor confiscation of property. So far about 200,000 Japanese have been affected, and it is considered unlikely that other than occasional individual cases will crop up in the future. The purge is considered now to have been virtually completed.

An obvious criticism of it is that though it may achieve the exclusion from public office of those identified with the pre-occupation regime in Japan in that it leaves them with their property and social standing intact, they are still in a position to influence, if not clandestinely to direct, Japanese Government policy.

CHANGE IN TEMPO

Closely related to the purge is Gen. MacArthur's policy of "dissolving excessive concentrations of economic power into as many non-related units as possible."

To achieve this it was proposed to offer for sale to the general public the immense industrial and affiliated holdings of families like the Mitsui, reimbursing them with non-transferable Government stock. In the present inflationary financial situation in Japan such a programme had little chance of success, and the original directive (FEC 230) setting it forth has recently been withdrawn after having been submitted to the consideration of the Far Eastern Commission in Washington on May 12 last.

The obvious deduction from its withdrawal is that it has now been decided to proceed more cautiously, and to rebuild Japan's economy to a greater extent than was at first envisaged on its existing foundations.

It is not only in regard to FEC 230 that there has lately been a change, if not in policy in Japan, at any rate in the tempo of its execution.

Some three months ago Gen. MacArthur was talking about the essential tasks of the occupation having been completed. It looked then as though a peace conference would be called before this year was out, and that a speedy withdrawal of occupation forces was envisaged.

Now, in consequence of the attitude of China as well as of Russia, the prospect of a peace treaty has

receded/

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receded, and there is every indication that the occupation is expected to continue for some years to come. In Northern Japan large airfields are being rapidly constructed, and the work of providing permanent quarters for occupation personnel is being continued.

Two factors in particular have caused this changed attitude towards the duration of the occupation. One is the marked worsening of Russian-American relations, and the other is Gen. Wedemeyer's exceedingly pessimistic estimate of the Chinese situation.

Though the Wedemeyer Report on China has never been published, its conclusion is known to be that, short of large-scale American participation in military operations in China, the Nanking Government is likely to lose all control of Manchuria by February next and to suffer further losses in Northern China in the not distant future.

A FAR EAST BASTION

In these circumstances the United States Government has come to feel, with the undoubted concurrence of Gen. MacArthur, that Japan will have to provide a necessary bastion against Russian expansion in the Far East.

Such a policy would not necessarily involve an indefinite protraction of the military occupation of Japan, which is even now little more than a token occupation, with only 40,000 American troops, some 10,000 Dominion troops, and 2,000 R.A.F. personnel.

These last are to be withdrawn early next year, and it is anticipated that the Dominion forces will be further reduced, perhaps down to 4,000.

A permanent holding force of the size the United States Congress would be likely to sanction would in itself constitute no security against invasion, say, from Korea, where the present American position is militarily quite untenable.

At the same time, assuming, as must be assumed that Chinese Communist, and therefore Russian, influence may well before long extend as far as the Yellow River, and that the United States Government is unable or unwilling to sustain the Chiang Kai-shek regime, a demilitarised Japan with for armed forces only 125,000 civil police would have little chance of standing alone.

NEW MONROE DOCTRINE

What is intended, therefore, if and when the present occupation comes to an end, is the application to Japan of something like the Monroe Doctrine whereby any attack on that country would automatically constitute an act of war against the United States.

This/

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Encl. to Despatch 2990, December 30, 1947, from London

This might not prevent Japan from being invaded, or from being conquered as other countries have been by Communist infiltration tactics, but it is reckoned that as long as American naval supremacy, with the support of massive air strength based on Okinawa, is maintained in the Pacific, the United States would have the advantage in any conflict which ensued.