

SERVICE THE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

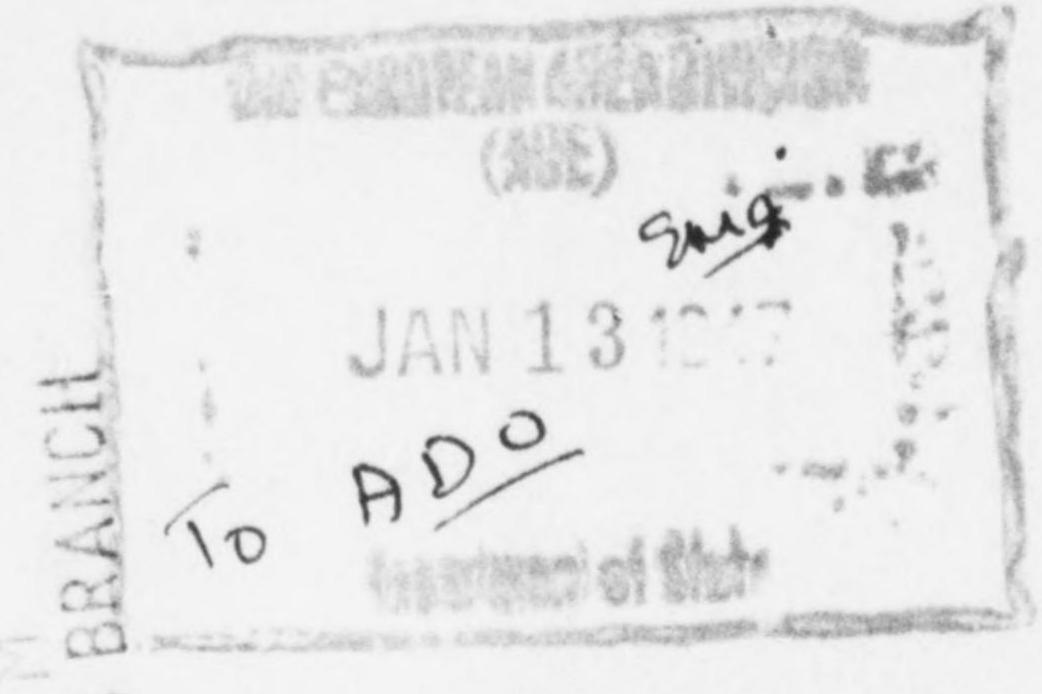
AIR MAIL

No. 2681

Transmitting Clapping: Subject:

London November 25, 1946

"Democratic Japan"



The Honorable The Secretary of State, - Washington,

Sir:

In reference to the Embassy's telegram no. 9503

November 14, 1946 (repeated to CINCAFPAC, Tokyo, as

telegram no. 4) on the above-cited subject, I have the
honor to attach copies of the clinning on the content of the clinning of the clin In reference to the Embassy's telegram no. 9503 of summary in the reference telegram was based.

Respectfully yours,

For the Charge d'Affaires ad interim:

First Secretary of Embassy

Enclosure: Article from Manchester Guardian dated November 14, 1946.

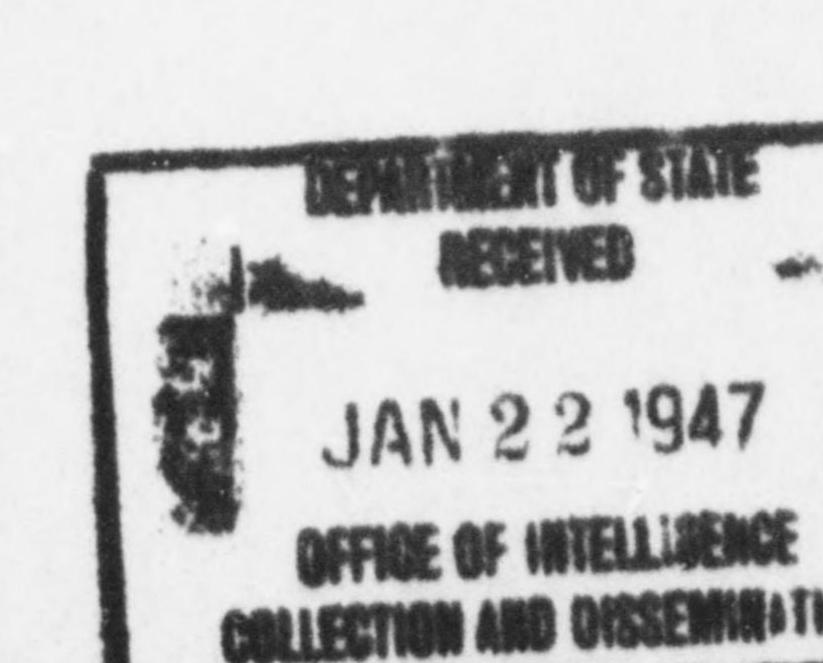
(To Department in triplicate)

是 Copy to CINCAFPAC, Tokyo

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

JAN 1 4 1947



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COLLECTION AND DISSEMINATION

Englosure No. 1. to despatch No 2681 of Nov. 25, 1946 I m the Empassy at London, England. PAPER: MARC STREET SUARDIANT BETTER

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"DEMOCRATIC" JAPAN

General MacArthur's Policy

By Sir Paul Butler

country and in the United States have | consent to tamper with this hallowed always held to the opinion that the document), and American correspon-Japanese nation would seek in the allege that the new document was Throne a refuge from the bewilder- drafted in General MacArthur's ment and humiliation of defeat, and Headquarters. Certainly the constant that a Government in the name of the references to the rights of the indivi-Emperor would provide the only dual and the insertion of phrases from effective instrument through which the Gettysburg address suggest an the Allies could hope to overcome the American rather than a Japanese unparalleled problems presented by habit of political thought; and there the execution of the surrender terms are clauses which arouse an uneasy and the subsequent administration of suspicion that the drafting was underthe country under their armed occu- taken without the advice of constitupation. It was also felt that, if the tional lawyers. It is difficult to share Japanese were to retain responsi- General MacArthur's enthusiasm at bility for internal administration (and the inclusion of article 9, under language and other difficulties would which Japan renounces for all time have made direct administration by the right to make war or to maintain the Allies an almost impossible task), armed forces even in self-defence. native resources would afford little The history of the last peace suggests alternative to political confusion that such a renunciation of sovereign except reliance upon personalities rights by a defeated nation, even whose democratic convictions were though ostensibly self-imposed, is qualified and opportunist.

proved well founded. Except for the apply compulsion. Communists, who make up in aggres- Nevertheless, whatever defects the sive energy for their comparatively cynic may find in this Constitution, it small numbers, the nation has ranged has at least the merits of being a itself steadfastly behind the imperial charter upon which the Japanese institution. The retention of that might lay the foundations of a demoinstitution has also served the pur- cratic State if they acquire the poses of the Allies. It was the ability and inclination to do so. The prestige of the Emperor's name that Diet which passed the Constitution is secured the unexpectedly smooth the offspring of the first free election execution of the surrender terms, in Japan's history, and high praise is and it has since kept within bounds due to General MacArthur for the the vast problems of the first year of intensive campaign of political remilitary occupation. The pattern of education which made this possible. the new Japan is, however, essen- Seventy-two per cent of the electors tially an American pattern, and went to the polls, a remarkable American hands have launched the achievement in view of the disloca-Japanese ship of State upon un- tion of the population and the very charted seas of democracy. Japan's high proportion of politically immaleaders are steering an unfamiliar ture women voters. The size of the course with obvious misgivings and women's vote and the success of reluctance, but at least they cannot women candidates (nearly half of turn back. The old reactionary whom were elected) are among the havens are being destroyed behind most hopeful signs for the future of them by their conquerors.

IMPORTANT REFORMS

with much ability the instructions of his Government to use, rather than to support, the pre-surrender form of known as a Japanese Bill of Rights, gramme of social reform which was providing for enfranchisement of in marked contrast to the insipidities women, encouragement of labour of their Right wing opponents, polled unions, reform of education, relaxa- over a million votes but only secured tion of oppressive police supervision, five seats. and dissolution of the "zaibatsu" monopolies. The second measure abnegated divina mission

Authorities on Japan both in this that no responsible Japanese would dents in Tokio have not hesitated to unlikely to be observed when the These expectations have so far victors are no longer in a position to

Japan. In the new Diet (reduced to an assemblage of novices by the purge of January, 1946, which had General MacArthur has carried out precluded all but a small number of former members from standing for re-election) the old political parties the Minseito and Seiyukai are strongly represented, though under government, while at the same time new names and with platforms giving much needed encouragement adjusted to the new epoch. The to such democratic inclinations as Liberals took first place with 140 the Japanese people may acquire, seats, while the Progressives (whose The first major measure in this conservatism belies their name) and encouragement was taken in October, the Social Democrats follow with 1945, when the Supreme Commander about 100 seats each. The Commucalled upon the Japanese Govern- nists, emerging from decades of ment to enact what has become suppression with a vigorous pro-

THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT

was reflected in the New Year After the political commotion Rescript, in which the Emperor which is characteristic of Japanese own divine Cabinet changes and some attempts

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a vanguished land. There are, however, portents in by the Amei the Japanese political firmament if adequate which may have disquieting implica- in Japan a tions. Most important is the recent enough to tendency for representatives on the climate. F four-Power Allied Council in Tokio press editor to take sides in Japanese internal cated a nev politics, a conspicuous instance being to co-operat the sharp altercations between the between Ch American and Russian representatives to Far East in the matters of land reform and low-paid tec the latitude to be permitted to ability (muc Communist agitation. It would be surplus to ? disastrous if ideological differences consequence were to afford the Japanese a renewed potential opportunity to exercise their tradi- might be o tional propensity for playing off reconstructi one Great Power against another, of the disru Secondly, while the culpable but in China and politically experienced reactionary it would be and conservative elements have confidence been either destroyed or dis- re-establishe credited, practical democracy is an even obsequ exotic plant which has yet to be used for

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IMPORTANT REFORMS

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General MacArthur has also len the full weight of his authority to the new and highly idealistic Constitution, perhaps because he has been instruwhich has now passed both Houses or mental in procuring for his underthe Diet and was consecrated upon nourished charges over half a million the bomb-blasted soil of Hiroshima. Resort was had to a new Constitution | General MacArthur has been enonly after the Japanese themselves veloped by the baffling but essentially had failed to propose adequate practical Japanese in a nimbus of amendments to the Meiji Constitu- popularity such as can have fallen to tion (there are indications, indeed,

the vast problems of the first year of intensive campaign of political remilitary occupation. The pattern of education which made this possible. the new Japan is, however, essen- Seventy-two per cent of the electors tially an American pattern, and went to the polls, a remarkable American hands have launched the achievement in view of the disloca-Japanese ship of State upon un- tion of the population and the very charted seas of democracy. Japan's high proportion of politically immaleaders are steering an unfamiliar ture women voters. The size of the course with obvious misgivings and women's vote and the success of reluctance, but at least they cannot women candidates (nearly half of turn back. The old reactionary whom were elected) are among the havens are being destroyed behind most hopeful signs for the future of Japan. In the new Diet (reduced to an assemblage of novices by the purge of January, 1946, which had General MacArthur has carried out precluded all but a small number of with much ability the instructions of former members from standing for his Government to use, rather than to re-election) the old political parties the Minseito and Seiyukai are support, the pre-surrender form of strongly represented, though under government, while at the same time new names and with platforms giving much needed encouragement adjusted to the new epoch. The to such democratic inclinations as Liberals took first place with 140 the Japanese people may acquire, seats, while the Progressives (whose The first major measure in this conservatism belies their name) and encouragement was taken in October, the Social Democrats follow with 1945, when the Supreme Commander about 100 seats each. The Commucalled upon the Japanese Govern- nists, emerging from decades of ment to enact what has become suppression with a vigorous proknown as a Japanese Bill of Rights, gramme of social reform which was providing for enfranchisement of in marked contrast to the insipidities women, encouragement of labour of their Right wing opponents, polled unions, reform of education, relaxa- over a million votes but only secured

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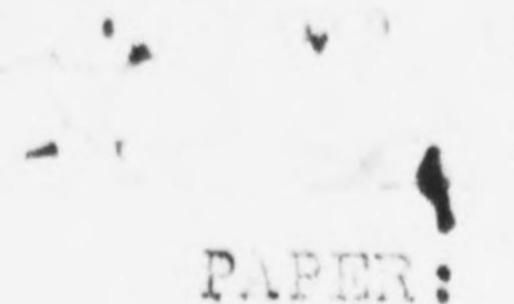
Communists, Mr. Shigeru Yoshida, a former Prime Minister and ambassador in London, succeeded in forming a Coalition Government of Liberals and Progressives. Although it probably fails to satisfy the confused aspirations of a defeated people harassed by day-to-day anxieties, the new Government is making all the required gestures of democratic reform and popular re-education, and seems to have won the confidence of Allied Headquarters.

On the surface, therefore, both political regeneration and military occupation in Japan are proceeding as well as could be expected. Partly tons of American food supplies,

Continued on page 6

tising accounted for 54.1 per cent of the below the 3 per cent line papers and periodicals and general manufacturers' advertising in many printers, accounted for approximately among periodicals and general manufacturers' advertising in many among printers, accounted for approximately among printers.

received from advertising. Press adver- even after the exclusion of duty, fell three-quarters of the total revenue facturers sales. It was found that printers, accounted for approximately amounted to about half the value of m



Enclosure No. Z. to despatch No 2681 of Nov. 35, 1946 from the Embassy at London, England. PAPER: MANCHESTER GUARDIAN MUNICIPAL

CITY: LOWDON

"DEMOCRATIC" JAPAN

General MacArthur's Policy

By Sir Paul Butler

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munists, who make up in aggres- Nevertheless, whatever defects the energy for their comparatively cynic may find in this Constitution, it numbers, the nation has ranged has at least the merits of being a steadfastly behind the imperial charter upon which the Japanese ution. The retention of that might lay the foundations of a demoution has also served the pur-cratic State if they acquire the of the Allies. It was the ability and inclination to do so. The ige of the Emperor's name that Diet which passed the Constitution is ed the unexpectedly smooth the offspring of the first free election ution of the surrender terms, in Japan's history, and high praise is

the lot of few military commanders in take root in Japan's soil. The a vanquished land.

There are, however, portents in by the Americans can only be effective the Japanese political firmament if adequate forms of control remain which may have disquieting implica- in Japan until the plant is strong tions. Most important is the recent enough to withstand an inclement tendency for representatives on the climate. Finally, several Japanese four-Power Allied Council in Tokio press editorials have recently advoto take sides in Japanese internal cated a new and chastened approach politics, a conspicuous instance being to co-operation with China. Goodwill the sharp altercations between the between China and Japan is essential American and Russian representatives to Far Eastern security, and in her in the matters of land reform and low-paid technical skill and organising the latitude to be permitted to ability (much of which has been made Communist agitation. It would be surplus to her own economy by the disastrous if ideological differences consequences of defeat) Japan has a were to afford the Japanese a renewed potential invisible export which opportunity to exercise their tradi- might be of the greatest value in tional propensity for playing off reconstruction in China. But, in view one Great Power against another. of the disruptive forces now at work Secondly, while the culpable but in China and Japan's own past record, politically experienced reactionary it would be difficult to feel any been either destroyed or dis- re-established in China under new and credited, practical democracy is an even obsequious conditions, would not exotic plant which has yet to be used for subversive ends.

method of forced culture applied conservative elements have confidence that Japanese influence,

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington,

Sir:

In reference to the Embassy's telegram no. 9503 of November 14, 1946 (repeated to CINCAFPAC, Tokyo, as telegram no. 4) on the above-cited subject, I have the honor to attach copies of the clipping on which the summary in the reference telegram was based.

Respectfully yours,

For the Charge d'Affaires ad interim:

Everett F. Drumright First Secretary of Embassy

Enclosure:
Article from Manchester
Guardian dated
November 14, 1946.

(To Department in triplicate)

Copy to CINCAFPAC, Tokyo

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