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TOKYO

NOMURA, Hideo

Statement of Protest

November 24, 1947

Mr. Tetsu Katayama,
Prime Minister

Hideo Nomura
Former Director and
Managing Editor of Asahi
Newspaper Company.

Address. No. 513, 7-chome, Koyama,
Shinagawa-ku, Tokyo.

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I was notified on October 27, 1947, that I had been provisionally designated as a purgee. Since I cannot submit to the provisional designation I protest against it by presenting the reason for my protest. I request that you will carefully examine my case before you make your final decision.

I believe that the Asahi Newspaper Company should be outside the scope of the application of Clause G of the Purge Directive. I presume that I have been provisionally designated as a purgee for the reason that Clause G was applied to the Asahi Newspaper Company in accordance with the administrative decree of January 4, 1947, and that I was one of principal officials of the same newspaper.

I am of the opinion that the Asahi Newspaper Company itself should not be affected by Clause G and the Asahi newspaper is the only newspaper in Japan which should be outside the scope of purge.

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Comment on Asahi by Major Iaboden

Major Daniel C. Iaboden, of the Civil Information and Education Section of GIC, made the following remark in his address delivered before members of the Japan Newspaper Editors and Publishers Association which was called a convention in Kyoto on October 27, 1947:

"Remember that Japan before the war never reached the stage where there existed a true free press. You may recall what punishment the Asahi Newspaper received when it tried to disclose the shameless and unlawful plot of the most wicked army."

I believe that the above statement rightly described the position of the Asahi. How desperately we struggled under the pressure of authority, under the threat of force and under the power of money for the attainment of the mission of newspapers! These are the hardships known only by those who worked for the Asahi, for they are the very persons who went through the hardships.

With regard to the attitude and actions of the Asahi Newspaper in these days when brutal force dominated

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the country, you know quite well by the other statement submitted to you by the Asahi. You can know the liberal and democratic policy the Asahi upheld by the book "Fifty Years History of Newspapers" by Masanori Ito (President of the Jiji Shimpō). I cannot understand why the Asahi newspaper company has been included in the corporations which have been affected by Clause G. I have a great deal of doubt and dissatisfaction regarding this decision.

Dissatisfaction of Decision Based
on Perfunctory Reason

I have been provisionally designated as a purgee as a principal official of the Asahi Newspaper Company. In handing down judgment on me what I wish you would take into consideration is this: whether I ought to be designated as a purgee for a mere perfunctory reason that I am within the scope of the application of purge directive or whether the decision be made after the substance of my thought, actions and attitude has been fully examined.

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I presume it is quite unreasonable to regard A in the same light with B, a purgee, only because A is within the same purge frame as B. and to brand him as a militarist, ultranationalist and war advocate and purge him as such. What I would like to see that before handing down judgment careful examination should be made on the actions and utterances of respective individuals and corporations without being shackled by the purge frame in order to know whether they were actually militarists or ultranationalists or war advocates.

I Endeavored to Promote People's Rights
and to Develop Parliamentarism Through
35 Years' Newspaper Life.

I have no intention to advertising myself to be liberal, pacifist and democrat, but through 35 years of my life as newspaperman I always endeavored to love peace, to respect freedom and to promote democracy in Japan. I also made efforts for the establishment of the foundation of parliamentary politics through the sound development of parliamentarism. This statement can be

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substantiated by my two books, "Story of Politics" and "Politics in Meiji and Taisho Eras," (both published by the Asahi Newspaper Company).

My thought as expressed in these two books was the denunciation of bureaucrats, curse of militarists and disapproval of force. Thus, I denounced the misuse of authority and money. This thought of mine remains unchanged today. I have no doubt that all those who know me well believe my statement.

Collaboration in Disarmament at
Geneva Disarmament Conference

Craving for the establishment of world peace and promotion of the happiness of mankind, I made efforts for the realization of disarmament. When the naval disarmament conference of three Powers, America, Britain and Japan, was held at Geneva in 1927, I was dispatched there as an Asahi correspondent to cover the conference. I endeavored for the realization of disarmament by cooperating with the chief Japanese delegates, Makoto Saito and Kikujiro Ishii. My collaboration for the attainment of disarmament was recognized then by all the Japanese delegates. Unfortunately this conference was broken down

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as a result of disagreement between the United States and Britain. After my return to Japan I made efforts to raise public opinion in favor of disarmament, believing that since the restriction was enforced on capital ships at the Washington Conference the same restriction should be enforced on auxiliary ships, as well.

As Chief of Political Department of
Asahi I Fought Against Those Who Opposed
Disarmament.

An agreement for disarmament was finally reached at the London Disarmament Conference in 1930. It was no other than the Asahi which accurately reported to Japan the conclusion of the disarmament agreement and strongly and ardently supported it. Reactionary elements in Japan opposed the disarmament agreement on the ground that it would weaken Japan's national defense and that the conclusion of the agreement constituted violation of the prerogative of supreme command. Such elements intimidated us by resorting to force. I was then chief of the political department of the Asahi and I, together with my colleagues,

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resisted such opposition. I firmly believe that it was partly to our efforts that this controversial disarmament problem was settled and the disarmament agreement was finally ratified.

When the Kellogg anti-war pact was concluded a question was raised in Japan over the interpretation of the phrase, "in the name of people", in Article 1 of the pact. The issue was discussed in the Diet as well as by the Privy Council. I and my colleagues endeavored to enlighten these obstinate men.

Objection to Mobilization Law
For Maintaining Free Press.

I am of the opinion that if the freedom of press should die all other freedoms would cease to exist. On the basis of my belief that the freedom of press is the foundation of parliamentary politics and world peace I made desperate efforts with my colleagues of the Asahi for the maintenance and defense of free press.

Though I am not going to give you many cases I experienced, let me cite a few examples. Toward the end

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of 1938 the Konoye cabinet planned to introduce to the Diet a National Mobilization Bill. The bill contained an item concerning oppression of newspapers under the title "Item Concerning Enlightenment and Propaganda".

I and my colleagues of the Asahi decided to oppose this oppressive law and by calling together the executives of other papers we requested the Government and army to strike out this oppressive clause. We went one step further to oppose the enforcement of the law.

As a result, the Government assured us that "the Government authorities have no intention to exercise this law against the newspapers in the immediate future." This assurance, together with the striking out of the clause concerning the suspension of the issue of newspapers, was the result of our movement for which, I can openly claim, I was chiefly responsible.

Asahi Issued Daily Editions in Defiance of
Bayonets In February 26 Incident.

Despite the fact that we endeavored to uphold the freedom of press, the pressure of militarists,

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interference of bureaucrats in newspapers and intimidation of right wing elements were increasing after the outbreak of the Manchurian incident. By the excessive issue of orders and misuse of regulations by militarists and bureaucrats the freedom of press was gradually vanishing.

The shock given to the newspaper circles in Japan by the February 26 incident was by no means small. The army regarded the Asahi with hostility on the ground that the Asahi was an incarnation of ~~anti~~ liberalism and a hot bed of anti-military thought.

Immediately after the outbreak of the February 26 incident the Asahi newspaper building was attacked and occupied by insurgents. As a result, the issue of newspaper became almost impossible. However, we keenly felt that the suspension of newspaper publication at this critical moment would only result in causing political and social unrest and disorder.

Refusing to submit to the threat of the insurgents we made our best to fulfill our duties as newspapermen and issued the paper as usual. I believe that this courageous attempt on our part is worthy of special

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mention in the history of newspapers in Japan.

I was then assistant managing editor (Henshu Kyoku Jicho) and concurrently chief of the political department. I, together with my colleagues, determined to defend the sanctuary of press without arms and successfully discharged our duties. The steps we took at this critical moment were a manifestation of our strong sense of responsibility for the defense of press. For the sake of issuing the paper we were ready to be killed by the bullets of the insurgents. With this heroic determination we endeavored without sleep and rest to carry on the publication of the newspaper.

Newspaper Prize of Missouri University
Granted to Asahi After the Incident

It was immediately after the February 26 incident that the newspaper prize of the Missouri University, symbol of the honor of newspaper world, was granted to the Asahi Newspaper.

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I Was Summoned by Gendarmes and
Information Board and Was Threatened
by Agents of Militarists.

As a person responsible for editing the Asahi newspaper I was often summoned by the authorities such as the Gendarmes, Press Sections of War and Navy Offices, Cabinet Information Board, Metropolitan Police Board and Police Bureau of the Home Office and was subjected to unpleasant examinations. It occurred often that right wing elements and gangsters with the tacit support of militarists and bureaucrats visited the Asahi office or my house to threaten me.

Whenever the Asahi made an erroneous report or mispring the authorities lost no time in condemning the Asahi, however trifle such a report or misprint might have been. Such hostile attitude toward the Asahi on the part of militarists and secret police was due to the fact that they had a preconceived opinion that the Asahi was a pro-American and pro-British newspaper and anti-militarism. It was no exaggeration to say that there were numberless

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occasions in which we were summoned and scolded by the war authorities and police for the anti-military policy of the paper. I do not remember the accurate number of examinations to which I was subjected, date and time thereof. However, I would like to mention some remarkable cases for your reference.

1. Examination by Gendarmes. In the middle of July, 1941, while the east asia section of the Tokyo Asahi Office was talking over phone to its Hsinking office, Manchuria, the Hsinking office said: "We sent by letter the contents of the Imperial Conference held on July 4." The Tokyo gendarmes who were listening to this telephone conversation, summoned the assistant chief of the east asia section and demanded the presentation of the letter.

When the Gendarmes were told that the letter had not arrived yet, they refused to believe and dispatched two military police to the Asahi office. For several hours the military police made an abortive search for the letter by opening all drawers of desks of the east asia section.

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As I was managing editor I was also summoned by the gendarmes. "Have you received the letter? If you have, present the letter here, otherwise the matter will become grave." I was asked.

Several days later the letter arrived at the Tokyo Office. I brought the letter to the gendarmes and opened it in their presence. The contents of the letter was ^{re} to the effect that "diplomatic relations between Japan and the United States, and between Japan and the Soviet Union should be adjusted through diplomatic negotiations with a view to avoiding ^a two frontal war."

The gendarmes were somewhat disappointed at the matter-of-fact contents. Nonetheless, they did not allow me to leave them without unpleasant remarks, attacking the editorial policy of the Asahi which, they claimed, was pro-American and pro-British.

1. Examination by the Metropolitan Police Board. Although I was never summoned by the Metropolitan Police Board, I was often visited by secret police for various examinations.

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When I was manager of the 21st Association which was composed of editors of Tokyo newspapers, the Konoye cabinet adopted a policy for the suppression of the freedom of speech. I was at the head of the movement for denouncing this policy. Two detectives visited me to examine the nature of the movement. I explained that the aim of the movement was to defend the freedom of speech and nothing else. They twisted my explanation and said that the movement was a political plot to overthrow the Konoye cabinet. The police examined me often about this movement.

As I described somewhere, I was also the spearhead of attack on the Konoye cabinet when it introduced the national mobilization bill to the Diet. I was again subjected to a series of examinations by the police in connection with my objection to national mobilization.

1. I was summoned by the press sections of army and navy, cabinet information board and police bureau of the Home Office. These organs were for the control and suppression of the freedom of speech, instead of protecting the freedom of press. The attitude of the press sections

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of army and navy toward the Asahi and its editors was very hostile and their interference in the make-up of the Asahi newspaper was some time very childish. Pointing out an Asahi headline "Navy and Army", the army press section demanded that the headline hereafter should be "Army and Navy". Thus, the friction between army and navy produced an effect upon newspapers.

The chief concern of bureaucrats of the Cabinet Information Board and Police Bureau of the Home Office was to curry favor with army and navy and they did everything in their power to control the press.

The unlawful activities of right wing elements and gangsters were truly beyond description. They were agents of militarists and bureaucrats for money-making. They often demanded an interview with us and threatened us.

I Resigned Managing Editor, Assuming
Responsibility for Ozaki Incident
(Sorge Incident).

Firmly believing that newspapers should report
the truth for the sake of maintaining its authority and

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prestige and this mission of newspapers should be upheld by all means, I adhered to the post of managing editor, despite persecution, pressure and difficulty I encountered.

However, I was compelled to resign on account of the Hidemi Ozaki incident in which suspicion fell upon some of the editorial staff of the Asahi. I assumed the responsibility for the incident and resigned my post.

There have been a great deal of observation and comment made on this incident. Some says that the incident was a political plot of the army. I have no ideal as to the nature of the incident.

Ozaki was one of those who were close to Konoye and was his brain trust. He was well acquainted with the Konoye policy. When he was arrested, the incident accordingly gave a great shock to Konoye and his close associates.

Ozaki worked for the Asahi where he held a responsible post. After he left the Asahi he maintained association with editors and his former colleagues of the

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Asahi. While Ozaki was being examined by the authorities suspicion rose that the information he possessed came from the political and economic section of the Asahi. The chief and some members of the same section were arrested, charged with violation of the military secret protection law.

The Ozaki incident supplied the army and right wing elements, who were hostile to the Asahi, with a good arm with which they could attack the Asahi. The cry to denounce the Asahi was rising higher day by day. I was summoned to the press section of the War Office, together with other editors of Tokyo newspapers. Before the editors the chief of the press section read the examination statement of Ozaki. He then pressed for the responsibility of the Asahi for the incident.

I was also summoned by public procurators for examination. The situation was so threatening that if nothing was done on our part the whole of leading staff of the Asahi, including its president, would be wiped out at a stroke.

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Realizing this situation I tendered my resignation, assuming the responsibility for the incident. As a result, the attack of the army and right wing elements on the Asahi relaxed.

Even After Outbreak of China Incident
Asahi Kept Title of Honor for Chinese
Leaders.

When the China incident broke out the Asahi collaborated with the Government for the settlement on the spot and non-aggrandizement policy. At the outset of the incident, the Asahi, when printing names of Chinese leaders, kept their titles of honor. However, it was forced to abandon the title of honor because of the complaint made by the War Office authorities.

After the outbreak of the incident I visited the Shanghai districts and observed the hardships of troops and misery of war. I felt the necessity of terminating the hostilities as quickly as possible. Upon my return to Japan I submitted a report to the paper and endeavored for the settlement of the incident.

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Navy Vice Minister Vice Admiral Yamamoto agreed with me, but army leaders did not consent to my view. War Minister General Sugiyama was an old friend of mine (He was a suite to chief Japanese delegates and I was an Asahi correspondent at the Geneva Disarmament Conference). Even General Sugiyama did not agree with me about the settlement of the incident. Army leaders insisted on thorough chastisement.

When they saw the Asahi advocating the restoration of peace between Japan and China, right wing elements branded the Asahi as a pro-American and pro-British organ and began to attack it. This fact can be known by looking over the pages of the Teito Nichi Nichi Newspaper and Teikoku Newspapers of these days and other newspapers and information.

Objection to War Against U.S. and Britain.

Disregarding the attack and criticism on the Asahi, we believed that it should be Japan's traditional

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national policy to conclude a tripartite treaty of Japan, the United States and Britain. We believed it was contrary to our national policy to conclude the tripartite alliance between Japan, Germany and Italy.

We strongly opposed the tripartite alliance as it presupposed the opening of hostilities against the United States and Britain. The Asahi never supported the alliance, as other papers did. Only after the Imperial rescript opening the hostilities was issued did the Asahi reluctantly accept the situation. Even though the tripartite alliance was concluded we maintained that the war against the United States and Britain must be avoided by all means. In conformity with this conviction I edited the Asahi newspaper.

In the explanation submitted by the Asahi the other day, reference was made regarding the utterance made by the managing editor on the attitude of the Asahi toward the Pacific war. The managing editor said:
"We do not want war, war must be avoided by all means."

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This managing editor was no other than myself.
(Reference to the testimony made by Mr. Hasebe, chairman
of the board of directors of the Asahi).

Asahi Mentioned Nothing on War in
Its Morning Edition When Pearl Harbor
Was Attacked.

The morning edition of the Asahi on December 8,
1941, when Pearl Harbor was attacked, mentioned not a word
about war. It was commented by various quarters at that
time that the Asahi was an easy-going paper on that very
morning, reporting no hint at all about possible hostilities.

There were two factors which were responsible
for this easy going edition on that day. One was that the
Asahi was regarded as pro-American and pro-British newspaper
and anti-war and anti-militarism. It was very difficult
for the Asahi then to get secret information from the
Japanese authorities' sources. The other was that the
editorial department under my direction hated war so much
that it was not prepared for such an eventuality.

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My Position in the Asahi and My Activities
Outside the Same Newspaper.

The Asahi newspaper company ~~was~~ is a joint stock company, having been established by the Murayamas and Uenos. Its share holders are all staff of the Asahi. The management of the newspaper has been carried on by various organs.

The meeting of directors was held once a month. The chief business of the directors' meeting was to hear the statement of accounts and an ex post facto approval of office affairs. All important matters were decided by the Examination Council. The members of this council were appointed by the president of the paper. The managing director and other ^{senior} directors were members of this council. All important matters of the paper, including the highest personnel question, were decided by this council. The directors were merely notified of the decision later at their meeting.

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With regard to the make-up of paper, the Asahi adopted the system of Editor-in-Chief and Managing Editor. The editor-in-chief (Shushitsu) directed editorials and editorial policy, while the managing editor (Henshu Socho) assisted the editor-in-chief and controlled the four offices of Tokyo, Osaka, Seibu and Chubu.

Junior managing editor (Henshu Cho) was under the above two and controlled all matters relating to editing the paper. Assistant junior managing editor (Henshu Jicho) assisted the junior managing editor and disposed of all matters relating to editing of paper.

With a view to unifying the editorial policy of the four offices, an editorial conference was held under the chairmanship of the editor-in-chief every month.

Thus, the Asahi had many organs for editing paper. At first I was assistant junior managing editor and was promoted to junior managing editor and a director. As I mentioned, all important matters were decided by the Examination Council, editorials by the Editor-in-Chief and the editorial policy by the editorial conference. Thus, the extent of my responsibility as a director and concurrently

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junior managing editor was limited. Despite the existence of such regulations I assumed the whole responsibility for making up the paper and exercised utmost circumspection in editing the paper.

I Refused Assumption of Member of
Investigation Committee of IRAA.

The Imperial Rule Assistance Association organized an investigation committee composed of leading staff of editorial departments of newspaper offices. I was automatically mentioned as a member of the committee. However, in accordance with my principle that I take no post outside the Asahi and as I was opposed to the Imperial Rule Assistance Association from my point of view of parliamentarism I resigned the post. I was also asked to join the Association of Press for Rendering Service to State Through Pen, but I declined the offer. I never associated with any movement of organizations.