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GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
Government Section

MEMORANDUM FOR THE CHIEF, GOVERNMENT SECTION. 21 March 1947

SUBJECT: Press Relations.

1. Attention is invited to the conclusions of the report, subject: Press Coverage of Japan Under the Occupation, prepared in the Government Section, as follows:

a. The preponderance of press reports and articles on the occupation has been favorable.

b. From the point of view of volume of articles and variety of subject matter covered, the American press as a whole has not given the reading public a continuous comprehensive flow of information.

c. In general, the straight news reporting has been good. Inaccuracies have crept in through reliance on information from unofficial sources; cases of deliberate misrepresentation have been few.

d. Criticism, varying in intensity from mild reproach to vehement attack, occurs largely in special signed articles and editorials, and is based almost invariably on a subjective appraisal of SCAP as too conservative or too radical depending on where the writer himself stands.

2. There is room for considerable improvement, both in volume and informativeness, of the coverage being given the occupation of Japan by the American press. Such improvement is necessary to counteract the traditional tendency of the American people to neglect their interests in East Asia and to sustain public interest in and support of the occupation until it is successfully completed.

3. If the press and public are to be continuously, fully and correctly informed on the occupation, it is essential that the officials responsible for the acts which make the news participate actively in the process of news dissemination. An attitude of aloofness based on the theory that good deeds speak for themselves does

not breed a favorable press. Nor do the known hostility or past acts of bad faith of a few correspondents justify an attitude of distrust of the entire profession. If reporters are dealt with as if they were "off limits" they are bound to obtain their stories elsewhere. Admittedly nothing that GHQ, SCAP could or would say would still the critical voices of those who are irreconcilably opposed on ideological grounds to the philosophy underlying the occupation. But it is both feasible and desirable to eliminate any excuse for misinformation by pursuing a policy of complete and frank disclosure on all matters not affected by considerations of security. Such a policy cannot but improve relations with the majority of news reporters who are trying to do an honest reporting job.

4. Releases by the Public Relations Office serve a useful purpose, but they are not enough to maintain the desired flow of information to the press or to maintain good press relations. By their very nature, press releases are best suited to statements of official policy or accounts of completed actions. Interpretive news releases are another matter. Reporters who are worth their salt apply a generous sprinkling of it to all such "handouts" especially from Army PRO's.

5. Press conferences, provided they are not run like a classroom but provide ample opportunity for questions and answers and are held with reasonable frequency, are much more useful. The GHQ spokesmen at such conferences, however, should be officials who are fully conversant with the subject and not just public relations officers using "canned" material beyond which they are not qualified to venture.

6. Supplementing both PRO releases and press conferences there should be constant access to responsible officials in GHQ for the purpose of checking the accuracy of news stories about to be published or to obtain necessary background information.

7. The Government Section in conjunction with the CI & E Section has recently adopted effective techniques in the campaign to educate the Japanese public on the significance of the new constitution, local government reform and the purge. A similar program aimed at informing the American public through the American press on the administration of the occupation could be worked out by the Special Projects Division of the Government Section in conjunction with the Public Relations Office.

FRANK RIZZO

Press

File COPY

Tokyo, Japan
3 April 1947

Dear Mr. Reed:

I have read with great interest the series of articles written by you for the Kansas City Star upon your return to the United States from your Pacific tour. Your general analysis of the situation in Japan was penetrating and sound, reflecting a most comprehensive grasp of both objectives and results. Only in the two articles entitled "In Leftist Mold" and "Push Jap Unions" does there appear a lack of objectivity which undoubtedly springs from misinformation concerning activities and personnel of the Economic and Scientific Section and the Government Section, and inter-staff relationships in General Headquarters, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers. It is regrettable that time did not permit you to check the reliability of your information on some of the points raised in these two articles, as I am sure that had you been able to do so the conclusions which you reached thereon would have greatly differed.

In this connection, what particularly concerns me is your conclusion that there is a "tendency toward radical extremism" in the administration of the occupation, and the rather inaccurate picture you give of the aims, composition, and working relationship of the various staff sections. I do not presume to question your right to publish your opinions on these matters, but I venture to throw further light thereon.

Contrary to the view taken by a large section of the American press a year ago that we were moving too slowly, your expressed fear is that we have been moving too fast in the political, social and economic reformation of Japan and that, pushed by their critical economic situation, the Japanese may easily slide all the way to the left and embrace Communism "within a very short time." Since misgivings of this sort have been voiced on the occasion of many important steps toward reform taken under the occupation, and since this fear is likely to recur in the future, I should like here to discuss it briefly.

When the occupation began, Japan, although defeated, was still under the rule of a triple oligarchy: the military, the bureaucracy, and the great combines which monopolized no less than 80 per cent of Japan's commerce, industry and finance. The great majority of the people, docile by training, were without authority or voice in the affairs of their own government. The chief occupation objectives, publicly announced, were to:

Disarm and demilitarize Japan;
Reform Japan economically so as to remove its power to make war; and
Bring about the establishment of a peaceful and democratic government.

What were the alternatives? How long would the American people support the expense of the occupation? What if, instead of moving boldly and swiftly toward these objectives, we had held timidly back until economic recovery provided a safety cushion against the possibility of the Japanese embracing Communism as a solution to their post-war difficulties? Your yourself have stated that the solution of Japan's basic economic problems awaits the signing of a peace treaty. Should the program of political and economic reform have been put off until that time? And should the task of establishing a peaceful and democratic Japan have been left to the oligarchic groups which ruled Japan until the surrender? Given the mission which General MacArthur was charged to accomplish, such a source would have been unthinkable. Buy beyond that, it would more certainly have invited extremist radical solutions, accompanied perhaps by violence, by the long enslaved Japanese people themselves, than the course adopted, namely: to remove existing obstacles, both institutional and personal, to the development of a peaceful, democratic Japan; lead the Japanese as rapidly as possible on the road to representative self-government; encourage respect for the fundamental human rights, and develop an intelligent interest and participation by the people in the affairs which affect both their daily lives and their ultimate destiny, thus erecting what is in the last analysis the most effective bulwark against the rise of despotism, whether individual or collective.

The major reform measures taken in Japan under SCAP supervision have been: the new Constitution, which vests sovereignty in the people and gives them a bill of rights; the decentralization of authority in local matters to local governments and the democratization of such local governments; the removal from important public and private posts of persons responsible for launching Japan on its war of conquest; the reform of education; the reform of the land tenancy system; the dissolution of business and financial combines; the legalization of legitimate labor organization and labor union activity.

All of these tasks are by no means fully accomplished, for some, by their very nature, require a longer time than the nineteen months we have been at work in Japan. But as you have observed, a sound groundwork has been laid. Which of these basic reforms, or the several phases thereof, already instituted do you believe, Mr. Reed, have been too rapid:-

> The transfer of sovereignty from the Emperor to the people, and the guarantee to the latter of a bill of rights derived from the experience and enlightened thoughts of the Western democracies; or
>
> The elevation of the Legislature, as the body directly representing the people, to the position of supreme organ of state power; or
>
> The removal of the centralized authority and control formerly exercised by the national government, through the Home Ministry and its appointed prefectural and local officials, over the minutest affairs of every family in Japan, and the

substitution therefor of autonomous management of prefectural and local affairs by prefectural and local leaders elected by and responsible to the people of their localities; or

The reform of the traditional family system to conform to enlightened principles of human relationships and the conferment of political, social and economic equality upon the women of Japan; or

The removal from important positions in the political and economic life of Japan (where they could obstruct occupation objectives) of the leaders who formulated the policies of aggression leading to the past war; or

The elimination of State Shintoism as an instrument for instilling Emperor worship and holding enslaved the minds of the Japanese people; or

The revision of the educational system to replace regimentation of the mind with academic freedom and the teaching of myth and legend with historical truth; or

The breaking up of a system of land ownership and tenancy rooted in feudalism to permit ownership by the farmers of the land they long have tilled, thus creating throughout Japan a new class of "capitalistic" small land owners; or

The breaking up of the system of private monopolies under which, with government protection, a dozen families have controlled over eighty per cent of Japan's commerce, industry and finance, in order that under a system of truly free enterprise, widely owned, the economy may be oriented solely toward peaceful ends; or

The freezing of labor from the prohibitions under which it could not organize to fight for decent living wages and for years was exploited under conditions beside which our sweatshops at the turn of the century were models of advanced liberalism?

These are the basic reforms which constitute General MacArthur's blueprint for freedom. Essentially they embody the concepts of "American" democracy adapted where necessary to the peculiar conditions of Japanese society. Which of these measures would you eliminate or defer in the great task of reformation to which we are committed? All of them have been initiated through the instrumentality of the existing governmental and economic machinery. There has been no suspension, no discontinuity of functioning of these organs, no collapse, no dislocation, no disorder. The fears of chaos and confusion, voiced by those persons who view with alarm any move to disturb the status quo, have not materialized.

These reforms, you may be sure, do not reflect the extremist views of any crack-brained minority, but rather, the considered action of the staff as a whole in implementation of General MacArthur's basic policy governing the occupation as re-oriented by him from time to time as the situation developed. In the great arc of political philosophy, they are indeed well to the left of the totalitarian political aims of the extreme right motivating the attack against civilization which was beaten back in the destructive war just past. They do not, however, veer left of what General MacArthur has described as "moderate democracy", but conform faithfully to the fundamental requirements of that goal. Only by revising the old political and social structure in that direction could the ground be prepared for the political ideal of responsible self-government to strike roots in Japan. Only by removing the root evils which led to the war -- by establishing in Japan a frontier of "American"democracy -- could we attain what you so aptly describe as a "degree of contentment among the vast masses of the Orient as a barrier" to the spread of totalitarianism, whether it be named Communism or Fascism. That is what the reforms undertaken in Japan are designed to achieve.

Far from being encouraged to form themselves into political groups, Japanese labor organizations have been warned of the dangers to themselves and the social and economic fabric of Japan in the use of strikes or the threat of strikes as an instrument for obtaining political ends. There is no labor party in Japan today comparable to the British Labor Party and, so far as I know, none is in the making.

What is the situation today? The Japanese people, under their new Constitution and a democratic election procedures, are about to elect a new Diet, new prefectural governors, new mayors in their cities, towns and villages, and new prefectural and local assemblies which will carry on the work of self-government and self-reformation --to translate into living and vital actuality the blueprint for reform which the occupation has given them -- to the end that Japan may, some day in the not too distant future, be able to take its place -- a dignified and helpful place -- in a world community of peaceful democratic nations.

In accomplishing these tasks, General MacArthur has been assisted, not by two staff sections, three or four, but by his entire staff and by the occupation forces in the field.

In discussing General MacArthur's dual role as Commander-in-Chief, Far East Command, and as Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, you have indicated that there are two separate and distinct staffs: one, "his combat staff, the men who planned the operation that won the war in the Pacific", and second, "the specialized staff that is carrying on now under SCAP", and you have then gone on to ascribe responsibility for "fostering the leftist trend" to sections of the latter staff, specifically, the Economic and Scientific Section, headed by General William F. Marquat, and the Government Section, headed by myself.

Actually, no such cleavage exists, either in staff organization, functions or composition. While it is true that the special staff sections of GHQ, SCAP, activated shortly after the occupation began, bear primary

responsibility for rendering advice and taking appropriate staff action on the political, economic, scientific and educational problems of the occupation which require the services of specialists in those fields, it is equally true that the older general and special staff sections which existed during the war also advise and assist the Supreme Commander on occupational problems and are as much a part of GHQ, SCAP, as they are of GHQ, FEC. The officers of these sections also "wear two hats", and as in all major headquarters, very little of any importance is accomplished without coordination among a number of the staff sections. So much for the idea of two separate and distinct staffs.

The idea that one side of the staff of General Headquarters consists of "combat" personnel and the other of civilians or near-civilians, even if it had any relevancy, is equally erroneous. Combat veterans serve in all staff sections, and many in the so-called "combat group" did not see overseas service until after the war's end. General Marquat, to whom the article refers, was in charge of anti-aircraft defenses on Bataan, and served brilliantly as General MacArthur's anti-aircraft officer through the Pacific War. My own contribution, while not so prominent, also antedates the occupation of Japan, and includes the responsibility for the development, organization, and supply of guerrilla activities in the Philippines while those islands were under enemy occupation. But whether officers or civilians, veterans or new recruits, it is my firm conviction that the personnel who compose the occupation forces are pursuing not private "isms", but the aims and purposes of the United States and its Allies in the occupation. They are doing their share in completing the great task to which America dedicated itself when Pearl Harbor was struck, and without whose completion the staggering sacrifice of blood and resources it took to win the war will have been in vain.

I have no quarrel with you for presenting the views you do. It is proof of our country's greatness that men may freely speak their minds and seek recruits to their differing points of view. But the publication of prejudicial allegations against responsible public officials, it seems to me, carries with it the obligation to present the facts. What evidence do you have that officials of this Headquarters are "Communist fellow travellers and left-wing new dealers"? I know of none such in the Government Section, nor do I in any other section of SCAP Headquarters. I cannot, of course, personally vouch for the private political opinions of every person in General Headquarters. Except for former military and naval personnel recruited in the theater, American civilians engaged in occupation duties are selected and recruited in Washington, where they are screened under procedures applied to applicants for positions in the executive departments of the Government. I can, however, speak with a most authoritative voice concerning my own section, where all key personnel, with but few exceptions, have been under my close observation and direction for going on two years now. Here we have a group of men and women of well tested loyalty who merit and have my fullest confidence and admiration. If any disloyal elements have infiltrated into any other section, you may rest assured that no deleterious influence from such source is brought to bear upon either the formulation or the implementation of policy, for every important action proposed is closely coordinated among the various staff sections concerned, and if a shift in major policy is involved, the proposal is personally examined and passed upon by the Supreme Commander before action is taken.

We are all here in response to the call to further public service in the completion of the task to which under General MacArthur many of us for years now have been dedicated. We compose in the aggregate a representative group of Americans doing an American job in a thoroughly American way, and I am confident that when the task is completed and the results can be fully assessed, your present misgivings as to the methods of personnel employed will prove unfounded. But we are also mindful, as I pointed out on the occasion of your visit to my section during your recent tour of the theater, that the successful completion of this task requires the continued interest, understanding and support of American public opinion, which can be sustained only if the American people have constantly before them a faithful picture of our aims, problems and progress. It is not, therefore, from an over-sensitiveness to criticism, nor from a desire to claim perfection that I have taken the liberty of writing you at this length, but because I feel that in some respects the picture which you received while in Tokyo shows a false perspective and because I have full confidence in your objective viewpoint.

With cordial personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

(sgd) COURTNEY WHITNEY

COURTNEY WHITNEY,
Brigadier General, U.S. Army,
Chief, Government Section.

Mr. Robert W. Reed,
Editor, Kansas City Star
Kansas City, Mo.

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
Government Section

31 March 1947

COVERING REPORT

SUBJECT: Press Coverage of Japan Under the Occupation.

CONCLUSIONS

1. The preponderance of press reports and articles on the occupation has been favorable.

2. From the point of view of volume of articles and variety of subject matter covered, the American press, as a whole, has not given the reading public a continuous comprehensive flow of information.

3. In general, the straight news reporting has been good. Inaccuracies have crept in through reliance on information from unofficial sources; cases of deliberate misrepresentation have been few.

4. Criticism, varying in intensity from mild reproach to vehement attack, occurs largely in special signed articles and editorials, and is based almost invariably on a subjective appraisal of SCAP as too conservative or too radical depending on where the writer himself stands.

GENERAL

This report and the inclosed analyses are based almost wholly on articles reprinted in the War Department "Civil Affairs in Occupied and Liberated Areas -- A Digest of Public Opinion", which, while not all-inclusive, is assumed to include all articles of any significance dealing with occupied areas. During the six-month period August through December 1946, articles on Japan numbered over 400.

VOLUME

1. Judging from the relative volume of articles published, news agencies must regard the occupation of Japan as having only one half as much reader appeal as the occupation of Germany and both occupations together as being overshadowed by the general international situation. This subordinate position of Japan in the news may reflect the American habit of looking towards Europe for historical events to the neglect of America's interests in the Pacific, or as one critical writer has put it, it may reflect the general belief that General MacArthur has Japan well under control, or finally, it may mean simply that American eyes,

as after World War One, have again turned inward toward domestic problems. Whatever the cause, the result is that the American people are not getting the continuous flow of comprehensive information necessary to sustain the public interest in and support of the occupation of Japan until its successful completion.

2. Notable exceptions to this general indifference exist. The New York Times, the New York Herald Tribune and the Associated Press have done an outstanding job from the standpoint of volume of news coverage. The Chicago Sun (and PM) and the Christian Science Monitor, although not so comprehensive in their news reporting as the first three, have displayed a continuing interest and achieved a substantial amount of coverage. Among the weekly news magazines, World Report has done the most consistent, inclusive and informative reporting job. Newsweek and Time Magazine are next in number of articles but their interest has been selective as to subject matter and peculiar in presentation. Among other periodicals, the Far Eastern Survey, although carrying a fair number of articles, has shown only a specialized interest, while the New Republic and the Nation have run only a few articles each, all with an axe to grind.

3. The leading newspapers, magazines and press services examined are listed below with the number of articles examined:

Newspapers

New York Times	101
New York Herald Tribune	76
Christian Science Monitor	35
Chicago Sun (and PM)	33
Chicago Tribune	13
New York Post	10
Scripps Howard Chain	7
Baltimore Evening Sun	6
Daily Worker (New York)	4

Financial and Trade Newspapers

Wall Street Journal	15
New York Journal of Commerce	14

Periodicals

World Report	19
Newsweek	18
Time Magazine	15
Far Eastern Survey	10
New Republic	4
Nation	3

QUALITY OF REPORTING

1. The straight news reporting, which accounts for a large number of articles examined, is of fairly high quality. In articles of this kind, inaccurate reporting, when it does occur, is traceable to reliance of reporters on information from unofficial sources which themselves are either misinformed or biased. Although the stories emanating from such sources are usually introduced by hedge clauses such as, "According to informed sources", "Informed persons here believe","Leading experts here are of the opinion that", etc. which should warn the reader that he is not getting a pure factual report, the effect of such stories cannot fail to be misleading. It should be noted that this kind of reporting device appears most often in stories which support the point of view of the writer.

2. Interpretative writing, on the other hand, contains most of the critical and controversial material on the occupation. This kind of writing appears most often in the signed articles by special writers and staff correspondents. Since in articles of this kind the writer is privileged to express his personal views, exception cannot be taken to critical opinions as such, but in a number of cases the writers support their conclusions with inaccurate or incomplete reporting of the facts.

CHOICE OF SUBJECTS

1. Besides volume of dispatches and accuracy of reporting, an important factor in moulding the American public's opinion of what is happening in Japan is the choice of subject matter. Here again the New York Times and the Herald Tribune do the best reporting job, with the Christian Science Monitor in third place, but a good distance behind. Other papers such as the Chicago Sun (and PM), the Chicago Tribune, the New York Post and the Baltimore Evening Sun are relatively spotty, tending to feature events or subjects which fit their particular editorial position. In the magazine field, World Report is again in the lead, its weekly reports on Japan covering a broad range of subjects. As noted before, Newsweek and Time Magazine are selective and their reporting is neither continuous nor comprehensive.

2. The subjects which have received the most extensive coverage and in some instances stirred up most controversy are: labor matters, the purge, press censorship, reparations, foreign trade, food and material shortages, communism, political parties, political reform, social reform and inflation. There is a disposition for writers to dramatize the controversial. Reflecting the ideological split between Right and Left which currently agitates world opinion, the press has played up this difference, not only in the field of international relations, but in Japanese political and labor matters, at the proceedings of the Allied Council and even within the organization of GHQ, SCAP. Stories of effective co-operation and of day to day progress toward achievement of occupation objectives evidently lack the drama that makes headlines.

USE OF HEADLINES

This brings up the technique of writing headlines, presumably labels designed to attract the consumer to the contents of the package. Space limitation and the rules of advertising obviously limit the headline writer to only one idea at a time, namely the main event or point of the story. It is surprising, however, to see how differently the same event, act or statement can be presented by a different newspaper. In practice, choice of headlines is almost as powerful a factor in molding public opinion as story content. Far too many "average Americans" read only the leading article on the front page and merely "scan" the other articles before settling down to those subjects in which they have a particular interest.

ATTITUDE

One of the writers studied has stated that it is difficult to find a reporter writing about Japan as a scientific, disinterested observer. Even if one starts that way he is soon on one side of the fence or the other and his writings are bound to reflect approval or disapproval of Japan, the Japanese and the occupation. Roughly speaking, the main line of cleavage is the ideological one between Right and Left, but where that line falls depends on who draws it. Accordingly the American reading public is asked to believe all of the following propositions:

Japanese labor unions are a fine thing.
Japanese labor unions are a bar to recovery and unless checked will spread chaos and communism.
The SCAP has encouraged labor unions.
The SCAP has discouraged labor unions.
The Japanese resent strikes but GHQ encourages them.
GHQ has engaged in strike-breaking and discouraged democracy.
The Japanese are still militarists, accept reforms grudgingly under pressure; democracy is still a long way off.
The Japanese have been receptive and co-operative; great strides have been made towards democracy.
The Japanese are still pulling the wool over our eyes.
Occupation authorities keep careful watch on the Japanese.
The Japanese land reform is reactionary.
The Japanese land reform is a great advance.
The Occupation supports the ultra-conservatives in Japan.
The Occupation has introduced leftist ideas in Japan.

Japanese editors like the freedom of the press.
GHQ SCAP has gagged the press.
The purge has been too severe, removing the best brains of Japan.
The purge has been incomplete and not too thorough, leaving free many who should be removed.
The purge has been extended under Russian prodding.
The purge has been extended through the efforts of leftists in GHQ.
The Japanese resent the purge.
The Japanese press hails the purge.
The occupation of Japan will last 10 years, 50 years or 100 years. (Dealer's choice).
General MacArthur will retire before August 1947.
The troops in Japan are being coddled.
The troops in Japan have a hard task.
Japanese industrial recovery has been hampered by SCAP interference.
The Japanese are staging an industrial comeback which will put them back where they were in world trade.
General MacArthur has made a mess of Japan.
The occupation of Japan is a magnificent success.

INDIVIDUAL ANALYSES

The series of thumb-nail sketches given below outlines the salient features of the treatment of the occupation of Japan by individual newspapers, magazines and writers. Fuller analyses are contained in Tabs A to V, inclusive, of this report.

Press Services

Associated Press: Tab. "A"

Straight news reports, generally factual, affording broad coverage of a wide range of subjects. Usually accurate but occasionally slips where reporters fail to check facts with GHQ. Shows some inclination to represent SCAP policy as too conservative. Effect of AP dispatches often slanted by cutting and headline treatment by the subscribing newspapers.

Russell Brines (Chief, AP, Tokyo):

Writes interpretative signed articles; emphasis on

Japanese politics and occupation policy. Criticizes subordination of Japanese reform to U.S. international policy.

Tab. "B"

United Press:

Straight news reports, generally factual. Coverage much more limited than AP. Somewhat biased in direction opposite to that of AP.

Miles W. Vaughn (UP Manager for Asia):

Interpretative signed articles favorable toward occupation policy with reservations on purge as it affects business and newspaper men.

Newspapers

Tab. "C"

Baltimore Evening Sun:

This paper's own news coverage of the occupation is meager but it makes full use of AP dispatches. Tends to feature articles and headlines which put occupation in an unfavorable light.

Robert B. Cochrane (Formerly Baltimore Sun Tokyo Correspondent):

Interpretative articles; criticizes SCAP policy and actions as ultra-conservative and his staff as politically not competent for the job of dealing with Japanese oligarchy.

Tab. "D"

Chicago Sun and PM:

Volume of coverage is about average, tends to specialize in subjects which fit into the chosen role of these newspapers as "Marshall Field's social conscience".

Mark Gayn:

Interpretative articles opposing U.S. policy as well as SCAP actions in Japan on the grounds that they favor Japan's ultra-conservatives and discourage its liberals.

Tab. "E"

Chicago Tribune:

News coverage average in volume; variety of subjects limited; shows reverse bias to PM, plays up danger of communism in labor movement.

Walter Simons:

Signed news articles; in tune with policy of Chicago Tribune; not very informative.

Christian Science Monitor: Tab. "F"

Coverage better than average both in volume and variety. Decidedly critical; Japanese unregenerate; SCAP policy encourages reactionaries.

Gordon Walker:

Signed articles set tone of Christian Science Monitor's attitude. Concedes progress but disagrees with U.S. policy as well as SCAP actions as favorable to Japan's ultra-conservatives.

Evening Bulletin (Philadelphia): Tab. "G"

Indifferent coverage both in volume and quality.

John La Gorce:

Specializes in the sensational and scandalous a la Walter Winchell.

New York Daily Worker: Tab. "H"

This newspaper's role in reporting on the occupation is practically insignificant except as purveyor of a small amount of propaganda, most of it second hand.

New York Herald Tribune: Tab. "I"

Second only to New York Times in frequency of reports; covers wide range of subjects. Editorial policy critical of the administration of the occupation. (See inclosed editorials).

Margaret Parton (Tokyo Correspondent):

Does an honest reporting job on subjects of political and social interest. Sometimes critical but always balanced.

Ralph Chapman:

Covers broader range than Miss Parton but more on the surface. Shows predisposition to criticize on ground that occupation is too soft.

New York Journal of Commerce: Tab. "J"

Specializes in subjects of commercial significance, with emphasis on silk and foreign trade.

Tab. "K"

New York Post:

Scanty news coverage.

Dixie Tighe:

Superficial articles with human interest angle.

Darrell Berrigan:

Critical because SCAP has not brought about a proletarian revolution in Japan.

Tab. "L"

New York Times:

Leads all newspapers both in volume of dispatches and range of subjects covered. Quality of news reporting high.

Lindesay Parrott:

Numerous signed articles meet high standards of informative, objective reporting.

Burton Crane:

Numerous signed articles establish this correspondent as defender of Japanese status quo ante bellum; apparently believes the Japanese were all right until the Americans came.

Tab. "M"

New York World Telegram (Scripps Howard):

Average coverage achieved by use of United Press dispatches besides own correspondents'.

Sidney Whipple (Tokyo Correspondent):

Signed articles of general interest; tends to depict Japan under occupation in optimistic terms.

Tab. "N"

Wall Street Journal (and Ray Cromley):

Besides use of wire services, the Wall Street Journal relies on special articles by Ray Cromley, its Tokyo correspondent. Largely articles on commerce, industry and finance; factual.

Magazines

Tab. "O"

Far Eastern Survey:

Selected topics treated in more or less scholarly fashion by individual authors expressing own opinions.

Tab. "P"

National

Three critical articles by Harold Strauss disapprove of occupation because it has not adopted socialist solutions for Japan's problems.

Tab. "Q"

New Republic:

"Letter from Tokyo" by Hassell Tiltman expounds theme Japan is still ruled by Japanese reactionaries who are encouraged by occupation policy.

Tab. "R"

Newsweek:

Number of articles about average but range of subjects narrow. Articles a mixture of news and opinion. Shows decided bias and often disregards the facts; finds occupation too liberal for Newsweek's taste.

Tab. "S"

Saturday Evening Post:

Small number of special articles by Harold J. Noble on general human interest side. Favorable toward occupation policy, sometimes a bit over optimistic.

Tab. "T"

Time:

Coverage about equal to Newsweek. Style cynical-clever. Anything for a snicker (or a leer). Sees red all around.

Tab. "U"

World Report:

Achieves the most informative, all-around coverage of the occupation in the news magazine field. Includes interpretive as well as factual writing. Balances criticism and praise. Has no particular "line".

Tab. "V"

Miscellaneous

FRANK RIZZO

ANNE W. BAHLE

Noted:

CLK

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
Government Section

24 February 1947

SUMMARY REPORT.

SUBJECT: The Associated Press.

The Associated Press, as news purveyor to a large number of newspapers, attempts a general coverage of the occupation. Most of its dispatches on Japan originate in Tokyo but a few come from the Washington Bureau. Over 66 Associated Press dispatches on Japan published during the last six months of 1946 were reprinted in the War Department Civil Affairs Digest. In addition, there were four signed articles by Russell Brines, Chief of the Association's Tokyo Bureau. AP dispatches range from short stories on incidental topics, like the renaming of streets by the Tokyo Area Engineer, to full length articles on subjects of wider or more serious interest, such as reparations, labor, or the purge. About one half of the stories deal with political, economic and social matters. The rest cover a variety of subjects. Since they are offered to the public as straight news stories, AP dispatches contain no editorial or interpretive material, except when the informant or source of a story is directly or indirectly quoted. Nevertheless, they are not always neutral, for when the source of information is unreliable and the reporter is not careful inaccuracies of fact creep into a story which markedly influence the effect it produces. For example, on 4 January 1947 the AP reported, "Goaded by Soviet inquiries, the Japanese Government today ordered an extended purge of ultra-nationalists of the war era but exempted high government officials. The terms were drafted in such a way that the staff of an influential leftist paper was subjected to screening", and so on.(1) This story was obviously based on information gathered from sources outside of GHQ, SCAP. Had the reporter checked with GHQ the errors it contained would have been obviated.

On 21 November 1946, the AP reported, "The Japanese government today ordered", etc. etc.(2) In this instance the story was based on the announcement by the Japanese government of the purge extension plan which, however, was only a statement of intention and did not become an order until 4 January 1947.

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(1) 4 January 1947 (New York Times), Increase Ordered in Purge in Japan Industry and Press.
(2) 21 November 1946 (Washington Post), Japan Purges Thousands From

Gen. Whitney

On 13 August 1946 the AP in a dispatch from Medford, Mass., reported, "MacArthur's retirement seen within a year". Perusal of the story indicated that it was based on the personal opinion of a former Lieutenant Colonel who had previously been assigned to the Industry Division of ESS, GHQ, SCAP.

With the exception of the relatively few breaks such as the above, AP stories may be said to achieve a good measure of neutral reporting. But what happens to AP dispatches after they have been transmitted to the subscribing newspapers can, and in some cases does, determine their effect on the reading public, even more than the content of the original stories, for the AP evidently has no control over what, if any, use is made of its material by the newspapers which receive it. Certain papers like the New York Times and the Herald Tribune use AP stories with greater regularity than others, usually to supplement stories by their own correspondents, which are given greater prominence. Other papers, such as the Baltimore Evening Sun, tend to feature AP dispatches, printing them in full or in part in accord with their particular editorial policy and space limitations.

Aside from selection and cutting, the using newspapers can substantially affect the emphasis in a story by means of headlines. Thus an AP dispatch dated 21 October 1946 based on the SCAP Monthly Summatinn for August was printed in full by the Baltimore Evening Sun under the caption, "Few Teachers in Japan Purged - Only 331 of 15,992 Educators Ousted, MacArthur Reports". The Washington Post printed only one half of this article, using the headline, "Japan Teachers Causing U.S. Concern". In the Chicago Sun one half of the dispatch was run under the headline, "186,000 Japs in Office Ousted".

A vivid illustration of the effect of headlines occurred on 18 November 1946 when the Chicago Tribune announced, "M'Arthur Sees Bigger Crops in Japan This Year", while the Baltimore Evening Sun wrote "Shortage of Food in Japan Depicted". Under these headlines the story was the same, an AP dispatch based on the SCAP Monthly Summation for September 1946. In view of the habit of many newspaper readers of turning to the financial, sports or comic pages after a rapid scanning of the first and second pages, the confusing effect of such headlines technique is obvious.

The AP dispatches on which the above analysis is based are listed below:

6 Jan. 1947. (N.Y. Herald Tribune) Japan Strikes Soared in Fall Drive by Labor. "October Offensive" Covered in MacArthur Report, Materials Still Scarce.

Story based on SCAP October monthly summation.

4 Jan. 1947 (N.Y. Times) Increase Ordered in Purge in Japan. Government Acts Under Goading by Russians. Journalists are on New List.

"Goaded by Soviet inquiries, the Japanese Government today ordered an extended purge of ultra-nationalists of the war era, but exempted high Government officials. The terms were drafted in such a way that the staff of an influential leftist paper was subjected to screening ..."

Story derived wholly from Japanese sources. Inquiry at GHQ would have corrected several errors.

4 Jan. 1947 - Japanese Purge List Extended.

Same story as above, from another newspaper.

27 Dec. 1946 (Washington Post) MacArthur Invites Byrnes to Visit Japan.

Story from Washington based on State Department official's statement on exchange of holiday greetings.

19 Dec. 1946 (Chicago Tribune) Far East Board OK's Japanese Labor Unions Grants Right to Participate in Political Activities.

Story from Washington based on release of FEC policy statement.

10 Dec. 1946 (Chicago Sun) Christianity Basis of Policy in Japan, MacArthur says. Missionary Opportunity in Far East Now at Peak, General Tells Baptist Leader.

Quotes from letter to Dr. Louie D. Newton of Atlanta, Ga.

4 Dec. 1946 - Japan's Unions Get Advice. Allied Headquarters Pamphlet Asks Rule by Rank and File.

28 Nov. 1946 (N.Y. Times) Pawley Blue Prints War Shorn Japan.

Story from Washington on Pawley report.

22 Nov. 1946 (Washington Times Herald) Americans Find Jap Gem Cache. Diamonds Valued at $25,000,000.

21 Nov. 1946 (Washington Star) Japan Purges Thousands from Industry and Press.

"The Japanese Government today ordered .. " etc.

(Actual order was not issued until 4 January 1947).

18 Nov. 1946 (Chicago Tribune) MacArthur Sees Bigger Crops in Japan this Year. Exports Will Increase; Inflation Feared.

Story based on SCAP Monthly Summation for September.

18 Nov. 1946 (Baltimore Evening Sun) Shortage of Food in Japan Depicted.

Story based on same report as above.

"Japanese ran so critically short of food in September that in some localities 75% of their rations were furnished by imports, General MacArthur reported today.

"MacArthur's monthly report on the occupation added, however, that greater yields of rice, wheat, potatoes, and barley could be expected this year along with an increased fish catch ..."

13 Nov. 1946 (Washington Post) U.S. to Start Apportioning Jap Reparations Early in December, Regardless of Russia.

Story based on statement by Pawley.

12 Nov. 1946 (Washington Star) Jap Masses Baffled by Freedom of Press, But Editors Like It.

Story on recent incidents in Japanese newspaper world.

11 Nov. 1946 (N.Y. Herald Tribune) MacArthur Purging Japanese Jingoists. 186,000 of Men Who Fanned War Fever Already Dismissed.

Story from Japanese sources on extension of purge to local governments. Sketchy.

11 Nov. 1946 (N.Y. Herald Tribune) Conservatives in Japan Fight to Keep Power. Coming Battles Expected to Indicate Extent of Political Re-Education.

Conservatives have begun campaign to remain in power at least until formal peace treaty is signed. Opposition growing louder, possibly stronger. Purge extension may weaken conservatives. (Factual - from Japanese sources).

10 Nov. 1946 (Washington Post) Crackdown On Shinto Fund Ordered in Japan.

Short story from Tokyo on CI & E action.

8 Nov 1946 (Washington Post) U.S. Requests Aid on Claims Against Japs. Move designed to Break Deadlock With Soviet on Reparations.

Story from Washington.

8 Nov 1946 (N.Y. Times) Reparations Ideas on Japan Sought. In Deadlock with Russia, U.S. asks 10 Nations to "Consult" on Directive for MacArthur.

Same story as above.

7 Nov 1946 (N.Y. Herald Tribune) U.S. Speeds Split of Japan Reparations. Calls Ten-Nation Parley in Move to End Soviet Deadlock on Payments. Immediate Division of 15 to 20% Sought. Talks Would Draft Order to MacArthur Even If Russians Oppose Plan.

Same story as above.

3 Nov 1946 (Chicago Tribune) Hirohito Gives Japan Charter of Free People. Constitution Strips Him of Most Powers.

Straight news report on promulgation.

1 Nov 1946 (Baltimore Evening Sun) Japan Expecting to Buy Surplus from U.S.

Story about SCAP's promise to permit Japanese to buy vehicles under surplus property disposal arrangements.

29 Oct 1946 (Baltimore Evening Sun) Clever Jap Effort Seen to Shorten Occupation.

Somewhat abbreviated version of Russell Brines' story, "Still Pulling Wool Over Our Eyes".

(Credited to AP and not signed)

29 Oct 1946 (Baltimore Evening Sun) U.S. Occupation Policy in Japan Hit by Reds. (AP - London)

Referred to story in Pravda and Moscow radio saying Japan long way from being democratized and U.S. Authorities favor reactionaries and Zaibatsu.

22 Oct. 1946 (Chicago Sun) MacArthur Asked For Report on Troop Morale

22 Oct. 1946 - 3,000,000 Japs Back Home.

Very short article from Peiping.

21 Oct. 1946 - (Chicago Sun) 186,000 Japs in Office Ousted.

Story based on monthly summation and report therein on educational purge.

21 Oct. 1946 (Washington Post) Jap Teachers Are Causing U.S. Concern.
Same article as above.

21 Oct. 1946 (Baltimore Evening Sun) Few Teachers in Jap Purge. Only 331 of 15,992 Educators Ousted, MacArthur Reports.

Same article as above.

18 Oct. 1946 (Chicago Tribune) MacArthur Orders Japs to Send Wool to Korea

18 Oct. 1946 (N.Y. Times) U.S. Policy in Japan Said to be Unchanged.

State Department comment on Atcheson statement.

16 Oct. 1946 (Washington Star) Japanese on Sakhalin and Kuriles Reported Seeking Repatriation.

13 Oct. 1946 (N.Y. Herald Tribune) Japan Prefers Combat GI's to Young Recruits. Some Brash teen-Agers in Post-War Army Adopt Attitude of 'Harshness'.

9 Oct. 1946 (Washington Star) MacArthur Lauds Dropping of Lese Majeste Charges.

8 Oct. 1946 (Christian Science Monitor) Dissatisfied Korean Youths Slip Into Japan by Thousands.

8 Oct. 1946 (Baltimore Evening Sun) Siberia Termed Real Jap Target.

Russian evidence at War Trials.

8 Oct. 1946 - Radio Activities Resumed in Tokyo.

5 Oct. 1946 - Japan to Seize Radio Station. Strike-bound JOAK to be Seized by Government.

2 Oct. 1946 (Washington Star) Jap News Blackout Threatened In Strike.

Yomiuri dispute.

2 Oct. 1946 (N.Y. Times) Verdicts a Tokyo Sensation.

Short sub-article on Nuremberg trial verdicts.

2 Oct. 1946 (N.Y. Times). Newsman Says Japanese Had Atom Bomb And Russians Now Hold the Inventors. David Snell, Atlanta Constitution writer says Japanese Officer said Bomb Existed.

29 Sept. 1946 (Chicago Tribune) M'Arthur Tells Self-Governing Plan for Korea. Legislature Will Screen Nation's Officials.

27 Sept. 1946 (Washington Star) Jap Brewers Allowed To Make Sake Again On Limited Scale.

25 Sept. 1946 - Social Democrats Seek Wide Reforms in Japan. New Platform Calls For State Ownership of Industries. (No paper)

22 Sept. 1946 - Jap Party to Repudiate 'Racial Superiority'. People's Party to Form and Repudiation of Racial Superiority a Plank in Platform. (No paper)

20 Sept. 1946 - U.S. to Aid Return of Jap Prisoners. (No paper)

Short story from Washington.

17 Sept. 1946 (Christian Science Monitor) U.S. Engineers Unscramble Jap Street Signs.

Short article and picture of British soldier looking at Japanese map.

14 Sept. 1946 (Washington Star) 1,600,000 Japanese Ordered to Strike.

13 Sept. 1946 - Jap Production Rises.

Short statement from General MacArthur's monthly report.

13 Sept. 1946 (Chicago Daily Tribune) Hungry Japan's Output Rises, MacArthur Says. Need of Coal a Handicap; Imports Increase.

13 Sept. 1946 (Philadelphia Bulletin) M'Arthur Reports Rise in Jap Production.

Same story as above

11 Sept. 1946 - (Oslo, Norway) MacArthur Assailed On Whaling Ruling. Norway Spokesman says MacArthur Exceeded Power.

29 Aug. 1946 (Baltimore Evening Sun) Banks In Japan Facing a New Credit Crisis

28 Aug. 1946 - Tokyo Diplomats Hunt Jobs. Ambassadors Turn to the Law, Counselor Drives a Truck. (No paper)

26 Aug. 1946 - Mrs. Vining Tutor of Jap Prince. (No paper)

24 Aug. 1946 - Survey Is Asked On Silk Disposals. MacArthur Study Urged by War Secretary as Magagna Continues Charges. (N.Y. Times)

16 Aug. 1946 (N.Y. Times) Japanese Dissolve War Studies Group. Commission Abolished After a Series of Attacks in the Council on Its Functions.

14 Aug. 1946 (Christian Science Monitor) Yoshida Foresees End of Occupation.

14 Aug. 1946 (Washington Star) Japs End First Year Under American Rule; Vital Changes Listed - by Russell Brines.

After a year, two changes made (1) U.S. makes Japanese own government carry out policy, and (2) occupation is more international due to USSR-US ideological clash. Good record so far in occupation.

13 Aug. 1946 (N.Y. Herald Tribune) MacArthur Retirement Seen 'Within a year' (Medford, Mass.)

Rumor by Ex-GHQ Lt. Colonel O'Hearn.

13 Aug 1946. (Baltimore Evening Sun) MacArthur Asks 7 New Seats On Allied Council

Writer speculates upon the request for more seats on the Allied Council and supposes General MacArthur wants more support against influence of the USSR.

11 Aug. 1946 (Baltimore Evening Sun) MacArthur Names Top Problem.

Food top problem.

8 Aug. 1946 (N.Y. Herald Tribune) U.S. Will Lend $55,000,000 to Japan, Korea. Credit to Buy Army, Navy Surpluses; Tokyo Share May Total $30,000,000.

7 Aug. 1946 (N.Y. Herald Tribune) U.S. To Cut Food To Japan; Crop Prospects Good. F.A.O. Proposes Creation of a World Granary to Avert Future Shortages.

6 Aug. 1946 (N.Y. Herald Tribune) Japan Mapping Jobs For 4,000,000 Idle.

6 Aug. 1946 (Washington Star) MacArthur Reported Planning To Cut His Forces to 'Handful'. Ellender and Butler, Back From Tour, Pleased With Occupation of Japan.

6 Aug. 1946 (Baltimore Evening Sun) U.S. Holdings in Japanese Firms Sought. Call For American Data Part of Fight to Oust Zaibatsu.

4 Aug. 1946 (N.Y. Times) Tokyo Press Dismissals Upheld. Yomiuri OK in Dismissing Editors.

2 Aug. 1946 (N.Y. Times) Japanese Reparation To Be Topic In Parley. 11 Nation conference.

ANNE W. EARLE

APPROVED:

F.R.

Baltimore Sun

13 Aug '46 MacArthur Asks 7 New Seats on Allied Council

"General MacArthur, who originally opposed the Allied Council for Japan, today suggested the informal and unofficial addition of seven more members". Follows a half column story indicating desire to create an increased blocks of votes against the Russian member in the Allied Council.

11 Aug '46 MacArthur Names Top Problem

"Half column story based on SCAP monthly summation for June 1946, featuring statement that "a multitude of problems and skepticism on the part of the people as to the government's strength and ability harassed the Japanese cabinet in June". Food production and distribution named as top problem.

5 Aug '46 U.S. Holdings in Japanese Firms Sought

Call for American Data Part of Fight to Oust Zaibatsu. Story from Washington based on call by State Department for information on prewar American investments in Japan.

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
Government Section

24 February 1947

SUBJECT: Russell Brines.

1. Russell Brines heads the Tokyo Bureau of the Associated Press, consequently his work in reporting on Japan under the occupation is reflected to a large extent in the report on that service. From time to time, however, he writes fairly long articles which are published under his name. These articles differ from the ordinary AP dispatches in that they are interpretive accounts and as such include the writer's opinions and conclusions. There were four such articles reproduced in the War Department Civil Affairs Digest covering the last six months of 1946. All of them deal in one way or another with the same theme, namely: that Japan under the Occupation has become a pawn in a worldwide game of power politics between the United States and Russia; that as a result General MacArthur's emphasis in recent months has shifted from the democratization of Japan to its preservation from control by Communists, including those of the native variety; that Japanese officials, aware of this situation, are cleverly taking advantage of it; and that American officials in their fear of communism are supporting an ultra-conservative government whose chief interest is the preservation of as much of the power and position of the old oligarchy as possible.

2. This theme is fully developed in "International Observers Clouds Facts in Our Occupation Record in Japan" which appeared in the Milwaukee Journal of 15 December 1946. On the same day the same article appeared in the Washington Post under the headline, "Soviet Threat Slows Mirror 'Information' ".

3. The other two articles deal with particular phases of the same general theme.

4. Brines's articles, while critical, are not of the carping, one-sided variety. He does give some credit to the Occupation for things accomplished, and where he criticises the "shift" in emphasis from reform to restoration, he acknowledges that such "shift" is part of United States world policy. Where he falls down as a reporter is in the assumption that Occupation authorities are having the wool pulled over their eyes by Japanese leaders.

GENERAL WHITNEY

5. The articles on which the above analysis is based are listed below:

14 December 1946. (Milwaukee Journal, 15 Dec 1946). International Cleavage Clouds Facts on Our Occupation Record in Japan.

Reporter, seeking to set the Record Straight, Lauds MacArthur But Says Recent Emphasis Has Been Largely to Save Japan For the West.

States reports on occupation lack objectivity. Ascribes this to existing international cleavage heightened by Soviet and U.S. propaganda and tendency of all to split along ideological lines. Top Japanese leaders bent on preserving own power gain from this situation. MacArthur in recent months more intent on saving Japan for Western Allies than making changes that might lose her to Russia. American officers hold policy-making jobs; naturally sympathetic to Japanese oligarchs and made more so by taking anti-left-wing clue from boss. Many of them believe Japanese assurances that everything is fine among the "democratic" people. Actually Japanese move slowly and stubbornly, people lack knowledge to enforce own rights; reforms come only from Allied prodding. People must be patiently taught evolution does not happen overnight.

14 December 1946. (Washington Post, 15 Dec 1946). Soviet Threat Slows Nippon "Reformation".

What has been happening in Japan in the year and a half since V-J day? There has been little unanimity of opinion. Russell Brines, Associated Press bureau chief in Tokyo, turns a revealing light on this land of post-war confusion. (Ed. Note).

Same article as above.

31 Oct 1946. (Christian Science Monitor) Japs Spread Propaganda Among Allies (By Russell Brines)

Accompanied by AP Sub-Story "Tokyo Stirred", main article based on 29 October 1946 article by Brines to the effect that Japanese are "still pulling wool over our eyes". Sub-Story says that Japanese political, economic and publishing circles are stirred over report that General MacArthur's purge order will be strictly enforced.

29 October 1946. (Philadelphia Bulletin). Still Pulling Wool over Our Eyes.

U.S. Diplomats Say They Hope to Hasten Return to World Status.

Japan's cleverest contact men making concerted effort to influence occupation officials so occupation will be short and trading rights restored. Suave Japanese efforts help ideological split between U.S. and Russia.

22 October 1946. (St. Louis Post Dispatch). Japs Skeptical of Denial U.S. Backs Yoshida.

Rumors Heard of Orders to "Go Easy" on Conservative Cabinet.

Authorities at CHQ deny persistent rumors that they are giving any special support to Yoshida government, but Dulles is skeptical, so is Mr. Dall (Allied Council) and so is Russell Brines.

30 August 1946. (Baltimore Evening Sun). U.S. Army Foresees Staying on Indefinitely in Japan.

Army foresees staying on in Japan "to hold what is regarded here as the eastern anchor of a world-wide American line against the Soviet Union and communism." Japan an international pawn - military to stay till reparations decided and to enforce new Jap economy.

Anne M. Marie

APPROVED:

F.M.

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GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
Government Section

25 February 1947

SUMMARY REPORT

SUBJECT: United Press Dispatches

1. During the six months covered by this study United Press Dispatches reprinted in the Civil Affairs Digest numbered twenty-eight, or approximately half of the Associated Press Dispatches reprinted during the same period. It is possible that this ratio does not truly reflect the ratio in the number of stories on the occupation produced by these two services, but is affected by the frequency with which subscribing newspapers utilize one or the other press services. The great metropolitan newspapers, like The New York Times and Herald Tribune, make frequent and full use of United Press as well as Associated Press material. The Scripps-Howard papers tend to feature the United Press Service. Other papers use it in accordance with space available for stories on the occupation.

2. A considerable portion of United Press dispatches covers day-to-day occurrences in Japan, but there are also a number of long articles on long-range occupation activities and political and economic conditions in Japan. There is no editoralizing or slanting in the United Press dispatches but there is an obvious bias against persons and ideas considered leftist, for example, headlines of articles dealing with strikes are so worded as to indicate that labor is at fault. Judging by the emphasis in headlines and the selection of material in United Press dispatches, the attitude of this service toward the occupation is favorable. This appraisal does not, however, include the signed articles by Miles Vaughn, which are discussed separately.

3. The dispatches on which the above discussion is based are listed below:

5 Jan 47 - (Philadelphia Record) MacArthur Report Shows Progress In Jap Democracy. Claims Strikes Dominated By Communists.

One column story based on SCAP monthly summation for October 1946.

5 Jan 47 - (New York Herald Tribune) Press Praises Purge

Brief item referring to 4 January 1947 purge extension and Mainichi comment.

GENERAL WHITNEY

26 Dec 46 - (Washington News) Jap Purges Completed, Allies Say

Half column story based on information accredited to "official quarters" to the effect that past purges have successfully eliminated ultra nationalists from public life in Japan.

20 Dec 46 - (New York Herald Tribune) War Trial Hears of Death March of Nurses in Sea. Japanese Machine Gunned 23 Captives From Shore, Australian Survivor Says

18 Dec 46 - (Chicago Tribune) Far East Board Okays Japanese Labor Unions. Grants Right to Participate in Political Activities.

10 Dec 46 - (Washington Times Herald) U. S. To Reduce Jap Reparations. Pauley's Program Held Too Drastic

One-fourth column from Washington.

4 Dec 46 - (Chicago News) MacArthur Bans U. S. Program. Forbids rebroadcast to Jap People

Brief item from Washington based on information received from "informed officials" to the effect that General MacArthur had banned the rebroadcast in Japan of the State Department's Voice of America Programs, followed by short item on War Department's refusal to comment on Drew Pearson's report that representatives of chief newspapers had been banned from making a trip to Japan.

18 Nov 46 - (The New York Times) Strikes In Japan Opposed By Red. Moscow Trained Chief Warned Against Political Walk Outs, MacArthur Declares

Refers to statement in September 1946 Occupation Report that Japanese labor leaders called strikes for political objectives during September against the advice of Nozaka, Moscow trained Communist party leader, who warned them against involving their unions in political activities.

26 Oct 46 - (New York Herald Tribune) Stiff Payments For Japan Held Vital To Peace. State Department officials Also Call For Smashing of Tokyo Family Trusts

25 Oct 46 - (Chicago News) "Mac" Denies G.I. Morale Low In Japan.

Short story on SCAP's statement.

24 Oct 46 - (Chicago Sun) Jap Crimes Trial To Shun Any MacArthur Influence.

Short story based on statement by Sir William Webb that the International Military Tribunal will form its own conclusions and "will not be bound by those of" General MacArthur in connection with testimony at trial.

21 Oct 46 - (London) Narcotic Control In Japan Absolute

16 Oct 46 - (The New York Herald Tribune) Trial Reveals Hirohito Assent To War On U. S. Tokyo Court Gets Evidence That Emperor Approved Decision of September 6, 1941

12 Oct 46 - (The New York Times) Yoshida Accuses Strikers

Same article as below.

12 Oct 46 - (No paper listed) Japanese Premier Sees Dictator Aim In Strikes. Warns Food Ration Increase Will Be Cancelled.

Brief item.

8 Oct 46 - (Washington Post) Tanaka Memorial -- Jap War Plan Did Exist, Russians Say

6 Oct 46 - (Moscow) Koreans Hail Reds, Rap U. S. Policies

Brief item.

22 Sep 46 - (The New York Herald Tribune) Japs Seek Loan For Foreign Trade

Brief article.

15 Sep 46 - (Washington Post) Reds In Japan Failed Once, Still Trying

Short article.

14 Sep 46 - (The New York Herald Tribune) MacArthur Says Reds In Japan Failed To Set Up Popular Front

6 Sep 46 - (No paper quoted) Russian Asserts U. S. Won't Help In Repatriation -- But Atcheson Says Soviets Broke Off Negotiations For Ships For Japanese

3 Sep 46 - (Louisville Courier Journal) State Department Backs MacArthur, Says He Adhered To Basic Policy In Far East With "Radical" Warning

Full column article based on State Department announcement that General MacArthur followed U. S. policy in the Far East when he warned that Japan might be victimized by proponents of a "philosophy of extreme radicalism left."

2 Sep 46 -(The New York Herald Tribune) Text of MacArthur's Statement On Japan

Complete text of General Douglas MacArthur's statement on the first anniversary of the surrender of Japan.

28 Aug 46 - Tokyo Tabloid Features U. S. Nudists On Page 1. Suggest Japanese Parliament Follow The Good Example

No paper named. Brief article.

26 Aug 46 - (No paper named) Japs Get First Shoes Since Pearl Harbor.

25 Aug 46 - (The New York Times) Silk Inquiry In Japan Will Include Adviser Who Urged It On War Department

Two inch article.

14 Aug 46 - (The New York Times) M'Arthur Stresses Element Of Unity. His V-J Message Points Out The Cooperation Of Allies And All Arms For Victory

Gives text of General MacArthur's message.

14 Aug 46 - (Chicago Sun) M'Arthur Indorses Jap Land Reform

Small article.

Anne W. Earle

Approved:

F.R.

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS

17 March 1947

SUMMARY REPORT

SUBJECT: Miles Vaughn

Signed articles by Miles Vaughn, Chief of the United Press' Asiatic Division, are usually favorable to the occupation. Vaughn has, however, been critical of measures considered harmful to business interests and to newspapermen, propagating the line that reparations and the purges are stifling Japanese industry. The following are typical:

12 Aug 46 Japan Under U. S. Rule One Year Old Order (N.Y. World Telegram)

Vanishing trust in MacArthur
(Ed Note: Many of the basic issues of the Allied occupation of Japan still remain to be solved and, meantime, the Japanese people are living largely on "faith in General MacArthur", the general manager for Asia of the United Press explains in the following dispatch)

Recapitulation of occupation status at end of 12 months:

(1) General MacArthur the hero of the plain people.

(2) Japanese still have only vague idea of magnitude of their disaster.

(3) Traditional stamina, frugality and industry of people shows signs of re-asserting itself.

(4) Work on democratic constitution progressing.

29 Oct 46 (Portland Press Herald) Jap Industry is Stifled

Expresses views of Osaka industrial leaders: Twin questions of reparations and peace treaty hang over heads of Nippon's industrial leaders; no extensive recovery possible until they are solved; industry ready to pay any reasonable reparations but must know terms to have incentive to produce; transfers of factories opposed; prefer to manufacture and ship goods.

GEN WHITNEY

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GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
Government Section

6 March 1947

SUMMARY REPORT

SUBJECT: The Baltimore Evening Sun

1. In number of stories published, the Baltimore Sun has not given the occupation of Japan the coverage other large metropolitan newspapers have. The Sun makes frequent use of AP dispatches, often printing them in full. There appears to be a tendency to feature dispatches which bear out the newspaper's particular attitude toward the occupation. This attitude is determined by the full-length interpretive articles by Robert B. Cochrane, who, until the Fall of 1946, was the Baltimore Sun's staff correspondent in Tokyo.

2. Cochrane, like Mark Gayn, believes that occupation policy has been too far to the right. He differs from Mark Gayn, however, in one important respect. Whereas Gayn dramatized the ideological conflict between the U. S. and Russia as the predominant cause of SCAP's supposed sharp turn to the right in the Spring of 1946, thus inferentially crediting the SCAP with acting in accord with U. S. policy, Cochrane takes the line that the SCAP's actions which he criticizes were in defiance of U. S. policy directives as, for example, the declaration of May 1946 banning violent demonstrations. He thinks the liberal elements in Japan have been repressed by SCAP action, the purge is something of a whitewash, the election of April 1946 was premature. There is an occasional note to the effect that the Americans have coddled the Japanese. This occurs in the story from Washington (9 Oct 46) "Japs' Food Costs The U. S. $80,000,000," and in "New World of Nippon-jin" (15 Sept 46) Cochrane's interpretation of this situation is that the administration is, after all, run by military oligarchy, by training ultra-conservative and politically not very astute.

3. Strangely enough, in an article by Curtis Bennett "Bad News From Japan" (1 Jan 47), the SCAP is criticized for (among other things) being too severe in his execution of the purge. The Sun evidently doesn't really care which side it is on, so long as it is against the administration of the occupation.

4. The articles on which the above analysis is based are listed below, with excerpts or summaries:

1 Jan 47 - Bad News From Japan - By Curtis Bennett

GENERAL WHITNEY

Even General MacArthur must be a little discouraged about the occupation in Japan, at least in speaking to the Japanese. In his New Year's message to the Japanese people he admits, quite humbly for so great a man, "some failures", "some weak, some bad" points.

Above headline and paragraph introduce and serve as keynote for a one column article highlighting unfavorable conditions and unsatisfactory occupation policy: Industrial output low, unemployment high, exports limited; U. S. has failed to provide recovery; Japanese failed to help themselves. Economic recovery delayed by failure to settle basic political issues; old style national capitalism versus British style socialized economy; labor participation in management; no decision on Japan's economic place in Asia; each move an irrelated groping toward policy. "Last directive of the Supreme Commander" called "a particularly bad example of American blindness. This coming Saturday, 2500 top executives are to be removed from their jobs." "Japan needs all her technical and managerial personnel to help get industry on its feet."

1 Jan 47 - Jap Inflation Nearing Crisis - By Robert B. Cochrane

Story from Washington notes currency issue increase, rising prices, probable fall of cabinet, gloomy forecasts concerning Japanese economic recovery in 1947.

19 Dec 46 - How Things Go In Japan (no name)

Occupation supports unpopular Yoshida cabinet.

26 Oct 46 - MacArthur's Record In Japan - By Robert B. Cochrane

(Letter dated 22 Oct 46, Baltimore, Md., to The New York Herald Tribune which that paper published in full on 26 Oct 46.)

According to this letter "we rode into Japan waving a fist full of fine intentions, which were followed to the letter in a series of crisp, spirited directives," but after the April elections, fearful of the growth of left-ist influence we swung sharply right to ultra-conservatism. Present policies are the reverse of a year ago. The basic reason is that the administration is military, regular army officers holding all high posts. Election of April 1946 was too early. No one has yet explained why Hatoyama,

"who got more votes than any one else" was an outstanding member of those who "misled Japan into war" nor why he was "removed from his ballot won honors only on the eve of his appointment as Prime Minister of Japan and only at the insistence of the American press." General MacArthur's warning against demonstrations followed the dramatic announcement of an extremist plot against his life. Tokyo is being made into an attractive military club for MacArthur's higher officers; General gets luxurious home while lower civil servants have inadequate accommodations. It is small wonder any hint of criticism evokes a denial from the presence or one of his spokesmen..... you can take it from me, MacArthur has made a mess of Japan."

9 Oct 46 - Japs' Food Costs U. S. $80,000,000 - By Robert B. Cochrane

One column story from Washington based on information from War Department, recapitulation of food distribution figures through August 1946.

"The food shipments from America become a pump-priming donation toward the reconstitution of the Japanese national economy, it was said."

15 Sep 46 - New World of Nippon-Jin - By Robert B. Cochrane

A full page article describing conditions in Japan over one year after the occupation started.

Japanese got their first surprise when the conqueror, contrary to Japanese expectations, behaved generously. Americans got their surprise when they saw Japanese, relieved of original fears, turn friendly. Occupation's toughest job the inculcation of ideas of moral right and wrong and personal responsibility. Paramount problem of average Japanese is food and how to make ends meet. Average GI and civilian employee loses 60 per cent of value of his salary as result of 15 to 1 conversion rate, hence does not hesitate to sell his extra cigarettes at black market prices. Transportation difficult. Places of entertainment off limits. Japanese entertain Allies and make them presents, usually with a definite purpose. Average Japanese confused; democracy just a word. SCAP policy conservative; demonstrations forbidden in May 1946. Much publicized purge removed only a paper-thin veneer of top officials in government. Plain people support occupation.

Frank Rizzo

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GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
Government Section

20 February 1947

SUMMARY REPORT

SUBJECT: Chicago Sun and PM (NY)

The coverage of the occupation offered by these Marshall Field papers during the period studied is of average volume though it is usually restricted in content to subjects which involve the issue of liberalism, as understood by these papers, versus conservatism. With the exception of an occasional article from a Washington correspondent or from the wire services, both the Sun and PM depended upon Mark Gayn, their Tokyo correspondent, for news of Japan.

The following articles reprinted in "Civil Affairs in Occupied and Liberated Territory" were examined in this analysis:

October 1945 - Newsmen Charge MacArthur's Headquarters tries to Gag Press. Gayn Gets News Headquarters Doesn't like.

Story by Bill Costello (Columbia Broadcasting System) that high ranking officers of General Headquarters, by ordering staff members not to talk to reporters, by spreading reports about reporters being Communists or Anti-American and by trying to force correspondents to divulge news sources, are drawing an invisible veil of censorship between the allied occupation and the public at home.

PM 10 Dec 46 - Agrarian Reforms ordered in Japan. U.S. directive will encourage growth of democracy.

Story based on SCAP instructions to Japanese Government to submit adequate plan for land reform program by 15 March 46. Names four main points and predicts plan will aid development of domestic market for support of Japanese industrial revival.

PM 4 Dec 46 - MacArthur and the Cyclotron, by Max Werner. Quotes cable from SHQ (ZA9786) ascribing destruction of Japanese Cyclotron to instructions from Washington. States that if such instructions were broad, MacArthur blundered; if they were specific, War Department blundered.

15 Sept 45 - Japan's Rulers Winning Time to Achieve Their Ends - Gayn

Expresses concern over political winds in Japan: Objectives of Japan's rulers - to retain power, gain time, stage comeback are aided U. S. hesitancy in wrecking existing system, a necessary step in creation of new Japan.

GENERAL WHITNEY

28 Oct 45 - Shaping of Big Business Defies Americans in Japan - Gayn

Zaibatsu winning first postwar round against the Allies in a determined effort to retain stranglehold on Japanese economy and politics. Past misdeeds of Zaibatsu; present control over "liberal" political parties.

30 Dec - Jap Eugenics Plan would sterilize unfit

30 Dec - Atlanta Dec. 30. MacArthur says. Christianity Basis of Policy in Japan,

24 Oct - Jap Radio Workers Call Off Strike

19 Sept - Silk expert who upset Tokyo returning to U.S. - Gayn

12 Sept - Tokyo pupils tackle myths of Jap gods

13 Sept - Jap unions call 24-hour political strike

Wash Ex - 10 Sept "Inside Washington" State Dept Supt of MacArthur statement

Gayn - 2 Sept - Beyond Japan Lives Russia; Iceland become Bastion in the struggle between Western Powers, Soviets. No longer great social lot; frontier outpost.

2 Sept. - Beyond Japan Lies Russia - MacArthur shifts his Aim - no more a Revolution but a Conservative Bastion.

3 Sept. - There may be a time when we'll want strong Japan, U. S. officer says.

29 Sept. - On Wall is Scribbled - "Japan has lost this war but we shall come back" - Gayn

21 Sept. - "Unconducted" Visit - Red Newman - tour Japan, too many yanks, they say - Gayn

25 Sept - Rural Japan in the Dark on Progress

4 Oct - Allied Council for Japan Wrangles

10 Aug 46 - Japan - One Year After - Nippon's Constitution, Liberal in English, So translated to reaction.

11 Aug 46 - Japan - One Year After - Nipponese Find Defeat Not So Grim, But Better than Victorious Chinese - Gayn

12 Aug 46 - Japan - One Year After - Nippon dons dress of Democracy and votes - but for same old names - Gayn

13 Aug 46 - Japan - One Year After - U. S. found progressives too much so - so now Rightists Rule Nippon - Gayn

11 Aug 46 - Fleming to Retire from post in Tokyo - return to U.S. - Gayn

16 Aug 46 - Jap union again protests to MacArthur on arrests - Gayn

20 Aug - Japan gives birth to its own C.I.O. - Gayn

24 Aug - Back to the States Quo - the U.S.changes its mind and censors to protect Jap Superior from Japs - Gayn

27 Sept "Soviets to Return 500,000 Japanese"- by Mark Gayn - PM Newspaper

11 Oct -"A Failure of the American Press" by Richard E. Vauterbach PM Newspaper

18 Oct -"Newsmen Charge MacArthur's HQ Tries to Bar Press" - PM Newspaper

19 Sept- Silk - the Stakes are High - Businessman in Japan uses influence of his backer, Rep. Flood - by Griffing Bancroft - Chicago Sun

20 Sept- Silk - the Stakes are High - "Keep up Fight" note links Rep. Flood to businessman's deals - Griffing Bancroft.

21 Sept- Silk - the Stakes are High - Administration takes four actions to curb Rep. Flood's Protege - Griffing Bancroft.

23 Mar 46 - Collier's "Our Balance Sheet in last Japan."

ANNE M. HAMLE

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GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
Government Section

20 February 1947

SUMMARY REPORT

SUBJECT: Mark Gayn

"Gayn, before going to Tokyo as correspondent for the Chicago Sun and PM, had established a national reputation as an expert on Far Eastern Affairs. He wrote for the Saturday Evening Post, Collier's, Readers Digest, and other magazines.

Gayn was one of 'the six' arrested in June 1945, charged with illegally procuring and publishing secret government information. The case against him was dismissed in New York Federal Court in August." (PM, 18 Oct. 46, N.Y.)

As Tokyo correspondent for the Chicago Sun and for PM, Mark Gayn seldom departs from the "liberal" line pursued by these papers -- an unending criticism of everything they consider conservative or not sufficiently liberal. In PM particularly, editorials and news stories are concerned almost exclusively with pointing up some private or governmental misdeed.

Mark Gay's dispatches from Tokyo have been a notable addition to this critical literature; they receive prominent headlines and desirable space. Gayn is a consistent adherent of his papers' neo-muckraking attitude.

In the period covered by this analysis (August 46 - January 47) the number of his dispatches reprinted in "Civil Affairs in Occupied and Liberated Territory" was 17. From 600 to over 1,000 words long, his articles are occasionally written in serial fashion over a 3 to 4 day period.

Gayn is consistent and energetic in his search for evidences of reactionary elements in the Japanese government and in the occupation forces. His articles are well-written; he has a sophisticated technique for presenting a criticism of SCAP policy by inference while writing on some ostensibly purely Japanese subject. For example, he will set his scene in a fishing village or a farmer's house and report a conversation

GENERAL WHITNEY

with the local inhabitants. During the course of the conversation, it becomes evident that the Japanese common man cannot read the new Constitution of Japan, has not had it read to him, could not understand it in any event; that he did not vote in the recent free, democratic election, that he rarely voted before; that, in general, the common man is unaware of the deeper significance of either Japan's defeat or the allied occupation or of its possible future as a democratic nation. The uneducated state and confused political thinking of the peasant, the continued existence of unregenerate nationalists, the discovery of some new Zaibatsu, are to Mark Gayn disturbing evidences that the occupation has failed in its essential purposes. That reform and democratization are by their very nature processes which require time is of no concern. Gayn wants Japan a full-fledged liberal democracy NOW or the occupation is a failure.

Bad as this situation is, it is made worse, Gayn is convinced, by the change in the goals of U.S. policy as carried out in Japan which took place some time in the Summer of 1946 when the SCAP subordinated reform to reconstruction. In "Beyond Japan Lies Russia", a series of three frightened articles published in early September 1946, Gayn sees General MacArthur, playing his part in a world-wide game of power politics, treating Japan as a pawn in this game, shifting his aim from the democratization of Japan to building it up as a Conservative bastion, with the result that the Allied forces became supporters of the Japanese Old Guard and the forces of liberalism were repressed.

Gayn's ideological antipathy for the middle-of the-road approach to the goals of U. S. policy is irreconcilable. In fact, he is probably at odds with that policy. But he is a good reporter, even if over-dramatic at times. His fault-finding and critical interpretation of the occupation reflect his political philosophy, but his opposition is out in the open. His coverage of the occupation has been broad in scope and his treatment thorough. He has not resorted to untruthful or deliberately inaccurate reporting for his effects, nor has he indulged in smear tactics against individuals.

Anne W. Earle

Approved:

F. R.

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GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
Government Section

3 March 1947

SUMMARY REPORT

SUBJECT: Chicago Tribune

1. During the past six months nineteen articles on the occupation of Japan reprinted from the Chicago Tribune appeared in the War Department's Civil Affairs Digest of Public Opinion. Fifteen of these nineteen articles were by Walter Simmons, the Tribune's special correspondent in Japan; the other four were unsigned. They were all news articles, but the range of subjects treated was not broad.

2. The articles by Walter Simmons are not the most informative in the world. An evident preoccupation with the conflict between Left and Right narrows the choice of subjects and colors the reporting. Thus, Simmons' articles vigorously attack the Reds in the newspaper field, coal mines, labor unions, Korea, Japan and the Allied Council but fail to throw any light on economic or social conditions in Japan, the problems of the occupation or what has been done about them. With the exception of one short piece on the Japanese Tax rate and two articles quoting praise of General MacArthur by Britishers, the impression gathered from Simmons' news stories is that nothing goes on in Japan except the struggle between the Communist front and their opponents.

3. The stories examined are listed below:

3 August 46 - Koreans Start Back Home But Prefer Japan - Walter Simmons

4 August 46 - Yanks in Japan Hush Up Didoes of the Russians - Walter Simmons

5 August 46 - Japanese Can Get Russian, - But Not American Books.

12 August 46 - Tokyo Works Short Hours; MacArthur Toils 12 Every Day.

GENERAL WHITNEY

23 September 46 - "Reds in Korea Strip Fleeing Japs of Money" - Walter Simmons - Korea

5 October 46 - "Newspaper Men Foil Red Strike Plans in Tokyo" Condemn Leaders; Balk at Quitting Work. - Walter Simmons

9 October 46 - "Japan Idolizes MacArthur, Says British Bishop" - Chicago Tribune Press Service - London

7 October 46 - "General MacArthur called a Great Mind By Briton" - London

15 October 46 - "Miners in Japan Scuttle Reds Big Strike Plan" 22,000 Refuse to Quit as Some get Demands - Walter Simmons - Tokyo

18 October 46 - "Japs Threaten Light Blackout to Show Might" - Walter Simmons - Tokyo

19 October 46 - "Predict Ouster of Aussie Over Jap Rule Stand" Reds Backer Stirs Council Row - Walter Simmons - Tokyo

20 October 46 - "Penny Pinching by Australia in Japan Assailed" Charge Muddling Costs Much Prestige - Quentin Pope - Sydney

3 November 46 - Hirohito Gives Japan Charter of Free People

8 November 46 - Reports Ideas on Japan Sought

9 November 46 - Jap Communist Party Torn by Bad Leadership - Simmons

11 November 46 - MacArthur Purge Threatens Rule of Jap Premier. Conservatives also face New Election

18 November 46 - MacArthur Sees Bigger Crops in Japan this Year

19 November 46 - Reveal Japan Has Control of Big Newspaper - Simmons

1 December 46 - Japs Shiver, But Believe Happy Days Lie Ahead. - Simmons

Average Jap "has a sense of peace and security and feels better times lie ahead" food, clothing, housing, "Grabbing houses right and left, the army has been forced to close its eye to the plight of those made homeless." Simmons.

6 December 46 - MacArthur Ban on Six Newsmen in Japan Denied. - Simmons

Ban was "flatly" denied in Tokyo. Simmons thinks ban probably on junketing editors - in hearty agreement with it if true.

11 December 46 - MacArthur Gets More Troops in Southern Japan - Quality On Upswing Too - Morale Good. Simmons

2 January 47 - British Plan to Reshape Troop Set-Up In Japan - Simmons

7 January 47 - Japanese Groan Under Taxes To Pay For Defeat - Simmons

Anne W. Earle

Approved:

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GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
Government Section

12 February 1947

SUMMARY REPORT

SUBJECT: Christian Science Monitor

Thirty-four stories and articles on Japan under the occupation printed in the Christian Science Monitor from April 1946 to January 1947 were examined. The authorship was distributed as follows: Gordon Walker 19; Neal Stanford 4; Robert Peal 2; Selden Menefee 2; William H. Stringer 1; John Beaufort 1; Philip Taylor 1; Unsigned 4.

Gordon Walker's articles are the most important both in numbers and from the point of view of editorial policy. They deal largely with labor, political and social conditions in Japan under Allied occupation and the conduct of the occupation itself. The majority are critical. Walker's dissatisfaction with the occupation grows out of his evident non-acceptance of the SCAP's decision early in the occupation to permit the Japanese to conduct their own internal political and administrative affairs insofar as possible without interference from the occupation forces. Obviously believing that Japan's true liberals are to be found among the left-wing groups in labor and politics, he concludes that in the present situation the SCAP's "hands-off" policy, however loftily motivated, lends support to the conservative "ins" and puts the more radical "outs" at a disadvantage in the competition for the ruling voice in Japan, thus retarding the accomplishment of needed political and social reforms. According to Walker, the elements which ruled in Japan in the past still rule it. Since these unregenerate elements are intent on preserving as much of the old order as possible, allowing them to remain in power in effect sabotages Allied occupation policies. Notwithstanding the progress recounted in the Supreme Commander's reports on the occupation, Walker's net appraisal is that progress toward the reformation of Japan has been slow.

Typical of the tone of Walker's articles on labor and politics are such headings as:

Japan Pays the Price of Defeat but Without a Sense of Guilt - 15 July 46.

Japan's Feudal Institutions; Wily Labor Bosses Enslave Gullible in Mines - 26 July 46.

Tokyo Sabotage Bared in Draft of Constitution - 29 July 46.

GENERAL WHITNEY

Land Reform for Japan Looks 'Rosy' on Paper - 3 September 46

U. S. Policy Bars Spread of Communism in Japan - 7 September 46

Do Japanese And Allied Policies Agree - 22 October 46

Political Tie-ins Bared by Wave of Japs' Strikes - 31 October 46

Japan: Political Barometer Unsettled in 16th Month of Occupation - 11 December 46

The activities of the Allied Council and the differences of opinion expressed at its meetings are treated by Walker in a tone which usually places the American member in a defensive position and a weak one at that.

An exception to the general tenor of Walker's writing is the story on the local government reform "Jap Bill Proposes Drastic Local Rule Reform" (13 Sept 46) which Walker hailed as a notable achievement.

The articles examined are summarized below:

April 46 - Jap Cabinet Crisis Boils

Coalition Government in Tokyo? - Audrey Menefee

Results of recent election point to cabinet crisis. Shidehara expects to stay on with support of coalition but opposition forming. Hatoyama striving to form coalition to replace Shidehara. Yoshida may replace Hatoyama.

20 June 46 - Economic Plan to Unfold Role for Japan - Gordon Walker

Master long-range plan for Japan's economic reform being prepared by Frank Tamagna and Ralph Bogdan (ESS) which may provide blueprint for Japan's future role in Far East economic sphere, reveals SCAP opinion on occupation lasting a maximum of five years. Many younger SCAP officials of more liberal views and genuinely liberal Japanese favor much longer occupation pointing out how little has been done in first ten months.

20 June 46 - Eisenhower: Army to Occupy Japan, Reich, 10 to Decade - Wm. H. Stringer

Testimony of General Dwight D. Eisenhower before House Appropriations Committee indicates U. S. expects

to evacuate its troops from Austria and Italy by 1 Jun 47 but should count on staying in Germany and Japan five to ten more years. Effort to maintain powerful military posture in the face of demobilization, to support diplomatic position.

13 July 46 - Education Mission Charts Path to Jap School Reform - John Beaufort

Japanese hungry for spiritual and intellectual nourishment. Outline of Mission's proposals for reform of Japanese education.

15 July 46 - Japan Pays Price of Defeat but Without Sense of Guilt - Robert Peel

Japanese saying, "the victor is always right." Sense of guilt for war absent. Dr. Nambara calls for spiritual revolution and cultural contribution to world.

17 July 46 - Jap Labor Reaches Crux. Typesetters' Rift - Gordon Walker

Several hundred striking typesetters evicted by non-striking majority of Yomiuri chapter of the National Newspapers Union. SCAP representatives, although officially following hands-off policy, actually gave impression that they favored management.

18 July 46 - Allied Forces Find Virtual Slave Labor Hard Knot in Japan - (by a Staff Correspondent)

Hundreds of thousands of Japanese workers today still are harnessed to a feudalistic labor slavery system, despite trade unions and the energetic efforts of occupation authorities. Silk and textile mills, through employment agents, recruit teen-age girls under long term contracts. Work 9½ hrs/day, 6½ days/wk, poorly housed in dormitories and poorly paid.

24 July 46 - Jap Occupation Policy: What Can't They Read - Gordon Walker

Latest clash at A.C. meeting over Russian suggestion that the SCAP curb circulation of "fascist" publications in Japan offers further evidence of widening gaps between American and Russian concepts of what occupation policy should be. Atcheson held that proposed confiscation would violate freedoms of thought and speech. British and Chinese sided with Russia. There appears to be plenty of evidence that Japanese ultranationalist organizations have been trying to circumvent directive banning objectionable literature from sale and that anti-allied propaganda continues to be published and widely read.

26 July 46 - Japan's Feudal Institutions. Hilly Labor
Hoggan Easily "Enslave" Gullible in Mines -
Gordon Walker

Cites reports revealing that miners and construction laborers are cajoled into signing long-term contracts and then held under guard in what is virtually chain-gang servitude (in engineering projects and coal mines in Hokkaido). Prove that feudal practices persist and testify to tremendous job still facing occupation forces.

29 July 46 - Tokyo Sabotage Bared in Draft of Constitution
- Gordon Walker

An ingenious effort by the present Japanese Government to sabotage the new Constitution came to light in the Diet last week. "Deliberate mistakes in translation of the original constitutional documents drafted by the SCAP" sought to "pull the teeth" of the reform document and preserve as much of the old order as possible.

14 August 46 - (Washington) Progress Unfolds - Slowly.
U. S. Appraisal - Neal Stanford

Despite shortcomings and weaknesses, occupation progress in Japan this last year is regarded by American officials as heartening. "If General MacArthur has tended to exaggerate it, State Department officials do not want to be accused of depreciating it."

3 September 46 - Land Reform for Japanese Looks "Rosy"
on Paper - Gordon Walker

Jap Government's program for land reform, published with General MacArthur's approval, falls considerably short of what experts here consider minimum democratic reform requirements in that: (1) There is no limit on amount of land any family may own (2) Administration entrusted to local committees one-half of whose members are landlords (3) Fails to incorporate compulsion, relying on a "good faith" which Japanese have failed to display.

4 September 46 - Russia Challenges MacArthur on Japanese
Land Reform - Selden Menefee

Conflict between Soviet representatives on the A.C. and the SCAP is even deeper than reports coming through the censor would indicate. "The fundamental issue is

whether the Allied Control Council should be a policy-making body ..... or whether its function should be purely advisory." Other disputes involve land reform, labor legislation, the new constitution, demilitarization, purge of propaganda literature.

7 September 46 - Japan's Freedom School. Twenty-fifth Anniversary is Attained by Institution which Still Functions - Robert Peel

Describes the Jiyu Gakuin (Freedom School) whose system of teaching incorporates free discussion as against the traditional Japanese "cramming" method.

7 September 46 - U. S. Policy Bars Spread of Communism in Japan - Gordon Walker

U. S. policy in Japan has completed one full cycle and one main objective now is to prevent spread of Communism and aside from Communist question, prevent too far a swing to the left. If there is conflict between this and the Potsdam objective of democratization, latter will be changed. Prewar politicians in present government, using Communism as bogey, strengthened by this policy.

13 September 46 - Japanese Bill Proposes Drastic Local Rule Reform - Gordon Walker

The plan for reforming the system of local government, passed by Lower House and now under debate by the Peers, is one of the most drastic and far-reaching reforms which the Japanese Government has yet been forced by the SCAP to adopt; is one of the most hopeful auguries for the future of democracy in Japan; marks a definite advance in the direction of representative government; and will inaugurate large measure of local autonomy.

24 September 46 - (Washington) U. S. Calls on Russia to Release Jap PW's -

Soviet representative in Japan disclaimed authority to discuss repatriation of Japanese soldiers. Washington opens negotiations direct with Moscow. Whereabouts of 600,000 Jap soldiers a mystery: slave labor?

2 October 46 - Leftists Swing to Right in Japan - Gordon Walker

Japan's Social Democratic Party moving toward right-wing politics. Rightists elected to key positions in party dominate its actions: Nishio, Hirano, etc.

3 October 46 - Russian Claims Jap High Staff Active in SCAP -

General Derevyanko charges that high officers of Japanese General Staff employed in Demobilization Bureau continue activities not related to demobilization. Recommends reducing Bureau and its activities.

8 October 46 - SCAP Steps in to Break Tokyo Newspaper Strike - Gordon Walker

Behind-the-scenes activities of certain occupation authorities believed chief cause for failure of politically important strike of Japanese newspaper and radio workers. Not known whether low or high echelon policy but result is same. Left wing of CIO, the more militant, intent on putting pressure on government. Question whether it can survive what appears to be the mounting disapproval of SCAP.

10 October 46 - New Constitution Smooths U. S. Path - Gordon Walker

Passage by lower house on 7 October completes most important single job of occupation. Passage by Diet was largely a formality. Doubts expressed as whether it will take hold.

12 October 46 - Jap Coal Strike Threatens Economy -

Apparent refusal of government to eradicate feudalistic slave labor is one of the contributing factors behind Hokkaido coal strike which threatens Japan's already shaky economic structure. Jap labor unions not Communist controlled but government, seeking SCAP support in anti-labor move, labels them such.

22 October 46 - Do Japanese and Allied Policies Agree? - Gordon Walker

Atcheson's statement. Official denial that it meant change in U. S. policy, merely that Atcheson was satisfied with Japanese progress. Writer believes change in policy has taken place, referring to an early Washington directive neither to support nor to reject any Japanese Government and the SCAP's evident support of Yoshida Cabinet after May 1946. Atcheson's statement a stamp of approval.

23 October 46 - Jap View After One Year: Advances Noted, But — ? - Gordon Walker

Recent poll discloses skepticism regarding Japan's progress toward democracy under the occupation: purgees still influential; Diet does not represent will of the people; big capitalists still exert major influences; educational reform questioned; no changes yet made in local governmental system; democratization should be reconsidered.

28 October 46 - Report on Japan Weighs Substitute for Zaibatsu - Neal Stanford (Washington)

Refers to Corwin report on deconcentration of economic power as a possible blueprint for solution of tough problem. (Ed Note: Dispatches from Japan have indicated a considerable gap between formulation of policy and the actual measures to eliminate nationalistic economic controls.)

31 October 46 - Political Tie-ins Bared by Wave of Jap Strikes - (Special correspondent)

Discusses factions and political strategy in labor groups.

8 November 46 - U. S. Beating Jap War Pay Machinery - Neal Stanford (Washington)

U. S. adopts new tactics to break American - Soviet deadlock on Japanese reparations.

13 November 46 - "Stalling" Allegation Fires Tension on Tokyo Purge - (Special Correspondent)

Today's session of the A.C., taken up largely by Soviet charges that the Japanese Government failed to execute properly General MacArthur's purge directive of 4 January added a new factor to the increasingly tense Japanese political situation. Soviet charges will further undermine the already uneasy position of the Yoshida Cabinet.

22 November 46 - Allied Advisers Keep in Plan for Japan - Neal Stanford (Washington)

Unofficial long-range program in a book by Rear Admiral Ellis M. Zacharias proposes Supervision of Japan by high commission which would gradually be replaced by staff of advisers.

27 November 46 - Breakup of Trusts in Japan Told to Russians By SCAP - Gordon Walker

The first comprehensive summary of progress of occupation efforts to smash Japan's war-making big business combines was extracted here today by the Russian delegate at the Allied Council. Dissatisfaction at slowness of Supreme Commander in breaking up the Zaibatsu implied in a series of eight penetrating questions. The SCAP's answer was full and detailed. Chief omission was the failure to give adequate assurance that the Japanese Government as at present constituted could be trusted to prevent confiscated securities from falling once again into the hands of those who have predatory economic aims or are agents of such persons.

11 December 46 - Japan: Political Barometer Unsettled in 10th Month of Occupation - New Forces Appear to Alter Initial Steps - Gordon Walker

(Mixed) Political and economic atmosphere stormy. Left would bring about at least minor revolution but for fear of SCAP intervention. Government, since extension of purge to economic sphere, not so sure of SCAP support. SCAP will not allow swing too far left. Himself veers first right then left. Staff short-handed, ideologies mixed. But clear in Japan at this particular time that SCAP has released new shackles which will throw more power into the hands of the people.

14 December 46 - Jap Repatriates Lift Russian Veil - On South Sakhalin; Broad Soviet Colonization Bared; Nippon Troops Now Slave Toilers - Gordon Walker

Describes conditions in former Karafuto under Russian occupation as related by recent repatriates.

23 December 46 - New Japan: Workers Participate in Fight For Democracy; Unionists Meet Police Barrier - Gordon Walker

Militant woman union worker's arrest and questioning as a Communist one of growing segment of young people in Japan today who either through union labor or their own organization are becoming a significant power.

30 December 46 - Japs Show New Political Awareness - Gordon Walker

Failure of leftists to overthrow cabinet by mass demonstrations followed by participation of the CIO in new Economic Rehabilitation Council to improve labor-management relations. Considered encouraging sign of maturing political judgment.

4 January 47 - Rising Sun to Flare Again ? - Gordon Walker

Former Jap army officer reveals plan to build strong Japan. Under present "easy" occupation such persons have discovered they are left alone so long as not engaged in Communistic activity.

ANNE W. EARLE

Approved:

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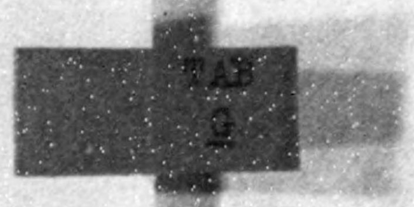

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
Government Section

7 March 1947

SUMMARY REPORT

SUBJECT: The Evening Bulletin (Philadelphia)
and John La Cerda

But for a few special articles by John La Cerda, its staff correspondent (formerly in Tokyo), the Evening Bulletin's coverage of the occupation of Japan is indifferent both in quantity and in quality. La Cerda's stories specialize in the sensational and scandalous. According to his observations, it is not true, as many people believe, that General MacArthur has Japan well under control. The old political rulers are merely biding their time until they can come out into the open; entertainment and gifts are lavished on Americans (for ulterior motives, of course); officers occupy luxurious billets where they are engaged in a continuous orgy; General MacArthur gives every departing newspaper man a farewell interview which is staged "in the dramatic fashion the general likes."

Philadelphia Evening Bulletin readers must have a peculiar concept of the occupation.

The articles by La Cerda are listed below.

21 Dec 46 - La Cerda Home After Covering 41,000 Mile Beat -
By Charles W. Duke

Story about La Cerda's return from a 13 month circuit of world, including both theaters and what he found there. Japan receives less attention than Germany from wire services because of belief that General MacArthur has Japan under control but this is not so. Old resentment remains, old political groups merely biding their time, Shinto priests tell people to lie low until eventual day; officers live in swanky clubs, MacArthur puts on big front for departing newsmen. "The Conqueror Comes to Tea" (by La Cerda) receives a boost.

11 Jul 46 - Officers Demand Jap Women Guests as Ambassadors of Good Will - By John La Cerda. Group in Tokyo Hotel Carries Plea to Headquarters for Immunity From Ban in Army Billets.

Supposedly humorous account of goings-on at Yuraku

GENERAL WHITNEY

Hotel until GHQ prohibited entry of female Japanese nationals into officers' billets was forbidden and of the protest against the prohibition.

16 Jul 46 - Many Japs Approach U. S. Soldiers With Business Proposals, by John La Cerda

Small and large presents, entertainment, etc. offered to Americans in return for business favors. "Almost impossible to find an American here who hasn't been approached." Officers negotiating deals to be consummated after they leave service. Each month about $8,000,000 more sent home than has been paid out to troops. Responsibility rests with officers for they approve GI's requests for money orders.

16 Jul 46 - (Chicago Sun: Letter from Abroad) GI's Taught What Makes Japs Tick - By John La Cerda

"Army, in an extensive overhauling of its soldier-information program, is compelling the 190,000 troops in Japan to learn about Nipponese customs.

"The purpose is to promote understanding -- and, coincidentally, friendship -- toward the people who a year ago were being described in army propaganda as split-toed monkeymen who deserved deaths as brutal as those that they inflicted."

.....

Story continues with an account of W.D. film "Your Job in Japan," showing that Japs were dangerous and not to be trusted, sent back by SCAP order and revised to meet new slant.

FRANK RIZZO

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GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS

19 February 1947

SUMMARY REPORT

SUBJECT: New York Daily Worker

1. If the articles from the New York Daily Worker dealing with the occupation of Japan reprinted by the War Department Civil Affairs Digest truly represent the frequency with which this paper reports on the occupation, then its interest in this task may be said to be slight, for only four stories appeared in the six months reviewed. The neglect is commendable, however, for the content and quality of these four stories mark a low point in newspaper reporting, and an increase in the output would not add to even a constant reader's knowledge of what is going on in Japan under the occupation. Given the extreme one-sidedness of this newspaper and its familiar technique of hysterical if less than truthful or literate attacks on everything of a non-communist nature, its reticence in reporting on the occupation of Japan may be an acknowledgment of the invulnerability of the occupation to attacks from this source. To sum up, this newspaper's role in reporting on the occupation is practically insignificant except as a purveyor of a small amount of propaganda, most of it second hand.

2. The articles in question follow:

4 Sep 46 - Strike Breaking in Japan. MacArthur Suppressing Democratic Forces; Seeks Base.

6 Oct 46 - Japan One Year After Defeat - Jack Woddis

Wild attack on MacArthur's occupation of Japan.

14 Oct 46 - Poetry in Japan - Alan Max

Poem for Hirohito's contest on "Dawn."

23 Oct 46 - Military Intervention in China Barred. Document No. 4 - Japanese Still Fight on Kuomintang Side

From a July 29 dispatch from the New China News Agency.

Approved: Anne W. Earle

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GENERAL WHITNEY

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GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
Government Section

18 February 1947

SUMMARY REPORT

SUBJECT: New York Herald Tribune

1. Coverage of the occupation of Japan by the New York Herald Tribune is second only to the New York Times in both frequency of reports and in scope of subjects covered. The two chief writers are Margaret Parton and Ralph Chapman. On the whole, Miss Parton's articles display a coherent grasp of occupation policies in the fields in which she is interested. Her primary interest appears to be in understanding and interpreting the Japanese common citizen to his counterpart in the United States, but she does not neglect occasional studies of the political and economic aspects of the occupation.

2. Most of Miss Parton's articles are straight reporting jobs, i.e., an account of the Japanese family system which discusses its background and present status, with typical examples of how it affects the life of the Japanese, school children, womens' clubs in Yokosuka as an aid to the development of a civic sense among Japanese women, the transformation in the daily life and attitude of Japanese women who have come into contact with the occupation.

3. By and large, Miss Parton's articles cannot be said to be biased, as are those of writers who write in support of a preconceived thesis. When she criticizes something about the occupation, either the Japanese or the American authorities, her criticism is reasoned and is usually about something upon which reasonable persons may differ. In November 1946 she criticized sharply the original refusal to permit Soviet reporters to travel to Northern Japan but gave the full story as to why they were not. When they were subsequently given permission to visit Northern Japan she wrote an equally full explanation of the reversal of the original ruling. On one or two occasions she has expressed concern and been critical of some of the personnel composing military government units, stressing the importance of their job in the democratization of Japan and the apparent inadequacy of their previous training and background for this sort of work.

4. Miss Parton evidently does her own work, visiting the field quite often, and her reports indicate a real effort to dig out the facts. She follows no particular line.

GENERAL WHITNEY

5. Ralph Chapman's dispatches, covering a variety of subjects in the economic and political field not touched by Miss Parton, complement her work in that respect. The quality of his articles, however, differs sharply from hers in that they indicate a predisposition to be critical of the occupation and a less intensive interest in the personal research necessary for unbiased factual reporting. He writes on day to day political affairs, attempting to give a picture of the current scene; i.e., the composition of unions, activities of the Diet, strikes, Japanese politicians' reactions to the purge, the use of American M.P.s to break up Japanese demonstrations, the slowness of real democratization, the new Constitution, etc. He does not, however, write many stories following up a SCAP program or policy over any extended period of time.

6. The stories and articles examined are listed below:

30 Dec 46 - Japanese Entertain Americans Generously, But With A Purpose - Margaret Parton

Discusses Japanese efforts at influencing members of Allied Forces, as in calling attention to costs of occupation, dependents' housing demand.

26 Dec 46 - MacArthur Asks Byrnes to Visit Japan to "Orient" U. S. on Task - Frank Kelly (Washington)

20 Dec 46 - 5,000 Koreans Try to Storm Yoshida Home. American M.P.s Break up Tokyo Riot After Crowd Battles Japanese Police - Ralph Chapman

Discusses in critical and somewhat alarmist terms the use of M.P.s to protect Japanese official buildings and personalities.

19 Dec 46 - Japan Rail Mess A Comedy of Errors - Margaret Parton

- U. S. Officer Says: Democracy in Japan is Up to Ten Year Olds - Margaret Parton

Report of sentiments expressed by occupation official with discussion.

10 Dec 46 - Letter To The Editor - Arthur Behrstock

Attacks effectiveness of General MacArthur's measures to curb the militarists. Criticism of new purge extension by Japanese Government based on "complete text". Cites own experiences as former officer on SCAP staff and urges appointment of a committee to investigate.

17 Dec 46 - Caliber Decried of Occupation Staffs in Japan - Margaret Parton

States that military government officials now in the field have had little training for the job and the background and mentality of many of them results in an attitude of maintaining the status quo.

9 Dec 46 - Red Newspaper in Tokyo Draws MacArthur Fire - Ralph Chapman

Factual report.

27 Nov 46 - Byrnes' View of MacArthur: Prima Donna -

News report from Washington quoting portion of Mr. Byrnes' remarks at Senate Committee Hearing.

18 Nov 46 - Japanese Youth Hold A Parley. First Since the War - Margaret Parton

Factual report of meeting of youth association along unregimented lines.

13 Nov 46 - Russian Renews Attack on Law in Jap Purge - Margaret Parton

Reports on USSR Members' charges at Allied Council Meeting.

2 Nov 46 - Soldier in Japan - A Letter From Emerson Chapin

Favorable to the occupation.

11 Nov 46 - Red Reporters Allowed to Visit Northern Japan - Margaret Parton

Discusses recession of previous ban on tour of Northern Japan by Soviet newspaper men.

9 Nov 46 - Three Soviet Writers Gagged in Tokyo - MacArthur Prevents Three From Touring Northern Japan - Margaret Parton

3 Nov 46 - Hirohito Steals Show As Japan Promulgates New Constitution - Margaret Parton

3 Nov 46 - Japan Outlaws War Forever in Constitution - Ralph Chapman

Report on promulgation of new Constitution, criticises the provision renouncing war as an instrument of national policy.

1 Nov 46 - How the Japanese are Changing. Case Story of A Shy Bride To-be - Margaret Parton

31 Oct 46 - Tokyo Cabinet Hears Purge Will Backfire but U.S. Officials Scoff at Idea - Ralph Chapman

30 Oct 46 - U. S. Determined to Act in Tokyo on Reparations - Ralph Chapman

28 Oct 46 - Commons Told Britain Wants Japan Solvent - London Dispatch

26 Oct 46 - Stiff Payments by Japanese Held Vital to Peace - Unsigned from Washington

26 Oct 46 - Letter from P. J. Byrne to the Editor -

Reciting General MacArthur's achievements in Japan.

24 Oct 46 - Japan to Lend to Farmers for Land Purchases - Ralph Chapman

24 Oct 46 - Radio Workers in Tokyo Strike Suffer Setback - Unsigned

23 Oct 46 - Japanese Union Cuts Electricity for 24 Hours - Unsigned

23 Oct 46 - "ASAHI" Assails Text of Report by MacArthur - Ralph Chapman

Relates to ASAHI comment on SCAP's report on strides towards democracy to the effect that progress of democracy is slow.

18 Oct 46 - Administration Backs Atcheson's Stand in Tokyo - Says Comparing Japan Aim With That of Allies is not a new U. S. Policy.

Washington dispatch saying that the State Department gave full backing to Ambassador Atcheson's remarks at Allied Council Meeting and refers to Atcheson's quotation of statements by the Chief of SCAP's Government Section in his 22 April 46 report to the Council.

17 Oct 46 - Hirohito Leads Japan in Harvest Celebration - Nation Honors Counterpart of Thanksgiving Here - Unsigned

16 Oct 46 - Tokyo Premier Gets Emphatic U. S. Blessing. Atcheson Supports Yoshida in Retort to Briton in Allied Council Meeting - Margaret Parton

Long article developing the topic that Atcheson emerged today as one of the staunchest champions of the Japanese Government of Yoshida.

7 Oct 46 - Diet Approves New Japanese Constitution. Both Houses Pass Draft; Tokyo Seizes Struck Radio but Can't Make it Go - Margaret Parton

Refers to seizure of station and breaking up of strike by Tokyo police.

5 Oct 46 - Japan Cabinet May Take Over Radio Stations. Strike of Broadcasting and Newspaper Workers is Met by Seizure Threat - Margaret Parton

5 Oct 46 - Decrease in Rice Called Dietary Need in Japan Scientist Says Substitution of Vegetables Would Aid National Health - Unsigned

2 Oct 46 - Russian Asserts Japan Keeps Its General Staffs. Atcheson Hotly Denies Derevyanko's Charge in Allied Council in Tokyo - Margaret Parton

29 Sep 46 - Nomanin Society in Yokosuka Potent Force for Democracy. Its 50,000 Members Have Set Up Centers to Distribute Food, A Sewing School and Classes in English and Civics in Five Months Period - Margaret Parton

Long article reporting on a movement encouraging democratic activities taking place in Yokosuka under guidance of Captain Decker.

26 Sep 46 - Russia Obtains Repatriation Nod from U.S. Plan For Return of 500,000 Japanese is Approved in Principle by MacArthur - Margaret Parton

18 Sep 46 - Homicide Rate in Japan is Up 250 Per Cent in Year. Other Major Crimes Show Sharp Rise -- Ascribed to Shortage of Necessities - Ralph Chapman

18 Sep 46 - Japan Farmers Till on as Land Reform Ponds. Are Vague on Bill But News Starts to Spread, and it Sounds Like Good News - Margaret Parton

18 Sep 46 - U. S. Asks Russia About Japanese Troops It Seized. Acheson Presses Issue in Council After Derevyanko Seeks Armament Data -

12 Sep 46 - Japan to Offer Allies Plan for Wider Purge - Margaret Parton

An early story on the projected extension of the purge operation into the fields of legal government and of economic enterprise. Derived from Japanese sources.

10 Sep 46 - Japanese Seamen Strike to Avert Mass Lay-offs - Ralph Chapman

6 Sep 46 - School Children in Japan Debate Divinity Myths - Margaret Parton

Story based on interview with school girls indicates some appreciation of historic attitude but mostly confusion over the divine status of the gods, the emperor, and sacred Japan.

5 Sep 46 - Japanese Press Supports Coal Nationalization - Ralph Chapman

Factual.

4 Sep 46 - Big Japanese Estate Owners Grateful to U.S. Special to the Herald Tribune Bureau

Reporting the sentiments of landed gentry, one baron saying that General MacArthur had opposed too drastic land reform bill.

3 Sep 46 - Japan Fine Arts Exhibit Democratized This Year - Unsigned dispatch from Tokyo

2 Sep 46 - Text of MacArthur's Statement on Japan - Unsigned

2 Sep 46 - Japan Inflation Feared as Rice Prices Increase - Unsigned

Article referring to inflation as a political solution to Japan's economic troubles.

2 Sep 46 - MacArthur Sees Danger Japan May Go Leftist - Ralph Chapman

Indicates that such statement received cool reception.

2 Sep 46 - Japan Weighs Old Family Code. Proposed Changes in System Expected to Give Impetus to Democracy - Margaret Parton

Well written article discussing the background, present status, and future outlook of the family system.

2 Sep 46 - MacArthur's Blast Against Reds Draws State Department Fire - Metcalfe from Washington

4 Sep 46 - Allied Council in Japan Delays Action on Coal. Agenda on Official Matters Postponed Two Weeks for Lack of Necessary Data - Ralph Chapman

2 Sep 46 - Aburtsubo. Japan Village Little Affected by Occupation - Margaret Parton

29 Aug 46 - Japan Will Let Farmer Own All Land He Tills - Margaret Parton

24 Aug 46 - Japanese Delay Constitution to Play Politics. House Speaker Forced Out by Tactics of His Foes; Floor Debate Next Week - Ralph Chapman

Story of revolt of house members against Speaker of the House, Hegai's, tactics in castigating the democratic party and his impending resignation.

23 Aug 46 - Japan Moves to End Ancient Family System: Plan Abolishing Head of House Giving Equality to All to Go to Diet - Margaret Parton

Factual report but includes indication that the plan surprised SCAP because it was so radical.

22 Aug 46 - Labor Progress in Japan Halted by U. S. Advisers. Report Notes Much Remains To Be Done; Advocates Strengthened Labor Laws - Ralph Chapman

21 Aug 46 - Occupation Aid Says Japanese Obstruct Plan - Unsigned dispatch from Yokosuka

Based on interview with Captain Docker on passive resistance by Japanese officials to reform suggestions from Allied forces.

20 Aug 46 - Japan's "CIO" Shuns Red Aims in Constitution - Ralph Chapman

12 Aug 46 - 570,000 Tons of Food Sent to Japan by U.S. - Unsigned - From Washington

11 Aug 46 - Japan One Year After Surrender; Democracy Still Long Way Off - Occupation Authorities Have Done Much to End Feudalism, But MacArthur's Emphasis Has Shifted to Cooperation With Rightists - Margaret Parton

Effort to appraise occupation results indicate recent development of a tendency to be lenient and compromise for the sake of good order as against emphasis on reform which characterized earlier phase.

6 Aug 46 - Japanese Conservatives Aided by MacArthur's Anti-Red Stand - Ralph Chapman

7 Aug 46 - Japanese News Controlled by Reporter Clubs - Ralph Chapman

3 Aug 46 - New Type Japan Industrialist Looks to U. S. - Margaret Parton

Describes emergence of up-and-doing type of industrialist patterning his activities on American model.

2 Aug 46 - Japanese Close Restaurants in Protest on Tax - Ralph Chapman

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20 Sep 46 - Japan's Seamen Make Big Gains In Strike Pact. End of Ten Day Walkout Brings 35 Per Cent Wage Raise and Family Allowances - Ralph Chapman

20 Sep 46 - Soviet Writers Tour Japan in Soviet Fashion. U. S. Intelligence Officers Smother Them With Kindness and Attention - Margaret Parton

23 Sep 46 - Landowner, A Progressive, Struggles Against Odds To Inculcate Western Ideas - Margaret Parton

23 Sep 46 - The Old and The New Japanese: Emperor Worship Vs U. S. Democracy. Editor, Disciple of Shinto, Opposes Any Discussion of Hirohito, Pro or Con - Ralph Chapman

Approved:

Anne W. Earle

F. R.

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
Government Section

3 March 1947

SUMMARY REPORT.

SUBJECT : New York Herald Tribune (Editorial Policy).

At the time of this analysis there were available ten Herald Tribune articles, dealing with Japan, published between October 1946 and January 1947. Nearly all of these articles are critical. To use the editorial writer's own words, "this newspaper approves their[1] basic policy in Japan although disagreeing at times with the methods used to carry it out". (Ref: Storm in Tokyo, 21 October 1946).

The writer of these articles (assuming a common authorship) concedes that the purely military phase of the occupation has been carried out with exceptional skill, despite many handicaps, "largely because of General MacArthur's exceptional capacities", and the faults he finds with the occupation are only a few in number. But these few are so broad and so sweeping as to reveal a real hostility to the administration of the occupation. According to these editorials the faults of the occupation are as follows:

1. General MacArthur and his staff are unequal in size and ability to the task assigned to them.

2. In the political and economic fields accomplishments of the occupation are small.

3. The purge of undesirable persons from positions of influence has been incomplete and not too thorough.

4. Occupation authorities are supporting the ultra-conservative leaders of Japan, the very people responsible for resisting the reforms dictated by Allied policy.

5. In supporting these ultra-conservative leaders, General MacArthur has played into the hands of the communists in Asia, for these people seek to achieve power by ostensibly championing the cause of the common man, at the same time identifying the United States and other western democracies with the forces of reaction.

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(1) Applied to "Mr. Atcheson and his supporters in the State Department".

GENERAL WHITNEY

The editorials on which the above analysis is based are listed below with summaries or extracts:

18 October 1946 - Alliance with Japan:

Mr. Atcheson's "astonishing" statement at Allied Council meeting that "Japan's aims have become virtually identical with American aims" is turned a declaration of an "alliance with Japan". Mr. Atcheson's fear of communism leads him to put America's support behind Japanese ultra-conservatives. He should be notified that the United States still has more regard for those who have fought with Americans to win the war than it has for Premier Yoshida or any other leader of our defeated enemies.

21 October 1946 - Storm in Tokyo:

Washington and Tokyo reactions to above editorial labelled another indication of GHQ SCAP officials' acute sensitiveness to criticism. Herald Tribune approves basic policy in Japan but at times disagrees with methods used. Atcheson's unlimited endorsement of Japanese Government disapproved and failures of that government to carry out democratic reforms noted.

6 November 1946 - Japan's Constitution:

"It was not a good omen that Emperor Hirohito was the centre of attention in the ceremonies to promulgate the new constitution of Japan". Document itself passably sound and conceivably can be made to work but no one can be sure. Remaking Japan is a task barely begun; its completion will require a long period of time and more administrative skill than America has available in Tokyo at present".

15 November 1946 - Skin in Japan:

Notes that when Russian member of Allied Council recently charged that purge had not been thorough, Mr. Atcheson "politely accepted" the information and concludes therefore that previous criticism of Mr. Atcheson's assertions had produced results. Extension of purge into local government interpreted as indication "that the present disposition of General MacArthur and his staff seems to be to clean out more and more of the Japanese officials who have evaded or ignored American orders". If this purge is thorough and other reactionaries do not replace purgees, results should be excellent. "It long has been apparent that further purges were needed in Japan as well as a general improvement in American administration. It is encouraging to note that there now seems to be recognition of at least the first of these needs by American officials in Tokyo".

17 November 1946 - Reform in Japan:

Expresses cautious hope that American occupation of Japan may result eventually in fundamental reforms instead of more superficial changes. Proposed extension of purge to local government officials expected to remove the leaders of continuing efforts to evade or ignore Allied orders for reform. Chief strength of liberal and progressive parties comes from reactionary local leaders. Excellent results will flow from the purge only if General MacArthur assets it that the spirit as well as the letter of the law is obeyed, but there is danger that his "subordinates, who are military men with no exceptional political understanding seem far too content with the appearance of reform and not aware enough of actualities". "There is a pressing need for administrators who are at least moderately liberal in viewpoint and who are astute enough in dealing with political situations to avoid being deceived".

20 November 1946 - Asia in Ferment:

Americans have a tendency to look towards Europe for important world events, neglecting the Pacific Area. Importance stressed of proposed agreement between the Dutch and the Indonesians, recognizing a new nation of 80 million people; importance to the future of the world of the great tide of nationalistic consciousness rising in Asia.

26 December 1946 - Invitation to Tokyo:

General MacArthur's invitation to Mr. Byrnes to visit Japan based on excellent reason, namely, the need to orient the American people on the vital importance of America's interest in the future of the Pacific. Too many Americans continue to consider Europe more important, too few have enough knowledge of East Asia to judge for themselves what is happening in Japan, and tend to accept unquestioningly General MacArthur's "own evaluation of his work, which quite naturally is a highly favorable evaluation". Hopes General MacArthur succeeds in concentrating more public attention on what is happening in the Pacific area.

2 January 1947 - MacArthur's Message:

General MacArthur's New Year's statement to the Japanese people called "a decided improvement over some of the official statements that have been made at American Headquarters during the last year". Advice given to the Japanese commended. So far there has been no fundamental change in Japan. Remaking an entire culture could only be started in a year or two but requires at least one generation to succeed. Indication of

of over-confidence in the virtues of Japanese office holders considered a serious weakness in the message. Leaders have obeyed orders — when they found it necessary — but have shown little initiative. If General MacArthur is conscious of the failures of the occupation and is determined to recognize and correct them, news in 1947 should be better than in 1946.

7 January 1947 - Communists in Japan:

> Communists in Japan, determined to discredit General MacArthur, attack him indirectly by attacking the Japanese Prime Minister. General MacArthur's order to call off the general strike enables the Communists to identify him with the conservatives who dominate the Japanese government. American leaders should recognize the two great tides now sweeping Asia; the urge for self-government and the desire for economic improvement of the common man. The reds in Asia, whether sincerely or not, are trying to ride these tides and identify the United States and other western countries with the forces of reaction. Occupation of Japan is not an unqualified success. "The time has come to study the reasons for the growth of their (communists') power and to take remedial action.

11 January 1947 - Good News From Tokyo:

> Some of the current news from Japan is greatly to the credit of General MacArthur and his staff. Eighth Army report showing no major acts of violence against Occupation troops for six months indicates good relations with the Japanese people. Military phases of the Occupation are being carried out with exceptional skill, despite many handicaps. Political phases, however, subject to controversy. Russian complaints may be of benefit if they focus attention on important matter of purges which should be complete and thorough. If they are not complete "there should be plenty of criticism and it should come from Washington — not merely from Moscow".

FRANK RIZZO

ADDENDUM: On 22 October 1946 Hubert H. Cochrane, formerly Tokyo correspondent of the Baltimore Evening Sun, wrote the editor of the Herald Tribune a letter containing a long indictment of the administration of the occupation, ending with, "You can take it from me, MacArthur has made a mess of Japan." The editor of the Herald Tribune evidently agrees, for Cochrane's letter was printed in full on 26 October 1946, with the note, "A Correspondent of The Baltimore Evening Sun Points to Fumbling of Military Mind."

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
Government Section

19 February 1947

SUMMARY REPORT

SUBJECT: New York Journal of Commerce

1. The New York Journal of Commerce, being a trade paper, reports only news of commercial significance to either Japan, the United States, or both.

2. There is no notable bias displayed except, perhaps, a slight degree of over optimism.

3. The following articles were examined:

16 Sep 46 - Jap Silk Bidders Act Procedures

18 Sep 46 - Jap Cotton Yarn Output Up in July. Cloth Production Also Makes Increase After Fiber Arrivals.

19 Sep 46 - Jap Silk Output Up 25 Per Cent in July. Only 70 Per Cent of Month's Goal - Predict 11,000 Bales for Sept.

25 Sep 46 - Food Lack Blocks Jap Labor Gains.

29 Sep 46 - First Sale of German and Jap Finished Goods Due Shortly. Disposal of Textiles Produced Under U.S. Program to be in Foreign Markets at Current Prices - M. E. Hodgson (Washington)

30 Sep 46 - Japs Lift Output of Cotton Goods. August Figures 50 Per Cent Above July, But Under Goals Set. (Tokyo)

9 Oct 46 - Japan's Textile Industry

14 Oct 46 - Japan Rayon Trade Announces Plans. Output of Filament Yarn, Staple Set for West (Tokyo)

23 Oct 46 - Japs Must Fight Mulberry Decline

10 Dec 46 - Japan Cotton Yarn Production Rising. More Than 100,000 New Spindles Added in Month of October.

10 Dec 46 - Shortages Worse, Jap Rayon Rises. Yarn Staple Make Moderate Production Gains in October.

GENERAL WHITNEY

13 Dec 46 - Raw Silk Price Off Again As UNCC Outlines Policies.

18 Dec 46 - Shortage Hits Jap Hard Fiber Trades.

5 Jan 47 - Far East Textile Trade Revival Will Favor U. S. China Should Become Chief Overseas Buyer, Mill Leaders Are Told.

Approved:

Anne W. Earle

F.R.

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GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
Government Section

6 March 1947

SUMMARY REPORT

SUBJECT: The New York Post

1. Aside from the use of dispatches from the wire services, which it often cuts or condenses, the New York Post apparently does not pay much attention to the occupation of Japan. Stories from the New York Post reprinted in the War Department Civil Affairs Digest during the last seven months of 1946 totaled only nine. Two of these were by the late Dixie Tighe, one by Lowell Mellett and six by Darrell Berrigan. None was overly informative; all were critical.

2. The two articles by Miss Tighe were human interest pieces treating a variety of subjects in a rather superficial impressionistic fashion.

3. The articles by Darrell Berrigan are on a limited range of subjects and in a pro-proletarian vein. Except for one or two statements belittling Mr. Atcheson there is no explicit attack on occupation policies. Implicit in the references to the unreformed elements in the Japanese population, however, is the inference that nothing is being done about them.

4. The one article by Lowell Mellett talks about the futility of attempting to remake Japan to suit all the Allies and the advisability of pulling out in a short time.

5. Altogether, readers of the New York Post, unless they have other sources of information, must have a very limited and on the whole, distorted view of what has happened in Japan under the occupation.

6. The articles analyzed are listed below:

4 Dec 46 - We Coddle GI's In Japan - By Dixie Tighe

"An epidemic of nostalgia, spread by sentimental posters and boy-meets-girl troubles, is causing deep concern in Allied official circles.

"The extent to which the GI is coddled here is a

GENERAL WHITNEY

source of amusement to the Japs, who fear the machine-gun-minded, rather than the popgun-minded, soldier .....

"There seems to be little unity within the ranks of the Allied Council .....

".....but the truth is the boys are over-chaperoned..."

And more in the same vein.

23 Oct 46 - From Emperor to MacArthur - By Dixie Tighe

Cleanliness and orderliness of Tokyo in sharp contrast to filth and arrogance of Shanghai, but Japanese homage only waist deep; principal American word "democracy" but Japanese transfer worship from Emperor to General MacArthur. "To witness MacArthur leaving headquarters is to witness a duplication of Oriental rites at a native shrine." Prices of Japanese goods at PX are high. Americans "taking kindly to defeated servant treatment of Japanese, but one man who seems to remain 100 per cent mindful of American democracy and ideals ..... is General Eichelberger." His house described.

19 Sep 46 - Japanese Looks At 4 Occupations

Story based on interview with Japanese doctor repatriated from Manchuria discussing four occupations of that country: Japanese, Russian, Chinese Communist, and Chinese Nationalist. Chinese take bribes; Russians do too. Russians abused Americans. China an international problem.

6 Aug 46 - Landowners Run Jap Co-ops - By Darrell Berrigan

Story based on interview with village mayor, rich landlord who turned over large part of his 50 acres to returned servicemen to cultivate as a cooperative. All this looks democratic on the surface, but the lesser members are inarticulate, considered lazy or ignorant by leaders, who are the biggest landowners. Reforms come from the leaders without consultation with members.

30 Jul 46 - Poor Jap Barons; So Peaceful - By Darrell Berrigan

Article satirizes Japanese assertion that war was brought on by young navy and army hotheads; asks how money barons were forced to support them; forced to share in profits of exploitation, and in war profits, "which they

will undoubtedly give back to the government or the people or the Allies or somebody just as soon as General MacArthur lets them have it, and the government pays them indemnities."

25 Jul 46 - The War of Isms: Both Sides Guilty - by Darrell Berrigan

"Both American and Russian members (of the Allied Council) have been guilty of violating the spirit of cooperation and engaging in ideological disputes."

23 Jul 46 - Carpetbaggers Plague Japs - By Darrell Berrigan

"Chinese and Korean carpetbaggers, capitalizing on their position as foreign nationals, are making millions of yen dealing in black market goods, and smuggling and selling "new" yen in open violation of General MacArthur's directives and Japanese Government Laws."

"But still the Japanese Government hesitates, the rival merchants hesitate, and the Americans sit and wait."

18 Jul 46 - Reds Frighten MacArthur's Headquarters - By Darrell Berrigan

Article based on General Derevyanko's recommendations for labor reform in Japan. Admits most of them would have been deleted if Derevyanko had studied reform already instituted. Under SCAP guidance, but interested merely in questioning occupation policies. Japanese must be getting additional education in ideological conflict and double talk. Russo-American squabble in Allied Council becomes important when added to differences elsewhere. This part of feud could be toned down if MacArthur would take some of the acid out of Atcheson's mouth and replace it with quiet logic.

16 Jul 46 - We Shackle Japan's Press - By Darrell Berrigan

13 Jul 46 - On The Other Hand: 100 Year Rule For Japan? - By Lowell Mellett

"Congressmen visiting General MacArthur in Tokyo the other day were told that he didn't expect the Allies to get out of Japan for upward of a hundred years."

"Obviously, it is MacArthur's idea that Japan shall

.....be transformed into a pattern satisfactory to everybody concerned.....

".....transforming Japan into a composite ideal of all the Allied nations -- that is a real undertaking. Attempting it seems a little fantastic."

"We, meaning all the Allies, are off on the wrong foot in Japan, but it is not too late to start over. We should be planning to get out of that busted country just as soon as its war potential is destroyed, and we should confine our attention thenceforward solely to seeing that its ability to make war is not restored."

Frank Rizzo

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GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
Government Section

21 February 1947

SUMMARY REPORT

SUBJECT: The New York Times

1. Representing The New York Times in Tokyo are Lindesay Parrott and Burton Crane. It may be an index of this newspaper's impartiality that two writers of such divergent viewpoints and reporting techniques should represent it in the same field, although a critical person might hold this up as an example of indiscriminate application of The New York Times' famous motto. Be that as it may, although the product of their efforts is radically different, these two correspondents between them achieve a fuller coverage of the occupation than that provided by any other publication.

2. Partisans of The New York Times frequently put forth the proposition that this paper affords a wider and on the whole more objective coverage of the news than any other paper in the United States. This proposition certainly holds true for its coverage of the occupation of Japan, at any rate in relation to the volume of news. By means of "Special to The New York Times" stories, its correspondents' monthly articles, and the use of AP and UP Dispatches, the Times manages to present a continuous and comprehensive survey of the occupation. Most of the reports on day-to-day occurrences in Japan come under "Special to The New York Times" heads, while Parrott and Crane write the signed articles on the more important or more generally interesting subjects, giving the background of events which the shorter factual articles merely report.

a. Lindesay Parrott

Lindesay Parrott's dispatches maintain a high standard of objective reporting. They are long factual accounts on a wide range of political, economic, and social subjects, which by themselves would be adequate to keep a consistent reader reasonably well informed on Japan under the occupation. They reflect considerable effort and thought, leaving the impression that the writer has collected and assembled all the information available on a given subject and presented it with as little interpretative material as necessary. Free of both carping criticism and indiscriminate praise, Parrott's articles constitute a craftsman-like, objective presentation of the occupation to the American public.

GENERAL WHITNEY

b. Burton Crane

In stark contrast to Parrott's comprehensive, objective and able reports on the occupation are Burton Crane's bilious outpourings on a comparatively few selected topics in which he appears to have a proprietary interest. The spectacles through which he looks at Japan under the occupation are a deep blue. As a Far Eastern expert and financial writer of many years standing, Mr. Crane specializes in economic and financial subjects. But occasionally, if the subject affords him an opportunity to disapprove, he strays into the political field, international relations, or press censorship.

If one took Mr. Crane's articles seriously, the biggest trouble with Japan today is the occupation. But even this unavoidable misfortune might be bearable if only the officials of GHQ, SCAP would refrain from doing things to upset the Japanese system and Mr. Crane. He decries the effect on the Japanese economy of the rise of labor organizations, the Japanese Government's measures to recapture war profits, the size of reparations, the Allies' delay in settling the final reparations figures and the high cost of the occupation. He violently disapproves the purge program and he dislikes censorship of the press except when applied to the Communists. Finally, he resents the inability of newspaper men, under present financial regulations, to convert their Japanese yen into dollar instruments at 15 to 1.

Since all these things have come about under the occupation, Mr. Crane naturally believes that the SCAP is a menace to Japan. Holding this belief, he has been unremitting in his efforts to correct the situation by telling it to The New York Times. If, in spite of his obvious bias and the misinterpretations and misrepresentations with which his articles abound, any readers of The New York Times have been misled into believing his peculiar line, then this one writer has done the occupation more harm than all its other critics.

Typical of the type of mis-reporting in which Burton Crane indulges are the three articles published early in October 1946 in which Mr. Crane, identifying the ideal of free enterprise with the interests of Japanese big business, accused the Economic and Scientific Section, SCAP, of sabotaging American policy in Japan by crippling the capacity of the Japanese economy to recover of its own strength, thus bringing about state socialism. 1/

1/ Private Enterprise in Japan Faced With Probable Eclipse, 7 Oct 46; Japan's Economy Upset By Changes, 8 Oct 46; Tokyo to Cut Deep Into Stock Values, 9 Oct 46.

In a similar vein is his treatment of the purge program, which he has opposed from the beginning. According to Mr. Crane, Hatoyama was one of Japan's outstanding liberals but the SCAP purged him in order to appease the Communists (both Japanese and Russian). But when the purge was extended to the economic and newspaper fields Mr. Crane really saw the beginning of the end, and chaos and confusion the inevitable results for Japan, for here he saw the SCAP forcing the Japanese Government to remove the men most needed to provide a sound business development upon which real democracy must rest; he saw these men being condemned without trial merely because they were business men; he saw corporation executives being penalized merely because they were successful, all of which proved that ideologies which "they (the Japanese) had never associated with the United States are somehow finding their way into occupation policies."

3. Articles and Stories Examined: The New York Times articles and stories examined in the course of this analysis are listed below in three groups, the first group by Lindesay Parrott, the second by Burton Crane, and the third the special unsigned dispatches and miscellaneous.

Lindesay Parrott

3 Jan 47 - Japan to Control More Key Necessities. Plans Monopoly for Fuel and Fertilizer

Reports proposed extension of governmental control of most scarce materials.

4 Jan 47 - Soviet Questions Tokyo Vote Delay, Allies to Study "Repeated" Local Election Postponement - Purge Seriousness Also Hit

Reporting on attack by USSR Representative at Allied Council Meeting. Comments on the line previously taken that the elections of 1946 were premature.

5 Jan 47 - The Old Is On Trial, The New Being Tried. Japan Today Is A Land In Which Medievalism Is Challenged By The Impact Of Western Ideas

Long article from the Sunday Magazine Section summarizing some of the great changes in Japan under the occupation, discussing current conditions and problems and concluding that "the occupation has done well to date, but there are many obstacles to be overcome before Japan becomes the peaceful democratic bulwark in the Pacific that we hope she may be."

6 Jan 47 - Purge Will Delay Election In Japan. New Screening of Candidates Too Large A Task To Be Completed By April

9 Jan 47 - Revamped Cabinet Forecast In Japan. Socialist May Enter Yoshida Administration -- Public Is Demanding Change

Factual summary of current political situation.

10 Jan 47 - Anti-Allied Acts Decrease in Japan. Eighth Army Reports No Major Crimes Have Occurred There During Past Six Months

14 Jan 47 - Purge Is Applied to Labor In Japan. Organization Heads Who Aided War Effort Will Face Same Scrutiny As Employers

29 Dec 46 - U. S. Army in Japan To Curb Luxuries. Occupation Cost Is Expected To Be Reduced By Restriction On Troop Demands

Reports on orders by General Eichelberger to review army demands and eliminate non-essentials.

28 Dec 46 - New Elections To Show What Japan Is Thinking. Some Party Shifts Are Expected With A Change of Cabinet Ministers

Objective analysis on effect of 1947 elections.

14 Dec 46 - Tokyo Socialists Plan Diet Attack. Members of Parliament To Call For Vote of No Confidence In The Cabinet Monday

Factual discussion of parliamentary moves and agitation by labor groups to unseat Yoshida regime.

8 Dec 46 - Japan's Ruling Class Still Largely Intact. Most War Makers Are Free Although Their Machinery Has Been Dismantled

Points out the time required to effect lasting changes in the Japanese manner of thinking.

8 Dec 46 - Half of Japanese Unable To Live On Their Present Salaries.

7 Dec 46 - Takao Likes The Change.

2 Dec 46 - Reparations Plans Alarm Japanese.

16 Nov 46 - Tokyo's War Urge Is Bared At Trial.

13 Nov 46 - Japan Alters Plan For Local Voting. Popular Elections of Former Appointive Officials Set For January Through April

13 Nov 46 - Japan Plans Pay Control Board, Decrees Tax Revision Next Year

10 Nov 46 - Educating Japanese Children For Democracy. Schools Beginning The Task of Fitting Pupils Into An Order That Has Banished Feudal Ways (The New York Times Magazine)

Describes present day conditions in Japanese school rooms, changes in the curriculum and the text effected under the occupation -- encouraging but realistic evaluation.

9 Nov 46 - Allies Urge Curb On Japan's Strikes. Two Pamphlets Place Emphasis On Negotiation, Arbitration, and Long Term Relations.

Describes educational efforts by the SCAP's ESS Labor Division.

8 Nov 46 - New Tokyo Purge To Clean Politics. Sweeping Order Digs Down to Office Holders, Candidates, In Smallest of Villages.

5 Nov 46 - Aid For MacArthur Delayed In China. Philippine Division For Japan Was Believed Held Back By Problems of Supply

3 Nov 46 - Japanese Receive New Constitution From The Emperor. Hirohito Promulgates Inorganic Law In Rescript To Nation -- Reduces Own Status.

31 Oct 46 - Japan Will Strike At Black Markets. Stringent Police Measures To Go Into Effect Tomorrow As Ration Is Increased.

27 Oct 46 - Shift Expected In Japanese Vote. Socialists Gain In Big Cities While Rural Areas Remain Conservative.

25 Oct 46 - Soviet To Release First Of Japanese. Repatriation of Civilians, As Well As Troops, From Sakahalin, Kuriles, Due Next Month.

22 Oct 46 - Young Japanese Get New View Of War. Schools Lay Down Precept That "Unreasonable" Strife Was Militarists' Doing.

Describes changes in Japanese school text books correcting past distortions of history.

20 Oct 46 - Tokyo Article On M'Arthur Raises Censorship Question. Mixup Follows Warning In Japanese Paper Which Censor Held In Bad Taste

Relates to censorship of Nippon Times Editorial for "excessive acclaim of General MacArthur." Reports warning given by G-2 Chief and ends on moderately favorable note.

15 Oct 46 - Ban On History Teaching In Japan Lifted As MacArthur Backs Texts. Headquarters Describes As Unobjectionable Books It Supervised -- Old Concepts and Myths Dropped, Role of People Stressed

13 Oct 46 - Yoshida Condemns Japanese Strikes. Union Effort to Oust Cabinet Becomes More Serious For Government And The Allies

8 Oct 46 - Japanese Approve New Consitutition. Final Amendment Accepted By Lower House In Rising Vote -- Only Five Dissent

Notes some of the provisions in projected law, prolonged applause, and the dissenting vote of the Communist faction.

8 Oct 46 - Soviet Paves Way for Bill to Japan. Prosecution Says Conspiracy by Tokyo Prevented Quicker Victory in the West

30 Sep 46 - Three Japanese Firms Vote to Dissolve. Mitsui, Mitsubishi and Yasuda Holding Companies Make Their Action Formal.

20 Sep 46 - Tokyo Soon to Begin Purge of War Backers; Intellectuals and Business Men Are Targets

7 Sep 46 - Japanese Cannot Back Nationalized Coal. Government and CIO Oppose NCA Suggestion To Get Greater Output.

1 Sep 46 - Japanese Food Crisis Appears Overcome. Black Market Prices of Food Down As Big Crops of Rice And Potatoes Are Seen.

31 Aug 46 - Task Is Reviewed By Eichelberger. Eighth Army Commander Says Japanese Accept "New Way of Life With Pleasure"

30 Aug 46 - Japan A Year After; Still A "Gamble" (Magazine Section)

28 Aug 46 - Japanese Arms Ban Held Transitory. Constitution Debate Reveals Provision That Commitment May Lapse Later On.

3 Aug 46 - Socialist Trend Is Found In Japan. Nation-wide Poll By Newspaper Shows Nearly 40 Per Cent Favoring Government Ownership

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Burton Crane

30 Dec 46 - Japanese Recovery Has Not Been Fast. Political Measures Have Gone Beyond Economic In Past Year of Achievement

Strongly slanted article blaming the reparations question, the purge, and the rise of labor for the slowness of economic recovery in Japan.

23 Dec 46 - Japan Peturbed by National Crisis

Combination of news and rumors on impending cabinet shakeup.

20 Dec 46 - Japanese Resent Executives' Purge. Declare "success" In War Guilt Is Basis of Allied Step -- Sees Business Crippled.

Notes that conservative Japanese are worried over recurring signs that ideologies that they had never associated with the U. S. are somehow finding their way into occupation policies; the extension of the purge into economic fields will seriously hamper production; ..... Find it difficult to understand how this can be democracy.

20 Dec 46 - Russia Signs Pact On Japanese Repatriation. Agrees To Return 50,000 Captives A Month

12 Dec 46 - MacArthur Ruling Curbs Soviet News. Move Gives Headquarters Exclusive Distribution Rights.

7 Dec 46 - Japanese See Need For Allies To Stay. Occupation Curbs Are Held Vital To Recovery In Addition To Orderly Government

Refers to opinions expressed by the Mainichi Shimbum.

27 Nov 46 - Zaibatsu Assets Frozen In Japan. Holdings Of Ten Wealthiest Families Will Be Put Into Non-negotiable Bonds

Fairly factual report on Zaibatsu family freezing program.

16 Nov 46 - Allies Bar Freeze of Jap Wages. Hold Attempt to Stabilize Pay Without Price Curb Would Create Unrest

7 Nov 46 - Record Inflation Is Feared In Japan. Finance Ministry Under Heavy Attack -- Headlong Flight From The Yen Threatened

4 Nov 46 - Reparations Delay Annoying In Japan. Occupation Officials Believe Task Is Being Made Harder By Lack of Agreed Policy

1 Nov 46 - Tokyo Price Curb Awaits Pay Limit. Zen Informs Cabinet That It Is Useless To Order Controls While Wages Increase.

States Mr. Zen's side of the Wage versus Rising Living Cost argument currently going on between labor and the government.

31 Oct 46 - Army Restricting News From Japan. Classifies All "Conferences" as Secret -- Limits U. S. Reporters to Use of Data in Tokyo Press.

Takes up cudgels for freedom of the press and construes GHQ indoctrination lectures on Security Precautions under AR 380-5 as part of the effort to gag the press.

25 Oct 46 - Russia Places Charge of Laxness in Purge on Agenda of The Allied Council for Japan.

23 Oct 46 - Japanese Resent Electric Strikes. Government Position Has Been Strengthened by Defiance and Blackout by Union

16 Oct 46 - U. S.-British Ideas Clash Over Japan. Atcheson Criticizes Ball For Backing Russian Attacks on Tokyo Government.

12 Oct 46 - Plugs On MacArthur Banned for Re-run. Editorial Deploring Division Is Prohibitive In Tokyo -- Passed Censor Twice

9 Oct 46 - Reparations Business Problem In Japan. Planned Removal Lags As Other Countries Lack Transportation and Technical Men

8 Oct 46 - Tokyo To Cut Deep Into Stock Values. Write-down of Share Capital to Range Up To 90 Per Cent In Reparations Plan

Attacks Japanese corporate reorganization plan under which companies borrowing from the reconstruction finance agency must first write off all losses incurred through cancellation of war indemnities, seizure of overseas properties, reparations, and the capital levy, and make such capital readjustments as are necessary to balance these losses. Claims equity of present stockholders will be "watered down" by transfer of some of the equity to creditors.

7 Oct 46 - Japanese Economy Upset By Changes. Failure to Understand Native Regard For Labor Viewed As The Cause

Upholds thesis the Japanese economic system was an industrial Utopia before the Americans came and that Americans, showing a complete failure to understand "what makes the Japanese economic system tick," are responsible for introducing price and labor policies which eliminate profits, encourage industrial strife, and discourage recovery.

6 Oct 46 - Private Enterprise In Japan Faced With Probable Eclipse. Measures Before Diet Would Bar Recovery By Industry and Bring State Control -- Reorganization Problems Cited

Japanese Government, under SCAP, effecting measures which will so deplete private capital that Japanese business will be unable to finance its own recovery and State Socialism will ensue. This is due to confusion of ideas in SCAP's ESS, whose division chiefs hold a "kaleidoscopic range of political and economic views." Infers that neither General Marquat nor General MacArthur knows what goes on in GHQ.

1 Oct 46 - Linguistic Debate Bogs Down Tokyo Trial. French Prosecutor Is Accused of Contempt For Insisting On Using His Language

28 Sep 46 - Russia To Return Japanese Troops. Soviet Will Begin Repatriating War Prisoners Next Month

24 Sep 46 - Soviet Criticizes Japan's Land Bill

20 Sep 46 - Tokyo Profiteers Cause Budget Rise. Occupation Costs This Year Expected to be 19,000,000,000 Yen

1 Sep 46 - Top Five Zaibatsu To Vanish. Tokyo Sets In To Take Over The 255 Firms of Mitsubishi, Mitsui, Three Other Big Trusts

7 Aug 46 - Tokyo War Study Under Soviet Fire.

Refers to Soviet reporter's charges against Japanese Government's board for investigation of the causes of the war.

3 Aug 46 - Question of Purge Reopened in Tokyo. Issue Again Placed on Council Agenda (Washington -- Hatoyama May Get Public Hearing.)

Crane playing both sides against SCAP. On the one hand enforcement of the purge has been lax as charged by the Russians but in the case of Hatoyama it erred the other way.

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Special To The New York Times

3 Jan 47 - Soviet Questions Tokyo Vote Delay

26 Dec 46 - Russian Recalls Trouble In Japan. Says Reporters Last Summer Were Not Allowed To Move Freely Or To Take Pictures

19 Dec 46 - (Washington, D.C.) Japanese Unions Get Encouragement. FEC Backs Their Political Activities

15 Dec 46 - Group Decries Reparations Plans

12 Dec 46 - Tokyo Radio Control Studied By Allies

6 Dec 46 - Japanese Warned On Alien Contacts.

Refers to SCAP's instructions that Japanese must deal with foreign governments through him.

4 Dec 46 - Reorganization Pushed. More Japanese Concerns Told To Develop Plans

24 Nov 46 - Jap Textile Sales In East Condemned (Washington)

Nov 46 - New Tokyo Purge Leaves Many Free. Only A Few Hundred Top Men Are Expected To Be Outsed As Ultra Nationalists

Poor reporting job.

18 Nov 46 - Strikes In Japan Opposed By Red. Moscow Trained Chief Warned Against Political Walk-outs, MacArthur Declares

16 Nov 46 - Japan's War Industries End Set Out In Pauley Program. (Washington, D. C. - By B. D. Hulen)

11 Nov 46 - Council For Japan To Study Its Future

10 Nov 46 - Japanese To Break Leftist Press Hold

9 Nov 46 - Strict Wage Rule Planned In Japan. Mediation Breakdown Believed To Make Need For Other Measures Acute

26 Oct 46 - Population Drop Shown In Japan

16 Sep 46 - Wallace's Speech Censored In Japan

14 Sep 46 - Parliament's Gain Seen By MacArthur

Based on SCAP's full report.

11 Sep 46 - Strike Paralizes Japanese Shipping

31 Aug 46 - Japs Wouldn't Accept Old Life, General Says.

Based on statement by General Eichelberger.

28 Aug 46 - Japanese To Face Cannibalism Trial. By Sidney Shallett

25 Aug 46 - Demands Investigation -- Magagna Tells Patterson The Situation Is Deplorable.

Relates to silk expert's disagreement with War Department policy.

24 Aug 46 - 505 Plants Taken By Allies In Japan. One-third of all Industries Expected to be Seized For Reparations payments

15 Aug 46 - Japan Dissolves War Studies Group. Commission Abolished After A Series of Attacks In The Council On Its Title.

Basic story by AP. The New York Times subject on last sub-title.

10 Aug 46 - Japan Still Faces Problem Of Food (Washington)

2 Aug 46 - Japanese Testing of Silk Opposed

4 Sep 46 - Japan's Coal Output Half Prewar Level

Anne W. Earle

Approved:

F. R.