DECLASSIFIED E.O. 11652 SEC. 3(E) AND 5(D) OR (E) NNDG # 775 072

7 March 1947.

GENERAL COMMENT - Nothing really new.

Crane is a writer with a thesis, His idea of reporting is to find "facts" to fit the thesis.

His thesis is:

Japanese are O.K.

Americans, when they interfere with the Japanese way of doing things, especially if it hurts author's old acquaintances, are wrong.

ESS Has prevented economic recovery.

Government Section has purged liberals and successful business men ruthlessly.

Hatoyama case was a great mistake.

General MacArthur is a great man but he has some people working under him who should be sent home, namely, everyone who does things to upset the Japanese.

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PART I

CHAPTER I.

Page	Para	
1	4	SCAP wrote the new Japanese Constitution.
2	2	SCAP has no coherent economic policy. SCAP's policies have prevented recovery and brought on huge inflation.
2	4	Purge policy mistaken.
3	1	Threw out about 2500 top executives of 238 largest corporations. No trials, no screenings — simply because successful. Moved against the managerial class — the men with brains.
7		Divisions and differences within ESS.
8	1	Changes made in Washington in original occupation directives have not improved them.
8	2	Occupation authorities have been playing around with economic theories and ideological fantasies.

CHAPTER 4.

THE DAILY PRESS.

2	3	Occupation's higher echelons did not know what we wanted. Some of men in lower echelons knew only too well what they wanted — No distinction made between war mongering and war support — Top newspaper men were purged — Communists encouraged.

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Page	Para	
8	2	Nobody in SCAP knew what kind of Democracy we were supposed to be giving Japan.
	4	General MacArthur began to find out that SCAP employees were knifing him in the back.
10		SCAP statements of May 1946 salutary.
11 & 12		ESS labor policy favors leftists.
10		Baba, great liberal.
		Colonel Nugent's support resulted in victory for moderates.

CHAPTER 5.

FARM PROBLEMS.

2		Occupation and the U.S. Commercial companies, through sheer stupidity, have refused to allow resumption of the American silk futures market.
3 to 5		Quotes Ladejinsky to show Japan must have foreign markets. Agriculture cannot feed country.
5		Evils of Japanese farm tenancy system.
8	2	Natural Resources Section less presumptious than Government Section.
9	4	Ladejinsky's plan for land reform sent to the Japanese. In general, land reform program approved.

CHAPTER 12.

THE HATOYAMA CASE.

1	2	One of the two major mistakes of the Occupation.

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Page	Para	
1	4	Hatoyama had been given a clean bill of health by Headquarters investigators.
2	2	Disapproves of Government Section.
	4	Disapproves of Colonel Kades.
2	5	General MacArthur unaware of all the details - "Pinkos".
4,5		The Communists vs. Hatoyama.
6		Govt Sect vs. Hatoyama.
7,8,9,10.		Hatoyama a liberal.
11a		Communist press charges. (Compared with Kades statement). (Compared with 3 May Hatoyama directive). Crane "refutes" the charges.
13	Last par.	Govt Sect did a quick job of reversing all findings on Hatoyama.
14		Narahashi prevented Govt from sending to GHQ the letter that would have absolved Hatoyama.
16		Quotations from SCAP directive purging Hatoyama.
18,19,20.		Hatoyama as a liberal.
20		Charges in SCAP directive "refuted". Hatoyama not responsible for Peace Preservation Law amendments.
21		U.S. also has suppressed Communists.
23		No verification of charges attempted by SCAP. Took Communist propaganda for fact.
28		Hatoyama case should be re-opened.

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GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS

Government Section

JAPANESE PRESS

26 February 1947

Governmental News Items

CS File

PRESS COMMENTS ON GENERAL MacARTHUR'S MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

Two major Tokyo newspapers, NIHON KEIZAI and MAINICHI, today publish editorial comment concerning General MacArthur's message to Congress:

The text of the editorial in NIHON KEIZAI follows:

"General MacArthur's message to Congress, sent at the request of the War Department, leads the Japanese people to exercise self-reflection in all aspects of their life. In the first place, our attention is directed to the fact that his occupation policy is based solely upon justice, humanity, sincerity, and magnanimity. General MacArthur is not only making all-out efforts to develop our country into one whose primary concern shall be the well-being and happiness of the people, but he is also paying special attention to the food situation here for which we extend our sincerest gratitude. In order to secure food for Japan, General MacArthur cited the example of Bataan. He said, '....the Japanese people are now our prisoners, no less than did the surviving men on Bataan become their prisoners when that peninsula fell. As a consequence of the ill-treatment including starvation of Allied prisoners in Japanese hands, we have tried and executed many Japanese officers upon proof of responsibility. Yet can we justify such punitive action if we ourselves in reversed circumstances, but with hostilities at an end, fail to provide the food to sustain life among those Japanese people over whom we now stand guard within the narrow confines of their home islands.'

"From this sympathetic passage it is more than sufficient to know how much pains General MacArthur is taking in the interests of our country by maintaining the standpoint of justice. By all means we must respond to his interest. In order to develop our nation into a State whose primary concern is the well-being and happiness of our people, it is necessary to effect thorough reform of the people. This reform should not be based upon extreme leftist ideology but must be based upon religion, magnanimity, liberty, and freedom. We must not neglect our own responsibility by taking undue advantage of the good will of the Allied Powers in securing food for us. In this connection, General MacArthur stated,'Nor have I found that the Japanese want charity.' We must be fully aware that self-help is the way to answer General MacArthur's good will."

The text of the editorial in MAINICHI follows:

"General MacArthur's message to Congress very frankly disclosed America's ultimate goal in the Japanese Occupation and its administrative policy. We cannot help being deeply impressed by it. The goal of

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the Occupation is 'a complete reformation of the Japanese people' and 'a reformation from the blind fatalism of war to the considered realism of peace'. It is not only a reformation of the Nation's structure; it is the complete reformation of our national spirit which is necessary in order to eliminate war in the future. It has now become clear that the policy for the realization of this ideal can well be called the occupational policy of justice. To clarify this objective, the statement stressed the mission of the Occupation to supply food to the Japanese people, who are now placed under an extended and strengthened blockade and require more financial appropriations for this purpose. The statement has become all the more admirable, since it pointed out that the American people cannot justify the punitive action of trying and executing guilty Japanese as a consequence of ill-treatment, including starvation of Allied prisoners at Bataan, if they should fail to provide the food necessary to sustain life among the Japanese people, who are now completely reduced to starvation. As we march toward the revival of a peace-loving and democratic country, through renunciation of war and the rights of belligerents, we are now pursuing the ideal, in common with that of the American occupation. The realization of this goal will prove most advantageous for Japan. As for the true democratization of this nation, both Japan and the United States have common interest. Japan must realize this objective, not only as its obligation for having accepted the Potsdam Declaration, but also for its own benefit in the future. The greatest obstacle to true democratization is starvation, which will render the people 'easy prey to any ideology however evil,' as General MacArthur truly pointed out. We should keep in mind that General MacArthur requested the supply of food to Japan not so much to prevent starvation among the Japanese people but establish a true democracy without falling prey to any evil ideology. At the same time, General MacArthur emphasized that the material rehabilitation of Japan is by no means charity, and that it is to be paid by the Japanese people in the future. We should reflect on this point.

"The occupation policy of America, as well as its administrative policy, are advantageous to the American people, as the statement frankly revealed. Therefore, we must not act obsequiously. Fortunately, the goal and policy of the United States now parallel the interests of Japan. The United States defined the realization of the goal of occupation as 'the final stage of the war.' The best way for us to pass this stage, as quickly as possible so as to establish true peace, is to realize this common objective with sincerity and earnestness. Only in this way can we finally make up for our crime in waging the Pacific War."

PRESS SPECULATES CONCERNING NEW CABINET APPOINTMENTS

JIJI SHIMPO, speculating on probable cabinet appointments, expresses the opinion that former Vice-Foreign Minister Nasutani, Liberal, will be named by Prime Minister Yoshida to head the proposed Coal Ministry. Commerce and Industry Minister Ishii is said to have strongly recommended Nasutani during a conference with Yoshida yesterday.

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It is reported also that Yoshida is trying to persuade Professor Nakayama of Tokyo Industrial College to accept a cabinet post as Labor Minister.

According to the newspaper, Yoshida has asked the Liberal party to nominate some one to head the Economic Stabilization Board, a concession to the violent opposition raised by the recent appointment of Hiroo Wada. Most likely successor to Wada is said to be Jinnosho Hayashi.

LABOR COMMITTEE INAUGURATED

The preparatory committee for the National Congress of Labor Unions, a projected organization designed to unite labor groups, was formally inaugurated yesterday, without the participation of the influential National Federation of Labor, according to YOMIURI.

It is reported that delegates to the meeting voted to cancel the NCLU program if it is discovered that the proposed National Trade Union Liaison Council, endorsed by the NFL as well as other leading labor organizations, is capable of effecting labor unity.

TANIKAWA JOINS LIBERAL PARTY

Koboru Tanikawa, former chief of the Police Bureau of the Home Ministry, was accepted as a member of the Liberal party on 24 February, reports JIJI PRESS. Tanikawa, said to have the endorsement of Prime Minister Yoshida, will be a candidate for the House of Representatives in the coming elections.

Transportation Minister Kineshichi Masuda and Justice Minister Atsutaro Kimura are expected to join the Liberal party soon, it is stated.

NEW PARTY DRIVE STALLS

The new party movement launched by a group of Progressives - with some Liberal support - about a month ago, is said by JIJI PRESS to be on the verge of collapse as the result of strong opposition by most Liberal leaders. The drive was also adversely affected by yesterday's decision of top Progressive leaders to adopt an attitude of "watchful waiting" with regard to the new party movement.

NOSAKA SAID TO BE GUBERNATORIAL CANDIDATE

JIJI SHIMPO reports that Communist leader Sanzo Nosaka, frequently rumored to be a Diet candidate, will run for the post as governor of Iwate prefecture.

MERGER OF COOPERATIVE DEMOCRATIC AND PEOPLE'S PARTIES EXPECTED SOON

A liaison committee, representing the Cooperative Democratic and the People's party, has been meeting daily since 20 February to discuss merger policies, reports JIJI PRESS. A committee spokesman has indicated that the "knottiest problem" confronting the committee, the selection of a name for the new party, has been "virtually settled." The name tentatively agreed on is the People's Cooperative party.

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PRODUCTION CONTROL RULED ILLEGAL

"Production control" as a strike technique has been ruled as illegal by the Urawa (Saitama prefecture) District Public Procurator's office, according to YOMIURI. The decision was announced following investigation of the Toyo Watch Company dispute which resulted in skirmishes between strikers and non-strikers several months ago.

Members of National Congress of Industrial Organizations affiliated unions, who were involved in the dispute, are alleged to have sold a million yen worth of timepieces in order to obtain "livelihood funds" for striking workers.

MINPO PREDICTS ONE MILLION MAY RUN FOR ELECTION

MINPO predicts that as many as one million candidates may run for office in the elections scheduled to be held during the month of April. It is noted that the elections are unprecedented in Japanese political history since they are designed to bring about a complete change in all organs of government.

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"Under the authority vested in me as Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, I have informed the labor leaders, whose unions have federated for the purpose of conducting a general strike, that I will not permit the use of so deadly a social weapon in the present impoverished and emaciated condition of Japan, and have accordingly directed them to desist from the furtherance of such action.

"It is with greatest reluctance that I have deemed it necessary to intervene to this extent in the issues now pending. I have done so only to forestall the fatal inpact upon an already gravely threatened public welfare. Japanese society today operates under the limitations of war defeat and Allied occupation. Its cities are laid waste, its industries are almost at a standstill, and the great masses of its people are on little more than a starvation diet.

"A general strike, crippling transportation and communications, would prevent the movement of food to feed the people and of coal to sustain essential utilities, and would stop such industry as is still functioning. The paralysis which inevitably would result might reduce large masses of the Japanese people to the point of actual starvation, and would produce dreadful consequences upon every Japanese home regardless of social strata or direct interest in the basic issue. Even now, to prevent actual starvation in Japan, the people of the United States are releasing to them quantities of their own scarce food resources.

"The persons involved in the threatened general strike are but a small minority of the Japanese people. Yet this minority might well plunge the great masses into a disaster not unlike that produced in the immediate past by the minority which led Japan into the destruction of war. This in turn would impose upon the Allied Powers the unhappy decision of whether to leave the Japanese people to the fate thus recklessly imposed by a minority, or to cover the consequences by pouring into Japan, at the expense of their own meager resources, infinitely greater quantities of food and other supplies to sustain life than otherwise would be required. In the circumstances, I could hardly request the Allied peoples to assume this additional burden.

"While I have taken this measure as one of dire emergency, I do not intend otherwise to restrict the freedom of action heretofore given labor in the achievement of legitimate objectives. Nor do I intend in any way to compromise or influence the basic social issues involved. These are matters of evolution which time and circumstance may well orient without disaster as Japan gradually emerges from its present distress."

DOUGLAS MacARTHUR

31 January 1947

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 12958 SEC. 3(E) AND 3(B) OR (E) NNDG # 773 072

Hold

Hold Number 6/5

Submitted by: International Special News (No. 17)

Date: Feb. 4, 47 (?)

Source : Own Article

Writer's Name: [redacted] Natori

Subject : Staff of Diplomatists.

It was now a dream on past days that the Japanese diplomatists had been taking an active part in the world-scale diplomatic stage. Foreign Ministry of the defeated country, Japan, is existed as an office having no diplomatists abroad. Since Japan's surrender the Ministry has been diligently preparing for the coming Peace Treaty, while engaging in complete democratization and reconsideration of the past. Then, what sort of persons are there among new diplomatic bureaucrats?

~~Bureaucrats of Foreign Office~~ Diplomatic bureaucrats are all new figures, because "pro-Axis personds" have been absolutely swept away since the defeat. Sigeru YOSHIDA, top leader of "pro-peace faction" during the war, assumed the post of Foreign Minister of SHidehara Cabinet, following which was appointed Prime Minister. Further, he is now concurrently holding the posts of Foreign Minister and President of Central Liaison Office. This fact is syontolized best the character of Japan. ~~It is nowdays more favorable~~

Judging from the present circumstances, every thing goes well by the fact that Prime Minister of Japan holds concurrently the post of Foreign Minister. From this point of view, he is dogged by holding

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concurrently the post of Foreign Minister, in order to avert to serve solely as the Prime Minister. Herein his strength lies. Moreover, his value of existence as the boss of conservative camp lies in the near this point. By this reason, though attributable partially to his stubborn nature, he is looking on labor offensive with indifference, however fiercely it may become.

As regards labor offensive, when I met with ~~the Shidehara~~ him, he said, "I was beset by labor offensive". At that time, he seemed ~~not~~ to be unable to sleep well due to insomnia. This is a reason why he always goes to Oiso at week end.

Jiro Terazaki, ~~vice Foreign Minister~~ vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, who is ~~the right hand man~~ "Omasa" of Foreign Minister, YOSHIDA, ~~and~~ had been in adverse circumstances for a long time, ~~leaving~~ driven away the post of Chief of American Bureau, but he retured to the office last Autumn. However, being unpopular in the office, he is expected to retire from the office in near future.

He, also is very stubborn and had been highly combative as one of the anti-renovation faction at the time when he had stayed in Europe, having a dislike to oppression of the pro-Axis fation. A correspondent to our press who visited formerly him was guitely confused at his question, "Are you my opponent or my friend?", without exchanging courtesies on their first meeting. This question, in other words, expresses whether the opponent is pro-Axis or anti-Axis. His nature is so impulsive. This is reason why he has been nicknamed "Konka Taro" since his earlier days. Besides, his younger brother is a commissioner of the Department of the Imperial Household, who acted

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as an interpreter at the interview between the Emperor and General MacArther.

MASUYA, Parliamentary Vice-Minister, SHIYO TSUKI, Parliamentary Councillor are all ~~new~~ parliamentary members of the Liberal Party.

OKAZAKI, Chief of the General Affairs Bureau, who was at a loss as ~~mentioned as~~ a suspect of war criminal on the part of China last year, felt relieved hearing that he was mistaken for Kaheita OKAZAKI who has same name and ~~also~~ had been stayed in Shanghai at the time the Pacific War broke out. He was appointed vice-Minister at this time and is expected to be Prime Ministes, Yoshida's right-hand ~~man~~. Though very few ~~woman~~ took part in international diplomatic stage among bureaucrats of the present Foreign Office, he was formerly a Chairman of the Shanghai Councillors Assembly (Shanghai Songikai) and had precious ~~experiences~~ as Chief of Liaison ~~Officials~~ at the time of the war's end. So, he will be sure to be dispatched as a junior suite at the conclusion of the Peace Treaty.

HAGIWARA, Chief of Treaty Bureau, is expected to play an important role in the conclusion of the Peace Treaty and is now studying as a secretary of the Preparatory Conference of Peace Treaty (Kowa Joyaku Jumbi Kai).

HOKETSU, Chief of Research Bureau, he is always soliticous about whether he falls under the purge directive or not, because of having

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worked at the Planning Board (Kikaku In) during the war. But he ~~to~~ is engaged in giving proper advices to the researching policy concerning relations with United States and Britain (~~charged by~~ under the charge of the 1st Section), relations with Soviet and France (~~charged by~~ the 2nd Section), relations with China and domestic affairs (~~charged by~~ the 3rd Section). Especially, Domestic Branch (Kokunai Han), 3rd Section, is investigating analytically domestic situations and published a book entitled "Fundamental Problems on Reconstruction of Japan's Economy", which may be called a fruit of investigations since last year. This is a text-book ~~of~~ for the economic policy of the Yoshida Cabinet. This Branch, also, is collecting materials concerning territorial issues of Japan in future.

YAMANAKA, Chief of Administrative Bureau, concurrently Chief of Japanese Abroad Department, has exerted his utmost to further repatriation of the 6,000,000 Japanese abroad. He is a bureaucrat ~~coached~~ from the Department of Oversea Affairs and is known well as the only diplomatist having no understanding about English. Judging from the present situations under which the Japanese of 600,000 are still now remained in Soviet territories, we hope that he would strive more seriously to promote repatriation of these persons. The Section of Colonists, affiliated to the ~~Department~~ Ministry was recently absorbed into the Bureau of Colonization, ~~Department~~ Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, ~~completing~~ accomplishing its mission. In case that repatriation is completed, the problem on individual assets becomes important, but this is still remained unsettled.

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OKUMURA, Chief of Information Department, from whom the Foreign Affairs Correspondents Association (Gaimu Kisha Kai) could obtain many informations, because he formerly was able to be present at the Cabinet meeting. But he was prohibited to be present at the meeting ~~for some reason~~ a certain reason and consequently he became Chief of Information Department having no information. He was made to act as an interpreter at the historical interview occurred by the Emperor's first visit to General Macarther. His English is very excellent. Even now he is giving lectures concering international affairs to the Emperor every other week. Listening always with keen interest, the Emperor asks him questions on various points, so we hear. ~~still~~still

MINOWA, Consul-general, is working at the Consultation Office, Foreign Ministry, in charge of consultations on repatriation of the Japanese abroad and individual assets.

Moreover, the Diplometic Bureaucrats Trainning Office (Gaimukanri Kenshujo) is located in the Ministry in order to reeducate young diplomatic bureaucrats on the basis of Foreign Minister Yoshida's policy. Mr. Nastake SATO who came back from Soviet assumed the post of the first chief of the office. However, Appointed Privy Councillor, he is in charge of the business of Chief ~~as with~~ in the membership of non-official staff. ~~Gen~~. Prime Minister keeps him as a trump, preparing for the Peace Treaty, so we hear.

KADOWAKI, NARITA, MATSUDAIRA, who are Councillors and assistants to MINOWA, have all an experience as a diplomatist stationed in

PRESS, PICTORIAL, AND BROADCAST DIVISION
DISTRICT I
NEWS AGENCY SUB-SECTION

~~HOLD~~ HOLD NUMBER:

Submitted by: Date submitted:

Source: Writer's name:

Subject:

Translation from the Japanese:

(6)

in Soviet. Then, Foreign Ministry called back Councillor MATSUDAIRA to the home office of the Ministry, placing Councillor YUKI in succession to him due to a certain deference.

TSUTSUI, Minister to Rumania, the last diplomatist stayed in Europe, is now homeward.

TANI, Ambassador to China, is in custody at the Sugamo Camp as a suspect of war criminal and TSUCHIDA, Minister to China, is still now detained there.

HORIUCHI, Minister to China, has been treated well in Shanghai since the war's end, because he had been on intimate terms with Mrs. Sung Mei-ling and Mr T.V. Soong. He is qualified as the very first Minister to China — it is uncertain whether Japan's Minister is permitted by the Allied Powers or not.

YAMADA, Ambassador to Manchuko, and Kamimura, Minister to the country are sent to Siberia.

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2-11-47.

PRESS, PICTORIAL, AND BROADCAST DIVISION
DISTRICT I
NEWS AGENCY SUB-SECTION

HOLD

HOLD NUMBER:_____

Submitted by:_____ Date submitted:_____

Source:_____ Writer's name:_____

Subject:

Translation from the Japanese:

(7)

The following are mentioned as sons of ~~the~~ noted persons:

Councillor YOSANO (son) — Poet, Mrs. Akiko YOSANO (Father or Mother)

Chief of Liaison Section,
Information Department.
MATSUI — Former Foreign Minister MATSUI

Chief of Materials Section,
General Affairs Bureau.
NAKAGAWA — Former Governor-General of Formosa.
NAKAGAWA

Administrative Official,
Treaty Bureau
USHIROGU — Former General USHIROGU

Administrative Official,
General Affairs Bureau.
ARITA — Former Foreign Minister ARITA

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2-11-47

PRESS, PICTORIAL, AND BROADCAST DIVISION
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NEWS AGENCY SUB-SECTION

HOLD HOLD NUMBER: ____

Submitted by: _____ Date submitted: _____

Source: _____ Writer's name: _____

Subject:

Translation from the Japanese: (8)

「Central Liaison Office」

The Central Liaison Office is a "corridor organization" of Foreign Ministry established during the turning stage until Japan will be acknowledged as an independent country —— the office of receiving SCAP's orders and the Government's liaison office. Therefore, liaison officials ~~of the~~ of each Ministry as well as diplomatic officials of Foreign Ministry are sent to this office. The post of the President is assumed concurrently by ~~Foreign~~ Foreign Minister Yoshida.

YOSHIDA's "KOMASA", ex-vice-Chief of Administrative Bureau, SHIRASU is son-in-law of Count, Aisuke KABAYAMA and a pure business man, ~~selected~~ sifted out of the director of the Japan Marine Products Co. Ltd. (Nihon Suisan K. Kaisha) He is proficient in English as he has ~~been~~ studied it in London and is a master of having friendly relations with the Americans and British. Those who entered Gen. MacArther's drawing room are only three among the Japanese: the Emperor, Prime Minister Yoshida and he himself. In this connection, leaders of the Socialists Party who are apprehensive of the purge directives are busy with collecting foreign informations, keeping close contact with him. His wife, Masako, is

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excellent in writing and writes often for ~~female~~ woman's magazine.

Vice-chief of Business Bureau, YAMAGATA, has an eapriance as Minister to Chile. His nervous temperament, unbecoming "Mito man" is one flaw in his otherwise perfect character.

Chief of General Affairs Department, ASAMI, is son-in-law of the former Ambassador, DEBUCHI, to America, and is excellently proficient in English. Being studious, he is familiar with the problems regarding reparation. He, also, is alway present at the Allied Council for Japan.

The first Chief of Reparation Department, ONO, seemed to be discontented with the office and ~~is~~ he was bitterly reproved by Prime Minister YOSHIDA, when the Government's ~~outlook~~ views for the announcement of Pauly's program was exposed by the Mainichi. By this reason, he was replaced by Councillor SHIMAZU.

Chief of Political Department, YAMADA, is unsociable and was worried about the socalled "whirlpool" of the purge directive. Chief of Economic Department, KIDA, impresses us as a shrewed person. Chief of Administrative Department, ISONO, transfered from the post of Chief of Japanese Abroad Department, is nervous and unpopular. Chief of ~~the~~ Traffic Department, YABUTANI, was seriously beset by the strikes of seamen and national railways workers.

Chief of Equipment Department, KUNISHIO, an official of the Home Ministry is very busy, working with equipments for the use of occupation forces.

The War Criminals Section is located in this liaison Office and Councillor HIROSE, repatriated from Vladivostok is in charge of the

Business as attorney and Councillor TANAKA in charge of the business as prosecutor. Further, Former Professor of Tokyo Imperial University, TAKAYANAGI, is ~~charge with~~ in charge of the business as a advisor.

The Local Business Bureau is located in each prefecture where the occupation forces are stationed and is in charge of liaison business between these forces and the Prefectural Office.

"Nisei" boys of noted persons are mantioned as follows:

(son)	(Father)
Chief of Secretary Section TATSUKI ----	Former Ambassador to France TATSUKI
Official of Administrative Dept.. OGAWA -----	Former Railways Minister OGAWA
Official of Administrative Dept.. OGUCHI -----	Former Parliamentary Vice-~~Finance~~ Minister of Finance OGUCHI
Liaison Official, Yokohama Liaison Office TOGO ------	Former Foreign Minister TOGO's son-in-law.

~~In judging from these circumstances, this article of~~

Judging from these circumstances, the actual state is that diplomatic bureaucrats are all new figures, or follower to the veterans and are now studying. However, once Japan will enter again to diplomatic relations with foreign countries, these persons are those who should bear Japan's fate.

Translater's remark:

"Kanka Taro" — Taro is common Japanese boy's name. Therefore, this words indicates a man who is quarrelsome.

"Omasa, Komasa" — Omasa and Komasa are Jirocho SHIMIZU's chief and loyal followers. "Jirocho SHIMIZU" is a noted chief of feudaral gambler in Tokai arees at the end of Tokugawa ~~Shogunate~~ Era.

Mr. Malloy

Mr. Akatani

Mr. Kimura

Azami

PRESS, PICTORIAL, AND BROADCAST DIVISION
DISTRICT I
NEWS AGENCY SUB-SECTION

HOLD

HOLD NUMBER: 12/6

Submitted by: ~~International Special~~ News

Date submitted: ~~January 6, 1947~~

Source: ~~Comment by Giichi NATORI~~

Writer's name:

Subject: Foreign Ministry Personnel for the forthcoming Peace Parley

Translation from the Japanese:

This is the third year after the defeat in war, and the agenda for the Japanese Peace Treaty, which would enable Japan to become an independent country, which is being awaited anxiously, are now expected to be formulated after the completion of the preliminary conference of German Peace Treaty at the Four Countries Foreign Ministers Conference to be held in Moskow in March this year. Would it be too much to conjecture, then, that the conclusion of Japanese Peace Treaty would progress "smoothly" unexpectedly and that would materialize earlier than the German Peace Treaty?

Actually, Germany is being controlled by four countries, and all these should be unified economically first and then a central government should be established subsequently, but in Japan there is the central government already and things would go smoothly in this respect.

Consequently, the Foreign Ministry is now working so that they be fully prepared whenever such overtures are made unilaterally by the Allied Powers. Since the defeat, the Foreign Ministry officials have totally closed their office and while indulging in the reflection of the past have been working upon the arrival of the Allied Powers through the Central Liaison Office playing the role of more or less Home Ministry officials. Thus the Foreign Ministry officials are but "servant" like existence to SCAP today, but once the conclusion of the Peace Treaty turns up, they will be the nucleus of the officials of Japan, playing their flourishing roles. It is now totally impossible for future Japan to do any sort of intimidation supported by military clique, she should from now on as a good member of UNO engage in peaceful and amicable diplomacy. The mission of Foreign Ministry officials is indeed important. Now, who are the leading men among the officials? Let us make a survey of them all.

The Foreign Ministry officials today constitute men of new calibre, completely driving out the men of Axis tendency since the defeat.

Mr. Shigeru Yoshida, who has been the head of peace school even from wartime, became the Foreign Minister of the Shidehara Cabinet, and while he subsequently became Premier as he is today, he has been holding the Foreign Minister's post and the presidency of the Central Liaison Office concurrently. In this, we must say, the present peculiar characteristics of Japan are very well symbolized.

PRESS, PICTORIAL, AND BROADCAST DIVISION
DISTRICT I
NEWS AGENCY SUB-SECTION

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HOLD NUMBER: 12/6

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Source: ~~Comment by Giichi NATORI~~

Writer's name:

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Translation from the Japanese:

This is the third year after the defeat in war, and the agenda for the Japanese Peace Treaty, which would enable Japan to become an independent country, which is being awaited anxiously, are now expected to be formulated after the completion of the preliminary conference of German Peace Treaty at the Four Countries Foreign Ministers Conference to be held in Moskow in March this year. Would it be too much to conjecture, then, that the conclusion of Japanese Peace Treaty would progress "smoothly" unexpectedly and that would materialize earlier than the German Peace Treaty?

Actually, Germany is being controlled by four countries, and all these should be unified economically first and then a central government should be established subsequently, but in Japan there is the central government already and things would go smoothly in this respect.

Consequently, the Foreign Ministry is now working so that they be fully prepared whenever such overtures are made unilaterally by the Allied Powers. Since the defeat, the Foreign Ministry officials have totally closed their office and while indulging in the reflection of the past have been working upon the arrival of the Allied Powers through the Central Liaison Office playing the role of more or less Home Ministry officials. Thus the Foreign Ministry officials are but "servant" like existence to SCAP today, but once the conclusion of the Peace Treaty turns up, they will be the nucleus of the officials of Japan, playing their flourishing roles. It is now totally impossible for future Japan to do any sort of intimidation supported by military clique, she should from now on as a good member of UNO engage in peaceful and amicable diplomacy. The mission of Foreign Ministry officials is indeed important. Now, who are the leading men among the officials? Let us make a survey of them all.

The Foreign Ministry officials today constitute men of new calibre, completely driving out the men of Axis tendency since the defeat.

Mr. Shigeru Yoshida, who has been the head of peace school even from wartime, became the Foreign Minister of the Shidehara Cabinet, and while he subsequently became Premier as he is today, he has been holding the Foreign Minister's post and the presidency of the Central Liaison Office concurrently. In this, we must say, the present peculiar characteristics of Japan are very well symbolized.

It is certainly expedient for the premier of Japan under the control of the Allied Powers to act as Foreign Minister concurrently. He has another meaning here for so doing. He holds the Foreign Minister's post steadfast so as to prevent any possibility of his becoming premier on another occasion. Here is his strong point. The raison d'etre of himself as leader of the conservative camp lies indeed in this point. Such circumstances and more or less supported by his stubborn character, he goes about unabashed in spite of the ever mounting labor offensive. Talking about the labor offensive, when I met him at the year-end he muttered, "I really give in to that labor offensive!" He seemed that he could not sleep very well about that time.

This is how he makes it a rule to stay over the week end at Oiso. Here's an episode. On a certain Saturday afternoon, he was driving his car along the highway of Oi so, but the car was stopped by an MP on account of high speed. Finding his driver could not understand him, the MP addressed ~~xxxxxxxx~~ him as owner: "Don't you understand American?" to which he tartly retorted, "I don't know American but I do know English well." This is certainly a very cynical answer, although it was fortunate for the MP that he did not recognize him as Premier Yoshida who understands English very well.

He thus goes about feigning his ignorance on things outside of his subjective world. It will be interesting to see his answers at the Diet from this angle. At any rate when Premier Yoshida gets busy with his political affairs or interviewers at the Premier's official residence, he would immediately sneak out to the Foreign Dept or Foreign Minister's official residence or the ex Prince Asaka's residence - so selfish and diehard is the Premier.

Vice Minister Taro TERASAKI, who can be likened to Omasa (one of the sworn followers of Jirocho, a big boss around the age of Meiji Restoration) of Minister Yoshida, was out of post for some time since he had been driven out of the post of Chief of American Affairs Bureau, but was reinstated last fall. He, too, is a diehard of no small degree. Once when he had been in Europe, he detested the highhandedness of the Axis men, and he had been the sole staunch fighter against the anti new school. When a reporter of this paper went to see him for greeting, he questioned abruptly without even making any greeting for the first interview: "Are you my ~~fi~~rifriend or foe?" and startled the reporter. In other words whether he was a pro or an anti Axis was asked in this expression. He has such doggedness in him. Since his appointment as Vice Minister he is guarding against this himself, but such ground nature would assert itself quite unawares, and he is more or less estranged of late from the members of the Foreign Ministry pressmen. He certainly deserves the nickname of "Quarrelsome Taro" which he acquired since his young days.

Court Official Terasaki of the Imperial Household Department who acts as interpreter when Emperor holds interview with General MacArthur is his younger brother.

Parliamentary Vice Minister ~~of Political Affairs~~ Masutani and Councillor Shionaka are the members of the Diet belonging to the Liberal Party. Chief of the General Affairs Bureau Okazaki has been designated as a war criminal by China since some time last year, he seemed to have been shocked for a time, but this seems to be a mistake and confusion with Councillor Okazaki of the same name who had been in Shanghai at the time of ~~the~~ outbreak of the war, and he seems now to be relieved. He is the man who will be the next Vice Minister and is a good messenger boy of Premier Yoshida. There are very few among the present officials of the Foreign Ministry who stepped on the flowery stage of international diplomacy, but he was Chairman of Shanghai Municipal Assembly and at the time of war termination he had the valuable experience as Chief of the Central Liaison Office, and it is presumed that at the time of conclusion of Peace Treaty he will surely be included in the suite of the mission.

Chief of Treaty Bureau Hagiwara would play an important role when the Peace Treaty is to be concluded. He is now studying hard as one of the leaders of the Preparation Meeting for Peace Treaty now established within the Ministry.

Chief of Investigation Bureau Hosotsu seems to be uneasy whether he would come under the purge directive or not as he had been in the Planning Board during wartime, but he is giving definite instructions as to the policy of investigation re the first section - relationship with England and the U.S.A.; the second section - relationship with the Soviet Union and France; the third section - China as well as domestic affairs. Especially the domestic squad of the third section conducted analytical investigations of domestic conditions, which took the form of conclusion at the year-end last year: "Basic problem for the reconstruction of Japanese economy " and has since formed the text for the economical policy of the Yoshida Cabinet. It is also noticeable that he is having some basic materials as to our future territorial problems collected.

Chief of Control Bureau Yamanaka also holds the post of Chief of Overseas Residents Department and has been working laboriously for the early repatriation of 6,000,000 Japanese abroad. Originally he is an official of the Overseas Affairs Department and is known as the only official of the Foreign Ministry who does not understand English. When there are more than 600,000 Japanese in the Soviet territories ~~xxx~~ unreturned today, his efforts for an early repatriation ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ are expected upon anxiously. The Colonization Section under the section has recently been absorbed by the Exploitation Bureau of the Ministry of Agriculture and Foresty upon the completion of the section's mission.

When the repatriation completes, the individual properties of Japanese held overseas will become an important problem, but this question~~x~~ still remains unsolved today. Chief of Intelligence Department Okumura could participate in the Cabinet Conference formerly, and as a consequence the reporters at the Foreign Ministry Reporters Club could get some news, but since the unfortunate slip of the ~~xxxx~~ tongue last fall, it became unable for him to be present at the conference and ~~he~~ he became a Chief of Intelligence Dept who cannot secure any intelligence. At the time of the historical interview when Emperor visited General MacArthur for the first time, he acted as interpreter. His English is

perfect. Even today he is offering his lecture to Emperor at court every other week on international situation. It is said that Emperor listens to him intently and gives questions on various subjects without fail after the lectures are over.

As for the matters concerned with the repatriation of Japanese from abroad or consultation regarding individual properties, there is General Consul Minose at the Inquiry Office of Foreign Ministry.

Beside the above, there is the Foreign Ministry Official Training Institute for the reeducation of young officials, set up under the policy of Foreign Minister Yoshida. The first President of the institute was Mr. Hisatake SATO returned from the Soviet Union, but since he assumed the post of Privy Councillor, he is now attending to the business in an advisory capacity. He is said to be one of the mainstay s prepared by Premier Yoshida for the forthcoming Peace Treaty. The three councillors assisting him: Kadowaki, Narita and Matsumoto all have the experience of having served as diplomats in the Soviet Union. Consequently, the Foreign Ministry because of their constraint towards SCAP had Councillor Matsumoto return to the Ministry and applied Councillor Yuki instead who has the experience of having stayed in America.

Practically all diplomats having been abroad have now returned, and the last diplomat: Minister Tsutsui to Rumania, is now on his way back to Japan. In China Ambassador Tani and Minister Tsuchida are still being detained as war criminal suspects. Minister Horiuchi, however, having been friendly with Madame Sung Mei Ling and Mr. Sung Tzu-wen, is being treated well over in Shanghai even after war termination. He is sure to become the first Minister to China - if such is to be recognized by the Allied Powers, while it is still uncertain - at least is capable of becoming such. In Manchuria Ambassador Yamada and Minister Uyemura are still sent in the interior of Siberia.

Regarding the sons of noted men now serving in the diplomatic circle are: Counsellor Yosano (Madame Masako YOSANO, Poetess), Chief of Liaison Section Intelligence Dept Matsui (Ex Foreign Minister Matsui); Chief of Material Resources Section, General Affairs Bureau Nakagawa (Ex Governor of Formosa Nakagawa); Commissioner , Treaty Bureau, Ushiroku (General Ushiroku).

The Central Liaison Office is a transitory organ of the Foreign Ministry until Japan becomes an independent country: it is the receiving organ of orders from SCAP and is the government's liaison office. That is why, not only the officials of the Foreign Ministry but all the liaison officials of all departments are being represented here. Its presidency is being held concurrently by Foreign Minister Yoshida.

Vice Chief of Political Affairs Bureau? Shirasu, who acts playing the role of Komasa (again the same allegory) is son-in-law to Count Aisuke Kabayama and is a pure businessman, he having been a director of the Nippon Suisan K.K. Having studied in London, he is good in English and the association with Americans and Britishers is dexterous. Any Japanese who has ever been permitted to General MacArthur's private are Emperor, Premier Yoshida and himself. In view of

his circumstance, therefore, the executive members of the Social Democrat Party who are worried as to the purge directive are busy securing some information of the other side through him. Mrs. Masako is an authoress being a good writer her works appearing in feminin magazines from time to time. Unlike a Mito man he is slightly nervous and that is the only ~~xxxxx~~ defect that could be found in him.

Chief of General Affairs Dept Asami is son-in-law to Ex Ambassador Debuchi to the U.S.A. His English is exceptionally perfect,~~xxx~~ is a hard worker, and is well conversant with reparations problem. He is invariably present at every meeting of FEC.

The Chief of Reparations Dep t Ohno, who took up the post for the first time, was rather malcontent as to this more or less lowly job for him, but he is spirited these days,When the Pauley's plan was announced and the government's opinion thereto was made clear by the Mainichi Shimbun the other day, ~~xxx~~ he was scolded bitterly by Premier Yoshida and he was crest fallen to say the least.

Chief of Political Affairs Dept Yamada is a surly man. He had a hard time regarding the ~~xxx~~ purge directive.

Chief of Economical Dept Kida impresses one to be a man of ability.

Chief of Control Dept Isono, transferred from the post of Chief of Overseas Japanese of the Foreign Ministry is a little too nervous and his reputation is not so good.

Chief of Traffic Dept Yabutani is a large-minded man. He worked hard when the seamen and the railway workers went on strike.

Chief of Installation Dept Kunijiri emanated from the Home Ministry is kept extremely busy on account of the construction work of the Occupation forces. Here also is the War Criminal Room and as for the counsels concerned Councillor Hirose came back from Vradivostok is attending to the matter, and Councillor Tanaka is attending to the prosecution matters. Ex Professor of Tokyo Imperial University Takayanagi is also working here as an advisor. All the local liaison offices are being established at prefectures where the Occupation forces are stationing and are attenting to the liaison matters with the prefectural offices.

Of the second generation officials of noted men are: Chief of Secretariate Section Tatsuke (Ex Ambassador to France Tatsuke); Commission of Control Dept Ogawa (Ex Railway Minister Ogawa); Commission of the same Dept Oguchi (Ex ~~xxxx Ministerxofxpolitiealxaffairsxofxfinancexministryxoguchi)~~x Parliamentary Vice Minister of Finance Ministry Oguchi); Liaison Officer ~~xxxxx~~ Togo of Yokohama Liaison Office (adopted son of ex Foreign Minister ~~xxxxx~~ Togo).

Viewed in this angle the Foreign Ministry officials are all new men or the second generation of noted men, who are more or less in the course of study, but

they are the very men who would invariably shoulder the destny of Japan once the diplomacy of Japan resumes in future.

Lieut. Spaulding
Mr. Kimura
Miss Takamura

18 November, 1946.

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE editorial opines in pending dismissal 175 local Jap officials accordance Allied Purge Directives gives hope that American occupation Japan may result eventually in fundamental reforms instead of merely superficial changes in Jap culture * in dismissing such officials -- which never would have been done except on order -- so-called Progressives Liberals of Yoshida Cabinet may be cutting own political throats * even if there is literal obedience it is probable there will be attempts to replace many ousted officials with men precisely same type * great danger in Japan is that MacArthur's subordinates who are military men with no repeat no exceptional political understanding seem far too content with appearance of reform and not aware enough of actualities.

Memorandum for the Chief: Government Section

Subject: Burton Crane
Date: 9 August 1946

Burton Crane, formerly of the Japan Advertiser and later a financial reporter for the New York Times, is currently New York Times correspondent in Japan. He is a Princeton graduate, class of 1917, and is president of the Princeton Club of Japan. He lives in rented quarters at Shirokane Daimachi, Shiba-ku, Tokyo, and is possessed of sufficient knowledge of Japanese as to have been the author of an elementary course in military Japanese.

Crane's record, as befits the representative of his newspaper, is good, but there are three items which call for clarification. According to newspaper and financial circles in Tokyo, he has been criticised by his associates for:

1. Violation of press confidence. This is a serious charge and is admittedly based on gossip, but, according to the story when in mid-May excerpts from the Corwin Edwards report on reparations was given in confidence to a few selected correspondents, Crane alone among the reporters used important excerpts as the basis for background news articles. Since this incident did not occur through the regular PRO channels, there is no official verification of the charge, but Mr. Corwin's former associates declare that such a violation occurred

2. Crane is reported to have boasted to fellow reporters at the Tokyo Correspondents' Club that he was making money by purchasing Japanese securities through native intermediaries. This, if true, is tantamount to a breach of the Tradingwith the Enemy Act.

3. As writer on financial topics for the New York Times, Crane was so consistently unfair in distorting facts and in discrediting those attempting to establish standards of business ethics for over-the-counter trading that he was the subject of formal complaint by the New York Security Dealers' Association, a body to which semi-regulatory powers were assigned by the Securities Exchange Commission. Even after he had been given explicit details showing the matters in which he had erred, he persisted in ignoring explanations and in consistently attacking those who differed from his point of view.

Prepared by HEW.
Noted CLK

Excerpt from "A Handbook of Modern Japan" by Ernest W. Clement.

The first election under the Constitution took place (whether designedly or accidentally, I know not), by a curious coincidence, on July 4 1890; and the first session of the Imperial Diet opened on November 29, 1890. On December 2 the House of Peers received the first bill ever presented to a National Assembly in Japan; and on December 4 the first Budget (for 1891) was laid before the House of Representatives by Count Matsukata, Minister of Finance.

Some notice must be taken of the rights and duties of subjects under the Japanese Constitution. All such persons are eligible to civil and military offices; amenable to service in the army and the navy, and the duty of paying taxes, according to law; have the liberty of abode, inviolate right of property, right of trial by law, and freedom of speech, writing, publication, public meeting, association, and religious belief, "within the limits of law"; cannot be arrested, detained, tried, or punished, "unless according to law," and can claim inviolate secrecy of correspondence. Moreover, "the house of no Japanese subject shall be entered or searched without his consent," except in due process of law. All subjects may also present petitions, "by observing the proper forms of respect." The freedom of religious belief is granted "within limits not prejudicial to peace and order, and not antagonistic to their duties as subjects." These "rights" are old to Anglo-Saxons, but new to Japanese.

Now we often see and hear rather uncomplimentary statements about the Imperial Diet, political parties, cabinet ministers, and Japanese political affairs in general, and are even told that Japan is only "playing" with parliamentary and representative institutions, that her popular assemblies are mere "toys," her constitutional government is all a "farce," and her new civilization is nothing but a "bib." Such criticisms, however, result either from

ignorance or from a wrong point of view. It is undeniably true that, viewed from the vantage-ground attained by popular institutions and constitutional government in many Occidental nations, Japan is still lagging behind. It is not fair, however, to judge her by our own standards; the only just way is to estimate carefully the exact difference between her former and her present conditions. This the author has tried to do elsewhere in a pamphlet[1] on "Constitutional Government in Japan," in which he has given a sketch of the workings of the Japanese Constitution during the first decade, or period, of its history.

From that he quotes the following conclusions: --

The progress made during the first decade of constitutional government in Japan was considerable. In the first place, popular rights were largely expanded by the removal of most of the restrictions on freedom of the press and public meeting; as much extension of the electoral franchise as seems warranted was accomplished; and public opinion, as voiced in the newspapers and magazines, was wielding an increased and constantly increasing influence. On this point the "Japan Times" says: "No one who goes into the country and compares the present degree of the people's political education with what it was ten years ago, can fail to be struck by the immense progress achieved during that interval."

In the second place, the character of the two Houses of the Imperial Diet has greatly improved. The inexperienced have given way to the experienced, the ignorant to the intelligent; so that, after six elections, the personnel of the House of Representatives is of a much better quality, and the House of Peers has been quickened by the infusion of new blood. Experience, as usual, has been a good teacher.

[1] Published in the "Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

In the third place, the Cabinet, theoretically responsible to the Emperor because appointed by him on his own sole authority, is practically responsible to the Imperial Diet and must command the support of a majority of that body. Hereafter it would seem that dissolution of the Diet is not likely to occur as often as dissolution of the Cabinet.

The one weak point in this situation is that, although the principle of party cabinets is thus established, its practical application is difficult of realisation, simply because there are no true political parties in Japan. There are many so-called "parties," which are really only factions, bound together by personal, class, geographical, or mercantile ties, and without distinctive principles. One "party" is actually Count Okuma's following; another is Count Itagaki's; another is called "the businessmen's party"; another is composed of politicians of the Northeast; and another tries to maintain the old clan alliances.

JAPAN'S "UNIQUE" REVOLUTION

or

THE JAPANESE "REVOLUTION"

By Edgar Snow

Tokyo

Unique is the weariest word in Japan, you think as you thumb through the guide books. The cherry blossoms as fat as rosy wine cups, the miniature trees in elfin gardens, the noisy wooden geta clattering over the village's cobbled streets, the kimonos with their gorgeous obis, the elaborate tea ceremony, the corny myths of the Sun Goddess--they're all unique. Only Japan had kamikaze pilots and only Japan received the honorable atomic bomb and the natives are proud of both distinctions.

It is fitting then that Japan should accept occupation in a different manner, that people should find Americans quite agreeable conquerors, that their fervent hope is to be a democracy like America, and that because of all the "improvements" Americans are bringing about they are grateful and happy--or so they say. In the private letters Japanese write to each other over 80% of their comments on the occupation are "favorable", our army censors tell me.

It is natural that Japanese should be democratized, not by native radicals but by the Son of Heaven, taking orders from a conservative American commander-in-chief. It also follows that it should all be nicely done up like a bento--one of those lunches the Japanese pack so neatly in little wodden boxes--in the form

of a constitution which makes Japan the first nation in the world to renounce all use of force in settling international disputes, and rejects the maintenance of any kind of armed service.

You have heard often enough that we are doing things out here that have no parallel, and it's true, but the evaluation and analysis of what has actually been achieved is a field for wide discussion. MacArthur himself is a fastidious lover of order who hates "chaos" and distrusts anything sounding like decree by "the mob", and he nowhere uses "revolution" to describe his handiwork.

"Would you say that the occupation has swept away the main obstacles to completion of a bourgeois-democratic revolution in Japan?" I recently asked a group of Soviet newspaper correspondents here. None of them would.

"All that's happened is that the Japanes now have two emperors instead of one," commented one humorist, "Emperor Douglas and Emperor Hirohito."

Even if that were true, it would be quite a big change, at that. But for months past "revolution" has been the favorite expression in Japanese newspaper headlines. "Bloodless", they call it--and unique. Only it isn't bloodless, when you consider the loss of hundreds of thousands of lives, and the immense destruction and waste of property and labor, that were necessary before the enemy turned a resigned face toward democracy. What these contradictory people mean is that since the day of surrender, nine months ago, no organized violence or resistance has been offered to the shaping of a new socist in the womb of old Japan. Now, the lapse of this convenient period makes it permissible to take a critical look at the result of social parturition.

First of all, it is wrong to assume that MacArthur is the sole father of policy in Japan. The zealous general has been two persons, commander-in-chief of the American forces here, and Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers and in neither capacity was he all-powerful. As SCAP, he has acted in accordance with directives from the President, the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the State Department. And as head of the American occupation he has carried out orders issued by the War Department.

Since April when the Allied Council held its first meeting in Tokyo, MacArthur must also consult with representatives of other interested powers. And since the inception of the Far Eastern Commission, set up by the Moscow Conference last December, all his policies, directives and administration are theoretically subject to its review and approval or rejection. Now the F.E.C. alone can decide major policy--as in the case of reparations, for example, which I reported in an earlier article.

Having said that, it remains a fact that no American ever held such internationally delegated authority over the destiny of a foreign nation as General MacArthur has had in Japan, and it is hard to think of a comparable case in history.

During the formative months some of the most significant directives originated in MacArthur's brain, and many were written by him. Instructions emanating from Washington were issued only after solicitation of his recommendations. And the timing, the wording, the application in most respects, were left to his discretion.

By the early part of this year, and before the formation of the F.E.C., MacArthur already considered that the old edifice had been effectively razed. In December he told me that the foundations for a peaceful Japan had been laid, according to his understanding of the decisions of Potsdam.

Unlike the German capitulation, which was strictly unconditional, the Japanese gave up after the Allies had committed themselves in the Potsdam declaration, which broadly outlined our tasks. The fact is often overlooked, but that interesting document combines purely punitive objectives with statements of constructive and corrective aims and promises of certain rights to Japan. The "conditional" nature of the surrender becomes perfectly clear, however, only when the Potsdam terms are juxtaposed and read in their proper relationship, as follows:

1) "Stern justice" shall be "meted out" to all "war criminals" and Japan's military forces shall be completely disarmed. But the latter "shall be permitted to return to their homes with the opportunity to lead peaceful and productive lives."

2) Japan shall be deprived of all her territorial and economic gains of aggression. But the Japanese shall remain sovereign in their home islands, after attainment of the stated objectives of Allied occupation.

3) Japanese industry shall be completely demilitarized, and reparations shall be exacted in kind. But the Japanese shall not be "enslaved as a race or destroyed as a nation", and hence shall "be permitted to maintain such industries as will sustain their economy."

4) "there must be eliminated for all time the authority and influence of those who have deceived and misled the people of Japan into embarking on world conquest". But there shall also be a peacefully inclined and responsible government, established in accordance with the freely expressed will of the Japanese people, "after the "removal of all obstacles to the revival and strengthening of democratic tendencies", including realization of "freedom of speech, of religion, and of thought, as well as respect for the fundamental human rights."

As so where are we? Japan has been stripped of all her overseas empire. The Japanese army was completely disarmed and disbanded without incident, military establishments of her army, navy and air force have been dismantled or destroyed, and industry enabling her to wage war has been liquidated or taken into custody, to await distribution as reparations. Top military leaders and officials directly responsible for Japan's aggressive policies have been removed from office and are being tried as war criminals by international tribunal. Basic punitive measures against militarism, have, therefore, been enforced. But in the realm of political and economic reforms, which are implicit in the injunctions listed under point four above, progress still abides the judgment of time.

Certainly, major obstacles to the revival and strengthening of democratic tendencies have been removed. One of MacArthur's earliest directives, which has become known as the Japanese Bill of Rights, swept away much of the machinery of totalitarian power.

It forced resignation of the Higashikuni cabinet and brought first realization here of the scope of political change expected.

The government under Baron Shidehara, catching on more quickly, passed legislation to guarantee popular liberties on a scale unprecedented in Japan, as well as in most Oriental nations. Freedom of speech, assembly, press, radio and cinema were established within a few weeks after the surrender. Government monopolies of the press, news agencies and other means of propaganda were ended.

Considerable government reorganization, and the rescinding of many reactionary laws and ordinances, were provoked by the Bill of Rights. The Home Ministry was emasculated of its powers of "thought control" and "censorship" over the people. Police methods were reformed, with wholesale dismissals of personnel. The dread "Kempeitai", or secretry military police, was dissolved, and officers were prohibited from holding public office. The role of the police in Japan is now supposedly confined to ordinary law enforcement.

Fascistic war-time political, economic and social organizations have been dissolved. Their members are banned from public office, as likewise are officers of the demobilized armed services. Compulsory adherence to the chauvinistic teachings of Shinto has been ended and state subsidy for its temples and shrines has ceased. Religious freedom has been proclaimed and there are signs of renewed interest in Christianity and Buddhism.

A more democratic election law has reduced the voting age from 25 to 20, and for the first time Japanese women--heretofore among the most underprivileged on earth--have been given suffrage.

Prostitution, the sale of women and children, and involuntary servitude, have been legally abolished. MacArthur has ordered the Japanese government to pass appropriate legislation prohibiting child labor.

The education ministry was reorganized and many ultra-nationalistic professors and teachers dismissed. Text books are being rewritten and jingoist propaganda removed. The fascistic Youth Corps has been dissolved, while a new Democratic Youth Congress and similar groups are allowed to exist. Carrying out SCAP directives, programs of democratic indoctrination are being spread in the schools, and through the press, radio, cinema and theater. Reactionary teachings of Shinto, and discrimination against students who reject its beliefs, are suppose to cease.

The nazi-inspired Japanese "labor front" has been broken up. The first labor union law in history, inspired by another SCAP directive, recognizes labor's right to collective bargaining and penalizes employers guilty of discrimination against labor union members. Further legislation affecting labor may be ordered following recommendations made by an American Labor Advisory Mission consisting of C.I.O. and A.F.L. representatives and experts on social insurance and unemployment. Over 1,000,000 workers now belong to labor unions, many led by socialists and communists.

Organization of free political parties has proceeded with energetic encouragement from the Supreme Commander, who promptly

secured the release of political prisoners. By the time of the April elections there were more than 90 political parties in Japan, but most voters were mobilized chiefly behind the Progressive and Liberal --both rightist in fact--and the Social Democratic, Cooperative, and Communist parties.

Leaders of the Communist Party, who had been imprisoned for nearly two decades, immediately called for abolition of the emperor system, which they held responsible for the war as well as their own persecution. They were thus the first group in Japan's long history openly to criticize and denounce the emperor and demand establishment of a people's republic. As far as the masses are concerned, this is perhaps the most dramatic and undreamed-of change that has struck Japan. But the April election showed that the people still want their pops; pro-emperor candidates won an overwhelming majority.

There have been some economic changes. Complying with a SCAP directive, the Japanese government enacted a land reform law which goes farther than any previous ones. It orders land owners possessing more than 12 acres to sell their farms to the tillers within five years; it promises to make low-interest, long-term loans available, enabling tenants to purchase land; and it prohibits the collection of rent in kind, except by landlord-tenant agreement.

Directives have been issued to break the economic power of the Zaibatsu, or "financial cliques", the big monopoly capital groups which heretofore dominated Japanese banking and industry, in close alliance with militarists and the Imperial Household. Four families in Tokyo, who operated the Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo and Yasuda trusts and holding companies, controlled assets exceeding 100 billion pre-war yen. Now those monopolies, together with 22 other smaller holding companies and

their subsidi( )es, which together controlled t( ) greater part of Japan's industrial wealth, have been ordered dissolved.

A Liquidation Commission has been set up, under SCAP supervision, to take over all the stock of the Zaibatsu and their many enterprises. Such stock will be solt to other private investors, as described below. But members of the Zaibatsu families, their relatives, and certain individuals involved in monopolistic practices, will be ineligible to buy or operate enterprises formerly controlled by the holding companies. The Zaibatsu families are supposed to be compensated for their stock only in the form of government bonds which will have no market value for ten years and cannot be used for collateral without SCAP permission.

Are such measures enough to "eliminate for all time the authority and influence of those who have deceived and misled the people of Japan into embarking on world conquest"? The answer can only be highly speculative at this moment, but it is certain that the job is no more than well begun.

Many reforms still exist largely on paper, owing as much to the political ignorance, lethargy, indifference, timidity, and conservative training of the Japanese people as to deliberate sabotage by the government, intimidation by reactionaries who are still at large, and the inability of our small occupational force to secure scrupulous respect for directives. The people have yet to awaken to their responsibilities as well as to the rich opportunities now open to them. Democratic political initiative ranks high among the many commodity shortages on the Japanese market today.

But part of the fault lies with us, and with lack of thoroughness in our punitive measures. Fewer than 1,000 Japanese have been arrested for trial as war criminals, before courts which have by now succeeded in boring the whole nation with needlessly costly, repetitive and attenuated proceedings. Thousands of Japanese who bear built almost equally

with the accus for planning and executing mu rous aggressive war, however, are apparently to suffer the loss of neither civil nor property rights.

The purge of officers, officials and police cleared the top shelf of Japanese fascists, but thousands who were in the second and third shelves, because of lesser ability rather than because of any fundamental disgreement with their superiors, are still eligible for office and influence. Many former fascists have now joined the Socialist Liberal and Progressive parties. Because of that the new Diet is not much above the political level of the old.

Our screening of candidates let through many questionable characters. Take Hatyama, for example, head of the Liberal Party. Now perhaps the most influential man in the Diet, he bears as much responsibility as Tojo, in relation to the power he was able to wield, for having "deceived and misled the Japanese people". As education minister in a war-time Cabinet he drove the last prominent liberal teachers from Japanese schools. And in his public speeches and writings he fully supported Konoye's policy of "forcing China to her knees," glorified Mussolini and Hitler, advocated a fascist labor-front in Japan, and cheered formation of the Axis.

Another examples is Kagawa, who has skilfully exploited his backgrcund as a Christian to win certain protection in G.H.Q. here and some sympathy in America. Kagawa acted as an apologist for Japanese militarism from the time of the invasion of China onward, and after Pearl Harbor he spread false and scandalous propaganda against America and her allies. Yet he, too escaped purgation because of technicalities--and Bernard Rubin and Ken Pettus, who exposed his pro-fascist utterances in "Stars and Stripes," were removed from the Staff. The Emperor thereafter elevated Kagawa to the peerage.

Undoubtedly many newly elected Diet members supported all the beliefs and hopes of Tojo, but did so inconspicuously enought to escape the bans. Undoubtedly "old gang" politicians, excluded from office themselves, have put up many of the candidates elected to office, and now use them as their puppets. During the election some candidates advertised themselves as "substituting" for, or endorsed by, banned ex-members of the Diet whom they mentioned by name.

One of the most significant things I learned about the state of mind of the Japanese today came to me through Sanzo Nozaka the Communist leader. He and Hatoyama happened to run for office in the same district of Tokyo, and I noticed that he never referred to Hatoyama's pro-fascist writings and speeches of the past. I asked him why not, because it looked to me like good campaign material.

"No, it would not impress the voters much," he replied. It seemed that they would, on the contrary, tend to regard such utterances as proof of the "Liberal's" patriotism during the war.

The Japanese government has skilfully contrived to sabotage directives ordering basic reforms in the economic system, which retains many feudal characteristics. The land reform law is a weak response to the need, and SCAP is now seeking more penetrating changes for both punitive and constructive reasons.

Landlord families of Japan, closely linked with the Zaibatsu and the militarists in the past, and tracing their ownership to feudal and hereditary grants, are the backbone of rural reaction

and traditional faith in shinto and bushido. Their influence contributed greatly to the peasant support of Japanese imperialism. As long as they dominate farm economy, democratic ideas cannot easily permeate rural Japan. Aside from that, their estates must be broken up to give the farmer new incentives and possibilities to increase food production if Japan is to succeed in the role of self-sufficiency, with minimum dependence on foreign trade, which Allied policy has assigned to her.

Efforts of the conservative Japanese government to delay a radical agricultural reform have been successful so far, owing chiefly to two factors. First, because of the truly complicated nature of the statistics and objective facts available for study, and GHQ's lack of Oriental economy specialists capable of offering confident diagnoses and remedies. Secondly, the inherent reluctance of SCAP to impose any reforms here which go beyond the conventional experiences of American capitalism.

The Japanese government argues that Japan cannot feed itself or clothe itself without huge imports; that in order to buy abroad it is necessary to export; that shrinkage of world markets for light-industry products means that Japan must emphasize machine-building and therefore must continue to import big quantities of raw materials. The Japanese hope to expand rather than contract their heavy industry, place great importance on foreign trade, and keep the present semi-feudal land system more or less intact. The reject the idea that Japan can, by drastic reformation of her economy, achieve the staisfaction of her principal needs by the use of her own resources.

But the key question is whether Japan can be made self-sufficient in food staples. The Japanese government insists that the country must import at least 20% of the food it consumes, and many in GHQ are impressed. But independent Japanese authorities agree with neither the government's vital statistics now its economic reasoning. Economists in the Toho Institute, for example, an organization endowed by the former president of the Toho Electric Company, gave me figures which effectively refute government claims. They show that this country could grow enough rice and other crops to feed from 90 to 100 million people and maintain a standard of living higher than China's or India's, and be virtually independent of food imports.

In order to achieve food self-sufficiency, however, Japan must adopt a set of integrated agricultural and industrial reforms. These would start with liquidation of rural estates, and aim at equalization of land ownership. There would have to be unification of individual farm holdings, full utilization of marginal land, Imperial ladns and wastelands, rotation of crops, heavy use of fertilizer, and scientific tilling and distribution methods, under state leadership and coordination. To liquidate the political influence of the Samurai descended landlords, their holdings should be confiscated without compensation, except for acreage they till without the use of hired labor.

Measures enforced so far are quite inadequate to punish or "eliminate for all time" the influence of the Zaibatsu. None of them has been indicted for war responsibility, yet they share guilt equally with the militarists whom they armed and,

to some extent, directed. They continue to hold ownership of extensive private lands and enterprises, receive income from them, and special living allowances. There is no logical reason why they should be given consideration, while pensions are denied to soldiers who only used the weapons such men made. There was also no reason to permit the government to pay insurance claims to industrialists for their war losses, while small business men and home-owners received no compensation.

Regulations now in force may eliminate the old Zaibatsu families from monopoly of economic power. But, as in the political scene, only top figures are erased. In some holding companies stock was owned by several thousand people, who profited out of the war, but these "minor fry" are evidently not to lose their investment. There is nothing to prevent such satellites from buying up industry "freed" from holding company control, with money they made as merchants of death.

Plans of the Liquidation Commission under SCAP call for the sale of stock owned by the holding companies in different enterprises in a variety of ways: to the general public, in some cases, to employees in others, to consumer cooperatives or industrial cooperatives, and so on. It is hoped that the recrudescence of monopolies can be prevented by anti-trust laws and measures prohibiting one company from owning stock in another. But as long as the family system persists, the neo-industrialists will tend to regroup as combines, using different members of the many-branched Japanese clan to establish effective interlocking control, in evasion of the intent of the law.

SCAP sometimes seems to be making efforts to find methods of

liquidating the Zaibatsu without injuring the principle of private ownership of the means of production, and the sanctity of private property rights. In practice it is proving extremely difficult to do so. Under conservative government, however, there has been no pressure whatsoever from the Japanese officials to socialize industry. Liequidation schemes tentatively adopted by SCAP were actually worked out voluntarily by Zaibatsu organizations themselves, with the help, in some cases of suggestions from interested Allied investors. Naturally the latter want their interests protected and do not want state confiscation and direct operation.

"Is it true," I heard a colleague of mine ask a high officer here on one occasion, "that American and British big business interests are maneuvering, for selfish reasons, to keep the Japanese financial structure from being changed very much?"

"I am conscious of no such influence around me," emphatically replied said high officer. Then unexpectedly he added, sotto voce, "But I know in my heart that it exists."

"What would SCAP's policy be," I asked one American authority in the Anti-Trust and Cartels Section, "if a Japanese government in the future called for outright nationaization of the means of industrial production, as the only effective way to eliminate the power of the old Zaibatsu families, and prevent new ones from forming?"

"That hasn't been decided," he answe red. "But my guess is that SCAP would take the view that such a step is contrary to a principal purpose of the Potsdam declaration--the weakening of Japan's war potential. Obviously

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a state-owned industry would solve the Zaibatsu problem, but it would also mean completely centralized control of production. That is a fundamental necessity of efficient mobilization for war."

If that view prevailed it would mean Japan could not adopt a socialist economy. But the British and Russians, with governments actually practicing a certain amount of socialism at home, may take a different attitude. It is clear that SCAP will not have the last word on this question, for there are increasing signs that both the Allied Council and the Far Eastern Commission do not intend to remain mere passive spectators to General MacArthur's administrative policies. They may urge more drastic measures against Japan's war-making capitalists, as well as others "who deceived and misled the Japanese people."

Meanwhile, it is plain that so far there has been no transfer of power from one "class" to another, and thus in the strict sense there has been no economic revolution. That is obvious enough, of course, when the Emperor still sits in his palace, still enjoys many prerogatives, and still owns—though it is now under SCAP supervision—an immense personal fortune. He has denied his divinity and the new draft constitution would make him a constitutional monarch with purely symbolic functions, but while the throne exists, so does the possibility of a counter-revolution.

Admittedly, the danger is now remote, and the water still to flow under the bridge before Allied occupation ends may carry the whole Tenno system with it. Admittedly, too, it is doubtful if there was a practicable alternative to retention of the Emperor during the first nine months. What would have been the outcome if we had overthrown the monarchy and proclaimed a republic

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at the outset? Actually, no such step was authorized by the Potsdam declaration. While it did not specifically guarantee the inviolability of the Emperor, it made no threats against him and every Japanese understood the security of the Throne to be implicit.

General MacArthur points out that this occupation of a nation which was uninvaded, and on its own soil undefeated, was successful "beyond anyone's wildest dreams" and without precedent in history. He is said to believe that our troubles would have been multiplied a thousand fold if we had harmed a hair of the Emperor's head. Bloodshed and chaos would have ensued, our name would live in infamy, and every man would plan for the day, though it be a hundred years from now, when Japan could get revenge.

Big advantages did accrue from making a mouthpiece of the myopic, undersized, palsied, hereditarily handicapped, and on the whole rather pathetic little figure whom the peasants still call Son of Heaven. So deeply ingrained was the Japanese habit of unquestioning obedience to the Tenno that the people docilely accepted, through him, changes which it might have taken two million Allied soldiers, and years of war and civil war, to impose without him.

Nor should we ignore the most important psychological aspect in this technique of using the Throne and a conservative regime to weaken their own structure of power. If we had had to enforce orders solely by direct military means, reactionaries in the future might always have been able to contend that the changes were made against the people's will, and have won a following to revoke them. But with conservative elements themselves assuming direct responsibility, they may never have the "face" to launch such demagogy in repudiation of their own actions.

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Perhaps the role the Emperor voluntarily assumed has impressed the people with his essential puerility and impotence more than anything we could have said or done. Now the masses begin to realize that he has always been a puppet of others who pulled the strings. Formerly they worshipped him and believed in his supernatural guidance and his ability to shape their destiny. But after accompanying the Emperor for a couple of days on his "popularity tours" I got the impression that today people feel sorry for him rather than awe of him. The very fact that Japanese now discuss the pros and cons of his removal, as a matter of their own choice, reduces him to mortal or even inanimate status. Arbitrary dethronement from without might have martyred him and laid tinder for future fanatics to renew the flame.

But are the Emperor and his conservative colleagues "sincere" in their yeomen service for democracy? The ruling class in Japan is one of the most adroit in history and skilled in holding its own. Faced with unavoidable necessity, it now seeks to make just enough changes to deprive the radical opposition of clear-cut issues, and just enough to re-entrench itself in power. The "Sincerity" of the Imperial Household and Court Circles was clearly enough exposed when, quite by accident, Allied authorities discovered a huge cache worth of precious metals hidden in Tokyo Bay. Somehow everyone in the palace and the government had quite overlooked this little sum in reporting their assets.

Whether Japan is to remain a monarchy or become a republic, whether she is to adopt a modified capitalist, a socialist, or a communist form of economy, are questions which must extend beyond this time period and beyond

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control of SCAP. With formation of the Allied Council and the Far Eastern Commission both the Soviet and British governments are likely to influence policy affecting such matters more than they have to date. And following realization of the punitive terms of the surrender more initiative will doubtless be entrusted to the Japanese themselves.

What has happened in Japan is incomplete and full of imperfections, but in balance compares highly favorably with changes brought about in any occupied European country I have seen, including Finland, Poland, German, Rumania and Austria. True, the purge and punishment of fascist and pre-fascist individuals has been mild compared to abrupt ruination visited upon the same class in countries occupied by the Red Army. Economic changes are also of a tepid character, compared with the land revolution and pre-socialist measures in industrial economy, imposed throughout Eastern Europe.

But the Japanese people now have the means of bringing about all the reforms they need, and they have got them without civil war. Civil liberties exist in a sense unknown in Eastern Europe or China. Though questionable characters retain their private property, some principal means of industrial production have been taken from their control and can, either by later Allied directive or by vote of the Diet, yet be democratized. Meanwhile, the average citizen has suffered less from looting and pillage than you could make most Europeans believe possible. Policed by only 190,000 American soldiers, this country reflects more internal stability than can be found in many of the United Nations themselves, and this is to a great extent traceable to the wisdom of many of MacArthur's administrative policies.

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People here no longer live in fear or terror and the working class, and especially women, are rapidly learning the meaning of their new rights. Perhaps the most encouraging feature of the whole election was the prominent response of women to suffrage. There was an unexpectedly large female vote, and 73% of the eligible voters went to the polls, many at great inconvenience. Contrary to predictions, innumerable women voted independent of male advice, and in many cases against it. Thirty-nine women were elected to the first Diet in which any Japanese woman has ever sat.

There are fewer visible signs of individual want and distress here than in most of East Europe or China, or other Oriental countries. Contrasted with Germany, physically broken up and politically divided, Japan is still economically and geographically united and its fundamental morale and social cohesion remain strong. And now there is a new constitution before the Diet, which offers a way to permanent democracy and eventual acceptance back in the family of nations.

The constitution embodies provisions of the Bill of Rights and other reforms already mentioned. It abolishes the House of Peers and provides for a bicameral legislature popularly elected by secret ballot. It is a charter as democratic as our own, except that it proposes to retain the emperor as a figurehead; but since the people are recognized as sovereign they could abolish the Throne, too.

This new constitution was published with the blessings of "both emperors", but that General MacArthur wrote more of it than the Japanese is accepted as a fact among many observers. The Japanese text reads like a translation and the same is true of the emperor's own rescript, in praise of the document.

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The story is that the Japanese made numerous half-hearted attempts at revising the old constitution, until MacArthur finally became impatient. He called in Shidehara and dictated long important passages, including the entire preamble— a little masterpiece in itself. The Far Eastern Commission was already in being and the Allied Council was about to be activated, and both wanted a hand in drafting the constitution. There was reason to believe that elimination of the Emperor and other alarming innovations might be urged by the Russians. Rather than risk such embarrassment, the now defunct Shidehara regime settled for MacArthur's version while the chance still existed.

Of course any constitutional changes are supposed to be reviewed, in the end, by the Far Eastern Commission. But if the Diet adopts the substance of the present proposals, with the Supreme Commander's endorsement, it would in practice be difficult for the FEAC to withhold approval. Thus the Liberator—as MacArthur is convinced thousands of Japanese actually regard him—seems to have put over a fait accompli which may be regarded as the epitome of his work here.

MacArthur stresses renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy as the constitutions' foremost virtue. While he recognizes that this is a "logical sequence of the destruction of Japan's war potential," he says it goes further to express a determination to "rely for security and survival upon the justice and good faith of the peace-loving peoples of the world," and it promises never to maintain armed forces or any other means of war-making. Here a certain author's pride is unmistakeable, for abandonment of the "sovereign right of belligerency" has lately become SCAP's main

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preoccupation, as Martin Sommers has explained elsewhere in these columns.

Several months ago Sommers and I listened to MacArthur denounce militarism and its idolators, including people who glorify generals and admirals, in terms which I could only thing incongruous for a man who had spent a lifetime learning and practicing the arts of war. Then, in his opening speech before the Allied Council here, when I heard him devote more than half his time, in almost the same words, to extolling that war-renunciation clause in the constitution, and plead for emulation of it by all nations, I could not doubt his sincerity.

It may be that, beyond this newly revealed missionary zeal to demilitarize the world, the distinguished general is applying shrewd psychology in uring democracy upon the Japanese. He knows there is no possibility of Japan becoming a military power in the visible future and he knows the Japanese understand that with deep humiliation. But he also perceives the need that is in the Japanese--as in all men--to believe in their nation's gradeur and in some high moral purpose behind it. Making a virtue of necessity, therefore, he suggests that they glorify their martial weakness by converting it into a moral light to shine across less civilised nations of the world.

"The proposal of the Japanese government in effect but recognizes one further step in evolution of mankind," MacArthur tells us "under which nations would develop, for mutual protection against war, a yet higher law of internations social and political morality."

"It points the way---the only way." And it has the appeal of being unique, Maybe Japanese teachers can persuade a generation yet unborn to take more

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pride in their "higher law" than their fathers took in bushido. Then indeed no man could say that the Pacific War--and the Japanese revolution--were won in vain.

All the same, I would insist on choosing those Japanese teachers, till that new generation grows up.

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