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Room 615 - Mr Hauge

BY WALTER SIMMONS

(Chicago Tribune Press Service)

TOKYO, May 18.--Reports that General MacArthur would soon make a dramatic plane flight to the United States were emphatically squelched today by sources close to the general. They said such rumors, like others which have circulated for more than a year, were "pure fantasy."

"Assuming General MacArthur wanted to campaign actively for the presidential nomination--which he doesn't," said Brig. Gen. Courtney Whitney, "what effect would such a trip have? Elections in the contested states have already taken the nomination out of the voters' hands and entrusted it to the delegates. A return at this time would only make enemies for the General among candidates who have always been friendly. By remaining here and sticking to his job, he retains their friendship, which might be valuable in case of deadlock at the convention."

Gen. Whitney, who is Gen. MacArthur's government officer and closest friend, made it clear he was not speaking for Gen. MacArthur, who has maintained complete silence on political matters. Gen. Whitney pointed out that many newspapers and political leaders who would normally support Gen.MacArthur would consider it unethical for him to return at this time to reap campaign capital from the hero's welcome that many Americans would want to give him on his first return to the United States since the end of the war. Their opposition would reduce the trip to the level of a controversial political move.

Japanese sources, meanwhile, agreed Gen. MacArthur would "destroy his usefulness" in Japan if he openly sought the nomination and failed to get it. By remaining aloof from politics, as he has done thus far, he risks no loss of face, they said.

****

AP WORLD SERVICE

Item 35 with Item 51

Philadelphia, June 26---(AP)---- Japan was mentioned briefly in the closing hours of the Republican national convention which did not nominate Gen. ~~Douglas~~ Douglas Macarthur for the U.S. presidency.

Sen. Joe ~~xx~~ McCarthy of Wisconsin ---Macarthur's home ~~xxxxxx~~ state---- said he was afraid the Japanese might get the wrong idea because the Republicans did not cast more votes for Macarthur.

He offered a ~~xxxx~~ resolution calling for the convention to express its gratitude and appreciation of the " ~~xxxx~~ " heroic role Macarthur has played."

The resolution was approved .

-----30-----

AP WORLD SERVICE

ITEM 36 PHILADELPHIA, JUNE 27--(AP)--A RESOLUTION OF "GRATITUDE AND APPRECIATION" TO GENERAL DOUGLAS MACARTHUR FOR THE "HEROIC ROLE" HE PLAYED IN WAR AND PEACE WAS PLACED BEFORE THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION TODAY AT ITS CLOSING SESSION.

THAT PROBABLY WILL BE THE END OF IT, BUT IT SERVED THE PURPOSE OF SENATOR JOSEPH MR McCARTHY OF WISCONSIN WHO OFFERED IT.

MR McCARTHY SAID HE DID NOT WANT JAPAN TO GET ANY WRONG IDEAS ABOUT THE SMALL NUMBER OF VOTES THE GENERAL GOT FOR THE PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION AFTER BEING PROPOSED FORMALLY TO THE CONVENTION.

THE RESOLUTION WAS READ TO THE CONVENTION IN THE FINAL FEW MINUTES OF ITS FIVE DAY SESSION. SINCE RESOLUTION TRADITIONALLY MUST BE PASSED UPON BY THE CONVENTION'S RESOLUTION'S COMMITTEE, IT WAS REFERRED TO THAT BODY. THE ONLY TROUBLE IS THAT THE RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE DIED A SUDDEN DEATH WHEN THE GAVEL BANGED TO CLOSE THE CONVENTION A FEW MINUTES LATER.

MACARTHUR GOT 11 VOTES, 8 OF THEM FROM WISCONSIN, ON THE FIRST BALLOT. HE GOT SEVEN, ALL BUT ONE FROM WISCONSIN, ON THE SECOND.

-HYK 37-

6-6-5

add warren, considine, philadelphia x x x integrity."

He lauded the accomplishments of the 80th Congress, dominated by Republicans.

He turned fondly to his wife and said:

"My dear wife, who will sustain me through the difficult days ahead."

He mentioned his daughters Dorothy, Virginia and Nina -- three other Warren kids could not make it -- and then finished shyly by saying:

"I do not mean to make a speech. You have heard enough speeches."

Before Warren arrived and after he left, Martin and his deputies droned through a long series of resolutions.

Only one, commending Gen. Douglas MacArthur for his work in the Pacific, bestirred the audience -- eager now to get out of Philadelphia.

The resolution which was referred to the resolutions committee said MacArthur "by his efficient, fair and HUMANE administration of Japan [redacted] has given the world a [redacted] example of how peoples may live togeth r in peace."

He said that MacArthur has "exemplified the belief of this convention that peace and prosperity can be returned to the world without the appeasment of evil forces."

(more)

WASHINGTON, JUNE 22--(UP)-- ARMY SOURCES SAID THE ARMED FORCES RADIO SERVICE WOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO BROADCAST PROCEEDINGS OF THE REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC CONVENTIONS TO SERVICE PERSONNEL IN JAPAN AND OTHER OVERSEAS AREAS.

A DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL XXXXXXXXXXX/SAID THE DECISION AROSE FROM FEARS THAT THE ARMY WOULD BE CRITICIZED BY CONGRESSMEN FOR FAVORING ONE SIDE OR THE OTHER.

POINTING OUT THAT LEGISLATION REQUIRES XXXXXXXX ARMED FORCES RADIO BROADCASTS TO GIVE EQUAL TIME TO BOTH SIDES OF ANY POLITICAL QUESTION, HE SAID IT WAS BELIEVED IMPOSSIBLE TO CARRY "LIVE" PROCEEDINGS FROM BOTH CONVENTIONS WITHOUT RUNNING THE RISK THAT ONE SIDE OR THE OTHER WOULD FEEL IT HAD BEEN GIVEN AN UNFAVORABLE SHOWING.

THE OFFICIAL EXPLANATION GIVEN BY THE DEPARTMENT, HOWEVER, WAS THAT THE ARMED FORCES RADIO SERVICE DOES NOT HAVE FACILITIES FOR CARRYING LIVE BROADCASTS FROM PHILADELPHIA "NOR DOES IT HAVE MONEY TO MAKE ARRANGEMENTS FOR SUCH."

ARMY OFFICIALS SAID THAT XX SO FAR AS THEY KNEW HERE THERE WAS NO ATTEMPT TO KEEP XXX MILITARY OR CIVILIAN PERSONNEL SERVING THE UNITED STATES OVERSEAS IN THE DARK CONCERNING CONVENTION DEVELOPMENTS. THEY SAID THAT AFRS STATIONS WOULD BROADCAST NEWS BULLETINS RECEIVED FROM REPUTABLE NEWS AGENCIES AND THUS GIVE THE INFORMATION REQUIRED.

RP1107A

From New York - 0205 - 24 June 48

Overseas call from Alexander (?) WOR about why the convention is not being broadcast to the troops in the Japan area...and the prize fight is...I told him I did not know that the prize fight was, but that all the broadcasts we had were over old beat-up Jap stations that we had taken over and that no broadcasts were direct but were all by platter...that any pickups over here from short wave were rebroadcasts platter jobs...that there were no direct facilities for broadcast of short wave in Japan...that AFRS short wave broadcast from LA went out as it was sent from USA over various Jap outlets as Tokyo..Sendai..Osaka..Fukuoka...that as far as I knew prize fight had no preference over convention...I told him that we had nothing to do with what came from the US over the AFRS on their short wave from LA...he checked the time differential and I said my watch read 0205 and he said his read 1205 and I said that was o.k. since we were 14 hours ahead of them with both being on daylight saving time..... 30

Apparently, some correspondent here had broadcast or filed a story that the convention is not being broadcast but the Lewis-Walcott fight is -- some more censorship stuff.

M. P. E.

APPLETON, WIS., JUNE 20--(UP)--WALTER MELCHIOR, WISCONSIN DELEGATE TO THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION, ~~XNX~~ HAS CHARGED THAT THREE OF NINE WISCONSIN DELEGATES PLEDGED TO GENERAL DOUGLAS MACARTHUR WERE "POLITICAL TRAITORS."

MELCHIOR SAID IN A LETTER TO HARLAN KELLY, CHAIRMAN OF THE MACARTHUR DELEGATION, THAT ONE MEMBER OF THE GROUP STATED THAT HE NEVER HAD BEEN FOR MACARTHUR.

"TWO OF OUR DELEGATES," HE SAID, " INDICATED RECENTLY IN MILWAUKEE THAT THEY CONSIDERED THEMSELVES RELEASED AND HAVING PERFORMED THEIR DUTY TO DOUGLAS MACARTHUR AFTER CASTING A COMPLIMENTARY VOTE. THOSE READY TO DOUBLECROSS THEIR CANDIDATE MUST BE BRANDED AS POLITICAL TRAITORS."

HE DID NOT IDENTIFY THE DELEGATES. HE SAID HAROLD E. STASSEN'S WISCONSIN SUPPORTERS ARE TRYING TO "RAID THE MACARTHUR DELEGATION IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE FIRST OR SECOND BALLOT."

MARSHALL GRAFF, ANOTHER APPLETON DELEGATE ~~X~~ PLEDGED TO MACARTHUR, SAID: "IN CASE OF A DEADLOCK THE MACARTHUR STRENGTH WILL APPEAR IN THE CONVENTION HALL FOR THE FIRST TIME."

THE WISCONSIN REPUBLICAN DELEGATION INCLUDES 19 DELEGATES PLEDGED TO STASSEN IN ADDITION TO NINE ~~XXXXXXXXX~~ MACARTHUR SUPPORTERS.

DG835P

SPECIAL TO YOMIURI AND NISHI NIPPON

byBARRY FARIS

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF, INTERNATIONAL NEWS SERVICE

(via Overseas Telephone to Tokyo from the International News Service Convention Bureau in the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel, Philadelphia, headquarters for the Republican National Convention.)

Governor Thomas E. Dewey gained strength on the first day of the Republican National Convention and has become the "man to beat" for the Presidential Nomination, but the nomination isn't certain for him or anyone else yet.

In fact, this is the most wide open nominating convention we have had in years, and although Dewey is leading in strength right now, he does not have enough votes to win yet and probably will have to win within the first five ballots or fall behind.

He won Georgia's 16 votes Monday morning when the National Committee accredited the Dewey delegation ~~[illegible]~~ and refused to admit the delegation pledged to ~~[illegible]~~ Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio to the convention.

All you could hear in the crowded hotel headquarters was Dewey talk the first day. Dewey's headquarters predicted victory early, and all other headquarters talked about stopping Dewey, although there is no rpt no concerted plan to stop him.

Former Governor Harold E. Stassen, of Minnesota, ~~[illegible]~~ doesn't seem to be going anywhere. Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg of Michigan has been WITHERING ~~dying on the vine~~ for a week politicially. He motored in from Washington Monday morning, but disappointed his supporters by failing to make either a dramatic entrance or statement.

more

first add faris, philadelphia x x x statement.

The busiest headquarters is that of Gen. Douglas MacArthur, whose chances will become good if Dewey fails to win the nomination within the first five ballots.

Gen. Jonathan Wainwright, although not a delegate to the convention, must have talked with at least 2,000 people personally Monday in his effort to win the nomination for his former Commander-in-Chief.

Wainwright will second the nomination of MacArthur, despite the fact that he is not a delegate. The convention waived the rules to permit him to take the platform to speak for MacArthur because of his position as a soldier who has rendered great service and sacrifice to his country.

mAnd when Wainwright seconds the nomination he will hold high the MacArthur petitions signed by more than 1,000,000 voters and then drop them to the Convention Hall platform.

The MacArthur headquarters was trying to win over the Arkansas delegation to the proposal that it yield its place in the list of states to Wisconsin, so that the MacArthur nomination would be the first put begore the convention. MacArthur was born in Arkansas, but his legal residence is Wisconsin.

Public sentiment for MacArthur is still mounting. The Gallup Poll ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ released last Friday showed Mac Arthur was ahead of Taft in public support.

more

second add faris, philadelphia x x x support.

The main thing to remember, though, is that anything can happen in this convention, so don't go overboard on anyone.

The way it lines up now, Dewey will lead Taft by about 30 votes on the first ballot and probably will increase his lead on the second.

It will take about four ballots to see how far Dewey can go. If he hasn't won by then, he probably will not win. And the way we figure it, Dewey won't get more than about 450 votes, almost 100 short of the necessary 548 votes.

If the convention goes beyond the fifth ballot then there will be a wide open race such as we have seldom seen.

The important point there is that this is no boss-controlled convention. The delegations are standing on their own feet and making up their own minds. There isn't going to be a group of king-makers in a backroom like there was in 1920 when Warren G. Harding was nominated.

As I told you, there are 20 delegations I know of who don't intend to make up their minds until the voting starts.

The victory feeling for the party as a whole is complete. Everyone feels that this convention will name the next president. Carroll Reece, the Republican National Chairman, instructed band-leader Meyer Davis to change the convention theme song to the happy-go-lucky "Today is My Lucky Day."

more

third add faris, philadelphia x x x Day."

There have been a few spasmodic parades, but nothing organized yet. These will come later.

But you don't really need parades in this town now.

The crowd is tremendous. It's the best show on earth right now, and the fact that almost nobody is going to leave for New York ~~Thursday~~ WEDNESDAY night to see the Joe Louis-Jersey Joe Walcott heavyweight championship fight proves that. THE BALLOTING COULD BE COMPLETED WEDNESDAY NIGHT.

A Louis fight usually outdraws almost anything, but the Republicans have taken the play away from Louis this time.

It only takes about an hour and a half by train to New York, too.

Fortunately, in this crowd, we have not had oppressive heat.

The temperature ranged about 70 to 75 degrees Fahrenheit Monday, which is unusually cool for this time of year.

(Faris said it was cloudy all day Monday, but he had to check on that because he hadn't been outside the Hotel and his bureau all day.)

The hotel is so jammed it takes half an hour to get on an elevator. Everybody is in the hotel, where the National Committee has its headquarters along with the headquarters of all the sub-committees, Dewey, Stassen, Taft, MacArthur and everybody else.

In addition all the news agencies have the bureaus in the hotel, along with smaller bureaus of the leading newspapers.

5-5-5

fourth add faris, philadelphia x x x newspapers.

It's a boom town, of course.

Pennsylvania is a dry state and you can't buy a drink ~~xx~~ ~~xxxx

PHILADELPHIA, June 21--(UP)--General MacArthur's availability for the Republican Presidential nomination was formally assured by General Jonathan Wainwright when he read the press a telegram from MacArthur which Wainwright said meant "we may assume by implication that he will accept."

MacArthur 's telegram from Tokyo said:

"Dear Jonathan have just ~~xxxxxx~~ received your letter and ~~xxxxxxx~~ and hope sincerely that you will be able to attend convention. Your invincible support at that time will reflect our long comradship of service and will mean much to me personally regardless of the outcome of issues immediately involved. Affectionate regards. MacArthur."

Wainwright said he realized that many of the ~~xxxxxxx~~ delegates would come to the convention pledged to other candidates.

"I urge them to discharge their obligations," he said. "I anticipate this convention will reach a point when all delegates will be free to consider another candidate. When that time comes, I beg the delegates to nominate Douglas MacArthur."

Wainwright declined to estimate the number of potential MacArthur delegates and said he could not predict whether MacArthur would be nominated on the sixth or 25th ballot.

Wainwright drew press conference applause when he referred to himself as a delegate "from the United States at large."

(more)

ADD MACARTHURS AVAILABILITY, PHILADELPHIA, X X X LARGE."

Wainwright said MacArthur will be placed in nomination by Harlan Kelley of Milwaukee, a member of the Wisconsin delegation.

Wainwright paid tribute to MacArthur's "matchless achievements as a soldier and statesman."

"My admiration for Douglas MacArthur is shared by the American people without regard to party affiliation," he said. "The spontaneous movement to make Douglas MacArthur the next president of the United States is the peoples' movement. His nomination will assure party harmony and his election will bring national unity."

He said MacArthur as the Republican standard bearer will "protect our nation in this critical period of world affairs and will preserve the dearly purchased liberties which have made the United States the perfect pattern of free government for all the peoples of the earth."

-eh838a-

AP WORLD SERVICE

ITEM 50 BY JACK BELL

WASHINGTON, MAY 24--(AP)--GOVERNOR THOMAS E. DEWEY OREGON PRIMARY VICTORY OVER HAROLD E. STASSEN LAST WEEK WAS LOOKED ON IN POLITICAL CIRCLES HER TODAY AS AN INDIRECT BOOST FOR THE REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL DARKHOUSE CHANCES OF SENATOR ARTHUR VANDENBURG OF MICHIGAN.

ALTHOUGH STASSEN HAS ANNOUNCED HE WILL REDOUBLE HIS EFFORTS, MANY REPUBLICAN POLITICIANS OUTSIDE HIS CAMP HAVE BEGUN TO DISCOUNT THE FORMER MINNESOTA GOVERNOR BID FOR THE NOMINATION.

THEIR VIEWPOINT/~~XXX~~ DISPUTED QUICKLY BY THE STASSEN PEOPLE -- IS THAT THE YOUTHFUL CONTENDER NOW CAN NOT CONVINCE UNINSTRUCTED ~~XXXX~~ DELEGATIONS HE IS THE LOGICAL CHOICE.

STASSENS CLAIM THAT HE WILL HAVE 340 VOTES ON THE FIRST BALLOT --- MADE IN THE FLUSH OF WISCONSIN AND NEBRASKA SUCCESSES -- NOW IS WIDELY DISPUTED.

BUT IF WHATEVER TOTAL HE HAS DOES NOT PROVE ENOUGH TO BRING HIM THE NOMINATION, ~~XXXXX~~ THERE ARE STRONG INDICATIONS THAT STASSEN WOULD LIKE TO TOSS HIS STRENGTH BEHIND ANY MOVE MADE IN VANDENBURG'S DIRECTION.

THE MICHIGAN SENATOR CONTINUES TO DENY HE IS A CANDIDATE.

BUT VANDENBERG DENIALS HAVE LOST FORCE WITH POLITICIANS IN THE FACE OF MORE OR LESS OPEN BACKING BEING GIVEN HIM FOR THE NOMINATION BY SUCH MEN AS GOVERNOR JAMES DUFF OF PENNSYLVANIA AND OTHERS.

THE ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ SENATOR IS KNOWN TO HAVE TOLD DUFF THAT HE HOPED THE PENNSYLVANIA WOULD ABANDON HIS VANDENBERG CAMPAIGN. DUFF IS REPORTED TO HAVE REPLIED THAT HE WOULD DO NOTHING OF THE SORT. THE ~~XX~~ MATTER APPARENTLY WAS ALLOWED TO REST THERE.

-MORE-

AP WORLD SERVICE

ADD ITEM 50 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION. WASHINGTON. BY BELL.

X X X REST THERE.

STASSEN HAS MADE NO SECRETARY OF HIS ADMIRATION FOR VANDENBERG AND WHAT THE MICHIGAN SENATOR STANDS FOR IN THE FOREIGN POLICY FIELD.

IF STASSEN BLOK OF VOTERS WERE COMBINED WITH MICHIGANS 41 WHICH ALREADY ARE FOR VANDENBERG, PLUS THE MORE THAN HALF DUFF IS SAID TO CONTROL OF KEEXER PENNSYLVANIA 73, THE PROBLEMS OF A VANDERBERG BOOM MIGHT TAKE SHAPE.

9 AGAINST THIS POSSIBILITY, XXXXX THERE ARE INDICATIONS THAT GOVERNOR DEWEY AND SENATOR ROBERT A. TAFT OF OHIO WILL TRY TO PREVENT THE KIND OF CONVENTION DEADLOCK THAT WOULD GIVE ANY DARKHORSE A REAL OPENING.

AP WORLD SERVICE

ITEM 1 BY JACK BELL

WASHINGTON, MAY 25—(AP)—BACKERS OF SENATOR ROBERT TAFT HOPE GENERAL MACARTHUR WILL COME OUT IN SUPPORT OF THE OHIO SENATOR AS THE REPUBLICAN NOMINESE FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES IF THE GENERAL CONCLUDES HE CAN NOT WIN THE NOMINATION HIMSELF.

THE TAFT CAMP ADMITS PRIVATELY THAT A CHIEF WORRY IS THE FEELING AMONG SOME REPUBLICAN DELEGATES TO THE PARTY'S NATIONAL NOMINATING CONVENTION THAT THE OHIOAN MIGHT NOT BE ABLE TO WIN IN THE NOVEMBER GENERAL ELECTION EVEN IF HE GETS THE NOMINATION.

THEY THINK THERE IS A POSSIBELITY THE DEMOCRATS, WHOSE ~~XXX~~ NOMINATING CONVENTION COMES AFTER THE REPUBLICANS, MAY CHOOSE GENERAL EISENHOWER. HENCE THE TAFT BACKERS WOULD LIKE TO HAVE MACARTHUR ON THEIR SIDE AS A SECURITY HEDGE IN THE MINDS OF DELEGATES.

THE TAFT CAMP IS CREDITED WITH SPURRING THE LATEST MOVE TO GET THE ALLIED SUPREME COMMANDER HOME FROM JAPAN TO TESTIFY BEFORE THE US SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE ON FAR EASTERN CONDITIONS BEFORE THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION BEGINS JUNE 21.

SOME CONGRESSIONAL SOURCES SAY MACARTHUR WILL COME BACK IF SUFFICIENTLY URGED EVEN THOUGH HE TURNED DOWN A PREVIOUS BID FROM HOUSE MEMBERS.

IF MACARTHUR SHOULD DECIDE HE CAN NOT WIN, TAFTS SUPPORTERS HAVE THEIR EYE ON THE EIGHT DELEGATES PLEDGED TO THE GENERAL'S SUPPORT IN WISCONSIN, THE TWO IN ILLINOIS AND SCATTERED STRENGTH ELSEWHERE.

THE TAFT PEOPLE SAYS THEIR FEAR OF A CONVENTION SLITA BY HAROLD STASSEN WAS EASED BY HIS OX LOSS TO GOVERNOR THOMAS DEWEY OF NEW YORK IN LAST WEEK'S OREGON PRIMARY. BUT WHAT THEY GAINED THERE, THEY LOST IN NEW WORRY ABOUT DEWEY'S REGAINED STRENGTH.

-0-

-NYK-

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
Government Section

JAPANESE PRESS

16 April, 1948

The following editorial on the results of the Wisconsin primary was carried this morning in the newspaper JIJI SHIMPO:

"Regarding the defeat of General MacArthur in the primary election in Wisconsin, a UP dispatch from Washington reported recently that the various Scripps-Howard newspapers editorialized to the effect that General MacArthur has not lost face among the American people as the result of the recent primary defeat, no matter how the Japanese people may regard it. The papers added that General MacArthur has brought a new sense of democracy, which is far different from the sense of face, to the minds of the Japanese people. Contrary to the supposition of these journals, we are sure that none of the Japanese have ever thought that General MacArthur lost face as the result of the election defeat in Wisconsin.

"The Japanese pay respect to the attitude of the Supreme Commander to accept all public duties as the duty of an American citizen, if the American people should recommend him. Therefore, we were watching the returns on the primary election with keener interest than any other people in the World. Moreover, the Japanese people have well recognized the fact that General MacArthur had to fight his election campaign under the most unfavorable conditions as the result of his long absence from the United States. Therefore, the respect of the Japanese for General MacArthur has been left unchanged, no matter what the election returns may be. Even in elections in Japan, the Japanese people do not think that the election result of a candidate affects his fame. Election results depend on the success of election tactics and various other factors."

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NOTED
BY

WORD "QUIT" NOT IN MACARTHUR'S ~~EXERXXXXXX~~ VOCABULARY

By International News Service

OSHKOSH, Wisconsin, April 13--(INS)--A cablegram from General Douglas MacArthur's headquarters in Tokyo Monday informed an Oshkosh industrialist that the world "quit" is not in the General's vocabulary.

William J. Campbell, candidate on the MacArthur delegate at large slate in last Tuesday's Presidential primary in Wisconsin, sent the following cablegram to General MacArthur:

"Don't quit regardless of Nebraska. Wisconsin was a skirmish only. Properly analyzed, ~~xix~~ a victory."

In reply, Gen. MacArthur's Public Relations Officer Brig.-Gen. Courtney Whitney stated:

"The General has an exceptionally broad vocabulary but in your ~~xxxxx~~ message you mention one word which I never heard him use. I refer to the word 'quit.' Regards."

The Wisconsin primary resulted in 19 delegates pledged to Harold Stassen, and eight to MacArthur and Thomas E. Dewey failed to gain any delegates in the Badger State ~~xxting~~ balloting.

mm

AP WORLD SERVICE (O-3)

ITEM 3 - MOSCOW - MARCH 11 - (AP) -- PRAVDA, THE COMMUNIST PARTY NEWSPAPER, SAID TODAY THERE HAVE BEEN ~~FOUR~~ 4,000 JAPANESE DEATHS FROM SPOILED AMERICAN SOYBEAN FLOUR. IT SAID THE/ AMERICANS ARE DOING EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO HUSH UP THE MATTER.

THE NEWSPAPER QUOTED A JAPAN DISPATCH OF THE SOVIET NEWS AGENCY TASS, WHICH SAID JAPANESE JOURNALISTIC CIRCLES CONFIRMED THERE HAD BEEN AT LEAST 2,000 PERSONS POISONED FATALLY IN TOKYO, AND A LIKE NUMBER IN HACHIOJI, A TOWN JUST SOUTHWEST OF TOKYO, SINCE THE AMERICAN OCCUPATION.

THE ARTICLE ALSO SAID THERE WERE OTHER INCIDENTS OF ~~POISON~~ POISONING OF TOKYO JAPANESE FROM DEFECTIVE AMERICAN FOOD.

IT SAID THAT ON FEBRUARY 25 THERE WERE 810 CASES OF SERIOUS FOOD POISONING OFFICIALLY REPORTED. TASS SAID IT PRESUMED THE FIGURE WAS SEVERAL TIMES LARGER SINCE " AMERICAN AUTHORITIES ARE DOING EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO KEEP THE MATTER QUIET".

(ON JULY 11, 1946, JAPANESE POLICE REPORTED 800 WORKERS HAD BECOME ILL FROM PTOMAINE POISONING CAUSED BY EATING TAINTED FISH LOAVES SERVED IN 20 FACTORIES. THE POLICE SAID THE MASS POISONING WERE THE WORST EVER EXPERIENCED IN TOKYO. NO DEATHS WERE REPORTED).

-VA-

General ~~th~~/paper comment.

LONDON, March 11--(UP)-- Radio Moscow has broadcast a Tass dispatch from Tokyo reporting that thousands of Japanese were poisoned by imported American soya flour.

The official Soviet newsagency dispatch quoted Japanese newspapers as saying that "over ~~xxx~~ 2,000 persons in Tokyo have died as result of poisoning with American food."

The dispatch further quoted newspapers as reporting that 2,000 to 3,000 tons of "poisoned flour" is still stored in Japanese warehouses. Tass said a delegation of Japanese Communists protested to the director of the Food Department. It claimed that the Communists ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ were told that ~~xx~~ "another big consignment is expected shortly from the United States and it is impossible to stop this shipment. "

Tass said Japanese newspapers three weeks ago reported almost daily cases of food poisoning. It said five persons died out of 120 officially reported gravely ill.

(The Tokyo Metropolitan Police Board reported food poisoning cases on February 25. It said 800 persons were ill, and three died after eating imported soya bean flour. The United States Occupation authorities said exhaustive laboratory tests proved that without doubt the flour distributed among Japanese through official ration channels contained no poison. A SCAP Public Health and Welfare Section spokesman said laboratory tests revealed ~~xxxx~~ evidence of straphyloccoccus bacteria in baked and partially baked goods made in Japan, indicating strongly that contamination came from handling in Japan.)

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ds610p

AP TOKYO SERVICE loc 5

By The Associated Press

TOKYO, March 10-(AP)---A Japanese policeman who has received a return salute daily from Gen. MacArthur for two and a half years was sorry today to hear he might be saluting a different man soon.

Goro Uchida, Japanese police guard at the Dai Ichi building entrance since the occupation beginning, said he had been struck by MacArthur's personality because "however busy he might be he always returns our salute."

Uchida said he was moved by MacArthur waving them back into the shade in the hot summer time. "He is a men of great consideration," he said.

-ym

AP TOKYO SERVICE (LOCAL 6)

BY RUSSELL BRINES

BY THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

TOKYO - MARCH 10 - (AP) -- GENERAL MACARTHUR ANNOUNCED THIS MORNING HE WOULD NOT DISCUSS POLITICS WITH CORRESPONDENTS AND THE OCCUPATION WOULD NOT CHANGE "IN THE SLIGHTEST" AS RESULT OF HIS ENTRY INTO THE POLITICAL CAMPAIGN.

THE ANNOUNCEMENT WAS MADE THROUGH COLONEL M.P. ECHOLS, PUBLIC INFORMATION OFFICER, DECLINED REQUEST FOR A SPECIAL PRESS CONFERENCE AND NEW PICTURES OF THE SUPREME COMMANDER.

ECHOLS SAID AFTER CONFERRING WITH MACARTHUR THAT YESTERDAY'S STATEMENT WAS MADE "IN HIS CAPACITY AS A PRIVATE CITIZEN. HE HAS NOTHING TO ADD TO IT. IT DOES NOT CHANGE IN THE SLIGHTEST THE MISSION AND THE ROUTINE OF THE GENERAL HEADQUARTERS AS A MILITARY HEADQUARTERS, SOLELY CONCERNED WITH THE CONDUCT OF OCCUPATION OF JAPAN.

MACARTHUR SAID HE WOULD CONTINUE HIS PREVIOUS CUSTOM OF SEEING CORRESPONDENTS "WHEN TIME PERMITS" FOR BACKGROUND DISCUSSIONS OF THE OCCUPATION. CUSTOMARILY MACARTHUR DOES NOT PERMIT HIMSELF TO BE QUOTED.

THE ANNOUNCEMENT FOLLOWED NUMEROUS REQUESTS BY CORRESPONDENTS FOR A PRESS CONFERENCE TO OUTLINE MACARTHUR'S VIEWPOINTS ON MAJOR POLITICAL ISSUES. IN PAST/ OFF-RECORD CONFERENCES THE SUPREME COMMANDER USUALLY HAS AVOIDED DISCUSSING POLITICS AND HAS LEFT FEW HINTS DROP OF HIS OPINIONS ON PRINCIPAL NATIONAL ISSUES.

HIS LAST FORMAL PRESS CONFERENCE - AND THE ONLY ONE DURING THE OCCUPATION - WAS HELD IN MARCH 1947 WHEN HE ATTENDED A LUNCHEON AT THE CORRESPONDENTS CLUB AND OUTLINED HIS REASONS FOR PROPOSING AN EARLY PEACE TREATY FOR JAPAN.

(MORE)

AP TOKYO SERVICE (CONT'D LOCAL 6 - PAGE 22222)

(MACARTHUR, X X X X X FOR JAPAN)

AIDES SAID MACARTHUR HAS INSISTED THAT BUSINESS CONTINUE AS USUAL IN THE HEADQUARTERS. THEY ADDED HE WAS CONCERNED YESTERDAY WITH USUAL OCCUPATION PROBLEMS AND USUAL CONFERENCES WITH KEY STAFF OFFICERS.

DESPITE MACARTHUR'S INSISTENCE UPON NORMALCY, TOKYO REMAINED CHARGED WITH SPECULATION. HIS OFFICERS CONTINUED TO DISCUSS THE ANNOUNCEMENT AND CHANCES OF THE " OLD MAN" TO WIN THE NOMINATION. A NEW PHRASE CROPPED UP - " THE MOVEMENT TO AMERICA" TO COVER THOSE APPARENTLY EXPECTING TO RETURN HOME WITH THE GENERAL WHEN AND IF HE LEAVES.

JAPANESE NEWSPAPERS SPLASHED MACARTHUR'S ANNOUNCEMENT AS TOP STORY, OBSCURING THEIR OWN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS WHICH HAD DOMINATED THE PAPERS THROUGHOUT THE PAST TWO WEEKS. THE NIPPON KEIZAI REFLECTED GENERAL OPINION BY SAYING JAPAN MUST " SHARE" MACARTHUR WITH THE WORLD.

BEHIND THE SCENES, HOWEVER, THE JAPANESE BEGAN SPECULATING INTENSELY OVER THE PROBABLE EFFECTS UPON THE OCCUPATION. GENERAL FEELING OF POLITICAL AND INDUSTRIAL CIRCLES WAS THAT LT.GENERAL ROBERT L. EICHELBERGER, COMMANDER THE EIGHTH ARMY, WOULD SUCCEED AS SCAP IF MACARTHUR RETURNS TO UNITED STATES. EICHELBERGER IS POPULAR IN JAPAN AND HIS SELECTION WOULD BE HAILED.

EVEN DEEPER BEHIND THE SCENES WERE INDICATIONS JAPANESE LEADERS WERE MANEUVERING TO CAPITALIZE ON ANY RELAXATION OF THE OCCUPATION. FORMER PRIME MINISTER SHIGERU YOSHIDA, LEADER OF THE ARCH-CONSERVATIVE LIBERAL PARTY AND VALLED KEY POLITICAL/INDUSTRIAL LEADERS INTO A CONFERENCE TO DISCUSS A PROPOSED NEW PARTY EMBRACING CONSERVATIVE POLITICAL ELEMENTS.

(MORE)

AP TOKYO SERVICE (CONT'D LOCAL 6 - PAGE 33333)

MACARTHUR XX X X X X X X POLITICAL ELEMENTS)

JAPANESE SOURCES SAID THE MEETING ORIGINALLY HAD BEEN SCHEDULED FOR MARCH 15 AND MOVED UP WHEN IT BECAME CLEAR PRIME MINISTER HITOSHI ASHIDA WOULD COMPLETE WWW FORMATION OF HIS NEW CABINET. BUT THERE ALSO WAS THE SUGGESTION ASHIDA WANTED TO HASTEN DISCUSSION OF A STRATEGY IN CASE MACARTHUR LEAVES.

THE CURB MARKET RISE YESTERDAY ALSO REFLECTED OPINION THAT THE UNITED STATES POLITICAL CAMPAIGN MIGHT HELP THE EXPECTED RELAXATION OF ECONOMIC REFORM MEASURES NOW UNDERWAY TO COMPLETE THE TRUST BUSTING PROGRAM.

MACARTHUR'S ANNOUNCEMENT TODA SHOWED HE WOULD NOT GO OUT OF HIS WAY TO WIN THE SOMETIMES CRITICAL TOKYO PRESS CORPS TO THE PRESIDENTIAL BANDWAGON, MAJOR NEWS AGENCIES, RADIO NETWORKS AND LEADING XXXXXXXX NEWSPAPERS AND NEWS MAGAZINES ARE REPRESENTED HERE BY STAFF MEN, MANY OF WHOM ACCOMPANIED MACARTHUR THROUGH THE PHILIPPINES CAMPAIGN.

THE ONLY POSED PICTURES OF MACARTHUR PERMITTED IN THE PAST HAVE BEEN TAKEN BY SIGNAL CORPS XXX CAMERAMEN. NO RECENT SHOTS HAVE BEEN AVAILABLE OF THE MACARTHUR FAMILY AS A GROUP. ONE OF THE GENERAL'S INFLEXIBLE RULES PROHIBITS EVEN THE SIGNAL CORPS FROM PHOTOGRAPHING HIS SON, ARTHUR.

NUMEROUS UNPOSED PICTURES HAVE BEEN TAKEN WHILE HE IS LEAVING OR ENTERING HIS HEADQUARTERS, ATTENDING PARADES OR INFREQUENT SOCIAL ENGAGEMENTS.

-VA

(WITH MACARTHUR)

AP TOKYO SERVICE (LOCAL 1)

BY TOM LAMBERT

ITOKYO - MARCH 11 - (AP) -- JAPAN'S TOP COMMUNIST IS UNCERTAIN WHETHER OR NOT GENERAL MACARTHUR WOULD MAKE A GOOD PRESIDENT.

SANZO NOZAKA, COMMUNIST PARTY SECRETARY, TOLD THE ASSOCIATED PRESS YESTERDAY " IN JAPAN GENERAL MACARTHUR HAS WORKED GREATLY FOR DEMOCRATIZATION OF THE COUNTRY. THE SITUATION IN THE UNITED STATES IN COMPLETELY DIFFERENT. WE CANNOT TELL IF HE WILL BE ALL RIGHT IN THE UNITED STATES".

MACARTHUR HAS WORKED AS A SOLDIER IN JAPAN, NOZAKA BELIEVES. "WE CANNOT TELL HOW HE WOULD BE AS PRESIDENT OR POLITICIAN".

THE RED LEADER SAID IF MACARTHUR SHOULD LEAVE JAPAN " WE DESIRE SOMEONE WHO CAN CARRY THROUGH COMPLETION OF JAPANESE DEMOCRATIZATION".

" THE WHOLE THING IS AN INTERNAL PROBLEM OF AMERICA", NOZAKA CONCLUDED.

-VA-

FOLO MACARTHUR

SACRAMENTO, Cal.,March 11--(UP)-- Governor Earl Warren of California, a Republican presidential nominee possibility, in commenting on General Douglas MacArthur's "availability as candidate, said he had "very great admiration for General MacArthur and for his military genius."

"He is one of our great Americans," he added.

WASHINGTON, March 10--(UP)-- Senator Glenn H. Taylor, Henry Wallace's running mate for the vice-presidency, raked United States Far Eastern policy, branding Philippines president Manuel Roxas a "collaborator," Chiang Kai-shek a "tyrant" and charging the United States was trying to rebuild Japan militarily for help against Russia.

He also declared reactionaries were still in control in Korea.

Taylor said: "The Philippines should be our friends. I am sorry to say the picture is not that rosy. We took the Philippines from the Spaniards but left the same feudal exploiters in control.

"We gave then independence but before we permitted them to embark upon the seas as a sovereign nation we made them re-write their constitution."

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DECLASSIFIED E.O. 11652 SEC. 3(E) AND 5(D) OR (E) NNDB # 775012

AP WORLD SERVICE

ITEM 61 WITH 20

BOSTON, MARCH 10--(AP)--MAYOR JAMES M. CURLEY OF BOSTON, FORMER DEMOCRATIC GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS, SAID TODAY THE NAME OF GENERAL DOUGLAS MACARTHUR WILL BE PRESENTED TO THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION NEXT JULY.

CURLEY SAID MACARTHUR WOULD BE PUT IN NOMINATION "BY SOMEBODY BIGGER THAN I." HOWEVER, HE DECLINED TO NAME THE PERSON WHO WOULD OFFER MACARTHUR'S NAME.

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DECLASSIFIED E.O. 11652 SEC. 3(E) AND 3(D) OR (E) NNDB # 773012

AP TOKYO SERVICE (LOCAL 1)

BY RUSSELL BRINES

TOKYO - MARCH 10 - (AP) -- GENERAL DOUGLAS MACARTHUR HAD REACHED THE END OF A CYCLE YESTERDAY IN THE LONG HISTORY OF WWII WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION FROM BATAAN TO TOKYO.

HIS FORMAL ENTRY INTO POLITICS - EVEN OBLIQUELY - OPENED A NEW CAREER AND PARTIALLY CLOSED THE OLD ONE FOR THE SOLDIER AND ADMINISTRATOR WHO HAS BEEN A DOMINANT FIGURE IN THE FAR EAST FOR OVER A DECADE.

HEREAFTER HIS POLICIES AND ACTIONS DOUBTLESS WILL BE INTERPRETED BY BOTH AMERICANS AND JAPANESE AGAINST THE BACKDROP OF THE PRESIDENCY, NOT OF HIS POSITION AS SUPREME COMMANDER.

FOR THE FIRST TIME IN YEARS, MACARTHUR WILL BE DEPENDENT UPON PUBLIC OPINION IN THE UNITED STATES. THIS IN ITSELF MAY REQUIRE CHANGED THINKING FROM THE CAREER OFFICER WHO HAD BEEN A TOP MILITARY COMMANDER FOR YEARS.

NEITHER HIS POSITION NOR HIS PAST CAREER WILL PROVIDE IMMUNITY AGAINST SHARP CRITICISM OF A PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN. MACARTHUR ALWAYS HAS BEEN SENSITIVE AND SOMETINES GENUINELY HURT BY CRITICISM.

MACARTHUR UNQUESTIONABLY HAS CONSIDERED THESE AND OTHER ASPECTS OF THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN REACHING THE FINAL DECISION. ALTHOUGH HIS ANNOUNCEMENT LEFT HIM WITH AN OPPORTUNITY TO WITHDRAW FROM THE RACE, HE STILL HAS PLACED HIS REPUTATION ON THE BLOCK.

THIS RAISED THE QUESTION WHETHER UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES MACARTHUR WAS BOWING OUT OF THE OCCUPATION. THE JAPANESE ALMOST UNIVERSALLY JUMPED TO THE CONCLUSION HE WAS LEAVING SOON. UNDER THEIR CONCEPTION OF " FACE" IT MIGHT BE IMPRACTICAL FOR MACARTHUR TO REMAIN AS SCAP HAVING LOST OR WITHDRAWN AS PRESIDENTIAL ASPIRANT.

(MORE)

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AP TOKYO SERVICE (MAC ARTHUR) (CONT'D LOCAL 1 - PAGE 22222)

(X X X X X PRESIDENTIAL ASPIRANT)

THE OCCUPATION HAS BEEN A DEEP AND PERSONAL JOB WITH MACARTHUR. HE HAS SHOWN CLEARLY THAT HE WANTS TO CONDUCT IT UP TO THE CREST AND THEN POSSIBLY RETIRE.

MACARTHUR HAS SAID REPEATEDLY THAT OUTLINES OF WWWWWWWWW A NEW JAPANESE STATE ARE VIRTUALLY COMPLETED AND THE REMAINDER WAS UP TO THE JAPANESE THEMSELVES.

FOR THE FIRST 18 MONTHS OF THE OCCUPATION, HIS SPOKESMEN CLAIMED DEMOCRACY HAD ARRIVED. DURING THE PAST FEW MONTHS THEY HAD BEEN TELLING THE JAPANESE THEY HAD FAILED TO ASSIMILATE DEMOCRACY FULLY ENOUGH TO OVERTHROW THE " OLD SYSTEM".

MACARTHUR PUT IN A FULL AND REGULAR WORK DAY YESTERDAY. "THINGS WILL GO ON THE SAME OLD WAY", SAID HIS AIDES.

NEVERTHELESS, EVEN AT THE HEADQUARTERS, THERE WAS AN AIR OF SPECULATION AND UNCERTAINTY ABOUT THE FUTURE.

-VA-

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EDITORIAL COMMENT

AP WORLD: 10 March, 1948.

New York Times -- His (MacArthur's declaration of willingness to accept the nomination) puts upon him the obligation ot make his position clear on many great national and international issues that have hitherto been remote from his command."

Los Angeles Times -- "That he (MacArthur) would, if elected, be a good President few discerning citizens will deny, but whether he will win the nomination, or be considered by the Republican delegates at the Philadelphia Convention, are factors which must and should be determined by sober reflection."

Richmond, Va., Times-Dispatch -- It is an odss-on bet that neither (Truman nor MacArthur) will be the next President."

New York Daily Mirror -- The candidacy of General Douglas MacArthur makes an instant and spontaneous appeal to the hearts of the American people, searching as they have been for wise and statesmanlike leadership to guide them from a wilderness of uncertainty. Here is the leader. Here is the statesman.

Louisville Courier-Journal -- General MacArthur probably has arrived too late with his announcement that he is willing. The more confident of party victory this year they have become, the less likely is it that the Republican politicians will easily let the nomination prize go to a complete outsider in their game.

Nashville, Tenn., Banner -- the outstanding figure so far expressing willingness to accept the presidential candidacy is one who gave consent for his name to be placed in nomination -- General Douglas MacArthur - - - On no assignment has he defaulted, or surrendered the principles for which world war was fought.

Minneapolis Star -- Perhaps the best comment in General MacArthur's entry was written six weeks ago by General Dwight Eisenhower when he withdrew his name from such consideration.

St. Paul Dispatch -- General MacArthur's unusual abilities are questioned by few. His candidacy, however, will labor against certain drags on his availability -- the same question of the professional soldier in politics that Eisenhower discussed with such penetration.

. . . . . .

In China, the American-owned Shangahi Evening Post and Mercury said "MacArthur cannot but be at least as disturbing a political influence in the Republican camp as Henry Wallace has been in the Democratic camp. He is not a hero who probably will time his return to America at just the moment when it can mean the most for his presidential ambition, and without a doubt the drab Tafts and Deweys are doing a bit of private tooth-gnashing.

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AP WORLD: 10 March 1948.

MacArthur does not know what personal punishment can come to a presidential aspirant before the votes are ever counted. Horace Greeley was virtually killed by the dirty things they said about him, the malicious cartoons they drew of him when he got into politics.

As for MacArthur, he'd be a sitting duck.

. . . . . .

Meanwhile, Shangahi papers carried a Tokyo dispatch from the Government Central News Agency saying MacArthur recently told a high Chinese official his election as president "will be the best thing that could happen to Chiang Kai-shek.

MacArthur was quoted as having made the statement to General Chu Shiming, former chief of the Chinese Mission in Japan.

Chu asked whether MacArthur might become President and the latter was quoted as saying:

"It would be a miracle."

* * * * * * * * * *

The American Press expressed little surprise editorially over either General Douglas MacArthur's announcement of his willingness to run for president of the United States or Pres. Truman's decision to seek a full term in the White House.

Some of the mixed editorial comment:

New York Sun --- MacArthur's announcement "was to be expected" and "is quite in keeping with his character and should make him a formidable contender in the Republican convention."

St. Louis Post-Dispatch --- "General MacArthur evidently has no compunctions about going directly from the army to the White House. . . . The nation, we think, will feel no special elation as a result of the Tokyo communique."

Kansas City Star --- "Neither development can be classified as a surprise . . . how formidable a contender the general may become remains to be seen."

Denver Post -- America "does not want a military strong man. She does want leadership with decision and firmness of character. To her Douglas MacArthur today remains something of a heroic stranger. America wants a warrior for democracy but she would prefer him a civilian."

Buffalo, New York, Evening News --- "Neither Mr. Truman's nor General MacArthur's announcement of availability will alter the developing campaign picture in any material way. The General remains in the dark horse category, perhaps to be taken more seriously by the front runners after the Wisconsin primary."

AP WORLD:

A wide segment of the American Press pictured Gen. MacArthur today as a strong candidate for the Republican presidential nomination.

Few newspapers express surprise over the declaration of his willingness to run, or over Pres. Truman's decision to seek another term in the White House.

Some Editorial Comment:

Detroit Free Press-"MacArthur says he does not plan to return to the U.S. . . . He will not have to submit to the questioning of American Reporters -- in America--where the press is still free. . . . We feel the American public will not be content with such a happy arrangement."

Providence, R. I., Journal-Bulletin--"We are deeply conscious of the debt the nation owes Gen. MacArthur for his brilliant victory in the Pacific War, but we cannot regard the highest civil office in the land as a reward for military service."

Christian Science Monitor--"He (MacArthur) could be a second choice for many of the Taft people, as Sen. Vandenberg would be a second choice for many Dewey and Stassen supporters. Against the General's popularity will weigh the desire of many Americans to see him finish the task in Japan and the feeling of many other that Gen. Eisenhower had the right attitude about soldiers in politics."

New York Daily News--MacArthur's obvious red-handling ability gives his candidacy a healthy start."

New York Herald Tribune--"There can be no question of Gen. MacArthur's ability as a military leader or as a governor. What remains to be demonstrated are, first, his qualifications for service in a civilian and political post, and, second, his familiarity with the grave issues, domestic and foreign, which will confront the next president of the United States."

* * * * * * * * * * *

Manila, March 10--(AP)--The American owned Manila Bulletin said editorially today "The Philippines should welcome General MacArthur's candidacy if he is nominated.

"No American now living has a higher professed regard for this country or knows more about its problems and people. If the Philippines values American friendship it could have no better exponent of it in the White House than Douglas MacArthur.

"MacArthur's professional and personal familiarity with countries and peoples of Asia make it fairly certain that if he should ascend to presidency he would deliberately turn attention of the people of that country in this direction. America's traditional, cultural and economic ties with Europe have long preoccupied her with European affairs.

"A global viewpoint is required. MacArthur has such a viewpoint."

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AP TOKYO SERVICE:

by RUSSELL BRINES

Tokyo - March 10 - (AP) -- General MacArthur said today he would not allow the presidential campaign to interfere with the Occupation.

His Public Information Officer told correspondents in a statement this morning that MacArthur's announcement of availability does "not change in the slightest" the operations of the Headquarters.

The statement obviously came from MacArthur. It declined requests of correspondents for a press conference and new posed pictures.

MacArthur has "nothing to add" to his announcement of yesterday which he had made as "a private citizen", said the statement issued by Colonel M. P. Echols.

This indicated for the present at least MacArthur intends to remain aloof from campaign issues and probably will not go out of the way to clarify his views on subjects other than international topics he has already discussed.

He told correspondents he would meet them on the same basis as in the past - for off record background conferences on the Occupation. Politics seldom if ever have been discussed in these meetings.

This statement did not surprise correspondents who "had applied for the press conference. The tone of MacArthur's original announcement indicated he would remain aloof from the presidential campaign at least until he had more chance to determine the American sentiment.

MacArthur likewise had not been expected to unbend from his position of military commander even as a potential candidate. Throughout the war period and the occupation MacArthur has maintained a ramrod dignity in personal appearance and has been generally inaccessible.

One of his inflexible occupation rules has prohibited family pictures or any unusual posed photograph. He has refused to permit any photographs of his embassy residence or his life there. He says it is his home.

The General's refusal to amplify his announcement of availability placed his campaign entirely on his record. In recent years, this has been centered in the far east. His latest statement on international policy was the recent cable supporting military aid for China.

There has been no indication of his views on any domestic United States problem.

Observers pointed out MacArthur is unlikely to permit himself to become involved in domestic issues at least before returning to United States -- where he has not been since 1937.

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UNITED PRESS

MANILA, Mar. 10--(UP)-- The Manila Times declared in an editorial today that "one is certainly justified in venturing the opinion that the best thing that could happen to the United States and to the world would be to see Douglas MacArthur elected president of the United States in 1948."

The Times editorial continued: "Quite apart from his known devotion to the Philippines and her people, apart from his proven capacity not only as a soldier but as a statesman of caliber approached by perhaps two or three men in the world ... but because in MacArthur there is a soul which inspires to democratic endeavor and a capacity to achieve the goal of that endeavor, it is hoped that the American people will choose MacArthur to lead them."

The American-owned Manila Bulletin commented, "The Philippines should welcome General MacArthur's candidacy if he is nominated. No American now living has a higher professed regard for this country or knows more about its problems and its people.

"If the Philippines values American friendship, it could have no better exponent of it in the White House than Douglas MacArthur.

"Another thing. General MacArthur's professional and personal familiarity with the countries and peoples of Asia make it fairly certain that if he should ascent to the presidency of the United States he would deliberately turn the attention of the people of that country in this direction....

"A global viewpoint is required. General MacArthur has such a viewpoint."

NEW YORK, March 11--(UP)-- The New York Herald Tribune in an editorial said "the frankness of the General was welcome" in commenting on General Douglas MacArthur's announcement that he is willing to accept nomination for presidency.

"There can be no question," it added, "of General MacArthur's ability as a military leader or governor. What remains to be demonstrated are (1) his qualifications for service as a civilian at a political post and (2) his familiarity

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with grave issues, domestic and foreign, which will confront the next President of the United States."

The editorial recalled Eisenhower's comments that a military leader should abstain from seeking a high political office, but added that "in exceptional cases the American people should and undoubtedly would call upon a military leader to take a civilian post."

"There remain many hard problems at home and abroad concerning which General MacArthur's views are yet to be expressed. ...The Wisconsin preliminary offers him an early and fitting opportunity to declare his political faith," it said.

SAN FRANCISCO, March 11 --(UP)-- The San Francisco Chronicle, commenting on the changed policy toward Japanese industry, said that it was "founded on realities which have been there all the time."

It added that "any idea we ever had of relegating Japan to a permanent cotton goods and gimrack economy - and most of us once emotionally embraced the idea - was always subject to facts certain to emerge when emotion subsided.

It said revival of the industry need lead to war making "only if we are weak or foolish enough to allow it."

The newspaper noted that it would be necessary to forbid only warship and airplane factories to assure that Japan will not be able to make war.

SHANGHAI, Mar. 10--(UP)-- Chinese political circles here hailed General MacArthur's announcement that he was ready to run for the presidency if nominated and declared that SCAP's election "in view of his understanding of the China situation."

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All referred to MacArthur's testimony on China aid and pointed out that he was one of the first American leaders to give a clear-cut Chinese military solution priority over discussion or internal reforms in the Nationalist regime.

They said that assumption of power by MacArthur in the United States may change the administration's inclination to give more emphasis to the European situation instead of equal emphasis to Europe and Asia.

NEW YORK, March 30-- (UP)--George Gallup's American Institute of Public Opinion reported today that Gen. Douglas MacArthur has leaped to second place in popularity among Republican voters since March.

Percentages of voters favoring various Republican presidential possibilities follow (First figure after each name is the current standing and the second figure is the standing as of March 14):

Thomas Dewey	34	37
Douglas MacArthur	19	12
Harold Stassen	15	15
Arthur Vandenberg	13	13
Robert Taft	12	15
Earl Warren	3	6
Joseph Martin	1	1
Leverett Saltonsetall	1	1
No Choice	2	1

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 12958 SEC. 3(E) AND 3(D) OR (E) NNDB # 773012

1st Lead U.S. Politics

BY LYLE C. WILSON

UNITED PRESS STAFF CORRESPONDENT

WASHINGTON, Mar. 10--(UP)-- General MacArthur's presidential pronouncement put new spark into the Republican presidential race.

Among developments it provoked across the nation were:

1- Indications from Albany, N.Y., that Gov. Thomas E. Dewey will take off the wraps and make an active campaign in Wisconsin, where he is engaged in a three-way race with MacArthur and Harold E. Stassen in the April 6 preferential primary.

2- A statement by Lansing Hoyt at Madison, Wisc., that the general's name may be entered in the Oregon primary, May 21, along with Dewey's and Stassen's names are also entered.

3- A movement to "write in" MacArthur's name in Ohio's primary May 4, where Stassen and Sen. Robert Taft are the only candidates.

4- Announcement that MacArthur-for-President boosters from at least 10 states will meet in Milwaukee, possibly next week, to mold the various state movements into a national organization.

Plans for a Milwaukee conference were announced by Warren E. Wright, former Illinois state treasurer, who lists himself as "national coordinator of the MacArthur for America" clubs.

Wright predicted that MacArthur as a GOP nominee could get "plenty of Democratic support" from the southern states, where a revolt against President Truman on his civil rights program is brewing.

There was distinctly no enthusiasm among most regular Republicans, however. Dewey and Taft still would not comment. Neither would Sen Arthur Vandenberg, potential compromise candidate if a deadlock develops in the Republican national convention.

Few regular Republicans now feel they need military glamour at the top of their ticket, since Truman's star has faded in the face of the southern revolt and Henry Wallace's third party movement.

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Sen. Joseph McCarthy (R., Wisc.), a Stassen supporter, was one of the few to come out with an outright challenge to MacArthur. He said, "I don't think this country needs a military man as President. It's a good thing he is entered in Wisconsin. It will be a clear-cut test of his strength. As of today the polls will show him running a poor third there."

Tomorrow movie actor Adolphe Menjou will make three speeches in Milwaukee supporting MacArthur for president.

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MACARTHUR'S ANNOUNCEMENT OF HIS CANDIDACY

It was 30 August 1945, when General Douglas MacArthur, smoking his familiar corncob pipe, landed on Atsugi Air Field as Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers.

Since then, he has devoted himself to the task of occupation duties without leaving his post except his brief visit to the Philippines to attend its independence ceremony.

General MacArthur's announcement that he would run for the presidence of the United States if nominated is news of world-wide significance. It is also news which is of great concern to the Japanese people.

A military man as President of the United States is not unusual. The first president Washington was commander-in-chief during the Revolutionary War and the fifth President, Monroe, was a hero of the same war.

Successive presidents such as Monroe, Jackson, Harrison, Tyler, Pierce, Lincoln, Hayes and Garfield were all military men. There were many such presidents in the days of the American Civil War. And Harrison, the 23rd President, was the last military man to be elected to the presidency.

It is well known that General MacArthur is not merely a general but a great statesman as well. If General MacArthur, who possesses a unique understanding of Japan, should leave Japan for a more urgent duty, we, as a nation, will regret his departure.

However, we firmly believe that he will constantly lend a helping hand toward the reconstruction of Japan, whatever task he may undertake.

Source: ASAHI

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

Research and Analysis Branch

R & A No. 890.1

JAPANESE INFILTRATION AMONG MUSLIMS IN CHINA

Description

J One of a series of reports describing Japanese subversive activities among the Muslims of various areas. This report traces such activities in China from the beginnings to the summer of 1943.

CLASSIFICATION

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by authority of
C.A. Stelle, DRF
By E.C. Banks
Date DEC 27 1948

15 May 1944

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
Research and Analysis Branch

X73677

R & A No. 890.2

JAPANESE ATTEMPTS AT INFILTRATION AMONG MUSLIMS IN RUSSIA AND HER BORDERLANDS

Description

An analysis of Japanese organization, and methods of propaganda, intelligence, and subversion as illustrated by operations directed to the Muslims of Russia and her border areas.

August 1944

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C.I.S. Stelle DRF
By E C Stanick
Date: Dec. 27, 1946

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Summary

Japanese organization for infiltration among Muslim minorities in Russia has been characterized by:

1. Patience and persistence over many years despite political changes.
2. Effective use of unofficial patriotic societies.
3. Coordination of work of those societies with that of military intelligence and the Foreign Office by means of interlocking personnel in Japan.
4. Reiteration with little change over several decades of a few propaganda themes.
5. Skillful agent penetration and recruitment of native personnel.
6. Merging of intelligence, subversion, and propaganda functions.

The evidence available does not indicate that the results of the infiltration are of present military importance. Its chief value to the Japanese is in the field of intelligence.

The material is of value, however, for the pattern it gives of Japanese methods of espionage and subversion--methods which are currently being employed among other groups and in other areas about which we know less.

During the last two years there has been a shift in overt Japanese activities among Muslims from the Anti-Soviet to the anti-British front. There is, however, as yet no evidence that any permanent change in Japanese anti-Russian activities has taken place.

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. Purpose of the Study

Japanese methods of infiltration and the organization of Japanese espionage and subversion have been little studied and are still less known. One phase of Japanese infiltration -- that among the Muslim minorities of the Soviet Union -- is presented here. The study has been made possible by Japan's old but lively concern over the Russian borderlands and the self-glorifying publications of the Black Dragon Society. For more than forty years the Society, the dominating pressure group behind Japan's Pan-Asiatic program, has been aggressive in espionage and subversion. While it veils with secrecy its living members and their activities, it generously publicizes and praises the patriotic deeds of expansionist-minded Japanese now dead. Since the Society first made a name for itself in anti-Russian activities, they may be more successfully studied than those more recently initiated in other areas. Black Dragon publications have provided the bulk of the information for this paper.

Though much of the information given here is historical, it shows patterns of operation which all available scraps of current intelligence indicate are still in use. This report does not, in

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general, name Japanese agents now active in the Soviet Union, but it does point out where, how, and through what channels they are probably operating. Moreover, it is certain that similar patterns have been and are being followed by Japanese agents in other areas and with other groups -- e.g., in India or Latin America and vis-a-vis the Buddhists, the Roman Catholics, and even the Eastern Orthodox. Since even the historical aspects have not previously been so fully described in any language but Japanese, it is believed that this study should be of value to those attempting to unravel Japanese underground activities.

Lists of related organizations and personnel--living and dead--are provided in Appendices I and II respectively. They may help specialists to correlate bits of information otherwise meaningless. Appendix III describes the target - the Muslims of the USSR - their number and distribution.

B. Relation to Other Reports in the Muslim Series

Three reports on Japanese infiltration among Muslims have already been issued. R & A No. 890, , "Japanese Infiltration among the Muslims throughout the World," is an over-all summary. R & A No. 890.1, "Japanese Infiltration among Muslims in China," contains an extensive description of operations in

R & A No. 890.3, "Japanese Infiltration among Muslims, Annex III, Near East," is a brief summary for the Near East. The present

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study relates to Russia and the Russian borderlands. It has a somewhat fuller account of organizations in Japan than have any of the earlier reports in the series.

Sinkiang as a base for Muslim activities is fully covered in R & A No. 890.1 and is, therefore, passed over here.

C. Chronological Framework of Japanese Interest in Minorities in Russia.

Fear of Russia first developed in Japan at the end of the eighteenth Century when Russian ships reached Japanese waters and Russian pioneers began to filter into the Maritime Province, and Sakhalin. The fear increased when Russia acquired the Maritime Province from China and established Vladivostolc in 1859. It was an important factor in the minds of a number of the leaders of the Japanese Imperial Restorations of 1867 and motivated early post-Restoration Japanese policy in Korea.

Subsequent events -- the construction of the Trans-Siberian Railway, Russian leadership in the three-power intervention which forced Japan to relinquish Port Arthur and the Liaotung Peninsula after the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95, Russia's lease of the same areas three years later. Russian occupation of Manchuria during the Boxer Uprising of 1900, and Russo-Japanese competitive intriques at the Korean Court-culminated in the Russo-Japanese

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War of 1904-05. In this war Japan won a limited victory, established herself in Korea and Southern Manchuria, gained half of Sakchalin, and received a promise of fishing rights of the Pacific Coast of Siberia.

There followed a period of Russo-Japanese rapprochement and division of spheres in Manchuria and Mongolia. This lasted until the Russian Revolution when Japan joined Britain and the United States in the occupation of Siberia and strongly supported the anti-Soviet forces. Japanese troops withdrew only after the Washington Conference.

Relations with the Soviet Union were re-established in 1925 but have remained turbulent ever since, with the annual fisherie auctions and mining operations in Northern Sakhalin causing chronic disputes. Since Japan's occupation of Manchuria in 1931 border incidents have been frequent. Japan has sought to establish bulwarks against communist ideology as well as Red troops and planes.

Throughout her modern history Japan has made preparations for possible hostilities with Russia. Intelligence and a potential fifth column in the Russian rear have been important considerations. Muslim groups form a solid belt along Russia's Asiatic borders (see Appendix III) in a rich economic region and along vital lines of communication. Their resistance to Russian nationalism under Tsarisun and their oppositions to anti-religious measures under

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Communism provided openings for penetration. The Japanese seized on such opportunities to exploit religious discontent just as they supported the atheistically inclined Social revolutionaries during the Russo-Japanese War.

D. Note on Names of Persons

In this report, all but Chinese names are given in the Western fashion, that is, with personal names first, followed by surnames. The exception in case of Chinese names is made because of their own custom of using the Oriental manner of surname first, even in translation into foreign tongues. Thus, in the Chinese name, Ma Ch'eng-lung, Ma is the surname and Ch'eng-lung the personal name. On the other hand, in Japanese and other names, the last word of the whole name is the surname. Thus in the Japanese name, Senjuro Hayashi, the surname is Hayashi and the personal name Senjuro. The same practice is followed with regard to Muslim nationals of Soviet Russia who, contrary to the orthodox Muslim usage, have assumed surnames in the Russian manner. To avoid possible confusion it should be explained that R & A No. 890.1, "Japanese Infiltration among Muslims in China," follows the Chinese system in Japanese as well as in Chinese names -- surname followed by personal name.

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II. Agencies of Infiltration

Almost all Japanese propaganda among Muslims has been activated by three principal agencies: the patriotic societies, which have provided initiative, fervor, and continuity, and Army intelligence and the Foreign Office, which have increasingly given financial support and official sponsorship.

A. The Patriotic Societies

Japan's growing consciousness of her role as a rising power led, after the Restoration, to the appearance there of an increasing number of patriotic groups which were bent on preventing the encroachment of Western powers into Asia on the one hand and on furthering Japanese Asiatic expansion on the other. These societies played a major part in the development of the Japanese infiltration pattern among the Muslims of the Soviet Union. Only a few which are important or typical are described here.

1. The Black Ocean Society (Genyosha). The expansionist purpose of the earliest important patriotic society was symbolized in its name, the Black Ocean Socity. (The stretch of water between Kyushu and the mainland is known to the Japanese as the Genkainada, or Black Sea). It sponsored a number of enterprises directed against Russia and Russian territorial claims on the continent of Asia. For

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example, the Hall of Pleasurable Delights (Rakuzendo) was set up in Hankow as early as 1887, as a cover for agents of infiltration into Sinkiang and Russian Central Asia. Its eight-point program included investigation of financial conditions and tax grievances; of economic and agricultural improvement; of the capital required to develop the region; of Russian, Tibetan, Burmese, and Indian defenses in Central Asia; of the condition of the roads; and exploration among such groups as the Muslim and Buddhist clergy, the local nomads and Chinese, and important persons to be identified, which might be exploited for "our purpose." The agents, nine of whom are known by name, traveled as Chinese itinerant peddlers of "literature and medicines." It is not known whether they peddled political propaganda or whether, as is more likely judging from the name of the headquarters in Hankow, their stock in trade was no more than obscene photographs and dope. Not all spoke Chinese well enough to accomplish the Black Ocean aims and some ran into trouble with the Russian police in Kashgar. Those who were arrested by the Russians have not been heard of since, except for one whose loss of face prevented his return to Japan and who is reputed to have escaped and settled in Burma.

A more successful enterprise organized by the Black Ocean Society was a jujitsu school in Vladivostok, with a program similar to that of the Hall of Pleasurable Delights but more limited in its

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scope. Its work extended to Eastern and Central Siberia, especially along the route of the Trans-Siberian Railway then under construction.

A member of the Black Ocean group left Hankow for Sapporo in 1893 to run a school training spies for Russian territory. He later contributed personnel to the jujitsu school and in 1897 and 1898 set out on photographing expeditions around Khabarovsk. His earlier experience in Central Asia must have stood him in good stead, for none of his group was arrested.

2. The East Asia One-Culture Society (Toa Dobunkai). The name describes the Society's aims, even though it was the result of a merger of the East Asia Society and the One-Culture Society in 1898. Originally intended to emphasize their common system of writing as a basis for Sino-Japanese rapprochement its activities have not been confined to China, and its language and regional training program has aided in work among Muslims. In 1939 the Society had 4,000 members.

The East Asia One-Culture School, known to English-speaking persons as the Tung Wen College and to the Japanese as the Toa Dobun Shoin, was organized in Shanghai for the training of members. By 1908 its 272 graduates were scattered throughout China, India, Annam, Burma, the Philippines, Mongolia, "but primarily among Russian-held Muslims." The school now occupies the buildings of the Chiaotung University, seized by the Japanese in 1937. At present it is

supported by army funds and in Chinese circles is frankly known as the "Japanese Spy College." One of its instructors of Turki and subversive tactics is reputed to be Qurban Ali, who came to Japan from Shanghai and Manchuria in 1924 on the invitation of Ki Inukai, the founder of the Society. Qurban Ali has a record of subversive activity against the Soviet Union. He also became the president of the Tokyo Islamic Order and an instructor of Turki languages at the Tokyo Military College.

3. The Black Dragon Society(Kokuryukai) was founded in 1901 by Ryohei Uchida and was named after the Amur or Black Dragon River in Manchuria. Its immediate purpose was preparation for a war with Russia, whose territory lay across the Amur. All the charter members had at one time done intelligence work on the continent, and believed that Japan must challenge, fight and defeat Russia.

The Black Dragon Society is the most important of the contemporary patriotic societies. It has a membership of perhaps 10,000 and has been active all the way from the United States and Latin America to Ethiopia and North Africa. Former Premier Koki Hirota and an unknown number of other high officials are members. The arch-patriot Mitsuru Toyama, who didd in October 1944, was an adviser of the Black Dragon. Toyama was a director of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association, Japan's official unified

political organization, as is Yoshihisa Kuzuu, the Society's present president. On 3 June 1943, Kuzuu in a radio broadcast on behalf of the Society threatened Roosevelt and Churchill with dire consequences unless the United Nations armies and navies surrendered unconditionally to Japan.

The Black Dragon Society maintains in Tokyo its own school, the Nationalists' Training Academy, now run by Giichi Fukushima. In addition it aided in promoting the Tokyo and Osaka Foreign Language Schools.

4. The Reawakening of Greater Asia Society (Dai - A - Gi Kai) had its headquarters in Mukden. It was organized in 1909 under the name Reawakening of Asia Society. Following the Chinese Revolution in 1911, the headquarters were moved to Manchuria and the name of the society and its ambitions enlarged to encompass a "Greater Asia." The society formed branches in China, Siam, Afghanistan, Turkey, Persia, and India. Its fourfold program included the study of economic, geographic, educational, colonial, and religious conditions and organizations; the sending out of agents; the founding of branch societies; and the dissemination of published and oral propaganda. It claimed the more specific purpose of establishing "cooperation between the Muslim peoples of Central Asia and Japan to free them from Russian chains."

5. The White Wolf and Turan Societies. From the same leadership have emanated other lesser societies and organizations oriented specifically toward Muslims. The White Wolf Society was organized in 1924, following the arrival in Japan of a representative of the Pan-Turan Society of Budapest in 1921. The Turan Society of Japan was set up in 1933 with the aid of the founders of the Black Ocean and the Black Dragon Societies. Both organizations are probably affiliated with the Bozkurt or Grey Wolf Society in Turkey and the Pan-Turan Society of Budapest, which are made up predominantly of Muslim refugees from Russia and especially from Russian Turkestan. They and their Japanese counterparts stress racial rather than religious unity, on the basis of an ancient belief that the white or gray she-wolf was the common ancestor of both the Turkic and the Mongol peoples. It is probable that they have been carrying on subversive activities against the Soviet Union with the establishment of an independent Pan-Turkic and Pan-Islamic state in Central Asia as an ultimate goal.

6. General Influence. The patriotic societies are private and independent, yet related to each other and to the government by innumerable personal ties. Toyama, godfather of them all and founder of the Black Ocean Society was an adviser of the Black Dragon and the hero of every expansionist in and outside the government.

Chikashi Hirayama and Choichi Kaji, charter members of the Black Dragon, were among those who organized the East Asia One-Culture Society. The two great political party leaders Shigenobu Okuma and Ki Inukai collaborated in many Black Ocean and Black Dragon undertakings though they are were not actually members.

The societies differ in emphasis but share a common patriotic (and predatory) purpose. They are powerful, ever-present pressure groups behind Japanese aggression, permeating the political life of the nation. Their leaders have helped to gain important government and army positions for those whom they consider to be "sincere" persons, while not infrequently eliminating those who do not serve their purposes. Almost every modern assassination in Japan can be linked with Toyama although never by ties that will stand up in a court of law.

Abroad these societies are important and dangerous because of the zealous membership drawn from every walk of life. Some members are educated in languages and trained in subversive tactics. Others merely collect information as shopkeepers, tourists, students of Islam, salesmen of literature, fisherman, wrestling teachers, businessmen, professors, priests, and archaeologists. A middle-class shopkeeper in Fukuoka will transfer his drygoods to Chita, Khabarovsk, or Kashmir, living there for years as an honest, industrious, patient,

and peaceful citizen, quietly gathering local facts. This service gives him in his own eyes and in the eyes of his countrymen nobility and spiritual worth. Black Dragon publications are full of biographies of little men who earned a place of honor by their devotion to the patriotic cause. The fruits of their labor are channeled to the government and military forces through the society leaders. This interlocking directorate has taken the initiative in inviting to Japan and sponsoring such Russian Muslim leaders as Ibrahim and Iyad Ishaqi.

B. The Army

It is not always possible to separate the functions of the patriotic societies from those of army intelligence. In a country with a warrior tradition and peacetime conscription there is no sharp line separating civilians from military personnel. Everyone serves. Cooperation has been close and activities mutually complementary. This has been due to identity of purpose, overlapping membership, and frequently interlocking leadership. The patriotic societies draw a large number of members from the armed forces and supply recruits to military intelligence. As a result the biographies in society publications give occasional clues to the undercover activities of the Japanese Army. They make it clear that the strategic possibilties of espionage and fifth-column work

among Russia's twenty million alien Muslims were obvious to the Japanese General Staff. The army has been a strong supporter of the "Japanese Mulim Policy" ever since the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

For example, a Colonel Yasumasa Fukushima, who had been a military attaché in Peking, Berlin, and the Balkans, traveled on horseback through the Caucasus, the Volga region, the lower Urals, Siberia, and Central Asia between 1883 and 1897. He established contacts in Manchuria, Mongolia, Persia, Turkey, and Afghanistan. A Black Dragon publication states, "His trips were spy efforts to learn what the Russians were doing and to make friends with the Muslim peoples." That Russia was aware of his travels, if not of their full purpose, is shown by the fact that the Tsar and Tsarina gave him an audience before he set out on a trip into Russian Central Asia in 1892. A Brief entry in a Samarkand Almanac for 1896 reads, "August 9. Colonel of the Japanese Armed Forces, Bukushima, arrives." The hidden fruits of his efforts may be measured by his rewards of a generalship, a peerage, and the governorship of the Kwantung Peninsula. Others did not travel as openly nor were they a successful in concealing their motives, for we find accounts of their summary arrest by the Russian police. Two who escaped detention were Uehara (see Appendix II), arrested in 1912 at Tashkent,

and Sadao Araki (now General), arrested in 1916 at Irkutsk.

Another early army exponent of the Muslim policy was also a military attache, Colonel Motojiro Akashi, detailed to France, Sweden, Switzerland, and Russia. On the eve of his departure for Europe in 1901, he discusses possibilities of infiltration into Russia with two leaders of the Black Ocean Society: Uchida, the organizer of the jujitsu school in Vladivostok, and of the Black Dragon Society, and Sugiyama, the backer of the Hall of Pleasurable Delights in Hankow. Akashi's extra-official assignment was to establish contact with Russian revolutionaries. In this he amply succeeded, for the notorious Father Gapon who led the march to the palace on "Bloody Sunday" of 9 January 1905, and the agent-provocateur Azef of the Socialist Revolutionary Party were among his friends. When Japan attacked the Russian fleet at Port Arthur two days before the formal declaration of the Russo-Japanese War, Akashi had already left for Stockholm to attend the Russian Socialist Congress. There he arranged to supply arms for the revolutionary uprisings in Kiev, Odessa, and St. Petersburg.

More significant than Akashi's dabblings with the revolutionists, however, was his friendship with the noted Tatar Muslim, Abdur Rashid, Ibrahim (see Appendix II), whom he met in the Russian capital. Ibrahim was then adviser on Muslim affairs to the Russian Government and publisher of the Tatar language newspaper Ulfet in St. Petersburg.

The effects of this rapprochement have been numerous and far-reaching. Akashi worked with Ibrahim in the organization of Muslim resistance in the Russian rear. On his return to Japan he arranged for Ibrahim's son to be educated in Japan at the expense of the Black Dragon Society. In 1906 and 1909 Ibrahim himself visited Japan and entered into closer collaboration with the Japanese.

During World War I Akashi was Assistant Chief of Staff and collaborated with General Sadao Araki (see Appendix II) in promoting Baron Ungern von Sternberg's Autonomous Mongol Empire. Together they also directed the Japanese occupation of Siberia.

Following General Akashi's death in 1919, General Rensuke Isogai, director of Army Intelligence and later of the Military Affairs Bureau, took up the Muslim banner. He and General Araki upheld the "imperative necessity of a strong Japanese policy toward the Muslims vis-a-vis Russia if Japan wants to carry out her plan for hegemony in East Asia."

General Araki, member of the Supreme War Council, War Minister from 1931 to 1933, Minister of Education from 1937 to 1938, and an important influence behind Premier Tojo, was, however, ostensibly an active advocate of the Russian Orthodox policy. He therefore only covertly endorsed the Muslim policy.

In 1932 the patriotic societies believed that the Japanese Muslim policy needed more vigorous implementation as well as a wider field in the Near and Middle East.

Wakabayashi and Tanaka, both Muslim converts and protégés of Toyama and Uchida, approached Generals Isogai and Araki to enlist their official support. As a result, groups of officers, including those recruited by Wakabayashi and Tanaka, were trained in Muslim languages and religion. Many ostensible converts to Islam subsequently made annual pilgrimages to Mecca where they made contacts, spread propaganda, and obtained intelligence.

Araki's successor as War Minister in 1934 was General Senjuro Hayashi, who actively championed the Muslim policy. Hayashi was one of the founders of both the Good Neighbour Association and the Greater Japan Muslim League. After Hayashi became Prime Minister in 1937 he founded with Ibrahim the Greater Japan Muslim League for the dissemination of propaganda throughout the Muslim World.

Others in high army circles have sponsored various Muslim organizations. In 1938 the army set up in Peking the Muslim Youth Corps under Shinzo Takagaki to train Muslim youths for special service in the army. Muslim youths of Russian birth or parentage were invited in 1942 to train as Japanese aides in the promotion of Greater East Asia, rather than to serve as army privates. Lieutenant General Nobutaka Shioten, president of the Japan Residents' Muslim League, has recently (February 1944) been the most active exponent in the Japanese Diet of greater funds and personnel for work among the Muslims of Asia.

C. The Foreign Office

The Foreign Office (Gaimusho), whose work is closely interrelated with that of the patriotic societies, since 1905 has been increasingly active in supporting propaganda and cultural penetration.

The foreign service in Muslim countries has been both a training school for Muslim "Experts" and an attractive career for those already adept.- Akio Kasama, for instance, one of Japan's leading writers on Muslim's subjects, was formerly in the diplomatic service in Turkey and in Persia. Students sponsored by the patriotic societies are now among the Embassy secretaries at Ankara and Kabul.

The Foreign Office, either directly or through such affiliates as the society for International Cultural Relations, has channeled government funds to a great variety of activities. It has supported the East Asia One-Culture School (Toa Dobun Shoin) and the Tokyo and Osaki Foreign Language Schools, which teach Russian and other languages of Muslim usage.

Missions both to and from Muslim areas have been encouraged, and the Foreign Office has probably been instrumental in bringing to Japan such prominent Soviet Muslim refugees as Abdur-Rashid Ibrahim and Iyad Ishaqi.

Conferences are a favorite infiltration device, and have been

backed by the Foreign Office (see pp. 29-30). Directly or indirectly the Foreign Office has subsidized Muslim organizations in Japan (see pp. 31-37 for list).

Finally, the Foreign Office directly supports Espionage by contributing funds to agents, both from Tokyo and from Eaubussies and consulates in or near Muslim areas.

III. PATTERNS OF OPERATION

A. Introduction

The division of the pattern of Japanese operations into propaganda, intelligence, and subversion and sabotage is here artificially adopted for purposes of analysis. While some Japanese act only as propagandists, others as intelligence agents, and still others as saboteurs, the large majority combines the three occupations simultaneously or alternately as need be. An agent passes from propaganda to intelligence work and on to sabotage and subversion almost imperceptibly.

B. Propaganda

1. The Propagandists

a. Japanese

i. The making of a propagandist. Three stages can frequently be distinguished in the careers of Japanese propagandists to the Muslims. First, interest in Islam as Japan's potential military or political ally is acquired either through membership in a patriotic society, residence in a Muslim territory or in Russia, or merely by association with persons already similarly interested. Second comes official conversion to Islam and the assumption of an Islamic name. This is really the public debut

of the new-born Muslim and officially launches him on his propaganda career. Third is activity to promote a Muslim alliance with Japan. This may take any or all of the following forms: a trip to Mecca to make contacts, make himself known, and advertise Japan as a potentially Muslim nation willing to learn from Islam; organization of a society, a periodical, or a newspaper at home or abroad on funds which are either given by the Foreign Office or collected privately in army and patriotic society circles; extensive writing on Muslim questions. If the article is for the Muslim periodicals outside Japan, most frequently the signature is merely "A Japanese Muslim." If it is for the Muslim press at home, subsequently circulated abroad, either the agent's Japanese or Muslim name, or both, may be used. Lastly come a great number of other cultural activities, such as going abroad to study in a Muslim school and to make friends there; welcoming Muslim celebrities to Japan; corresponding with them on political and religious subjects; and arranging lectures and tours for Muslims in Japan.

Six men stand out among Japanese propaganda writers on Muslim questions. They are authorities on Islam and have dealt extensively in verbal and printed propaganda among Muslims. Others, especially those who were simultaneously engaged in subversion and intelligence, are listed in Appendix II, "Who's Who." The outstanding intelligence

and subversion agents will be noted in the next two sections of this chapter.

ii. Hassan Murshid Effendi Hatano. Hassan Murshid Effendi Hatano, the earliest agent and contributor to the Black Dragon organ, Greater Asia, was converted to Islam with much publicity in 1911 and has subsequently been publisher of Islam and Islamic Unity in Tokyo. He also sent articles in English to the Muslim press throughout the world, which we find reviewed in the Russian Mir Islama, the Italian Oriente Moderno, and the Indian Review of Religions, during the first twenty years of this century. Hatano's articles, even when signed "A Japanese Muslim," are written in a style distinctly his own and easily recognizable. They consist of pleadings for more Muslim missionaries and literature in Japan, funds for the building of a mosque, descriptions of Japan which read like a tourist booklet, and professions of great humility with regard to "what Islam can teach Japan." In the twenties, Hatano's articles disappeared from the press. Since his name is not in Toa Senkaku it is possible that he is still alive but engaged in work other than propaganda. His Black Dragon membership and Muslim connections are a good background for subversive work in some Muslim territory.

iii. Teijiro Sakuma. Teijiro Sakuma, the founder of the Society of Light in Shanghai and the Society of Islamic Culture in Tokyo, is a prolific writer on Muslim questions, always emphasizing

Japanese interest and support of both the Pan-Islam and the Pan-Turan movements. A convert to Islam, he was known in Shanghai as Tso Tung-shan. When he was in Central Asia as Black Dragon investigator of the Tatars, Kazaks, and Tungans, Hadjet-Lache, the Tsarist investigator there, reported finding leaflets in native tongues urging the Muslim natives to work for an autonomous Muslim state with Japan's help. Sakuma has "traveled" in India, Asia Minor, Turkey, Mongolia, Manchuria, and Sinkiang. He was closely associated with Qurban Ali in the latter's propagandistic ventures supported by the Foreign Office and he edited the Light of Islam in Shanghai in the early twenties. An extensive list of his publications on Muslim questions appears in the Harvard-Yenching Index to Japanese Periodicals for 1940.

iv. Akio Kasama. Akio Kasama, fifty-nine years old, has been a prolific writer on Muslim questions. Long associated with the Foreign Office, he has held diplomatic posts in Iran, where he was credited with the organization of Soviet Muslim espionage, France, Portugal, and South America. In 1939 he was one of the directors of the Institute for Islamic Studies. At present he is army administrator of an unspecified area in the South Seas.

v. Hajime Kobayashi. Hajime Kobayashi, one of the directors of the Institute of Islamic Studies and head of its

research department, is also publisher of the Kaikyo-ken (Islamic World). He is a student of Muslim culture and Turki languages and is also said to know Russian. Early in 1941 he was reported to be in Mexico, where together with several other Japanese (Fuminaga Fukii and Masao Fukamachi) he was connected with a mysterious transaction involving ten million dollars, purported to be for subversive and propagandistic activity in South America. Perhaps this should be understood in connection with the development of a Japanese "Roman Catholic Policy" in Latin America. Kobayashi's present whereabouts is unknown.

vi. Koji Okubo. Koji Okubo, the official head of the Institute of Islamic Studies, is a student of Russian and Turki peoples and languages and is known for his writings on Pan-Islam and its relation to the Central Asiatic peoples. He is also an active proponent of the Japanese Pan-Turanian policy. A close associate of Toyama and Uchida, he has twice been exchange professor in the Near East.

vii. Chishu Naito. Chishu Naito, doctor of literature, professor in the Tokyo Women's Higher Normal School, Meiji University, and Kokugaku University, is fifty-seven years old. He has written numerous books on the Muslim and the Turki questions and toured the Near East and the Balkans for the Foreign Office between 1923 and 1929. He was sent to Turkey on several other

cultural and diplomatic missions. He is considered an authority on Russia, Turkey, Iran, and the Balkans. Both his Turkish and his Russian are excellent. Compared with the other Japanese propagandists, his writings show great subtlety and scholarship.

b. Non-Japanese

i. Recruitment. Japan has been assiduous in cultivating, flattering, supporting, and utilizing leading Muslims. They are located and contacted by diplomatic officials or military attaches abroad, softened up by subsidized visits to Japan and suave entertainment, and all too frequently used successfully in Japanese propaganda. The flight of some of the more fervent and literary of the Muslims of Soviet Russia gave Japan opportunities which she has exploited skillfully.

ii. Abdur Rashid Ibrahim. In spite of Abdur Rashid Ibrahim's espionage activities on behalf of Japan during the Russo-Japanese war, so far as the Muslim world is concerned he is famous rather as an authority on Pan-Islam and as a leader of the Pan-Islamic movement than as an agent of Japanese imperialism. A Siberian of the Volga Tatar race, his whole life seems to have been ruled by an all-consuming passion for Pan-Islam. A fiery preacher, an eloquent writer, Ibrahim's devotion to the cause of Pan-Islam and Muslim independence from Christian domination played into the hands of

Japan from the turn of the century until his death in September 1944. After one secret trip to Japan in 1906, another with a great deal of fanfare in 1909, and a spectacular escape from Russia to Turkey following arrest by the military police, he was noted as preacher, traveler, and editor of several Pan-Islamic and anti-Russian Muslim periodicals in Turkey, all laden with Japanese propaganda. His return to Japan in 1933 led to a flare-up of propaganda activity publicizing Japan as the world's new Muslim center. Still unknown are the activity and whereabouts of Ibrahim's son, brought to Japan for education at the expense of the Black Dragon Society in the early part of the century, but referred to by all Japanese sources as "Mr. X, the son of Ibrahim."

iii. Muhammad Abdul Hai Qurban Ali. Another celebrity among the Russian Muslims has been Muhammad Abdul Hai Qurban Ali, mullah and son of a mullah, mathematician and strategist, and leader of the "independent Bashkiria" and the "indppendent Kirghizia" movements during the Russian Civil War of 1918-22. Following two trips to Japan with groups of young Bashkir officers who were left there for training, Qurban Ali came to Tokyo at Inukai's invitation for permanent residence in 1924. Known in Russian as Kurbangali, Kurbangaliev, and Kurban Aliev, he soon united about him most of the dissident Muslim elements in the Far East and, while teaching

Turki tongues and subversive tactics in the Tokyo Military Academy and several patriotic schools, began the publication of the Turkish-language propaganda journal Yapon Mukhbiri on the funds of the Foreign Office. Until the arrival in Japan of Abdur Rashid Ibrahim and Iyad Ishaqi in 1933, he was the undisputed leader of anti-Russian activities among the Muslim refugees in Japan and Manchuria. Qurban Ali's latest residence is reported to be Shanghai, where he came after an ostentatious public quarrel with Iyad Ishaqi at the Tokyo Mosque opening in 1938. Whether this is really so, or whether his removal to Shanghai was merely a maneuver to bring him into closer touch with Japanese anti-Russian activities based in Manchuria and North China and directed at Sinkiang and Soviet Central Asia, or whether, as reported, he went there primarily to train spies in the Toa Dobun Shoin (Tung Wen College) in Shanghai remains to be determined. His present whereabouts might furnish a clue to Japanese intentions in the field of Muslim intrigue.

iv. Iyad Ishaqi. Iyad Ishaqi (I. Ishakov in Russian), a Kazan Tatar novelist and playwright, known for his Pan-Turkic activities in Europe, arrived in Japan in 1933, invited by both Army and Foreign Office circles. He subsequently made a tour of Japan and Manchuria to draw the Muslim refugees from Russia into the organization called the Idel-Ural Cultural Association, also known

as the Idel-Ural Independence League. A Turko-Tatar Muslim Congress at which Ishaqi presided was held in Kobe in May 1934. Ibrahim conducted prayers, and the last pretander to the Ottoman throne, Prince Abdul Kerim, made a brief speech. The delegates consisted of Tatars, Turks, Bashkirs, Uzbeks, Kirghiz, and Sarts. The purpose of the conference was the unification of all Turki Muslims in Asia to work for an independent Muslim state to be made up of parts of Russian Turkestan and Sinkiang and oriented in terms of "cooperation with Japan to build the New Order in East Asia." Ishaqi subsequently founded the Pan-Turanic periodical Milli Bayrak in Mukden along the lines of his Yani Milli Yul, sponsored by the German Ministry of Propaganda in Berlin. The last report on Iyad Ishaqi places him in London in the summer of 1941, calling on the Polish General Sikorski in company with Mir Yaqub, an Azerbaijani refugee from Soviet Russia and Bozkurt member.

v. Yusuf Akchura Bey Oghlu. Yusuf Akchura Bey Oghlu (Yusuf Akchurin in Russian), a member of the famous Akchura family of Orenburg and Kazan, owners of the largest woolen mills in pre-revolutionary Russia, in 1941 was reported to be a member of the Administrative Council of the Turko-Tatars in the Far East. Whether or not he is the same person as the man of the same name known for his Pan-Turkic writings who taught at the University of Ankara in 1935 is not at present known. If he is, the Japanese Foreign Office

must have scored another victory, for the man in question was at one time second only to Iyad Ishaqi and Ibrahim in the prestige he possessed throughout the Russian Muslim world. Member of the Central Muslim Committee in Russia prior to the Revolution and subsequently publisher of three different Pan-Turkic periodicals in Constantinople, Akchura is considered the highest academic authority on Pan-Turanism in Europe.

2. The Media

a. Conferences. In her cultivation of Muslims, Japan has leaned heavily on conferences and congresses as means of propaganda and recruitment of agents. Conferences preceded and followed by considerable publicity have been held in Japan or Japanese-dominated territory. The delegates have traveled at Japan's expense and have been feted while in Japan by patriotic, army, government, and business circles. At least eleven such conferences have been staged to disseminate propaganda among the Muslims, rally them to Japan's support, and help organize them into militantly pro-Japanese and anti-Soviet organizations. These are: (1) the Religious Congress, Tokyo, 1906; (2) the Race Equality Assembly, Tokyo, 1919; (3) the Pan-Asia Congress, Nagasaki, 1926; (4) Japan Muslim Conference, Tokyo, 1927; (5) the Young Asia Congress, Tokyo, 1933; (6) the Turko-Tatar Congress, Kobe, 1934; (7) the Muslim

Anti-Communist Assembly, Harbin, 1936; (8) the First World Muslim Congress, Tokyo, 1939; (9) the Second Turko-Tatar Congress, Hsinking, 1941; (10) the Second World Muslim Congress, Tokyo, 1943 (February); (11) the East Asia Religious Cooperative Conference, Tokyo, 1943 (June).

b. The Press

i. Japanese Propaganda in the Muslim Press. Following the 1906 conference, Muslim newspapers throughout the world began to publish a growing volume of news from Japan: the Tatar Bayan ul-Hag in Kazan and Vakt in Orenburg; Terjuman in Crimea; Islam Dinnyassy, Turk Urdu, and Turk Odjagy in Turkey; San 'at on Hirfat in India. It is worth noting that many of the editors had visited Japan and that, in fact, several of the newspapers were not founded until after the conference, including the three Turkish newspapers whose editors were Muslim emigrants from Russia. Examination of the Muslim press outside the U.S.S.R. shows that a constant stream of pro-Japanese propaganda has been invading these periodicals, in ever-increasing quantity and of ever-increasing intensity, right up to and following the outbreak of the present war. Particularly vociferous, of course, have been those periodicals issued in Axis or Japanese-occupied territory such as the Yani Milli Yul in Berlin or the Hil Bayrak in Mukden, both published for Muslim refugees from the Soviet Union by Iyad Ishaqi who was invited to Japan from Germany in 1933 by Hayashi and other patriotic society men.

ii. Islamic Periodicals in Japan. Several Muslim periodicals intended for general circulation in the Muslim world were successively established in Japan with the aid of the Foreign Office: Islamic Fraternity in 1910, the newspaper Islam in 1911, and Islamic Unity in 1914. The second was in Japanese, the first and third in both Japanese and English. An Arabic language press was not acquired until 1929 and not until then did Yapon Mukhbiri begin publication in Turkish. The Arabic fortnightly review Nippon appeared in 1938. In 1937 and 1938 a series of periodicals in Japanese with inserts in Turkic tongues spoken in Central Asia began publication. These were the Kaikyo Kenkyu, Kaikyo-ken Kenkyu Sosho, and the newspaper Islam which reappeared after several years' lapse. These publications were organs of the newly organized Japanese Institute of Islamic Studies and the Socitty for Islamic Culture, both semi-official organs of the Foreign Office. In 1938 the publication of Kaikyo Jijo or Islamic Conditions was begun, devoting a great deal of space to the Idel-Ural independence movement and the Central Asiatic Muslims.

c. Muslim Organizations in Japan and Occupied Territory

i. The "Muslim Pact" of 1909. Perhaps the most important symbolic act of Japanese infiltration among the Muslims in Russian areas was the so-called "Muslim Pact" of 1909. This took the form of

an oath administered by Abdur Rashid Ibrahim, inscribed partly in Arabic and partly in Japanese, and deposited in a temple in Antung (Manchuria) after the signers had affixed their seals, "to be of one heart and one mind" in the pursuance of their aim to promote Islam and its liberation from Russian chains. The signers, besides Ibrahim, were Mitsuru Toyama, Ryohei Uchida, Ki Inukai, Tsunetaro Nakano, Capt. Katsutoshi Aoyanagi (subsequently the publisher of Dai-to, Great East Magazine, a periodical to "awaken the peoples of Asia to resist European advance" and also the head of a school for training political refugees in Japan in military and subversive tactics), Lieut. Colonel Bukeiji Ohara (officer of the General Staff and secretary of the Toa Dobunkai), Kinosuke Yamada (founder of the Ohuo University Law School and several times Minister of Justice in Kenseito or Constitutional Party cabinets), Hironaka Kono (politician and later, 1914, Minister of Commerce and Agriculture), and Yasuzo Nakayama (of whom nothing is known except that he was, and probably still is, a member of the Black Dragon Society). The first Muslim organizations in Japan were the product of the work of the men who had signed the pact and of those of their Muslim collaborators who were in Japan at the time.

ii. The Tokyo Islamic Order. The Tokyo Islamic Order (Tokyo Kaikyo-Dan) was created with Ki Inukai's help by Muhammad

Abd el-Hai Qurban Ali (Kurbungali) in 1924. Its initial purpose was the renting of a house for religious and educational services and the acquisition of a Muslim burial ground in the city. Inukai helped the organization with funds. In 1929 the Foreign Office presented it with an Arabic language press and the organization began to publish the Turkish language periodical Yapon Mukhbiri, edited by Qurban Ali, and essentially a propaganda journal purporting to give news of the progress of Islam in Japan. It has been sent free to the Muslim press in Europe and Asia.

iii. The Japan Residents' Muslim League. The Japan Residents' Muslim League (Nippon Teikoku Zairyu Kaikyoto Remmei) which undertook the expansion of Islamic work by "the printing of textbooks and religious books for world-wide Muslim consumption"-- a good method for disseminating Japanese culture -- was organized in 1928 with the help of Toyama, Inukai, Kazuo Furushima, Takejiro Tokonami, and several other Japanese interested in the promotion of anti-Soviet work among the Muslims. The society printed the Koran in Japanese and established a school for Muslim children, besides publishing a large number of pamphlets on Japan's religious tolerance and her possible acceptance of Islam as a state religion. A Tokyo broadcast of 18 June 1943 named Lieut. General Nobutaka Shioten as its president although until 1940, Qurban Ali was always referred to as its official head.

iv. The I. U. T. T. C. A. The Idel-Ural Turko-Tatar Cultural Association (Idel-Ural Turko Tatar Bunka Kyokai) also referred to by Tatars as the Idel-Ural Turko-Tatar Independence League, came into existence as the result of the arrival in Japan of Iyad Ishaqi. Following a tour sponsored by the Foreign Office, branches were established during 1934 in Kobe, Osaka, and Nagoya in Japan, and in Mukden, Dairen, Harbin, Hailar, and Hsinking in Manchuria. Headquarters of the association were transferred from Tokyo to Hsinking in 1938, the periodical Milli Bayrak was begun in Mukden, and the society took an immediate stand in favor of an independent Tatar state between the Volga and the Mongolian border to be established with Japan's help.

v. The Society of Islamic Culture. The Society of Islamic Culture (Islam Bunka Kyokai) was organized by Teijiro Sakuma in Tokyo in 1935. The 1939 edition of the list of Cultural and Academic Organizations in Japan published by the (Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai, Tokyo) describes its activities as: (1) introduction of Japanese culture in Muslim areas; (2) investigation and study of Muslim areas; (3) publications and exhibitions of a suitable nature in Japan and abroad; (4) exchange of students and professors with Islamic countries and reception of Muslim guests in Japan; (5) translation of appropriate literature from and to Japanese; (6) maintenance of a lecture auditorium and study rooms for Muslim students of Japanese

culture. The chief method of achieveing the above aims is through "arranging for those 'properly connected' to come to Japan." The society's present directors are Ryusaku Endo, Akio Kasama, Tanetsugu Sasa, Yo Nakamura, and Shozo Murata (shipping magnate, financier, and now Japanese Ambassador to the Philippines). The Society's organizer, Teijiro Sakuma, was at one time a Black Dragon agent in Russian Central Asia and along the Caspian Sea and subsequently head of the Society of Light in Shanghai.

vi. The Institute of Islamic Studies. The Institute of Islamic Studies (Kaikyo Kenkyu-Sho) was organized in March 1938 but in May of the same year its direction was shifted to the Good Neighbor Association (Zenrin Kyokai, org. 1934), an agency specifically oriented toward work in Mongolia and the training of Mongol students in Japan. The Institute's research has been directed toward the military and political needs of the time and it has cooperated closely with the Good Neighbor School (Zenrin Shoin) run by the Good Neighbor Association at 170 Nishiokubo 4-chome, Yodobashi-ku, Tokyo, for the training of personnel to work in the various areas of continental Asia. The society's directors are Koji Okubo, Hajime Kobayashi, and Hisao Matsuda. Okubo is a noted student of Turkic peoples, and his Russian is only slightly less perfect than his Turkish. He is also active in the Central Asia Research Association (Chuo Ajiya Kenkyu Kai) which is a subsidiary of both the Institute

of Islamic Studies and the Good Neighbor Association. The directors of the latter, as well as of its personnel school, have been Sanetaka Ichijo (Prince and member of the House of Peers), Matasuke Kusuyama (large stockholder of the Kanegafuchu Spinning Company), Saihin Ikeda (Mitsin banker and former Minister of Finance), and General Senjuro Hayashi (d. February 1943).

vii. The Greater Japan Muslim League. The Greater Japan Muslim League (Dai Nippon Kaikyo Kyokai, renamed in September 1939 the Dai Nippon Kaikyoto Kyokai), formed in 1938 with General Senjuro Hayashi as president and Shozo Murata and Abdur-Rashid Ibrahim as co-directors, was the authoritative body established to unify and supervise all other Muslim organizations in Japan, Manchuria, and occupied territory. From the beginning its direction has been in military hands, and although shortly after its organization the official title of head was transferred from General Hayashi (who became vice-president) to Abdur-Rashid Ibrahim, resident of Japan since 1933 (d. September 1944), the League has remained the army tool for control of Muslim elements in Japanese-occupied territory. Like the Russian Emigrants' Bureau in Manchuria and occupied China, the Greater Japan Muslim League has ceased to be the weapon of the Foreign Office, which temporarily took a back seat in Japan's foreign relations, and has became the direct tool

of Japanese military administration in occupied areas.

viii. The Muslim Student League. The Muslim Student League, inaugurated 30 July 1943, and aiming at "the enlightenment of Muslims throughout East Asia for their positive cooperation in the establishment of the co-prosperity sphere" (Tokyo in English, 30 July 1943), according to all evidence so far seems to have been nothing but an agency facilitating careful watch over those Muslim students now in Japan. The compulsory membership is divided into groups, each with a chairman, reporting to a higher committee, which in turn reports to a still higher committee consisting of the Japanese "Muslims." It is still too young an organization to be judged correctly.

3. The Content

a. The Influence of Islam in Japan. The propaganda itself, in its basic pattern, has not varied much in the past thirty-seven years. Its main themes have been two: the growing influence of Islam in Japan and the unity of Muslim and Japanese interests.

The first theme has been pursued by subtly creating the impression that Islam holds a high place in Japan and that there exists in Japan a large Muslim community favored by the government, and constantly augmented by arrivals from abroad (primarily due to "Communist persecution") and by conversions at home. Following the 1906 conference the editor of the Egyptian paper al-Irshad wrote

from Japan that he had already made 12,000 converts including several high government officials. Examination of the Muslim periodical press from 1906 to 1942 discloses a steady if inconspicuous flow of such articles as: "Progress of Islam in Japan," "Muslim Missionaries Arrive in Yokohama," "Kobe Mosque Celebration," "Another Islamic Periodical in Tokyo," "Opening of a Muslim School in Japan," "Japanese Notables, Converted to Islam," and the like. The writers of these articles nowhere betray the fact that there are only about 600 Muslims in Japan, most of whom are Tatars from Russia. Rumors that the Emperor was considering the introduction of Islam into Japan as a state religion have reappeared during each decade of this century. The frequent mention of Cabinet ministers, army officials, or titled nobility as participants in Muslim functions conveys an impression that Islam holds a high place in Japan.

b. The Unity of Muslim and Japanese Interests. The second constant theme has been emphasis on the identity of interests existing between those professing the Muslim religion both south and north of the Russian border, on the one hand, and the Japanese people on the other. Close examination of this theme as utilized by Japanese propagandists reveals five methods of approach: arguments respectively for religious, racial, geographic, political, and cultural unity between Japanese and Muslims.

i. Religious Unity. Japan makes it clear that as a non-Christian nation, she, like the Muslims, is opposed to the expansion of Christian influence and domination. She supports Pan-Islamic periodicals and calls on the union of all Muslim peoples with Japan to throw off Christian aggression in Asia. The Japanese claim that thirty Turki-language papers carried Japanese propaganda into Russia following the Russo-Japanese War finds an interesting corroboration in the report of Hadjet-Lache agent for the Tsarist Okhrana investigating Muslim disturbances on the Volga and in the Central Asiatic regions in 1907: "Until 1904 there has been only pan-Islamic talk, but since the war there have appeared pan-Islamic organizations which are given systematic and intelligent guidance in the form of funds, trained organizers, and literature by the little yellow men from the Islands (Japan). The latter either come themselves or, more frequently, use specially trained Turki who gain admission into Russia as mullahs. If Russian consuls knew anything of Islam and bothered to question these mullahs before issuing visas they would find that the latter know suprisingly little about the Koran and a great deal about quite different matters." Recently Japanese propagandists have strengthened the religious angle by clever manipulation of the fact that sixty million Muslims of the Dutch East Indies and the Philippines have been added to the Empire and "are prospering under benevolent guidance of the Japanese army."

Simultaneous references to the "welfare and prosperity of thousands of refugees from Soviet persecution in Manchuria, who are now leading a peaceful life under full protection of the Japanese army," have found their way into publications of Muslim refugees from the Soviet Union throughout Europe and the East. All this has been designed to create and undoubtedly has created for those without first-hand experience of Japanese rule, the needed impression of Japanese friendliness and respect for Islam.

ii. Racial Unity. Racially the Japanese have utilized both the Pan-Mongol and the Pan-Turan themes. While reminding the Hazara elements in Afghanistan of the Mongol origin of the Japanese they have also claimed Turkic descent when dealing with the Central Asiatic and Tatar Muslims: "The two peoples [i.e., the Turki Muslims and the Japanese] have the same color of hair and eyes and there is evidence that in addition to the common racial origin, both belong to the same linguistic stock." [Saishin Ajiya Taikan, p. 293]. Rather startling to a Western reader are these statements utilized in propaganda not only toward the Turki Muslims but also toward the Finns and the Hungarians. (It should be noted that one of General Akashi's most trusted aides, who stirred revolt behind Russian lines in 1904, was a Finn.) The Japanese-Hungarian Society, established in 1924, has stressed the common racial origin of the two peoples. In 1921 the Pan-Turan Society of Budapest was asked to maintain a permanent

representative in Japan at Japan's expense. The Society of the White Wolf symbolized the common descent of the Turki and the Mongol peoples from a white she-wolf, while the Turan society of Japan has worked almost entirely in terms of Japan's alliance with the Turki peoples on grounds of common racial origin. The two outstanding exponents of Pan-Turanism among Russian Muslims--Yusuf Akchura and Iyad Ishaqi--have both been invited to Japan.

iii. Geographic Unity. Geographically, Japan has stressed the fact that, like the majority of the Muslims, she also is an Asiatic nation interested in Asia for the Asiatics, and in continental freedom from European domination.

iv. Political Unity. Politically, like the majority of Asiatic Muslims, Japan has opposed both British imperialism and Soviet Communism and from the beginning, has been openly and actively anti-Communist. Thus her position in Asia, vis-a-vis Russia and Britain, coincides with the political aspirations of the Muslims, who, in their long suspicion of both, tend to overlook Japan's own ambitions.

v. Cultural Unity. Culturally, Japan has played up the common trait of respect for the warrior tradition and for the male-dominated or patriarchal family system where "man has his sphere and woman has hers--unlike the West." The last theme was particularly effective among the older generation of Muslims in Russia who bitterly resented Soviet attempts to break down the

old patriarchal family system and abolish purdah (veiling and seclusion of women). Interestingly enough, some objection to the Muslim practice of polygamy arose within Japanese circles when the promotors of the "Muslim policy" tried to push the official recognition of Islam through the Diet in 1939. The matter was finally solved by the official explanation that "Islam permits polygamy so as to make women better wives. In fear of the husband taking another, a woman is more obedient and considerate of her husband's wishes and thus a more stable family system results."

c. Intelligence.

1. Bases of Operation. Exclusive of Sinkiang (which is discussed extensively in "Japanese Infiltration among Muslims in China," R & A No. 890.1) there are these main bases for Japanese intelligence activities among the Muslims of the Soviet Union: Turkey, Iran, and Afghanistan.

a. Turkey has been important because the traditionally close cultural ties between Turkey and Turki nationals of Russia have made it the haven for the largest number of Muslim refugees from the Soviet Union. Pan-Islamic and Pan-Turanic societies and centers have their headquarters there. Almost every Pan-Turkist among prominent émigré Russian Muslims there is a member of the Bozkurt or Grey Wolf Society whose goal is the unification of all Turki Muslims into an autonomous state stretching from Asia Minor to

Mongolia. Across the Turkish border in Asia Minor are the frequently rebellious Muslim Caucasus tribes and the rich oil wells of Baku. Thus Turkey is an important center for economic as well as political intelligence. Only the cordial relations between the Soviet and the Turkish governments have hindered Japanese activities there. It is possible that Turkish police interference (as for example the arrests of the remnants of Enver Pasha's followers in 1926 and the close police surveillance of the Bozkurt) was a contributing cause of the Japanese invitation to such notoriously anti-Soviet and anti-Russian Muslim Tatars as Akchura and Ishaqi to come to Japan and Manchuria. In spite of Turkish vigilance, recent reports from Kabul trace the anti-Soviet plot of Bokharan emigrés there to the Bozkurt personages in Turkey.

b. Iran's proximity to both the Caucasus and Central Asiatic Soviet territories particularly to the nomadic Turkmen tribes, has made it another propitious base for Japanese intelligence, increasingly so, since the opening of the Japanese Legation there in 1929. Its importance is illustrated by the fact that such experienced Muslim and Russian experts as Akio Kasama and Sentaro Ueda have held diplomatic posts in Teheran, the latter openly assigned there for "special duty." Kasama's activities on behalf of the Japanese Muslim policy have already been noted. A doctor of law, a noted author on Muslim topics, a diplomat of some note with past posts in Turkey, Roumania, Portugal, and Geneva, the very fact of his assignment to

Iran reveals the post's importance. Kasama is called by a Japanese writer an "authority on Islam's role in Asia" /Tokyo Dispatch in Buenos Aires Diario Nan-A, November 26, 1942/. Ueda's background is no less significant. A graduate of St. Petersburg Imperial University, assistant to General Akashi in St. Petersburg during the latter's negotiations with Ibrahim, and counselor of the Japanese Legation in Moscow through the twenties, his subsequent assignments have alternated between Russia and Iran, with brief periods on the "special staff" of the Foreign Office in Tokyo. The importance of Iran as a Japanese espionage center, however, has declined with the expulsion of the Japanese diplomats on Japan's entrance into the present war.

c. Afghanistan as a base seems to have been of increasing consequence since the fall of the somewhat pro-Soviet Amanullah in 1928. Its significance has been enhanced by two factors: active antagonism to the Soviet Union and its religious and Muslim policies on the one hand (this has been the keynote of Afghan foreign policy since 1929), and the presence of a large element of Tadjiks, Uzbeks, Turkmen, and even Kirghiz within Afghanistan's own population. These nomads, two-thirds of whom live on Soviet territory and approximately a third in northern Afghanistan, have made the closing of the Afghan-Soviet border virtually impossible. The mountainous nature of the area, the semi-primitive culture, and the deep hostility to all

restrictions not compatible with the established mode of life--these make possible, without too much difficulty, the organization of intelligence utilizing anti-Soviet sentiments of the people. The mixture of nationalities on the Soviet-Afghan-Sinkiang border makes this corner of Afghanistan particularly susceptible to infiltration by alien elements. Afghanistan's present neutrality, which is due to the prevalence there of anti-British and anti-Russian sentiments, makes it particularly important.

2. Types of Agents. Three types of agents may be distinguished within the pattern of Japanese intelligence: the resident, the itinerant, and the native.

a. The resident agent is usually known by the local population to be Japanese, but resides over long periods of time in the country to be surveyed, becomes if possible a citizen, and participates in the life of the community about him. His life is devoid of excitement or adventure and his strength lies in his community status, his respectability, his apparent devotion to the adopted country, and the trust and friendship of the native residents. A good example is the life of Fuzo Hattori.

Hattori was a shopkeeper in a small town in Japan. He became acquainted with Uchida when he was in his teens and was attracted by the ideals of the Genyosha. Quietly he set up a small store in Iman, Siberia, in 1897. He sold small Japanese articles of every nature. In 1899 he opened another shop in Nikolsk-Ussurisk. Uchida's

men, operating from the Vladivostok Judo School, used his stores as headquarters in that vicinity. Messages were left there, information picked up, and photographs developed. When the war with Russia broke out in 1904, Fuzo became guide and interpreter for the army. He knew the locality where he lived near the border exceedingly well and also knew the language. He knew the peculiarities and the personal characteristics of the local officials, the frontier guards, all his neighbors. He was a small man, not very well educated, but patient, reliable, and with a purpose which gave his life a meaning and devotion akin to religion. In October 1905, when the war was over, he went right back to his shop in Iman. The Russians and the Tatars in that small town never knew that he had helped the army during the war. They expressed sympathy for him because he had to close the store and suffer losses. In 1917 "when the Romanoffs fell, his house was the center of help to Captain Kalmykov in Ussuri from the Japanese Army." Arms and gold mysteriously appeared there and were picked up by Kalmykov men, who, supposedly anti-Bolshevik, were also working to undermine the Siberian government of Admiral Kolchak. In 1919 the Japanese army moved into the Ussuri region to "restore order" and the quiet shop and house suddenly became a busy army headquarters. This time, evidently, the inhabitants had become somewhat aware of Hattori's activities. According to his life history in Toa Sankaku, "in September 1921 he made an unwilling final withdrawal from Siberia." Fuzo opened another little shop, this time on the Chinese Eastern Railway in Manchuria, but soon "became ill and retired to a village north of Biwa Lake in Japan, where he died December 10, 1924." Fuzo Hattori was fifty-two when he died. For twenty-seven years he had served the patriotic cause. How knew what he was doing, and money certainly was not his object. In spirit, Hattori was not far from the missionaries who go abroad to a life of inconvenience and isolation, to spread the gospel in which they believe. Their deep conviction makes such agents doubly dangerous.

b. The itinerant type, on the other hand, lives a life full of danger, excitement, adventure, and hardship. He requires a long and strenuous training previous to undertaking operations. Unlike the resident agent he is compelled to live for many years deprived of all normal family relationships and human friendships. Takehiko Fujishima, for example, spent some years in China studying

the language, manners, and customs before joining the Rakuzendo in 1887. He assumed a Chinese name and clothes and grew a pigtail. Even the Russians failed to learn his true nationality on arresting him in Kashgar in 1889. He pursued his work until 1895, at which time he was caught in the guise of a Buddhist monk and beheaded as a spy by the Chinese authorities during the Sino-Japanese war. Jiro Soejima went to Kirghizia in 1924 after many years of study of the Turki tongues and cultures and returned unmolested in 1926. His purpose was "investigating conditions in Central Asia so that some way may be found to unite all Asiatic races, particularly the Muslims, to present a united front against the Europeans--he was also interested in railroads" (Toa Senkaku, Vol. II, p. 893). Kotai Koizumi, after studying in the Tokyo School of Foreigh languages and in the Military Academy, lived for five years with Qurban Ali to acquire not only the right accent but the right mannerisms before leaving for Russia in 1929. Although he adopted the Muslim faith and took a Muslim name before his departure, Toa Senkaku prudently does not disclose the latter since the gentleman in question is presumably still active in the field (he is not included in the Toa Senkaku list of dead heroes).

The disguise adopted is not necessarily that of the country in which the agent works. A considerable number of agents in addition to learning the Turki and Tatar dialects of Russia, first learn to

master the disguise of a neighboring territory whose nationals would arouse no surprise or suspicion. A Japanese propagandist disguised as a Mongolian Muslim in Tadjikistan, for example, carries added conviction, while unlikely to be recognized as non-Mongol by the Tadjiks. This observation is supported by Hadjet-Lache's Okhrana report noting the presence of Manchurian, Chinese, and Mongol organizers among the Ural Muslims, who, he claims, work for the Japanese. It is more likely that they were actually Japanese posing as Chinese or Mongols like the members of the Rakuzendo in the eighties and nineties and some of the later investigators. Zuicho Tachibana, for example, traveled as a Buddhist priest through Mongolia and Siberia before reaching Russian Central Asia in 1910. Taichi Uehara, once arrested in Tashkent but released on personal appeal to the Tsar by General Araki, spoke fluent Russian and Mongol. He used the Chinese name Yuan Shang-chih. Hidenari Nami and Kyodo Kawamura, who studied the possibilities of an autonomas Muslim state in Central Asia and collected intelligence for the purpose, both lives as Chinese in Sinkiang, the former using the Chinese name Ma Ch'eng-lung. A group led by Hajime Sato, the head of the Black Dragon chapter in Tsingtao, which was dispatched to Russian Central Asia in 1917 "to stay there for several years and study conditions" (Nikkan Goho Hishi, Appendix, Tokyo, 1931, p. 6), had all lived in China for many years and could easily pass for Chinese in Russia.

Disguise is not the invariable accompaniment of the Japanese intelligence agent. Yearly pilgrimages to Mecca provide another channel for collecting information, not only from native Turki Muslims annually assembled there, but also from other arriving Japanese "Muslims," either in or out of disguise. Throughout the thirties there were annual pilgrimages to Mecca by a group of young officers, promoters of "more activity among the Muslims" who, pitching their tents alongside Bokharan refugees from Sinkiang and Turkey, managed to make valuable contacts and possibly do some recruiting among the refugees. Taro Yamamoto's Mecca trips, for example, earned him an invitation to Afghanistan as a "student of Islam" in 1933. He remained there until 1941 and possibly continued the work begun in 1925 by Yasunosuke Tanabe, intelligence and subversion agent for Central Asia who set up headquarters in Kabul for his work with the various Turkmen organizations in Central Asia. Nakabe Wakabayashi and Ippei Tanaka (d. 1934) also participated in the Mecca trips, acting both as propagandists and as intelligence agents for Japan in the guise (or perhaps honestly) of devoted Muslims.

c. As native agents, the Japanese have used both the Russian and the non-Russian nationals among the Muslims in Asia. It is not known to what extent they were aware of being used by Japan. The proceedings of the Soviet trials involving Muslim espionage in Central Asia and Mongolia name such Muslim celebrities as Fahrutdinov and Tajimanov, directors of the Central Muslim League of USSR,

also called the All-Union Muslim League, as knowingly contributing to the anti-Soviet activities of the foreign powers. A large number of minor defendants who acted as couriers, messengers, and informants are also listed. The short sentences, given to the many defendants, ranging from six months to ten years (which is light for Soviet espionage convictions), would seem to imply Soviet recognition of the unconscious part they played in the espionage.

Even so it is not known to what extent such men as Sultan Ali (Russian form: Sultangaliev), chief defendant in the Tashkent trials for treason in 1929, or Mutallieb Satybaldyev, the main personage of the Kokhand trials of 1934, were cognizant of being tools of Japanese intelligence. Quite possibly they were sincere devotees of Muslim autonomy who little dreamed that Japan and Germany were subsidizing their colleagues in Sinkiang, Iran, and Afghanistan in return for information obtained. It must be noted that all known Japanese pronouncements stress Japan's desire to aid independence movements of Asiatic Muslims and nothing else. Thus a great deal of information regarding fortifications, industries, and garrisons in the Soviet Union may have passed into Japanese hands without the knowledge of those young Muslims in Soviet Asia who thought they were merely in touch with their compatriots south of the border. Mustafa Tchokai (Russian form: M. A. Tchokaieff), ardent promoter of Turkestan independence