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APPENDIX F

STATEMENTS BY GENERAL MacARTHUR

Statement to Surrender Delegates Aboard Battleship Missouri

2 September 1945

We are gathered here, representatives of the major warring powers, to conclude a solemn agreement whereby Peace may be restored. The issues, involving divergent ideals and ideologies, have been determined on the battle fields of the world and hence are not for our discussion or debate. Nor is it for us here to meet, representing as we do a majority of the peoples of the Earth, in a spirit of distrust, malice or hatred. But rather it is for us, both victors and vanquished, to rise to that higher dignity which alone befits the sacred purposes we are about to serve, committing all of our peoples unreservedly to faithful compliance with the undertakings they are here formally to assume.

It is my earnest hope and indeed the hope of all mankind that from this solemn occasion a better world shall emerge out of the blood and carnage of the past - a world founded upon faith and understanding - a world dedicated to the dignity of man and the fulfillment of his most cherished wish - for freedom, tolerance and justice.

The terms and conditions upon which surrender of the Japanese Imperial forces is here to be given and accepted are contained in the instrument of surrender now before you.

As Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers I announce it my firm purpose, in the tradition of the countries I represent, to proceed in the discharge of my responsibilities with justice and tolerance, while taking all necessary dispositions to insure that the terms of surrender are fully, promptly and faithfully complied with.

I now invite the representatives of the Emperor of Japan and the Japanese Government, and the Japanese Imperial General Headquarters to sign the instrument of surrender at the places indicated.

The Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers will now sign on behalf of all the Nations at war with Japan.

The representative of the United States of America will now sign.

The representative of the Republic of China will now sign.

The representative of the United Kingdom will now sign.

The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will now sign.

The representative of Australia will now sign.

The representative of Canada will now sign.

The representative of France will now sign.

The representative of Netherlands will now sign.

The representative of New Zealand will now sign.

Let us pray that Peace be now restored to the world, and that God will preserve it always. These proceedings are closed.

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Message to American People Concerning the Surrender

2 September 1945

My fellow Countrymen:

Today the guns are silent. A great tragedy has ended. A great victory has been won. The skies no longer rain death - the seas bear only commerce - men everywhere walk upright in the sunlight. The entire world lies quietly at Peace. The Holy Mission has been completed. And in reporting this to you, the people, I speak for the thousands of silent lips, forever stilled among the jungles and the beaches and in the deep waters of the Pacific which marked the way. I speak for the un-named brave millions homeward bound to take up the challenge of that future which they did so much to salvage from the brink of disaster.

As I look back on the long, tortuous trail from those grim days of Bataan and Corregidor, when an entire world lived in fear; when Democracy was on the defensive everywhere, when modern civilization trembled in the balance, I thank a merciful God that he has given us the faith, the courage and the power from which to mould victory. We have known the bitterness of defeat and the exultation of triumph, and from both we have learned there can be no turning back. We must go forward to preserve in Peace what we won in War.

A new era is upon us. Even the lesson of Victory itself brings with it profound concern, both for our future security and the survival of civilization. The destructiveness of the War potential, through progressive advances in scientific discovery, has in fact now reached a point which revises the traditional concept of War.

Men since the beginning of time have sought peace. Various methods through the ages have been attempted to devise an international process to prevent or settle disputes between nations. From the very start workable methods were found in so far as individual citizens were concerned but the

mechanics of an instrumentality of larger international scope have never been successful. Military alliances, balance of power, Leagues of Nations all in turn failed leaving the only path to be by way of the crucible of war. The utter destructiveness of war now blots out this alternative. We have had our last chance. If we do not devise some greater and more equitable system Armageddon will be at our door. The problem basically is theological and involves a spiritual recrudescence and improvement of human character that will synchronize with our almost matchless advance in science, art, literature, and all material and cultural developments of the past two thousand years. It must be of the spirit if we are to save the flesh.

We stand in Tokyo today reminiscent of our countryman, Commodore Perry, ninety-two years ago. His purpose was to bring to Japan an era of enlightenment and progress by lifting the veil of isolation to the friendship, trade and commerce of the world. But alas the knowledge thereby gained of Western science was forged into an instrument of oppression and human enslavement. Freedom of expression, freedom of action, even freedom of thought were denied through suppression of liberal education, through appeal to superstition and through the application of force. We are committed by the Potsdam Declaration of Principles to see that the Japanese people are liberated from this condition of slavery. It is my purpose to implement this commitment just as rapidly as the armed forces are demobilized and other essential steps taken to neutralize the war potential. The energy of the Japanese race, if properly directed, will enable expansion vertically rather than horizontally. If the talents of the race are turned into constructive channels, the country can lift itself from its present deplorable state into a position of dignity.

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To the Pacific basin has come the vista of a new emancipated world. Today, freedom is on the offensive, democracy is on the march. Today, in Asia as well as in Europe, unshackled peoples are tasting the full sweetness of liberty, the relief from fear.

In the Philippines, America has evolved a model for this new free world of Asia. In the Philippines, America has demonstrated that peoples of the East and peoples of the West may walk side by side in mutual respect and with mutual benefit. The history of our sovereignity there has now the full confidence of the East.

And so, my fellow countrymen, today I report to you that your sons and daughters have served you well and faithfully with the calm, deliberate, determined fighting spirit of the American soldier and sailor based upon a tradition of historical truth, as against the fanaticism of an enemy supported only by mythological fiction. Their spiritual strength and power has brought us through to victory. They are homeward bound - take care of them.

Order to Display Flag in Tokyo

8 September 1945

General Eichelberger:

Have our Country's flag unfurled and in Tokyo's sun let it wave in its full glory as a symbol of hope for the oppressed and as a harbinger of victory for the right.

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Answer to "Soft Policy" Chang

14 September 1945

I have noticed some impatience in the press based upon the assumption of a so-called soft policy in Japan. This can only arise from an erroneous concept of what is occurring.

The first phase of the occupation must of necessity be based upon military considerations which involve the deployment forward of our own troops and the disarming and demobilization of the enemy. This is coupled with the paramount consideration of withdrawing our former prisoners of war and war interness from the internment camps and evacuating them to their homes. Safety and security require that these steps shall proceed with precision and completeness lest calamity may be precipitated. The military phase is proceeding in an entirely satisfactory way. Over half of the enemy's force in Japan proper is now demobilized, and the entire program will be practically complete by the middle of October. During this interval of time safety and complete security must be assured.

When the first phase is completed the other phases as provided in the surrender terms will infallibly follow. No one need have any doubt about the prompt, complete and entire fulfillment of the terms of surrender. The process, however, takes time. It is well understandable in the face of atrocities committed by the enemy that there should be impatience. This natural impulse, however, should be tempered by the fact that security and military expediency still require an exercise of some restraint. The surrender terms are not soft and they will not be applied in kid gloved fashion.

Economically and industrially, as well as militarily, Japan is completely exhausted and depleted. She is in a condition of utter collapse. Her governmental structure is controlled completely by the occupation forces and is operating only to the extent necessary to insure such an orderly and controlled procedure as will prevent social chaos, disease and starvation.

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DECLASSIFIED E.O. 12356, SEC. 3.4(b)(1) AND 3.4(b)(3) OR (b)(3) NNSA, 11 JUL 2012

The overall objectives for Japan have been clearly outlined in the surrender terms and will be accomplished in an orderly, concise and comprehensive way without delays beyond those imposed by the magnitude of the physical problems involved.

It is extraordinarily difficult for me at times to exercise that degree of patience which is unquestionably demanded if the long time policies which have been decreed are to be successfully accomplished without repercussions which would be detrimental to the well being of the world but I am restraining myself to the best of my ability and am generally satisfied with the progress being made.

Statement Concerning the Reduction of Occupation Forces

17 September 1945

The smooth progress of the occupation of Japan has enabled a drastic cut in the number of troops originally estimated for that purpose. The unknown quantity in the initial situation was the debatable question of whether a military government would have to be set up to run the country during early occupation. This might well have involved the employment of several million troops. The entire structure below the political plane, involving hundreds of thousands of people on the professional and lower levels, would have had to be reconstituted and replaced. This would have involved a force running into millions of our men, would have taken many years of additional time and untold billions of additional dollars. By utilizing the Japanese governmental structure to the extent necessary to prevent complete social disintegration, insure internal distribution, maintain labor and prevent calamitous disease or wholesale starvation, the purposes of the surrender terms can be accomplished with only a small fraction of the men, time and money originally projected. This solution involved grave initial risk but the successful penetration and subsequent progress of the operation now assures the success of the venture. Probably no greater gamble has been taken in history than the initial landings where our ground forces were outnumbered a thousand to one but the stakes were worth it. As a consequence of the saving in men the occupation forces originally believed essential are being drastically cut and troops will be returned to the United States as rapidly as ships can be made available. Within six months the occupational force, unless unforeseen factors arise, will probably number not more than two hundred thousand men, a size probably within the framework of our projected regular establishment and which will permit the complete demobilization of our citizen Pacific forces which have fought so long and so nobly through to victory. Once Japan is disarmed this force will be sufficiently strong to insure our will.

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The questions involved in this matter are entirely independent of the future Japanese politics - governmental structure on a national and international plane. This problem is one the ultimate solution of which necessarily awaits the completion of the military phases of the surrender. It is one which unquestionably will be determined upon the highest diplomatic level of the United Nations and is one in which the answer cannot fail to be influenced by the incident of events in the near and proximate future.

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Statement To The Japanese Government Concerning Required Reforms

11 October 1945

In the achievement of the Potsdam declaration, the traditional social order under which the Japanese people for centuries have been subjugated will be corrected. This will unquestionably involve a liberalization of the Constitution.

The people must be freed from all forms of governmental secret inquisition into their daily lives which holds their minds in virtual slavery and from all forms of control which seek to suppress freedom of thought, freedom of speech or freedom of religion. Regimentation of the masses under the guise or claim of efficiency, under whatever name of government it may be made, must cease.

In the implementation of these requirements and to accomplish the purposes thereby intended, I expect you to institute the following reforms in the social order of Japan as rapidly as they can be assimilated:

1. The emancipation of the women of Japan through their enfranchisement - that, being members of the body politic, they may bring to Japan a new concept of government directly subservient to the well being of the home.

2. The encouragement of the unionization of Labor - that it may be clothed with such dignity as will permit it an influential voice in safeguarding the working man from exploitation and abuse and raising his living standard to a higher level; with the institution of such measures as may be necessary to correct the evils which now exist in child labor practices.

3. The opening of the schools to more liberal education - that the people may shape their future progress from factual knowledge and benefit from an understanding of a system under which government becomes the servant rather than the master of the people.

4. The abolition of systems which through secret inquisition and abuse have held the people in constant fear - substituting therefor a system of justice designed to afford the people protection against despotic, arbitrary and unjust methods.

5. The democratization of Japanese economic institutions to the end that monopolistic industrial controls be revised through the development of methods which tend to insure a wide distribution of income and ownership of the means of production and trade.

In the immediate administration field I hope for vigorous and prompt action on the part of the Government with reference to housing, feeding, and clothing the population in order to prevent pestilence, disease, starvation, or other major social catastrophe. The coming winter will be critical and the only way to meet its difficulties is by the full employment in useful work of everyone.

Demobilization of Japanese Armed Forces

16 October 1945

Today the Japanese Armed Forces throughout Japan completed their demobilization and ceased to exist as such. These forces are now completely abolished. I know of no demobilization in history either in war or peace, by our own or by any other country, that has been accomplished so rapidly or so frictionlessly. Everything military, naval or air is forbidden to Japan. This ends its military might and its military influence in international affairs. It no longer reckons as a world power either large or small. Its path in the future, if it is to survive, must be confined to the ways of peace.

Approximately seven million armed men, including those in the outlying theaters, have laid down their weapons. In the accomplishment of the extraordinarily difficult and dangerous surrender in Japan, unique in the annals of history, not a shot was necessary, not a drop of Allied blood was shed. The vindication of the great decision of Potsdam is complete.

Nothing could exceed the abjectness, the humiliation and the finality of this surrender. It is not only physically thorough but has been equally destructive on Japanese spirit. From swagger and arrogance the former Japanese military have passed to servility and fear. They are thoroughly beaten and cowed and tremble before the terrible retribution the surrender terms impose upon their country in punishment for its great sins.

Again I wish to pay tribute to the magnificent conduct of our troops. With few exceptions they could well be taken as a model for all time as a conquering army. No historian in later years, when passions cool, can arraign their conduct. They could so easily - and understandably - have emulated the ruthlessness which their enemy freely practices when conditions were reversed - but their perfect balance, between implacable firmness of duty on the one hand and resolute restraint from cruelness and brutalities on the other, has taught

a lesson to the Japanese civil population that is startling in its impact. Nothing has so tended to impress Japanese thought - not even the catastrophic fact of military defeat itself. They have for the first time seen the free men's way of life in actual action and it has stunned them into new thoughts and new ideas. The revolution, or more properly speaking the evolution, which will restore the dignity and freedom of the common man, has begun. It will take much time and require great patience but if public opinion will permit of these two essential factors - the world will be repaid. Herein lies the way to true and final peace.

The Japanese Army, contrary to some concepts that have been advanced, was thoroughly defeated before the surrender. The strategic maneuvering of the Allies had so scattered and divided it, their thrusts had so immobilized, disintegrated and split its units, its supply and transportation lines were so utterly destroyed, its equipment was so exhausted, its morale so shattered, that its early surrender became inevitable. Bastion after bastion, considered by it as impregnable and barring our way, had been by-passed and rendered impotent and useless, while our tactical penetrations and envelopments resulted in piecemeal destruction of many isolated fragments. It was weak everywhere, forced to fight where it stood, unable to render mutual support between its parts and presented a picture of collapse that was complete and absolute. The basic cause of the surrender is not to be attributed to an arbitrary decision of authority. It was inevitable because of the strategic and tactical circumstances forced upon it. The situation had become hopeless. It was merely a question of "when" with our troops poised for final invasion. This invasion would have been annihilating but might well have cost hundreds of thousands of American lives.

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The victory was a triumph for the concept of the complete integration of the three dimensions of war, ground, sea and air. By a thorough use of each arm in conjunction with the corresponding utilization of the other two, the enemy was reduced to a condition of helplessness. By largely avoiding methods involving a separate use of the services and by avoiding methods of frontal assault as far as possible, our combined power forced collapse with relative light loss probably unparalleled in any campaigns in history. This latter fact indeed was the most inspiring and significant feature, the unprecedented saving in American life. It is for this we have to say truly - thank God. Never was there a more intensive application of the principle of the strategic-tactical employment of limited forces as compared with the concept of overwhelming forces.

Illustrating this concept, General Yamashita recently stated in an interview in Manila, explaining reasons for his defeat, that "Diversity of Japanese command resulted in complete lack of cooperation and coordination between the services." He complained: "that he was not in supreme command, that the air forces were run by Field Marshal Terauchi at Saigon and the fleet run directly from Tokyo," that he "only knew of the intended naval strike at Leyte Gulf 5 days before it got under way" and professed "ignorance of its details."

The great lesson for the future is that success in the Art of War depends upon a complete integration of the services. In unity will lie military strength. We cannot win with only backs and ends, and no line however strong can go alone. Victory will rest with the team.

AUTHORITY NND 963012 BY 3(B) OR (C) NARS DATE 7-15-72

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26 November 1945

PRESS RELEASE:

GHQ WELCOMES VISIT OF THE FAR EASTERN ADVISORY COMMISSION

Having learned of the decision of the Far Eastern Advisory Commission to visit Japan in the near future, General MacArthur today issued the following statement:

"The decision of the Far Eastern Advisory Commission to visit Japan in the near future causes me the greatest satisfaction. Their advice and guidance in the complicated problems that confront me cannot fail to be of the greatest possible assistance and support. It will enable the Commission to see at first hand actual conditions as they exist.

"Unfortunately there has been much of misinformation, at times resembling deliberate false propaganda, circulated throughout the world, even from high sources, which has tended to becloud not only the truth about the problems here but apparently has been designed to influence international opinions and international policies.

"Nothing would please me more than to have this distinguished Commission ascertain by actual observation the facts as they exist, which the press and radio correspondents here have so earnestly and sincerely endeavored to report. I hope theCommission will come as soon as possible and stay as long as may be necessary. Its trip cannot fail to be completely advantageous in every respect."

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30 December 1945

Press Release:

GEN. MacARTHUR'S STATEMENT ON CONTROL PLAN

Gen. MacArthur tonight issued the following statement with reference to an Associated Press Washington dispatch dated Dec. 30 stating that "General MacArthur saw and did not object to the new Japan Control Plan before it was approved at Moscow", and also that "General MacArthur was kept informed throughout the conference on matters dealing with Japan and Far Eastern affairs":

"The statement attributed to a Far Eastern Commission officer that I 'did not object to the new Japan Control Plan before it was approved at Moscow' is incorrect. On 31 October my final disagreement was contained in my radio to the Chief of Staff for the Secretary of State, advising that the terms 'in my opinion are not acceptable'. Since that time, my views have not been sought. Any impression which the statement might imply that I was consulted during the Moscow conference is also incorrect. I have no iota of responsibility for the decisions which were made there. I might add that whatever the merits or demerits of the plan, it is my firm intent without the authority entrusted to me, to try to make it work. The issues involved are too vital to the future of the world to have them bog down. With good will on the part of those concerned, it is my fervent hope that there will be no insuperable obstacles. As I said before, it is 'my full purpose to see it through'".

Following the release of General MacArthur's statement, the Public Relations Officer, as spokesman for the Supreme Commander said:

"General MacArthur never received any information or communication whatsoever from the Moscow conference during the meeting and did not even know Japan was being discussed until he saw it announced in the daily press."

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27 December 1945

MESSAGE TO THE JAPANESE PEOPLE

TO THE PEOPLE OF JAPAN:

A new year has come. With it, a new day dawns for Japan.

No longer is the future to be settled by a few.

The shackles of militarism, of feudalism, of regimentation of body and soul, have been removed.

Thought control and the abuse of education are no more.

All now enjoy religious freedom and the right of speech without undue restraint. Free assembly is guaranteed.

The removal of this national enslavement means freedom for the people, but at the same time it imposes upon them the individual duty to think and to act each on his own initiative. It is necessary for the masses of Japan to awaken to the fact that they now have the power to govern and what is done must be done by themselves.

It is my hope that the New Year may be the beginning for them of "the way, and the truth, and the light."

DOUGLAS MACARTHUR

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5 April 1946

STATEMENT TO ALLIED COUNCIL FOR JAPAN

Members of the Allied Council for Japan:

I welcome you with utmost cordiality in the earnest anticipation that, in keeping with the friendship which has long existed among the several peoples represented here, your deliberations throughout shall be governed by goodwill, mutual understanding and broad tolerance. As the functions of the Council will be advisory and consultative, it will not divide the heavy administrative responsibility of the Supreme Commander as the sole executive authority for the Allied Powers in Japan, but it will make available to him the several viewpoints of its members on questions of policy and action. I hope it will prove to be a valuable factor in the future solution of many problems.

To assist the Council in the fulfillment of its objectives, instructions have been given that copies of all directives issued to the Japanese Government shall promptly be furnished it, together with such background information as may be appropriate to permit a full understanding thereof, or as the Council may specifically desire. Matters of substance will normally be laid before it prior to action. Any advice the Council as a whole or any of its individual members may believe would be helpful to the Supreme Commander will at all times be most welcome, and given the most thorough consideration. As my manifold other duties will not normally permit me to sit with the Council, I have designated a deputy to act as Chairman thereof. To promote full public confidence in its aims and purposes, it is advisable that all formal sessions be open to such of the public and press as existing facilities will accommodate. There is nothing in its deliberations to conceal even from the eyes and ears of our fallen adversary. Through such a practice of pure democracy in the discharge of its responsibilities, the world will know that the Council's deliberations lead to no secret devices, undertakings or commitments. The suspicion, the distrust, the hatred so often

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engendered by the veil of secrecy will thus be avoided and in the undimmed light of public scrutiny we will therefore invite full confidence in the sincerity of our purposes and the rectitude of our aims. As Supreme Commander I can assure you that I entertain no fear that such an opportunity for public discussion will have the slightest adverse effect upon the discharge of my executive responsibilities.

The purposes of the occupation are now well advanced. Japanese forces on the home islands have been disarmed, demobilized, and returned to their homes, and in other respects the Japanese war machine has been neutralized. Dispositions have been taken to eliminate for all time the authority and influence of those who misled the people of Japan into embarking on world conquest, and to establish in Japan a new order of peace, security and justice; to secure for the Japanese people freedom of speech, religion and thought, and respect for the fundamental human rights; to remove all obstacles to the strengthening of democratic tendencies among the Japanese people; and to readjust the Japanese industrial economy to produce for the Japanese people after reparations an equitable standard of life. All of these dispositions in implementation of principles outlined in the Potsdam Declaration have already been taken.

My policy in the administration of Japan for the Allied Powers has been to act as far as possible through existing instrumentalities of the Japanese Government. The soundness of this policy has been unmistakably reflected in the progress of the occupation. I have sought, while destroying Japan's war potential and exacting just penalties for past wrongs, to build a future for the people of Japan based upon considerations of realism and justice. Without yielding firmness, it has been my purpose to avoid oppressive or arbitrary action, and to infuse into the hearts of the Japanese people principles of liberty and right heretofore unknown to them. As success of the Allied occupational purposes is dependent upon leadership as well as upon direction -- as only through the firm application of those very principles which we ourselves defended on the battlefield may we, as victors, become architects of a new Japan, a Japan reoriented to

peace, security and justice -- this policy shall continue to be the aim of my administration and should serve to guide the Council throughout its deliberations.

Were it otherwise -- were we but to insure the thoroughness of Japan's defeat, then leave her prostrate in the ashes of total collapse, history would point to a task poorly done and but partially complete. It is equally for us now to guide her people to rededicate themselves to higher principles, ideals and purposes, to help them rise to the full measure of new and loftier standards of social and political morality -- that they firmly may meet the challenge to future utility in the service of mankind. In the consummation of this high purpose, we, as victors in the administration of the vanquished, stand charged to proceed in that full unity of purpose which characterized our common effort in the war just won.

It is no small hindrance that in reaching this goal there are those throughout the Allied world who lift their voices in sharp and ill-conceived criticism of our occupational policies; some, honestly inspired but with no knowledge of conditions existing in this far distant land, who would see applied here wholly unadaptable principles and methods; some who, lacking both vision and patience, see but the end desired, being blind to the means without which that end is impossible of achievement; some who opposed the guiding principles adopted at Potsdam and who, unwilling now to join in full unity of purpose, seek to foment dissatisfaction in others to the end that such principles be reshaped to their will, or their implementation be impeded; some who, from selfish motives, would exploit as slaves a thoroughly defeated nation and people, thus serving the identical philosophy of evil which Allied soldiers opposed unto death on the battlefields of the world; and some who, for various reasons, are out of sympathy with Allied policies and aims, and seek to sabotage success of the occupation.

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To the peoples of the Allied world I would say, in answer to such criticism, that history has given us no precedent of success in a similar military occupation of a defeated nation — anywhere, at any time — to serve as a guide to assist in reshaping Japan to meet the aims to which we are here solemnly committed. It thus has become necessary for us, in meeting that challenge of the past, to devise new guiding principles and new methods by which to solve the problems of the future. To serve this purpose, a wise and far-seeking policy was formulated at Potsdam, fully attuned to the noble ideals, principles and standards in defense of which the Allied Nations firmly and in complete unity took their stand. Through implementation of that policy lies best hope that the errors responsible for the failures of past occupations may be avoided in the task to which we are here no less inseparably dedicated. The road ahead is not an easy one, but it is my firm purpose that, within the underlying precepts governing occupational policy, the objective be reached. I fervently hope that each member of the council will exert his best effort in support of that purpose, eliminating insofar as possible misconceptions which but sow the seeds of disunity and serve the cause of failure.

A new constitution has been evolved, patterned along liberal and democratic lines, which the Japanese Government intends to submit for consideration to the next incoming National Diet. This proposed new constitution is being widely and freely discussed by the Japanese people who show a healthy disposition to subject all provisions thereof to critical public examination through the media of press and radio. Regardless of changes in form and detail which may well result from this open forum of public debate and the ultimate consideration of the National Diet and the Allied Powers, if the underlying principles remain substantially the same when finally adopted, the instrument will provide the structure that will permit development in Japan of a democratic state, fully conforming to existing Allied policy. If we are firmly to implement that policy, it is incumbent upon us to encourage and assist the Japanese people in reshaping their lives and

institutions thereunder — scrupulously avoiding superficial and cynical criticism of motive or purpose and destructive influence upon their will to do just that which it is our firm purpose they shall do.

While the drafting of an acceptable constitution does not of itself establish democracy, which is a thing largely of the spirit, it does provide the design for both structural and spiritual changes in the national life, without which so fundamental a reform would be utterly impossible. With it there is hope for accomplishing that reshaping of national and individual character essential to form the strong foundation of popular support upon which a democratic state must rest. It is yet too early to predict with any degree of certainty how deeply rooted the tenets embodied in such reform will become in the social and political life of Japan. It is inescapably true, however, that the course thus charted to the fulfillment of Allied policy in the democratization of Japan is the only course that points to success — that the degree of that success will depend in large measure upon the patience and encouragement with which we ourselves are willing to endow the test.

While all provisions of this proposed new constitution are of importance, and lead individually and collectively to the desired end as expressed at Potsdam, I desire especially to mention that provision dealing with the renunciation of war. Such renunciation, while in some respects a logical sequence to the destruction of Japan's war-making potential, goes yet further in its surrender of the sovereign right of resort to arms in the international sphere. Japan thereby proclaims her faith in a society of nations governed by just, tolerant and effective rules of universal social and political morality and entrusts its national integrity thereto. The cynic may view such action as demonstrating but a childlike faith in a visionary ideal, but the realist will see in it far deeper significance. He will understand that in the evolution of society it became necessary for man to surrender certain rights theretofore

inherent in himself in order that states might be created vested with sovereign power over the individuals who collectively formed them -- that foremost of these inherent rights thus surrendered to the body politic was man's right to resort to force in the settlement of disputes with his neighbor. With the advance of society, groups or states federated together through the identical process of surrendering inherent rights and submitting to a sovereign power representing the collective will. In such manner was formed the United States of America, through the renunciation of rights inherent in individual states in order to compose the national sovereignty; the State first recognized and stood guarantor for the integrity of the individual, and thereafter the nation recognized and stood guarantor for the integrity of the State.

The proposal of the Japanese government -- a government over people who now have reason to know the complete failure of war as an instrument of national policy -- in effect but recognizes one further step in the evolution of mankind, under which nations would develop, for mutual protection against war, a yet higher law of international social and political morality.

Whether the world is yet ready for so forward a step in the relations between nations, or whether another and totally destructive war -- a war involving almost mass extermination -- must first be waged, is the great issue which now confronts all peoples.

There can be no doubt that both the progress and survival of civilization is dependent upon the timely recognition of the imperative need for some such forward step -- is dependent upon the realization by all nations of the utter futility of force as an arbiter of international issues -- is dependent upon elimination from international relations of the suspicion, distrust, and hatred which inevitably result from power threats, boundary violations, secret maneuvering, and violence to public morality -- is dependent upon a world leadership which does not lack the moral courage to implement the will of the masses who abhor war and upon whom falls the main weight of war's frightful carnage -- and finally is

dependent upon the development of a world order which will permit a nation such as Japan safely to entrust its national integrity to just such a higher law to which all peoples on earth shall have rendered themselves subservient. Therein lies the road to lasting peace.

I therefore commend Japan's proposal for the renunciation of war to the thoughtful consideration of all of the peoples of the world. It points the way -- the only way. The United Nations Organization, admirable as is its purpose, great and noble as are its aims, can only survive to achieve that purpose and those aims if it accomplishes as to all nations just what Japan proposes unilaterally to accomplish through this constitution -- abolish war as a sovereign right. Such a renunciation must be simultaneous and universal. It must be all or none. It must be effected by action -- not words alone -- and open, undisguised action which invites the confidence of all men who would serve the cause of peace. The present instrumentality to enforce its will -- the pooled armed might of its component nations -- can at best be but a temporary expedient so long as nations still recognize as co-existent the sovereign right of belligerency.

No thoughtful man will fail to recognize that with the development of modern science another war may blast mankind to perdition -- but still we hesitate -- still we cannot, despite the yawning abysses at our feet, unshackle ourselves from the past. Therin lies the childlike faith in the future -- a faith that, as in the past, the world can somehow manage to survive yet another universal conflict. In that irresponsible faith lies civilization's gravest peril.

We sit here in council, representatives of the military might and moral strength of the modern world. It is our responsibility and our purpose to consolidate and strengthen the peace won at the staggering cost of war. As we thus deal in the international sphere with some of the decisive problems I have but briefly outlined, it is incumbent upon us to proceed on so high a level of

universal service that we may do our full part toward restoring the rule of reason to international thought and action. Thereby may we further universal adherence to that higher law in the preservation of peace which finds full and unqualified approval in the enlightened conscience of all of the peoples of the earth.

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6 May 1946

REPORT OF JAPAN'S FOOD SITUATION FOR HERBERT HOOVER.

Press Release:

The following is a summary of the Japanese food situation presented by the Supreme Commander Allied Powers to Mr. Herbert Hoover, Chairman of the Famine Emergency Committee:

The Japanese food position in 1946 is the worst in some 30 odd years. The magnitude of food deficit is unprecedented in Japanese history because of two factors: (1) Losses due to serious typhoons and floods in mid-September 1945 and (2) the cumulative devitilization of Japanese soil resulting from approximately five years of exceedingly low commercial fertilizer applications. Reduction in 1945 crop yields has resulted in a harvest about 27 per cent below 1944.

The Japanese food position is further aggravated by: (1) the disrupted Japanese economy with attendant hyper-inflation which has encouraged farmers to withhold crops for higher future prices and diversions to black market channels; (2) breakdown of the war-time system of ruthless enforcement of crop quota collections; and (3) absence of consumers' goods as an incentive for farmers to market their crops; (4) great uncertainty concerning future Japanese business; (5) enormous devastation caused by war with consequent shortage in building materials, fabricated products and transportation; (6) and growth in population, including repatriation.

Japan which normally relies upon imports for roughly 15 to 20 per cent of her food requirements, will be reduced to an average consumption level of below 700 calories per day for the non-self supplying part of the population for the period May-September 1946 in the absence of food imports, according to SCAP estimates. This would not be enough to maintain life and mass starvation would be inevitable among those unable to supplement this level.

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The original SCAP Import program called for 3,700,000 tons of food of which 2,700,000 were cereals in order to provide 1550 calories for the urban population - the minimum needed to maintain workers in jobs involving only limited physical exertion and far below that required in heavy industry. In consultation with Department of Agriculture officials and the Food Survey Board, the above minimum figure was scaled down to 600,000 tons as an emergency interim program to be delivered by July 1 and further requests were to be made for the latter half of the year.

Currently we are expending every effort to secure the above commitment and further shipments in the second half of 1946. Delivery of 600,000 tons will make possible only about 900 calories for non-self suppliers for the next five months and will not ensure against mass starvation and civil disturbance.

SCAP is convinced that the mass starvation in prospect in Japan in the event that adequate imports are not secured will make it impossible to achieve the major objectives of the occupation with a consequent incalculable effect upon the Allies, not only in the Far East but the world over. Particularly is this true since Japan can only be considered a vast concentration camp under the control of the Allies and foreclosed from all avenues of commerce and trade. SCAP is not advocating the slightest element of perferential treatment for the Japanese civil population; what is requested are only those quantities of food required to achieve the objectives of the occupation.

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20 May 1946

WARNING AGAINST MOB DISORDER OR VIOLENCE

I find it necessary to caution the Japanese people that the growing tendency towards mass violence and physical processes of intimidation, under organized leadership, present a grave menace to the future development of Japan. While every possible rational freedom of democratic method has been permitted and will be permitted in the evolution now proceeding in the transformation from a feudalistic and military state to one of democratic process, the physical violence which undisciplined elements are now beginning to practice will not be permitted to continue. They constitute a menace not only to orderly government but to the basic purposes and security of the occupation itself. If minor elements of Japanese society are unable to exercise such self-restraint and self-respect as the situation and conditions require, I shall be forced to take the necessary steps to control and remedy such a deplorable situation. I am sure the great mass of the people condemn such excesses by disorderly minorities, and it is my sincere hope that the sane views of this predominate public opinion will exert sufficient influence to make it unnecessary to intervene.

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14 June 1946

SCAP'S DENIAL OF FRICTION WITH FEC

Press Release:

When asked today to comment upon news dispatches which have appeared recently predicting friction between the Far Eastern Commission and the Supreme Commander, General MacArthur deprecated any such possibility.

"The two agencies", he said, "have separate and independent functions -- one of policy making and the other of executive administration -- with coordination between the two the responsibility of the American Government itself. They have a common purpose which is to carry out the terms of the Potsdam Declaration. Under these circumstances it is difficult to vizualize any serious disagreements. As far as I know the personnel relationship is a completely cordial, candid, and cooperative one, and I do not anticipate any change therein."

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21 June 1946

WOMEN OF JAPAN LAUDED

Press Release:

"Women of Japan are responding magnificiently to the challenge of democracy; their record of participation in the general election on 10 April sets an example for the world," declared General Douglas MacArthur in an informal meeting with the 39 women members of the Diet at 1800 last night.

The conference was held in the Supreme Commander's office at General Headquarters in compliance with the expressed wish of the women legislators to meet General MacArthur and to discuss with him current problems confronting the Japanese people.

"Japanese women are displaying an increasing interest in political, social, and economic affairs which exceeds the most hopeful anticipation of political observers. It attests to the powerful appeal of the democratic idea and to the enthusiasm with which Japanese women are discarding the age-old bonds of convention which have so long denied them the fundamental democratic right to participate in communal affairs beyond the home", General MacArthur told them.

"Moreover, the women of Japan have clearly demonstrated their capacity fully to meet the challenge to such higher responsibility," he said.

He noted as one of the momentous currents in civilization the gradual but certain increase in women's influence in the community. "This has been done without sacrifice of the important position of women in the home and has demonstrated clearly their capacity for intellectual achievement and civil responsibility, which has been and will continue to be a vital influence upon all public affairs."

In discussing their position in the Diet, General MacArthur expressed confidence that the women present would exert a profound influence upon the legislative process in Japan by contributing to in both stability and wisdom.

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But he strongly cautioned the women against the temptation to form a women's bloc to influence legislation. He urged that they take their "places in the legislative structure prepared to meet men on the floor in complete equality, giving particular attention to the vital issues confronting the nation and accepting a full share of responsibility for their solution."

"At no time in history has Japan stood more in need of broad vision, independent judgment, and true patriotism on the part of her elected representatives and other public servants", General MacArthur continued, "I have complete confidence that you women, who must have felt the sacrifice and bitterness of war most poignantly, will have the courage and the will to work with exemplary devotion for the common welfare of the Japanese people," he concluded.

The following is a statement to General MacArthur, read by Mrs. Shizue Kato on behalf of women Diet members last night:

"We the women members of the Japanese Diet feel this is a great honor and pleasure to have the opportunity of meeting your Excellency and express our gratitude for your noble effort to bring Democracy to this country.

"We thank you very much for granting us suffrage and educating us as to the use of it to establish democracy in Japan. Japanese women, though they are suffering from a hard life, are looking forward to their future with a serene hope, since the rights of voting have given to them and they know they can express themselves in public matters. We Japanese women will never vote for the militarists.

"Now the Diet has opened its session, and all the women members have agreed that we should try our best to study the draft for our new constitution, and we shall particularly emphasize the article for the permanent abolishment of war. We certainly shall stand for peace; we shall never have war again; Then secondly, we are ready to work for various legislation protecting women and children.

However, we are sure that all our efforts shall be stressed to eliminate feudalistic family systems. In this we are united. We also believe civil liberties must be safeguarded.

"Now, His Excellency. Women, as you know, are a clever kind of creature in every country. Japanese women are not the exception, We have brought greedy petitions to get your favor on the following point:

"We should like to ask your favor for importing more wheat and soya beans for our people and milk for the babies. We are fully aware that the amount of food we have already been allowed to import has been secured only through your special consideration, however, our daily concern with food has made us forget our traditional training and not to say we're hungry in the presence of an honorable person. We are all hungry in Japan now.

"Thank you very much General for your generosity and patience in hearing us."

14 August 1946

COMMENT ON PROPOSED RURAL LAND REFORM PROPOSALS

General MacArthur today gave his approval to the rural land reform program drafted by the Japanese Cabinet which would provide the majority of the tenant farmers of Japan with an opportunity to own the lands they cultivate.

General MacArthur complimented the Cabinet on its courage and determination to eliminate feudal landlordism from Japanese agriculture and expressed his belief that the Cabinet proposals will free the tenant farmers from the exploitation of the traditional Japanese landlord system.

The statement issued by MacArthur today was in striking contrast to the sharp dissatisfaction he had previously expressed with the land reform program passed by the Japanese Diet last December and submitted to SCAP on March 15, 1946 in compliance with the rural land reform directive of December 9, 1945.

Today's announcement by General MacArthur stated:

"I have studied with satisfaction the measures for rural land reform adopted by the Cabinet. After so many dismal failures in the past to alleviate the long standing poverty and insecurity of the farmers of Japan, it is gratifying that the present government has shown the courage and determination to strike at the roots of an archaic landlord system. I am convinced that these measures which the Cabinet has drafted and approved will finally and surely tear from the soils of the Japanese countryside the blight of feudal landlordism which has fed on the unrewarded toil of millions of Japanese farmers. To this program for the future stability and welfare of Japan I give my endorsement. The program as finally approved should be acceptable to the most liberal minded advocate of rural land reform."

According to official estimates, almost two million tenant-farmers of Japan will be enabled to purchase the lands they cultivate under the Cabinet proposals. The amount of tenant-cultivated land which an individual landlord may own would

be restricted to an average of one cho (2.45 acres) in Honshu, Kyushu, and Shikoku and four cho in Hokkaido, while all tenant-farmed land held by owners who live outside the community where their land is located would be subject to compulsory sale. Restrictions would also be imposed on the right of farmers to operate more than three cho, as an average, in Honshu, Kyushu, and Shikoku and 12 cho in Hokkaido.

For those who would remain as tenants the bill provides legal safeguards to prevent arbitrary evictions by landlords. It also continues the present cash rental regulations but adds a further provision that those cash rentals will never be allowed to exceed 25 per cent of the value of the crop on paddy lands and 15 per cent of the value of the crop on upland fields in case of a future fall in farm prices.

For the land subject to sale the bill provides that land would be purchased by the government from the landlords at an average rate of ¥757.60 per tan (.245 acres) for paddy land and ¥464.98 per tan of upland fields. In addition, every landlord who is required to sell land under the provisions of this bill, would receive a subsidy from the government. In Honshu, Kyushu, and Shikoku this subsidy would be limited to an amount of land not exceeding three cho, and in Hokkaido this subsidy would be limited to an amount of land not exceeding 12 cho. The amount of the subsidy to be paid by the government would average ¥220 per tan of paddy field and ¥130 per tan of dry field.

The bill further provides that the tenants who purchase land from the government would pay at an average rate of ¥757.60 per tan (.245 acres) for paddy land and ¥464.98 per tan for upland fields. Tenants would be allowed to pay for the land they purchase in annual installments over a period of 30 years at a rate of interest of 3.2 per cent. They would, however, be allowed to pay the total amount in one or a few installments if financially able.

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The proposed procedure for accomplishing the program is through direct purchase of the lands from landowners by the government for re-sale to the tenants. Rural land commissions would be established in each village, town, and city, to determine the land subject to sale in accordance with the plan and would supervise the actual transfer from present landowners to tenants. These commissions would consist of equal numbers of landowners and tenants to be elected, and additional members to be selected by agreement of those elected.

Two years is fixed by the bill as the time in which the program would be accomplished. In order to invalidate all those nominal land sales and tenant evictions which have taken place in an effort to circumvent the previous land reform program announced by the Cabinet last November and passed by the Diet in December, the present bill provides that its provisions may be applied to the land situation existing as of 23 November 1945.

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Summary of Achievements During the First Year of Occupation

29 August 1946

First and above all else, the gigantic military machine of the Japanese Empire has been completely destroyed. Its fighting power had been temporarily nullified in the war, but a tremendous military organization, manned by millions, still remained at the time of the surrender. Its liquidation required the disarming, demobilization and disposition of approximately four million organized and armed men in the home islands and two and one half million abroad. In addition, it was necessary to retrieve from overseas approximately two million civilians, and to repatriate to their homelands from Japan a further million of allied nationals. Within the early weeks of the occupation, those in the home islands were disbanded and returned to peaceful pursuits. And today, after a single year, the last remnants of the overseas forces, scattered over thousands of miles, are streaming home and the work of repatriation is drawing to a close. Nine million have been processed in this time. For magnitude, thoroughness, speed and precision, this has constituted a demobilization and repatriation which has no precedent in history.

To further insure the destruction of Japan's war-making power, thousands of military and civil aircraft and millions of weapons of various calibers, with vast quantities of ammunition, have been seized and disposed of; remnants of the Japanese navy have been taken over and are being destroyed or held for allied division; and every element of Japanese industry utilized for, or capable of adjustments to, the making of implements of war

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has been either destroyed or brought under our complete control. Thus from a material standpoint also, Japan's war-making power and potential is ended.

Rapid and effective strides have been made in reshaping the Japanese Government to conform to the principles inherent in a democratic state so that the people might readjust their lives to compose a truly democratic society. A new constitution has been evolved from many months of widespread public interest and unrestricted debate which, submitted to the people by the Emperor and Government of Japan, is now in the process of democratic legislative action toward adoption or amendment. Designed effectively to curb abuse of power by individual, class or government, it places sovereignty squarely in the hands of the people upon whom it bestows the full measure of human freedom. The masses here are no longer regimented -- no longer enslaved. The Japanese citizen no longer cringes in the presence of police or other public authority; his home has become his castle, free from unwarranted intrusion, observation or violence; he registers his opinion on public issues, uncontrolled except by his own conscience; he enjoys the right of assembly and petition; he worships as he chooses, in accordance with his individual religious faith; he enjoys the unhampered right, individually or collectively with his fellow workers, to demand correction of unjust labor practices and conditions; and Japanese children, eighteen million of whom are presently enrolled, enjoy the right to liberal and free education in forty thousand public schools, now open and dedicated to the study of the arts and sciences and the historical truth and the development of enlightened thought.

Electoral discrimination has been removed, and its base expanded by reducing the age limit from twenty-five years to nineteen and enfranchising the women of Japan. The general election held on April 10th last was a vivid demonstration of democracy on the march. A far greater number of those eligible to vote participated in this election than in any other election in Japanese history. The women of Japan took their newly gained franchise as a serious obligation, sharply broke from their traditional retirement within the family circle, and elected through this, their own revolution, thirty-nine women members of the House of Representatives -- an accomplishment without precedent in political history.

Reform has been instituted in every element and echelon of the governmental structure and in every phase of governmental administrative procedure, to root out existing evils of entrenched bureaucracy which inevitably lead to totalitarian controls. Those who in past preached the doctrine of militarism, expansionism and intense nationalism, and shaped the policies responsible for Japan's collapse, have been purged and barred from governmental service to afford the people a new leadership.

To dislodge the economic hold which certain vested interests have long had over Japanese economy, the corporate and personal resources of the fourteen major families including the four big Zaibatsu groups, with the approximately 1,200 firms linked in this system, are being liquidated. All principal officers and influential members of this industrial empire are being ousted. Thus the economic stranglehold upon the people in restriction of free enterprise, made possible by close alliance between government and concentrated wealth, is being immensely broken.

Striking at the roots of feudalism, an agrarian reform program, now under way, will enable about two million tenant farmers of Japan to purchase the lands they now work. Shaped to break down the large land holdings into two and one half to ten acre parcels, with their disposal provided for under conditions which will permit their ready acquisition, this program will correct one of the notorious evils which has long plagued individual economy and held in serfdom the under-privileged agricultural workers of Japan.

The task is by no means complete, but a decisive advance toward the achievement of our major objectives has been made.

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Statement First Anniversary of Surrender

2 September 1946

A year has now passed since the surrender terms were signed on the battleship "Missouri". Much has been accomplished since then -- much still remains to be done. But over all things and all men in this sphere of the universe hangs the dread uncertainty arising from impinging ideologies which now stir mankind. For our homeland there is no question, and for the homelands of others, free as are we to shape their own political order, there is no question. But which concept will prevail over these lands now being redesigned in the aftermath of war? This is the great issue which confronts our task in the problem of Japan -- a problem which profoundly affects the destiny of all men and the future course of all civilization.

The philosophy underlying the first year of occupation was written at Potsdam and reaffirmed on the "Missouri". It is a simple philosophy embodying principles of right and justice and decency -- those social qualities in human relationship which through the ages have animated free men and those who longed to be free. Its impact and its lasting imprint upon the Japanese character and conscience and mind can only properly be visualized and assayed by an understanding of the Japanese philosophy evolved through generations of feudalistic life.

For centuries the Japanese people, unlike their neighbors in the Pacific basin -- the Chinese, the Malayans, the Indians and the Whites -- have been students and idolaters of the art of war and the warrior caste. They were the natural warriors of the Pacific. Unbroken victory for Japanese arms

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convinced them for their invincibility, and the keystone of the entire arch of their civilization became an almost mythological belief in the strength and wisdom of the warrior caste. It permeated and controlled not only all branches of government but all branches of life — physical, mental and spiritual. It was interwoven not only into all government process but into all phases of daily routine. It was not only the essence but the actual warp and woof of Japanese existence. Control was exercised by a feudalistic overlordship of a mere fraction of the population, while the remaining seventy million, with a few enlightened exceptions, were abject slaves to tradition, legend, mythology and regimentation. During the progress of the war, these seventy million heard of nothing but Japanese victories and the bestial qualities of Japan's opponents. When they suddenly felt the concentrated shock of total defeat. Their whole world crumbled. It was not merely an overthrow of their military might — not merely a great defeat for their nation — it was the collapse of a faith — it was the disintegration of everything they had believed in and lived by and thought for. It left a complete vacuum morally, mentally and physically. And into this vacuum flowed the democratic way of life. The American combat soldier came with his fine sense of self-respect, self-confidence and self-control. They saw and felt his spiritual quality — a spiritual quality which truly reflected the highest training of the American home. The falseness of their former teachings, the failure of their former leadership, and the tragedy of their past faith were infallibly demonstrated in actuality and realism. A spiritual revolution ensued which almost overnight tore asunder a theory and practice of life built upon two thousand years of history and tradition and legend. Idolatry for their feudalistic masters and the warriors caste

was transformed into hatred and contempt, and the hatred and contempt once felt for their foe gave way to honor and respect. This revolution of the spirit among the Japanese people represents no thin veneer to serve the purposes of the present. It represents an unparalleled convulsion in the social history of the world. The measure of its strength and durability lies in the fact that it represents a sound idea. Given encouragement and the opportunity to develop, it can become more deep-seated and lasting than the foundations upon which their false faith was built.

It represents, above all else, the most significant gain during the past year of occupation — a gain for the forces of democracy in furtherance of a durable peace, which must be consolidated and extended if we would discharge our responsibility as victory has given us that responsibility. Its underlying concept, new to Japan but fashioned from the enlightened knowledge and experience of the free of the world, will remain the cornerstone to Japanese freedom unless uprooted and suppressed by the inroads of some conflicting ideology which might negate individual freedom, destroy individual initiative and mock individual dignity. Ideologies of extreme too often gain converts and support from true liberals, misguided by slanted propaganda and catch phrases which hold as "reactionary" all things which spring from the underlying concept of the past. Such propaganda seeks too often to exploit the knowledge common to all men that sociological and political changes from time to time are mandatory if we would keep our social system abreast of the advance of civilization.

Should such a clash of ideologies impinge more directly upon the re-orientation of Japanese life and thought, it would be no slight disadvantage

to those who seek, as intended at Potsdam, the great middle course of moderate democracy, that a people so long regimented under the philosophy of an extreme conservative right might prove easy prey to those seeking to impose a doctrine leading again to regimentation, under the philosophy of an extreme radical left.

If we would in the furtherance of this task guide the Japanese people the more firmly to reshape their lives and institutions in conformity with those social precepts and political standards best calculated to raise the well-being of the individual and to foster and preserve a peaceful society, we must adhere unerringly to the course now charted -- destroying here what yet should be destroyed, preserving here what should be preserved, and erecting here what should be erected. This will require all of the patience, all of the determination, and all of the statesmanship of democratic peoples. The goal is great -- for the strategic position of these Japanese islands render them either a powerful bulwark for peace or a dangerous spring-board for war.

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Statement on the Diet's Passage of Local Government Reforms

20 September 1946

The Diet's approval of local government reform legislation strikes the bonds which have prevented full emergence of the nation's democratic forces and prepares the way for eventual full realization of the most lofty ideals of a democratic society.

Democracy cannot be imposed upon a nation. It is a thing of the spirit which, to be lasting and durable must impregnate the very roots of society. It is not to be instilled from above. It must have its origins in the understanding and faith of the common people. It must swell up from the people's will to be free, from their desire, and determination to govern their own local affairs without domination by individual strongmen, by minority pressure groups or by entrenched bureaucracy.

It is essential therefore that the people in every prefecture, city and village be given complete opportunity to express their will, and by assuming full responsibility to learn procedures of democratic government. Such direct participation in local government will profoundly influence the shaping of national policies -- will provide a check rein against arbitrary governmental controls and a safeguard to individual freedom. While it leaves much yet to be done in the reshaping of Japan to conform to the pattern of a democratic state, it is a further progressive step, by Japanese initiative, toward placing the sovereign power in the hands of the people.

It is axiomatic that such experience in government will develop the dynamic and enlightened leadership and initiative essential to the vigorous

and progressive building of a democratic nation.

Note: Four laws were passed by the Diet on September 20, 1946. They were: Law Concerning the Organization of Urban or Rural Prefectures, Bill for Amendment of the Law for the Organization of Cities, Bill for Amendment of the Law for the Organization of Towns and Villages, and Bill for Amendment of the Law for the Organization of Tokyo Metropolis. This legislation provided a basis for a far-reaching program to decentralize the Japanese Government.

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SCAP Statement on Lese Majeste Case

The Tokyo Procurator's Office announced on October 9, 1946 its decision to dismiss lese majeste charges against five individuals including the editor of the Communist Party organ Akahata. The decision was commended by the Supreme Commander in the following statement:

October 9, 1946

"The decision of the Japanese procurators to drop accusations against men charged with lese majeste is a noteworthy application of the fundamental concept, embodied in the new constitution just adopted by the National Diet, that all men are equal before the law, that no individual in Japan--not even the Emperor--shall be clothed in legal protection denied the common man. It marks the beginning of a true understanding of the lofty spirit of the new national charter, which affirms the dignity of all men, and secures to all the right freely to discuss all issues, political, social, and economic, of concern to the people of a democratic nation. For, the free interchange of ideas, the free expression of opinions, the free criticism of officials and institutions is essential to the continued life and growth of popular government. Democracy is vital and dynamic but cannot survive unless all citizens are free thus to speak their minds.

"Such action, moreover, emphasizes the fact that from this land broken and ravaged by war, there is emerging a free people and a free nation. As the Emperor becomes under this new constitution the symbol of the state with neither inherent political power nor authority, the Japanese men and women are raised to a new status of political dignity and, in fact, will become the rulers of Japan.

"In his new role the Emperor will symbolize the repository of state authority--the citizen. The dignity of the state will become the dignity of the

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individual citizen, and the protection accorded him as the symbol of the state ought to be no more and no less than the protection accorded the citizen. To hold the contrary would constitute a direct negation of one of the basic principles of democratic government. It would but serve to perpetuate the pattern of feudalism and autocracy and do violence to these basic freedoms acknowledged by Japan and to which the Emperor hemself has given most hearty accord.

"It should be needless to point out that it is for an enlightened public opinion to exert its great moral influence to the end that this right freely to criticize be exercised with decorum and restraint--that all public officials be protected against unwarranted defamation or vilifications in licentious disregard of the respect to which they as free individuals in a free society and as the public representatives of a free people are fully entitled."

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On Diet Passage of the Land Reform Bill

11 October 1946

The Diet's passage of the Land Reform Bill is one of the most important milestones yet reached by Japan in the creation of an economically stable and politically democratic society. It marks the beginning of the end of an outmoded agricultural system that has persisted from time immemorial. If its letter and spirit are faithfully carried out, Japanese farmers will find in it their long awaited Bill of Rights.

Its provisions, its approval by an overwhelming majority of the Diet, and the stated intention of the Japanese Government to carry out this program within two years — all bear witness to a courageous treatment of a problem tremendous in scope and most difficult of solution. While technical imperfections are inevitable in a law of such magnitude, they are not basic to the success of the program. Its real and ultimate value now rests with the Japanese people.

While this action of the Diet follows somewhat the pattern generally envisaged in the search for agrarian reform, it penetrates far deeper to root out existing evils than has yet before been attempted in most lands. It thereby at once crystalizes an advanced concept in the liberal treatment of this social evil which throughout history has plagued mankind. For it, Japan may be credited with a contribution which should profoundly and beneficially influence the course of human society. By it, there will be here established the basic policy those who till the land shall reap the profit from their toil. There can be no firmer foundation for a sound and welcome democracy nor no firmer bulwark against the pressure of any extreme philosophy.

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New Year's Greeting to the Japanese People

31 December 1946

TO THE PEOPLE OF JAPAN:

As we again bring one year to a close and enter upon the complexities of another, it is well that we calmly and carefully assay the past that we may therefore realistically pattern the future. For it is only by the fruits of experience with its successes and its failures, its strong points and its weak, its good and its bad, that we may reorient ourselves toward that objective for which we have heretofore embarked.

In the year just past, none will fail to concede major advances toward the development of a social system in Japan designed along most progressive and liberal lines and resting upon that basic concept which seeks equality of opportunity and the maximum of human freedom, while elevating the dignity and the well-being and the happiness of the individual.

It has been a year of legislated reform, hardly surpassed in a comparable period during the evolution of civilized society, which has established the framework to popular government and, crashing through the barriers of tradition, prejudice and oppressive controls, has provided the Japanese people with the right and the opportunity to live in the full dignity of self-respect as free men.

It is for the historian of the future to judge just how fully the Japanese people avail themselves of this right and this opportunity which has come to them in wake of the blood sacrifice of countless thousands of Japan's sons. For it is not enough that this right and opportunity be

bestowed. It must be fully understood, deeply cherished and resolutely preserved if that which is now written is to be transformed into meaningful and vital actuality — if from the bitterness and tragedy of Japan's past and present are to spring those strong roots of individual liberty upon which a future free society must rest.

Much has been accomplished, much yet remains to be done. There have been many successes, some failures; many strong points, some weak; much good, some bad. The great majority of Japan's leaders have displayed an exemplary approach to the realism of Japan's problems — an even greater majority of Japan's people resolutely have sought to remove the causes of Japan's illfated past and faithfully to build for Japan's happier future.

During this time, I have not been unmindful of these cross-currents of decision and indecision, of progress and retrogression, of steps both faltering and resolute, as the forces of liberalism and reaction have fought to establish a common ground for Japan's salvation. And I have confined my major effort to charting the course envisaged at hostilities end by both of our warring peoples, that would destroy entrenched totalitarian controls and raise the individual Japanese citizen to exert a dominant influence over his own destiny. For once the citizen has acquired the power of self-determination, limited only by national convention and individual conscience, he may be counted upon firmly to preserve that power and to apply it fearlessly and intelligently, both for his own benefit and the common benefit of all.

Results in the year to come will have a profound bearing upon the well-being of the people of Japan during the generations which are to follow. For therein only can be brought to fruition those great reforms which are now just charted. The new constitution will take effect, placing all sovereign power in the hands of the people upon whom simultaneously

will be conferred heretofore unknown rights and privileges and upon whom will be imposed new and most serious individual responsibilities. The agrarian reforms will be brought under implementation to the end that those who till the soil may reap the fruits of their toil. And the people throughout Japan will have the opportunity to select a new leadership through the exercise of their own free will, with entrenched restrictive controls inexorably swept aside.

The success of these and other projected reforms, designed to uplift the dignity and well-being of the individual and to establish here a free society, are dependant, however, in final analysis upon the manner in which the people themselves discharge their new political responsibilities, the type of leadership which the people select, and the faithfulness with which that leadership preserves inviolate the people's rights and furthers the people's interests. For unless the people assume in full reality the mantle and dignity of the sovereign power and proceed resolutely in the exercise of that power to build upon the ashes of decadence a new and enlightened social system, deeply rooted in a firm determination to remain free, there can be but superficial and temporary change from that which brought only tragedy in Japan's past.

Thus, on the people alone rests the solution to many of the pressing problems which harass Japan's present and will shape Japan's future. On their action as the year progresses will depend in large measure the course of Japan's destiny, and all peoples of good will everywhere will watch with intense interest and abiding hope the manner in which they meet these vital tests. It is my prayer, and indeed my firm anticipation, that the

Japanese people will understand and grasp this opportunity and rise resolutely to meet its challenge. Therein lies Japan's salvation -- therein lies the opportunity for future peace and happiness for Japan's people -- and therein lies the hope of all of the peoples of the East for a better civilization.

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Statement Calling Off General Strike

31 January 1947.

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

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

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

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

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

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In Support of Appropriations for Occupation Purposes

20 February 1947

In compliance with the request of the War Department for his views to be presented to Congress in support of appropriations for occupational purposes, General MacArthur dispatched the following message on 20 February 1947:

There is a popular misconception that the achievement of victory in modern war, wherein a clash of ideologies is involved, is solely dependent upon victory in the field. History itself clearly refutes this concept. It offers unmistakable proof that the human impulses which generated the will to war, no less than the material sinews of war, must be destroyed. Nor is it sufficient that such human impulses merely yield to the temporary shock of military defeat. There must be a complete spiritual reformation, such as will not only control the defeated generation but will exert a dominant influence upon the generations to follow as well. Unless this is done, victory is but partially complete and offers hope for little more than an armistice between one campaign and the next - as the great lesson and warning of experience is that victorious leaders of the past have too often contented themselves with the infliction of military defeat upon the enemy power, without extending that victory by dealing with the root causes which led to war as an inevitable consequence. Thus in the occupation of Japan, while we have destroyed Japan's war making power and neutralized from a material standpoint its war making potential, we are yet in the process of finalizing the victory

that the ensuing peace at war's great cost may be vital and real. This will require a complete reformation of the Japanese people - reformation from feudalistic slavery tohuman freedom, from the immaturity that comes of mythical teachings and legendary ritualism to the maturity of enlightened knowledge and truth, from the blind fatalism of war to the considered realism of peace.

In the accomplishment of this purpose, all policy in the administration of the occupation is attuned to those very ideals for which we fought - that by example we may point the way. This in turn is infusing in the Japanese mind both an understanding of and an enthusiasm for our own concept in human relationship - a concept which embodies within itself a spiritual repugnance to war.

If we are successful in the accomplishment of this purpose, we shall not have finalized the victory by bringing under control basic causes of war, but we shall have erected here in the Western Pacific a strong bulwark against the reappearance and spread of those same causes which are calculated to plunge the world into future war - for history has shown the futility of dependence upon the violence of war alone to preserve the peace. This is the stake for which we strive. It is yet too early to measure the degree of final success, but Japan is now already governed by this form of democratic rule and the people are absorbing its substance. They have learned by the hard way the futility of resort to arms for individual and national advancement, and appear to have completely assimilated this bitter lesson. Having repudiated war and renounced all rights of belligerency, they have placed their full reliance for future protection on the good faith and justice of mankind, and are proceeding through legislated re-

form to develop here a state dedicated, in full reality, to the welfare of the people. Given encouragement this can prove the exemplification of the superiority, in the advancement of the human race, of moral force, generated by spiritual strength, over physical force - with all resources employed for constructive rather than destructive purposes. A spontaneous development which offers both encouragement and inspiration as a measure of the progress of this concept lies in the increasing number of the Japanese people - already estimated at over two million - who, under the stimulus of religious tolerance and freedom, have moved to embrace the christian faith as a means to fill the spiritual vacuum left in Japanese life by collapse of their past faith. This is partially responsive to the opportunity for comparison between the qualities of the old and the new - to an understanding of those principles of tolerance, justice and human decency which govern our action in the tragedy of their defeat - and, more particularly, from close-hand observation of the American soldier standing in their midst, reflecting, as he does, those fine traits of character, outgrowth of the American home. Through the firm encouragement and strengthening of this yet frail spearhead of christianity in the Far East lies hope that to hundreds of millions of backward peoples, now easy prey to the ignorant fatalism of war, may come a heretofore unknown spiritual strength based upon an entirely new concept of human dignity and human purpose and human relationship - the very antithesis to those evil attributes which throughout history have led to war.

The American forces committed to occupational duty in Japan, now cut to only a fraction of their former strength, are at the lowest numerical

level consistent with either reasonable security or the accomplishment of the regeneration of an entire race from its traditional threat to peace to a powerful bulwark against the recurrence of war - with its orderly emergence from the chaos of destructive defeat to economic, political and social stability. And highlighting all else, of course, lies the grave responsibility of protecting our national security against future threat to our Pacific Coast. In short, the consolidation of the gains which victory has brought, that we may have peace. Our task is thus but a final phase of war, and it is inescapable that its avoidance may only be at the expense of victory itself.

In war the complete blockade of a force dependent for food and other supply from outside sources is the most effective weapon known to military science. It was through the use of this weapon that our starving men on Bataan and Corregidor were finally forced to yield to the enemy hordes who surrendered them. It was through the use of this same weapon, more than any other, that the Japanese Armed Forces were finally brought to the futility of further resistance, as segment after segment of their extended position, by envelopment, were cut off from needed supplies on the grim road back. Thereafter, when reconquest of the Philippines completely severed the Japanese war-gained empire and permitted a blockade of the Japanese home islands themselves, traditionally dependent for sustenance from sources without, total collapse became imminent.

Since the surrender this blockade of the Japanese home islands has been continued, extended, and intensified. Not only have Manchuria, Korea and Formosa, long contributors to Japanese sustenance, been taken away but many millions of Japanese citizens have been repatriated from the outside

back into these four home islands. Trade and financial intercourse with the rest of the world is by our decree so prohibited as to constitute economic strangulation.

Cut off from our own projected relief supplies in these circumstances, countless Japanese would face starvation - and starvation breeds mass unrest, disorder and violence. Worse still, it renders a people easy prey to any ideology, however evil, which bears with it life sustaining food. To permit such a condition to arise would be to repudiate those very ideals and principles on which our country has always stood and for which many of our countrymen selflessly have died. For under the responsibilities of victory the Japanese people are now our prisoners, no less than did the surviving men on Bataan become their prisoners when that Peninsula fell. As a consequence of the ill treatment including starvation of Allied prisoners in Japanese hands, we have tried and executed many Japanese officers upon proof of responsibility. Yet can we justify such punitive action if we ourselves in reversed circumstances, but with hostilities at end, fail to provide the food to sustain life among those Japanese people over whom we now stand guard within the narrow confines of their home islands.

Nor must sight be lost of the circumstances under which such food and other emergency relief supplies are provided. There is involved an appropriation of public funds only for the purpose of their acquisition, the corresponding cost becoming thereafter a charge against Japan, which should be protected by a first lien on every asset within Japan. It is not charity, nor have I found that the Japanese want charity. It is but a means to secure needed life preserving sustenance until such time as we ourselves relax

the restrictions which now prevent Japan from securing the same by the normal methods of trade and commerce with the other nations of the world. Nor, if reasonable precautions are taken, will the American taxpayer ultimately be out of pocket a single dollar as a result.

At most it is but a temporary measure in discharge of a clear responsibility which victory has imposed. It must be and remain our firm purpose to restore peace and normalcy at the very earliest time practicable, and it is my full intention to recommend removal of the existing military controls over Japan just as soon as civilian controls safely may be substituted. History points out the unmistakable lesson that military occupations serve their purpose at best only for a limited time, after which a deterioration rapidly sets in - deterioration of the populace in an occupied country which becomes increasingly restive under the deprivation of personal freedom, inherent in such a situation - and deterioration of the occupying forces which in time assume a dominant power complex pointing to the illusion of a master race.

While I have herein discussed our national responsibilities of occupation largely from the viewpoint of Japan, much that I have said applies with even more poignant force to Korea, wherein our public commitment to assist in the establishment of a stable free government, for a friendly people liberated by allied arms, imposes upon us an even more solemn obligation.

I am in fullest accord with the desire of the American Congress to practice the most rigid economy in the administration of Government which our national interests reasonably may permit. Economy in both blood and supply was a rule which guided every strategic plan in the prosecution of our phase

of the Pacific War - and economy has since been the rule here in the extension and consolidation of victory. A rationalization of the cost involved in this great task shows it to be, in the aggregate, infinitesimal compared with that which might have been incurred in a comparable period of extended combat.

I have observed the workings of the American Congress for many years, and have never seen it hesitate vigorously to preserve and advance our American interests. When provided with full knowledge of the situation, I do not believe, therefore, that it will take any action which would prejudice fulfillment of occupation objectives, to which we are already committed and in honor bound, as a prerequisite to finalizing the victory and insuring the peace.

MacARTHUR

OFFICIAL:

JOHN E. COOLEY
Colonel, AGD
Adjutant General.

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Interview with Press Correspondents, Primarily Concerning Plan for United Nations Administration of Japan

(This is a transcript of the interview granted to foreign press correspondents on March 19, 1947 by Gen. of the Army Douglas MacArthur as released by the Associated Press. No official text of the interview was made. The following excerpts are based on notes.)

Gen. MacArthur: I am now on the record for your questions."

Question — "General, you were quoted recently as proposing Japanese be placed under the United Nations. Would you care to elaborate on that?"

Answer — "The time is now approaching when we must talk peace with Japan. Our occupation job here can be defined as falling roughly into three phases--military, political and economic.

"The military purpose, which was to insure Japan will follow the ways of peace, and never again be a menace, has been, I think, accomplished.

"We have demobilized the troops, demilitarized the country, torn down military installations.

"Psychologically, I believe the success has been equally propitious. Japan today understands as thoroughly as any nation that war does not pay. Her spiritual revolution has been probably the greatest the world has ever known.

"The political phase is approaching such completion as is possible under the occupation.

"We have changed laws, standards and ideals of this country, from the feudalistic ideals of the past into the concept of what is the greatest

thing in life, next to spiritual beauty--the dignity of man. -- ----- then think that nations exist for the welfare of those who compose them, instead of the reverse. . . . . .

"I don't, by that, mean to say that this thing called Democracy had been accomplished. The process of democratization is one of continual flux. It takes years.

"But insofar as you can lay down the framework, it has been already accomplished. There is little more, except to watch, control and guide.

"Democracy is a relative thing. It is a question of the degree of freedom you have. If you believe in the Anglo-Saxon idea, you will believe this will stay here.

"If you are a cynic, or believe in totalitarianism, you may doubt it is here to stay.

"I believe sincerely and absolutely that it is here to stay.

"The third phase is economic. Japan is still economically blocked by the Allied Powers. Economic warfare along those lines still is as bitter here as when the guns were firing. And now strangulation is worse, because we have returned millions of repatriates from abroad.

"No weapon, not even the atom bomb, is as deadly in its final effect as economic warfare.

"The atom bomb kills by thousands, starvation by the millions.

"Japan was thoroughly exhausted economically at the end of the war." All she had left was men. She was living on stockpiles and our blockade after the fall of the Philippines kept materials from coming in. Now they are scraping the bottom of the stockpiles.

"Each little family had its stockpile--of clothes and heirlooms. Now these are being sold to keep the man alive. Every resource have been placed under tight Government control but ever under strict rationing. Japan is not producing enough to satisfy her needs. The difference must be filled by the Allies.

"If we keep this economic blockade up, more and more will we have to support this country.

"It is an expensive luxury. But we will pay for it or let the people die by millions."

"There is not the same unity among the Allies" in the economic phase of the occupation as in the military and political phases.

"Nor a clear-cut economic framework has been outlined for Japan or Germany either, for that matter. But this is not a phase that the Occupation can settle. We can only enforce economic strangulation."

"It would be advisable for the world to initiate at this time peace talks with Japan. But Peace won't mean complete relaxation of all guidance or controls.....

"Japan on her initiative and without coercion has completed a Constitution which takes the great step of renouncing war. There was a great deal of criticism when this first appeared, but it remains..... She also has abolished military installations under the Potsdam Declaration.

"Therefore, they will be unprotected when we withdraw. Who is going to protect them?"

SCAP said one method would be to backtrack and permit small military

establishment . . . "but the Japanese are relying upon the advanced spirituality of the world to protect them against undue aggression. . . ."

It is on this basis, SCAP said, that he suggested recently to the visiting editor (Irwin Canham, of the Christian Science Monitor), that the United Nations should exercise control over Japan.

"If the United Nations is ever to succeed, this is the most favorable opportunity it ever had. Japan would be willing and would desire it."

"If the United Nations cannot provide mild controls, it cannot meet anything."

Question — "Would you care to elaborate a little more on the Peace Treaty. When do you think it should be?"

Answer — "I will say as soon as possible.

"In Japan there is a functioning Government. But in Germany the Government had to be built from the ground up and there is no Government to sign the Peace Treaty . . . . Over here there is no problem of what to do with Japan.

"She has been squeezed out pretty nearly of everything we can expect to squeeze out of her.

"I am not talking of the reparations now. But she has already lost Manchuria, Korea and Formosa. There is little left . . ."

"The days of SCAP could cease completely with the Peace Treaty because, I think, conditions are ripe for it now. . . ."

Question — "How long would you say the United Nations would have to continue the controls of democratization?"

"Answer — "I would not want to speculate that." The Japanese would accept it . . . . It would be considered protective rather than repressive.

It could continue as long as it was munificent.

"I would not envision any military formations of any sort after the Peace Treaty. Bayonet control would be a mockery.

General MacArthur then was asked about the restoration of Japan's economy. He pointed out Japan is economically poor -- In fact, that was one reason she went to war, she was reaching out to get resources.

He pointed out that trade was the lifeblood of these Islands and that in order to stimulate trade, she must import such necessities as cotton and wool.

"We do not allow Japan to trade. She must be allowed to trade with the world. Japan is only permitted the barter system through the bottleneck to SCAP. We have got to take it out of the hands of the Government and put it in the hands of private traders.

"Eighty million people need 20,000,000 tons of food (annually). Seventeen million tons are produced here . . . . There is no way I can see, within appreciable future, that these people can get enough food from indigenous products."

The job of occupation, he said, is to restore Japan's production to self-sufficiency. "I once read a statement of Winston Churchill made in one of his moments of profound inspiration. Speaking of Germany, he said, "The problem is not to keep Germany down, but to keep it up."

"I didn't understand it then, but I do now. Our problem is to keep Japan up."

In recounting the difficulties of this, Gen. MacArthur said, "Japan cannot sell her raw silk in United States. The scientists have outdone them. Milady would rather have nylon than a silk hose and they are the best, as any man will tell you.

"Scientists have relegated silk to a secondary position * just as they relegated armies and navies to secondary position with air power and the atomic bomb.

"Well, that is not quite true, but it illustrates what I mean."

Gen. MacArthur said the Japanese are "magnificent farmers," but in working the land overtime, had exhausted its richness. Therefore they used fertilizers extensively. For this, they formerly imported something like a million and half tons of salt ingredient from China and Manchuria. "But not a pound has come in since the end of the war."

He cited this to show the difficulties of restoring production.

Gen. MacArthur mentioned he had read the proposal of a Congressman to cut off Japan's foreign trade for 50 years.

Question:--"What would happen if you did it?"

Answer:--"There would not be anybody left alive."

Question:--"What do you see as final reparations program?"

Answer:--"I don't think there is any intent to take away from the industrial capacity of Japan that which would destroy it."

He noted here "some disagreement" between the Pauley and the Strike reports on reparations but "they both were working on the big problem of trying to find the proper balance on the questions.

"If reparations are cut too deeply, the United States will have to support Japan because we have undertaken the major burdens of the Occupation."

Question:--"What is the possibility of a United States loan to Japan?"

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* The Supreme Commander issued the following statement to rectify press reports in connection with this part of the interview:

Answer:—"I think Japan can pay back all the dollars we appropriate, but I think we should hold a first lien against anything we take out of her" in the way of trade.

"United States has not adopted a formula of loans yet, but we are operating on Army Budget and the expenditures probably will be charged against the costs of Occupation."

28 March 1947

In my informal remarks to the Press Club I clearly stated that before the war, approximately 1½ million tons of salt were imported into Japan from Manchuria for fertilizer manufacture; that this trade had been completely curtailed but at present about one-third of this amount was being imported under barter arrangements from China.

The Associated Press report of my remarks which appeared in the Nippon Times was not a verbatum transcript of what I said, and omitted that part of my comment which referred to the present importations from China.

DOUGLAS MacARTHUR

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STATEMENT ON ELECTIONS OF APRIL 1947

27 April 1947

With the recently held series of elections, the last preparatory step necessary for the inauguration of the new Japanese constitution has been accomplished. This constitution is among the most liberal and progressive national charters in the world. It reflects one of the great spiritual reformations of mankind. Its effectuation marks a new era in the Far East which may well prove vital to the future of civilization. It gives the Japanese people another chance. It raises the masses of them from the totalitarianism of practical slavery to the dignity of free men. I have faith they will not fail their new obligation.

That faith is justified by the elections just past. From factories and shops and homes, from villages and farms and mines, the Japanese people streamed by the millions throughout the land to the polling places to discharge their new responsibilities of citizenship. There they voted for the candidates of their choice, freely and fearlessly, without disorder and according to the rules as they understood them. In this atmosphere of freedom, marked by serious effort and honesty of purpose, no one can justly criticize their choice. This choice, for the first time in Japanese history, reflects the free will of the majority, as against the totalitarian dictates of a minority. This is democracy!

The basic issue before the electorate was a selection between political philosophies. That of the totalitarian extreme right had already been discredited and rejected for its responsibility for

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war and defeat and long suppression of the rights and liberties of the masses. On the other hand, that of the extreme left, the Communistic philosophy, was still in issue, with its leaders strongly bidding for the popular support. Since the inception of the occupation, when thousands of its adherents were freed from the stern suppression of prison cells, this philosophy and its leaders had been given the fullest liberty and freedom of political action in open and fair competition with democratic forces and beliefs. It thus had its full chance and on the merits has failed. The Japanese people have firmly and decisively rejected its leadership and overwhelmingly have chosen a moderate course, sufficiently centered from either extreme to insure the preservation of freedom and the enhancement of individual dignity.

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LETTER TO PRIME MINISTER YOSHIDA GRANTING
PERMISSION TO DISPLAY JAPANESE FLAG

2 May 1947

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

With the effectuation of the new Japanese Constitution, there will be established in Japan a government, erected on democratic principles by a free expression of the popular will, composed of coordinate organs of state power fully responsible to the people in whom the sovereignty now rests, and dedicated to the realization and safeguard of the sanctity of human freedom and the furtherance among men of lasting peace.

To mark this historic ascendency of democratic freedom which events have made possible, I believe it peculiarly appropriate that from henceforth the Japanese national flag be restored to the people of Japan for unrestricted display within and over the premises which house the National Diet, the Supreme Court, and the Prime Minister, as representative of the three main branches of constitutional government, and within and over the residence of the Emperor, who assumes his constitutional role as symbol of the State and of the unity of the people.

Let this flag fly to signify the advent in Japanese life of a new and enduring era of peace based upon personal liberty, individual dignity, tolerance and justice.

Very sincerely,

DOUGLAS MacARTHUR

COMMENT ON SECURITY OF JAPAN

Note: Following a meeting between General MacArthur and Emperor Hirohito on May 7, 1947, the press generally speculated on the possibility that the United States would undertake the defense of Japan. To rectify such press comments, the Supreme Commander issued the following statement:

I have not seen press dispatches reported to allege my assurance that the United States would undertake the future defense of Japan, but if such statements have been attributed to me, their absurdity is so evident as to warrant no serious comment.

The security of Japan until a peace treaty is signed is an obligation assumed by the Allied Nations and entrusted to their Occupation Forces. Its security after peace will depend upon the provisions embodied in the peace terms. It can be assumed that this problem, insofar as its international aspects are concerned, will largely rest with the United Nations or some similar collective agency. The United State might well have a special interest in the matter because of the strategic geographic location of Japan in its relation to Pacific defense. Speculative statements that go beyond this concept have no basis of reality insofar as I am concerned.

DECLASSIFIED AUTH: E.O. 13526 SEC. 3(E) AND 3(B) OR (E) NARA # 79-072

ON SELECTION OF TETSU KATAYAMA AS PRIME MINISTER

PRESS RELEASE

24 May 1947

Commenting on the significance of the selection of the new Prime Minister of Japan, General MacArthur stated:

"Mr. Katayama's selection as the new Prime Minister emphasizes the 'middle of the road course' of Japanese internal politics. Of no less significance is the searching effort made to find a workable formula to mold the several political viewpoints into a government which can best serve the public needs. These internal political developments reflect basic democratic principles and practices and show how far Japan has progressed on the road of free government. They augur well for an immediate future of well balanced and constructuve procedure. They at once expose the complete falsity of propaganda, loosely circulated in the international sphere, deprecating the recent Japanese elections as designed to strengthen reactionary forces opposed to democratic growth.

"Of possibly even greater significance than the political implications of Mr. Katayama's emergence as Prime Minister of Japan are its spiritual implications. For the first time in history, Japan is led by a Christian leader--one who throughout his life has been a member of the Presbyterian church. It reflects the complete religious tolerance which now dominates the Japanese mind and the complete religious freedom which exists throughout this land.

" It is significant, too, from a broad international viewpoint that three great oriental countries now have men who embrace the Christian faith at the head of their governments, Chiang K'ai-shek in China, Manuel Roxas in the Philippines and Tetsu Katayama in Japan. It bespeaks the steady advance of this sacred concept, establishes with clarity and conviction that the peoples of the East and West can find common agreement in the spirituality of the human mind, and offers hope for the ultimate erection of an invincible spiritual barrier against the infiltration of ideologies which seek by suppression the way to power and advancement. This is human progress."

10 June 1947

RESUMPTION OF PRIVATE TRADE WITH JAPAN

On June 10, 1947, General MacArthur announced that the resumption of private international commercial relations with Japan would be authorized on August 15th. The procedures set up for the entrance of private traders emphasized unrestricted contact with the Japanese producers, reduced controls over commercial arrangements, and minimized participation by SCAP agencies. Details of the plan were completed during discussions between a committee from Washington, D. C., and the SCAP Headquarters Staff.

On this occasion, General MacArthur issued the following press release:

"This is a step which partially lifts the economic blockade of Japan, a sound step but only a partial one. Japan is a country so lacking in indigenous materials that it must trade or starve. Despite this action its economy will remain precarious until trade is completely restored to normal channels which means private trade channels. While the present measure is merely palliative, it is probably the best that can be done until we have peace. It will give some measure of relief to all concerned but falls far short of a full economic solution. This can only be attained through the medium of a peace treaty and the sooner this is accomplished the better, not only for Japan but for the world."

A year later, SCAP ordered major elimination of the Japanese Government's control over Japan's export trade beginning August 15, 1948, the first anniversary of the resumption of limited private trade. In a directive to the Japanese Government, dated August 10, 1948, SCAP authorized Japanese

sellers and foreign buyers to conclude export contracts directly as part of a simplification of export trade to the greatest extent possible. Since the resumption of limited private trade on August 15, 1947, Japanese and foreign traders had been required to negotiate export contracts through the Japanese Government's official Board of Trade. This was no longer required. Under the new program, SCAP also authorized foreign missions in Japan to deal directly with Japanese suppliers, at the same time authorizing the Japanese Government to communicate directly with foreign missions, firms, and traders in Japan and with private firms and individuals outside of Japan on trade matters. All export contract negotiated under the new procedures, however, remain subject to review and validation by SCAP. In general, controls are retained only over foreign exchange, international prices, and allocation of critical raw materials.

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ON SIGNIFICANCE OF 4th JULY

4 July 1947

Mr. Luce has kindly invited me, as an American standing on distant shores, to discuss for the special July 4th issue of Life Magazine the underlying significance of that historic date and the events which it commemorates. I have been somewhat reluctant to do so as those ideals which form the pattern to our way of life are firmly rooted in the hearts of the American people from early age, and in the American tradition their restatement on that anniversary is left to the inspired oratory of city, town and village commemorative exercises, where our citizens throughout the land annually foregather for the solemn reconsecration thereof and the rededication of American citizenship to the proposition that they shall for all time be preserved inviolate. Actuated by the thought, however, that perchance we who temporarily stand among an alien race of spiritual growth stunted by long tenure under the physical, mental and cultural strictures of feudalistic precepts -- the very antitheses of American ideals -- may see in contemporary events a more comprehensive significance thereto than was either envisaged by their architects or are even now fully comprehended by Americans at home, I am emboldened to comment upon the international significance of the impact of the American concept of human relationship upon the fabric of civilized society as we here view it from distant shores.

Throughout the span of our national history we have thought of those rights and privileges and immunities, protections and equal opportunities, which have since our country's birth been safeguarded to us, as things peculiarly

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American. Content to live by the sacred tenets of freedom passed on from generation to generation, and to defend in the forum of public debate or by the sword in the field if necessary against any threat of their suppression, either from within or without, we have given little thought to the reality that our growth as a people, the development and progress of our free institutions, and the spiritual, physical and material strength which we as free men have mustered to repel every threat of destruction hurled from without and to resolve every grave crisis within, has had a profound and lasting influence not only upon our own lives but upon the entire human race as well.

Our experience in the Philippines and in the more recent reformation of Japanese life, where in reshaping the lives of others we have been guided by the same pattern from which is taken the design to our own lives, offers unmistakable proof, however, that while American in origin and American in concept, these tenets underlying a truly free society are no less designed to secure, preserve and advance the well-being of one race than they are of another -- and given the opportunity to take root in one society they will flourish and grow as surely as they will in any other society. The lesson from the past and contemporary events is that they are no longer peculiarly American but now belong to the entire human race -- and that their firm adaptability in the pattern of human life is by no means governed by ethnological considerations. The term "democracy" is now being subjected to conflicting connotations but American democracy for nearly two centuries has emerged triumphant through the successive crises of war and peace -- and in every test it has established its soundness in comparison with every

other philosophy which has governed in the lives of men. A spiritual force whose purity of purpose is doubted by none, it has demonstrated in the American experience of blending men of all races and cultures into a composite whole that it can thrive in any heart, and raise all who embrace it to a higher dignity and more useful purpose.

Thus in the inception of Japan's reformation, many voices were raised against the planned implantation here of ideals and principles and standards underlying American democracy, for it was contended that Japanese tradition, Japanese culture, and Japanese experience would not permit their assimilation in Japan's redesigned social system. Never was statement more erroneous and unrealistic. For those very things which have supported Japan's past are responsible for the tragedy of Japan's present, and those very things which have supported America's past are no less responsible for the strength of America's present. This is well within the knowledge of the average Japanese citizen who is reaching out to understand and to embrace those same concepts which have brought individual and collective strength, dignity and security to the American people -- and once the process of assimilation has been completed, the Japanese may be expected to adhere to, cherish and preserve this new way of life.

The world has just emerged through the convulsive violence of war in which all humanity has been engaged or felt its impact. Now it struggles to adjust itself to the realisation of peace. War's genesis lies in the despotic lust for power -- frequently its rallying media for intense nationalism renders it the last refuge of the despot whose power is threatened from within. Never has it originated in the voluntary action of a free people -- never will a free people voluntarily associate itself with the proposition that the road to peace and well-being and happiness lies through the crucible of war.

In the struggle for peace in which we are now engaged, the world finds itself enslaved and half free as the clash of conflicting ideologies continues to stir mankind. True, the guns remain silent, but silent they will not long remain if avarice and greed and lust for power continue to dominate human relations, and the efforts of peoples who desire to live in peace and harmony and understanding with others and to erect upon the experience of the past a higher plane of civilization for the future, are thwarted at the councils of the nations of the world by individuals or minorities, out of step with human progress, who would risk civilisation's destruction rather than yield in their lust for further and more absolute power -- intolerant of the rights of others in denying the very essence of human justice. Peace will be retarded and the imminence of war threatened, so long as despotism governs men's lives and reaches out to bring the lives of other peoples within its orbit of human enslavement -- so long as the individual or the few, by the threat or application of force, may control the lives and destinies of the many -- so long as knowledge is perverted and personal liberty suppressed.

It is for us in this era of confusion and uncertainty following the cataclysm of history's most violent struggle, calmly to refortify our lives and free institutions by rededication of ourselves anew to those ideals and principles and human standards which have guided our progress as a people -- and while always mindful of our own business, fearlessly to discharge our responsibility to others, that by example we may point the way to a peaceful world of workable human relationships. Therein lies best hope for overwhelming those evil forces which now plague mankind and for real advancement in human progress.

DOUGLAS MacARTHUR

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NARA DATE 3(a) AND 3(b) OR (c) NARS # 775-072

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13 July 1947

COMMENT ON FAR EASTERN COMMISSION POLICY DECISION

The policy decision just adopted by the Far Eastern Commission dealing with the post-surrender treatment of the Japanese problem is one of the great state papers of modern history. It establishes definitely the type, the extent, and the scope of Japan's future, and the position the Japanese nation shall occupy in relation to the world at large. It not only ratifies the course which thus far has been taken, but signifies a complete unity of future purpose among the eleven nations and peoples concerned. It at once sweeps aside fears currently felt that the great nations of the world are unable to reconcile divergent views on such vital issues in the international sphere and demonstrates with decisive clarity that from an atmosphere of conflicting interests and opposing predilections may emerge common agreement founded upon experience and shaped to a realistic appreciation of world conditions and the basic requirements of a progressive civilization. For in this agreement have been firmly resisted two insidious concepts, poles apart but equally sinister -- the one which would seek harsh and unjust treatment of our fallen foe, and the other which would seek partially to preserve and perpetuate institutions and leadership which bear responsibility of war guilt. The first would have produced a mendicant country dependent upon charity to live, while the second would have encouraged the regrowth of anti-democratic forces with the consequent revival of international distrust and suspicion. It confirms by the considered action of the representatives of the Allied Nations a sound moderate course based upon a concept embodying firmness but justice, disarmament but rehabilitation, lower standards but the opportunity for life -- a concept shunning both the extreme right and the extreme left and providing for the great middle way of the ordinary man.

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The basic and easily the most essential requirement of the policy -- disarmament and demilitarization -- has already been fully accomplished. Even were there no external controls, Japan could not rearm for modern war within a century. This primary objective has led all aims in the occupation of Japan. Japanese military forces have been disarmed, demobilized, and absorbed in peaceful pursuits, and Japan's remaining war potential has either been destroyed or completely neutralized. The political and economic phases of the disarment program have been effected through the dissolution of the alliance long existing between government and industry, the breaking up of monopolistic combines and practices which have suppressed private enterprise, and the raising of the individual to a positon of dignity and hope, with provision made for a new leadership untainted by war responsibility and both mentally and spiritually equipped to further democratic growth. The transition stage of destroying those evil influences which misguided Japan's past has been virtually completed and the course has been set upon which Japan is now embarked toward a peaceful and constructive future. We thus see here the transformation of a state which once proclaimed its mastery of war into one which from material impoverishment and spiritual dedication now seeks its destiny as a servant of peace.

This action representing the agreement of the allied nations engaged in the Pacific war not only confirms the post-surrender policies previously evolved and largely implemented, but it establishes at the same time a norm for the restoration of peace. Resting squarely upon those same principles and ideals written at Potsdam, reaffirmed on the Missouri, and subsequently translated into action in the occupation of Japan, this accord provides the entire framework for a treaty of peace -- a treaty which, if it is to be

faithfully honored, should constitute within itself a charter of human liberty to which the Japanese citizen will look for guidance and protection, rather than shun with the revulsion of shame -- a treaty which, without yielding firmness in its essential mandates, should avoid punitive, arbitrary and unrealistic provisions, and by its terms set the pattern for future peace throughout the world. It should in full reality mark the restoration of a peace based upon justice, goodwill and human advancement. Such a treaty may now be approached with the assurance of complete understanding in principle and full unity of purpose in evolving its detail.

Viewing this international accord in the light of the great strides made by the Japanese themselves toward the achievement of those very objectives which it prescribes, without confusion, without disorder, and with steady progress toward economic recovery despite the destruction of war and defeat, it becomes unmistakably clear that here in Japan we shall win the peace.

2 September 1947

SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF SURRENDER

Two years have now passed since that fateful September 2nd on the MISSOURI, when the Allies on the one hand and the Japanese on the other entered into the solemn commitments underlying surrender conditions. It is unnecessary to restate the results of the ensuing occupation as they are now largely of historical record, but it is appropriate today to reflect upon the lesson learned, not alone in terms of the present and the immediate future, but more particularly its long range influence upon the progress of civilization. For the opportunity here afforded to bring to a race, long stunted by ancient concepts of mythological teaching, the refreshing uplift of enlightenment and truth and reality, with practical demonstrations of Christian ideals, is of deep and universal significance.

During these two years, both sides -- Allies and Japanese -- have by adherence to the letter and spirit of their respective undertakings acquitted themselves honorably and well -- and both have benefited from the relationship. History records no other instance wherein the military occupation of a conquered people has been conducted with the emphasis placed, as it has been here, upon the moral values involved between victor and vanquished. Right rather than might has been the criterion. The fruits of this policy are now self-evident. Japan today stands out as one of the few places in a distraught world where, despite an economy of critically short supply, there is a minimum of fear, of confusion, and of unrest -- where the people are diligently endeavoring to expiate the breach of the peace for which their nation stands universally condemned, to overcome the poverty left by war and defeat, and to elevate themselves to trusted and useful membership in the family of nations.

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Avoiding vengeance, intolerance, and injustice, Allied policy, apart from its rigidly destructive phase designed to eliminate from Japanese life both the will and the capacity to wage war, has rested squarely upon the fundamental concept which finds immortal exposition in the Sermon on the Mount. And by bringing into clear focus the commanding influence moral values thus have played in this relationship between nations and men, the results here attained invoke standards which might well be recognized and carried forward if the grave international issues which perplex mankind are to be resolved dispassionately in harmony and peace. There is no novelty in this simple concept but too often it is ignored in the international sphere - betrayed through the misuse of power over the lives and destinies of others, with war the price the world inevitably has paid for this, man's greatest folly.

A peace treaty is shortly to be discussed. It is essential that it be approached in that same tolerant and just atmosphere to insure that this defeated country has the opportunity to become self-sustaining, rather than reduced to a condition of mendicancy. A post-treaty Japan should not become a burden upon the economy of any other country. For it is a well tested historical truism that a people given a fair chance will reach the niche in human society to which their own industry, their own skill, and their own perseverance entitle them, without largess from others -- that largess stultifies rather than quickens private initiative and individual energy, so essential to human progress. It is furthermore a false concept which contends that democracy can only thrive if maintained in plenty. On the contrary, history shows that it springs from hardship and struggle and toil, to flourish naturally in the hearts of men who cherish individual freedom and dignity -- or not at all. A spiritual commodity, it is neither for purchase nor for sale.

There need be no concern over fears recently expressed of imminent economic collapse. It must be understood that the actual collapse of Japanese economy, which was a major allied war aim, occurred prior to the surrender as a result of attrition caused by the crushing force of allied arms, the severance of Japan's life lines abroad, the wresting from Japan of Manchuria, Korea, Formosa and the island groups mandated to her following the first world war, and the destruction of Japan's shipping afloat and her centers of industry and commerce at home. The economic prostration of the country was complete at the beginning of the occupation, industry then being at a practical standstill. In reality, since the surrender, under the guidance of the occupation and with American help, Japan has been gradually restoring her shattered economy and the curve is up not down. The industrial output has now risen to over forty five percent of pre-war normal, and the improvement can be expected to continue. This relative stability, especially by comparison with more fortunately favored countries, and even under the blighting effects of practical blockade, has been one of the most amazing and encouraging features of the occupation period. To become self-supporting, however, it is essential that the economic isolation imposed by the Allies be modified so that trade with the outside world can be resumed.

If Japan in the post-treaty era is given a just opportunity to live in freedom and peace with her neighbors in the community of nations, there will be no threat to the survival and strengthening of the democratic processes here inaugurated under the occupation. For democracy, once firmly rooted in the human heart, has never voluntarily yielded before any other conflicting ideology known to man. If liberty and public morality do not bring national stability, nothing can.

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NEW YEAR'S MESSAGE TO THE JAPANESE PEOPLE

1 January 1948

TO THE PEOPLE OF JAPAN:

The design of a remodeled and reconstructed Japan is nearing completion. The pattern has been etched, the path has been laid. The development now lies largely in your own hands. Success or failure will depend upon your ability to practise the simple yet transcendental principles which modern civilization demands.

No occupation, however benevolent and beneficial, can substitute for the spiritual uplift which alone can lead to an invincible determination to build a future based upon the immutable concepts of human freedom -- a social status under which full consciousness of individual responsibility must ever remain the keystone to the arch of success and progress.

Individual hardship is inevitable. Your economy, due to the disastrous war decisions of your past leaders, is now impoverished. This can only be relieved by employment to the maximum of the energies of your people, by wisdom and determination on the part of your leaders, and by the restoration of peace with its removal of existing limitations upon international trade. So long as your needs continue to be greater than your productive capacity, controls upon your internal economy will be essential lest the weaker segments of your population perish. Such controls must, however, only be temporary and subject to ultimate removal in favor of free enterprise.

Economically, allied policy has required the breaking up of that system which in past has permitted the major part of the commerce and industry and natural resources of your country to be owned and controlled by a minority of feudal families and exploited for their exclusive benefit. The world has probably never seen a counterpart to so abnormal an economic system.

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It permitted exploitation of the many for the sole benefit of the few. The integration of these few with government was complete and their influence upon governmental policies inordinate, and set the course which ultimately led to war and destruction. It was indeed so complete a monoply as to be in effect a form of socialism in private hands. Only through its dissolution could the way be cleared for the emergence of an economy conducive to the well-being of all the people -- an economy embodying the principle of private capitalism, based upon free competitive enterprise -- an economy which long experience has demonstrated alone provides the maximum incentive to the development of those fundamental requirements to human progress -- individual initiative and individual energy.

Politically, progress toward reform has been equally encouraging. Your new constitution is now in full effect, and there is increasing evidence of a growing understanding of the great human ideals which it is designed to serve. Implementing laws have reoriented the entire fabric of your way of life to give emphasis to the increased responsibility, dignity and opportunity which the individual now holds and enjoys. Government has ceased to be totalitarian and has become representative, with its functions decentralized to permit and encourage a maximum of individual thought and initiative and judgment in the management of community affairs. Control of every political segment has been shifted to permit the selection of a new leadership of your free choice capable of advancing democratic growth.

Socially, many of the shackles which traditionally have restricted individual thought and action have been severed and action has been taken to render the exercise of police power a matter for individual and community,

rather than national, responsibility. The judicial system has been freed from executive and legislative controls, and laws have been enacted to temper inordinate bureaucratic power by requiring all public officials to justify the trust of public responsibility and answer for their acts directly to the people.

Every Japanese citizen can now for the first time do what he wants, and go where he wants, and say what he wants, within the liberal laws of his land. This means that you can select your own work, and when you have completed it you can choose your own method of relaxation and enjoyment, and on your day of rest you can worship as you please, and always you can criticize and express your views on the actions of your Government. This is liberty. Yet inherent in it are its obligations to act with decorum and self-restraint, and become acutely conscious of the responsibilites which a free society imposes upon its every segment.

The future therefore lies in your hands. If you remain true to the great spiritual revolution which you have undergone, your nation will emerge and go on -- if you accept only its benefits without its obligations, it will wither and go under. The line of demarcation is a simple one, understandable to all men -- the line between those things which are right and those things which are wrong. The way is long and hard and beset with difficulties and dangers, but it is my hope and belief and prayer this New Year's Day that you will not falter.

DOUGLAS MacARTHUR

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ON PROGRESS OF JAPANESE WOMEN

8 January 1948

The following is an excerpt from a letter dated 5 January 1948 sent to Miss Ruth Cowan, President, Women's National Press Club, 1367 National Press Building, Washington 4, D. C., in response to an invitation received from her for General and Mrs. MacArthur to attend the annual dinner of the Women's National Press Club on April 3rd.

If you have been able to keep abreast of developments here, I know you have been deeply interested in the progress that the women of Japan, since their emancipation with the advent of Allied occupation, have made in injecting into the pattern of political and social life a deeper individual and collective consciousness of public responsibility. As it did in the United States, this political and sociological change has had a profound influence in the building of character in public affairs, and one can see increasing evidence of its dynamic potential in the shaping of future events designed to foster and improve the general welfare.

DOUGLAS MacARTHUR.

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STATEMENT IN SUPPORT OF OCCUPATION APPROPRIATIONS

18 January 1948

The following statement sent as radio Z-35682, 18 January 1948, to the Department of Army for Under Secretary Draper, in response to request contained in radio W-93804, 11 January 1948, for a statement in support of requested appropriations to be read before the House and Senate Appropriations Committee.

Pursuant to the suggestion contained in radio W-93804, I have sent General Fox to Washington to assist the Department of the Army in its detailed presentation before Congress of the budgetary requirements covering Japan and the Ryukyus for the fiscal year 1949.

As you know, neither of these areas have adequate indigenous food resources to sustain life. Prior to the war, they had direct call upon the resources of Formosa, Korea and Manchuria, and through highly successful industrial effort Japan was able to acquire additional food to meet any then existing deficiency, by trading her manufactured products in the markets of the world. This of course is no longer the case. Formosa, Korea and Manchuria have been taken away, the bulk of Japan's shipping afloat has been destroyed, home industries have been gutted, areas of deep-sea fishing previously available have been sharply curtailed, and the opportunities for foreign trade, beyond those on a government to government basis, are limited to such as private traders visiting Japan under fixed quotas are able to provide. Japan is therefore still under an economic blockade whose rigidity, while somewhat moderated to permit this limited field of government and private trade, yet prevents development of a self-sufficient economy.

Japan came under our custodial control in the aftermath of war and victory. Approximately six million Japanese citizens have been repatriated

from abroad since the occupation started, but thus far none are permitted to leave for abroad from Japanese shores. The people therefore are, in all practical aspects, our prisoners of war, and as such entitled to our protection under the international conventions which we ourselves historically have never failed to respect. As a consequence, the custodial relationship which the United States assumed at the surrender embodied obligations and responsibilities having the most implicit legal basis. Such obligations and responsibilities will continue to dominate our relationship to Japan so long as, by force of restriction, we confine the Japanese people to their home areas and delimit their freedom of commerce and trade with others.

During the course of the occupation, the Japanese people have made diligent effort themselves to solve the deficiency problems involved. Sizeable tracts of land are being brought newly under cultivation, but Japanese terrain offers little hope for major relief in this direction. Amazing strides have been made toward industrial rehabilitation and recovery, despite the critically low inventory of essential raw materials available for such purpose. Traditionally a people exploited into virtual slavery by an oligarchic system of economic feudalism under which a few Japanese families, directly or indirectly, have controlled all of the commerce and industry and raw materials of Japan, the Japanese are rapidly freeing themselves of these strictures to clear the road for the establishment here of a more healthy economy patterned after our own concepts of free private competitive enterprise -- to release the long suppressed energies of the people toward the building of that higher productivity of a society which is free. Agricultural land, long held within a similar vise of feudalistic control, with the productive energies of those who

tilled the soil limited to the low standards which result from human serfdom, is being released through sale to these same persons who in future, as land owners themselves and sole beneficiaries of their daily toil, will find in the degree of their contribution to the soil the measure of their benefit from the soil. These and other measures, designed to set the pattern of a free Japan, in time will assert themselves in maximized productivity, but even then reliance must still be had upon resources abroad which are not available at home, and markets to absorb such goods as are produced beyond domestic needs as a medium of obtaining the resources essential to meet even such needs.

The answer to this vexatious problem of course lies in the effectuation of a treaty of peace which is now past due. Conflicts in the diplomatic sphere, however, dim the hopes that were once held that such a treaty may realistically be expected, with the concurrence of all of the Allied Powers, within a predictable future. This situation imposes upon the United States the continuance of the obligations and responsibilities inherent in our existing relationship, as we cannot afford to yield our position here until fully assured against any consequent power threat by others which might operate to destroy that which we have built, and thereby place our own country at consequent serious strategic as well as economic disadvantage. Meanwhile, it is essential to minimize by all available means the resulting burden upon the American people. With this in mind, we should, while progress toward the restoration of formal peace is stalemated, unilaterally or with other Allied governments similarly inclined, release as far as possible existing restrictions upon trade and commerce, and restore to the normal limits of diplomatic privilege the right of the Japanese citizenry to journey abroad and mingle with that of

other lands, to study and absorb cultural and scientific advances made since the advent of war, and generally to be re-endowed with freedom of action in the solution of their own internal problems in the safeguard of their domestic welfare.

By our resolute and faithful discharge in Japan of the obligations inherent in the relationship of victor to vanquished, we will fulfill the highest form of moral responsibility, and in so doing make an indelible impression which, more than all else, will gain converts to our own immutable concepts of life. It is not merely what we have done, but even more that we have done it. It will afford comfort and sustenance to human life -- but, of immeasurably greater value, it will provide an example in human relationship which will continue to dominate men's thoughts for ages to come.

MacARTHUR

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REPLY TO CRITICISM OF ECONOMIC POLICY

1 February 1948

The following sent as letter to Mr. J. H. Gipson, The Caxton Printers, Ltd., Caldwell, Idaho, under date of 24 January 1948, in reply to Mr. Gipson's letter of 27 December 1947 relative to a December release from the Committee for Constitutional Government in New York stating that the Occupation is fostering socialization of Japanese industries, etc. Permission was later requested on 31 January 1948 by Mr. Gipson for release to the press and approval was radioed on 1 February 1948.

Thank you so much for sending me the extract of comments on Japan from the December release of the Committee for Constitutional Government in New York, with your letter of December 27th which has just reached me.

I have never heard of this Committee and know nothing about its purpose or composition, but its estimate of the situation here is amazing in its complete inaccuracy. The existing Government of Japan is fully representative of the popular will, elected under thoroughly democratic processes in accordance with the provisions of a constitution patterned in essential respects after our own. The only "private enterprise" which has heretofore existed in Japan was neither free nor competitive -- two fundamental qualifications of American economic philosophy which it is my firm purpose to see entrenched in the Japanese system before the occupation withdraws.

Japan has long had a system of "private enterprise" -- but one which permitted ten family groups comprising only fifty-six Japanese families to control, directly or indirectly, every phase of commerce and industry; all media of transportation, both internal and external; all domestic raw materials; and all coal and other power resources. The "private enterprise" was thus limited to a few of feudal lineage, who exploited into virtual

slavery the remainder of the Japanese people, permitted higher standards of life to others only through sufferance, and in search of further plunder abroad furnished the tools for the military to embark upon its ill-fated venture into world conquest. The record is thus one of economic oppression and exploitation at home, aggression and spoliation abroad. As early as 1930, these Japanese industrial combines veered in the direction of armaments production and geared the country for war. This portrays the private enterprise to which the Committee refers.

As you will see, the very start toward free enterprise is dependent upon tearing down so abnormal a structure. For, so long as it remains undisturbed, it is a standing bid for State ownership, and a fruitful target for Communist propaganda and collectivist purposes. The Japanese people, with the exception of those who covet the opportunity to exploit this situation for ideological purposes, and those who have been entrenched within its orbit of political and economic power, are overwhelmingly in favor of destroying such a system, and unless its destruction is effected peacefully and in due order under the occupation, there is little doubt but that if necessary the way would be found even through the violence of revolutionary means once the occupation is withdrawn.

In all of these measures in the reformation of Japan, it must be clearly understood that we are here dealing with fundamental realities. It does not suffice merely to issue an edict that there shall be no socialism, or that there shall be no advance of communism or other ideologies opposed to the one in which we ourselves firmly believe. For the strength of such an edict would find its measure in the power of Allied bayonets alone. The need has called for positive action which, while we yet have time, will superimpose here upon a decadent and discredited past a system of government

and economics which, because their very processes generate a more healthy and virile society, will even after our controls are lifted stand as an invincible buttress against the inroads of any conflicting philosophies of life.

In the accomplishment of this purpose, two difficult barriers have stood out to bar any progress. The one has dealt with the feudalistic system of land ownership under which practically all agricultural land has been owned by a relatively few persons of feudal heritage, with all agrarian workers exploited under conditions of practical serfdom. This archaic system of land ownership is being torn down in order that through sale in small lots those who long have worked the soil may have the opportunity substantially to profit from their toil. Thereby there will emerge in Japan, from a field heretofore fertile to the spread of communism, a new class of small capitalistic landowners which itself will stand firm against efforts to destroy the system of capitalistic economy of which it will then form an integral part. Needless to say, the communists and the land barons alone oppose this reform.

The other barrier is the one which I have heretofore described, popularly known as the Zaibatsu, and in neither case, even despite war enrichment at the sacrifice of American blood, has there been any confiscation of property, as the principle of just compensation throughout has governed, with untrammelled recourse left to judicial appeal in the Japanese courts. The effect of its dissolution will be to transform a small number of monopolistic combines into numerous competing units and to bring about widespread ownership of the instruments of production and trade, thereby erecting a solid bulwark against the spread of ideologies and systems