

000-7

**GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
UNITED STATES ARMY FORCES PACIFIC
FAR EAST COMMAND
CHECK SHEET**

(Do not remove from attached sheets)

File No.:

Subject: International News Service Story
Requested for Gen. Whitney

**Note
No.**

From: G-2

To: Government Section

Date: CIS/CCD:WBP/ag

Recd 2 May

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In accordance with verbal request of Mr. O. I. Hauge, Chief Information Officer, Government Section, attached story is forwarded to Brigadier General Whitney for information.

1 Incl
International News Service Story

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Government Section

5 March 1947

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Japanese press coverage of Government Section's press release on 3 March.

1. Government Section's statement to the press on 3 March concerning the importance of the new Constitution was not accorded much coverage in the Japanese press (other than the Nippon Times). Most Tokyo papers merely carried a short paragraph giving the gist of the statement, accompanied by one or two CIA&E diagrams explaining constitutional reforms.

M. BURG
Special Projects Division

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FILE UNDER: 000.7

INDEX SHEET

DATE: 25 Feb 47

FROM: Burg

TO:

SUBJECT: Memo to Chief, Gov't Sec -

Jap. Press Coverage of Defense Arguments in the
International Military Tribunal.

DOCUMENT FILED UNDER:

CLASSIFIED FILE:

Memos to the Chief, Gov't Sec.

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26 February 1947

Memorandum to the Chief, Government Section

GS File

SUBJECT: Japanese Press Coverage of Defense Arguments in the International Military Tribunal and General MacArthur's Message to Congress.

A lengthy defense of Japanese aggression by the counsel for the defense in the International Military Tribunal and the Supreme Commander's message to Congress constituted the two big stories in yesterday's Japanese press. Five principal Tokyo dailies treated the news as follows:

ASAHI: General MacArthur's message covered one-third of the news space of the front page. The tribunal defense arguments covered two-thirds of the front page and one-third of the back page.

TOKYO SHIMBUN: The defense arguments covered the entire front page. General MacArthur's statement was not carried.

NINON KRIZAI: General MacArthur's statement covered one-third of the front page. The defense arguments covered two-thirds of the back page.

YOMIURI: General MacArthur's statement covered about one-third of the front page. The defense arguments covered almost two-thirds of the same page.

MAINICHI: General MacArthur's statement covered less than one-fifth of the front page. The defense arguments covered about four-fifths of the same page.

Two of the papers, YOMIURI and MAINICHI, carried editorial comments on the defense arguments. The YOMIURI, in a dispassionate tone, urged the Japanese people to follow carefully the arguments that the defense will put out in order that they might arrive at an understanding of the true causes of Japan's disaster. A short editorial in MAINICHI criticized the defense and wondered how the Japanese people would react to the ideas presented by the defense.

M. BURG
Special Projects Division

*Original in
Themos & Co. 1-18*

16

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS

CHECK SHEET

(Do not remove from attached sheets) DRH/mh

Subject: Associated Press Article on Emperor Worship.

File No.:

0005
Y080

Note No.:

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From: Chief, CI&E

To: Government Section
(General Whitney)

Date: 11 Feb 47

1. Forwarded herewith for information is report of Chief, Religions Division, CI&E, on interview with Mr. Hennessy, Associated Press, on the subject of Emperor worship.

2. Attention is invited to inconsistencies appearing in the published account of the interview.

1 Incl

Copy of Memo, dtd 11 Feb 47

DRH

-D. R. N.-

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11 Feb 47

Chief, Religions Division

C I & E Section

Associated Press Article on Emperor Worship

1. Reference is made to Associated Press Article entitled "Japanese People Still Feel Emperor Is Divine," published in Stars and Stripes for Sunday, 9 February, which attributed to the Chief of the Religions Division certain statements concerning Shinto, Emperor Worship, and occupation policy in reference thereto.

2. The contents of reference article purporting to be based on an interview between the Chief of Religions Division and Mr. Hennessy, Associated Press, represent neither a fair appraisal of the situation nor what was actually told Mr. Hennessy. There is no justification whatever for using quotation marks in the article, as the language used is definitely not that of the Chief of the Religions Division. Particularly objectionable is the statement "All we can do, is to tell the Japanese people the Emperor is not divine, but they still regard him as God," implying as it does occupation policy and its failure to achieve results. The statement as it stands was fabricated out of whole cloth.

3. Mr. Hennessy's interview centered around two questions:

- a. Do the Japanese people still worship the Emperor?, and
- b. Has SCAP attempted to prohibit emperor worship?

It was stated that some Japanese undoubtedly do still "worship" the Emperor. At the same time it was pointed out that even before the end of the War, not all Japanese worshipped the Emperor. Defeat in a war in which the aid of the gods had been unsuccessfully invoked and the Emperor's own denial of his divinity had undoubtedly influenced many others to take a similar view. Mr. Hennessy seemed surprised to hear that the Japanese people had not been prohibited from bowing toward the Imperial Palace. He wondered why SCAP had not forbidden Emperor worship. To this question the answer was that we had not attempted such prohibition, for, while actions involving from one certain way of thinking may be regulated more or less successfully, it is realized that it is impossible through legislation to prevent man from thinking as he pleases. An attempt was then made to point out what has actually been prohibited and why. The view was expressed that the former danger from Shinto will not exist so long

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as it is deprived of state sponsorship, support, and control, removed from public schools, and the people freed from any compulsion to support it or to profess belief in it.

4. It is apparent that Mr. Hennessy's eyes were so firmly fixed upon the theme he had chosen for his story that statements made in an effort to portray a reasonably rounded picture of Shinto failed to register.

/s/ W. K. BUNGE

W. K. BUNGE

Chief, Religious Division

Newsweek - 2 February 1947.

BEHIND THE JAPANESE PURGE
THE GENERAL ANSWERS --

In its issue of Jan. 27, Newsweek ran a report from seasoned observers inside and outside Japan. They dealt with American occupation policies that they believed were storing up many troubles for the United States -- such as last week's threat of a general strike. Their chief criticisms: (1) The purge of the business and capitalist classes, whom they regarded as the best-disposed section of Japanese society toward the United States, (2) The consequent undermining of capitalism in Japan. (3) The rivalries and confusion between various branches of the occupation forces which lay behind the purge. (4) The inevitable turning of Japan to other countries, especially Russia, because of disillusionment with the United States.

Last week -- despite his natural preoccupation with the strike crisis -- General of the Army MacArthur replied personally and at some length to these criticisms. As any commander would, he took responsibility for "every decision," although observers of the occupation, as reported by Newsweek, did not think the Supreme Commander was aware of how far things had gone. As any commander would, he also denied for the record the reports of internal rivalries in his occupation organization.

The general began his statement by saying that the Newsweek report "is an attack upon the basic concept underlying the purge of active exponents of militant nationalism and aggression from the postwar economy of Japan."

In implementing the purge directive, said MacArthur, "I used the normal discretion of a field commander in the matter of both details and timing, having due regard to the exigencies of the local situation both in its economic and political aspects. The details have been under study by the responsible staff sections, in collaboration with the appropriate officials of the Japanese government, from the beginning.

"While there have been natural differences of views on detail, throughout there has been complete unity of purpose by the staff sections concerned . . . I have aggressively furthered this objective, not alone because to do so is in compliance with the basic directive by which my course of action as Supreme Commander is bound, but because any other course would be to ignore those very causes which led the world into war, and by so doing to invite the recurrence of future war."

MacArthur thought that "it is fantastic that this action should be interpreted or opposed as antagonistic to the American ideal of capitalistic economy." He thought it would not hinder "the development of a future peaceful industrial economy." But said MacArthur, "even if this should

30 January 1947.

General MacArthur today released the following statement in reference an article appearing the January 27th issue of "Newsweek" entitled: "Behind the Japanese Purge - American Military Rivalries".

"The article contained in the January 27th issue of the magazine "Newsweek", in an attack upon the basic concept underlying the purge of active exponents of militant nationalism and aggression from the post-war economy of Japan, reflects a complete lack of knowledge and understanding of the basic facts and issues involved.

"The Supreme Commander was directed early in the occupation to 'prohibit the retention in or selection for positions of important responsibility or influence in industry, finance, commerce or agriculture of all persons who have been active exponents of militant nationalism or aggression, and of any who do not direct future Japanese economic effort solely towards peaceful ends.' In the absence of evidence to the contrary, he was directed to 'assume that any persons who have held key positions of high responsibility since 1937 in industry, finance, commerce and agriculture have been active exponents of militant nationalism and aggression' and to 'remove and exclude from positions of important responsibility or influence in all public and private financial institutions, agencies or organizations all persons who have been active exponents of militant nationalism and aggression', it to be 'generally assumed, in absence of evidence to the contrary, that any persons who have held key positions in any such institutions, agencies or organizations are active exponents of militant nationalism and aggression'. He was also directed to 'prevent the retention in or selection for places of importance in the financial field of individuals who do not direct future financial effort solely towards peaceful ends.'

"In the implementation of the above directive, I used the normal discretion of a field commander in the matter of both details and timing, having due regard to the exigencies of the local situation both in its economic and political aspects. The details have been under study by the responsible staff sections, in collaboration with the appropriate officials of the Japanese government, from the beginning.

"While there have been natural differences of views on detail, throughout there has been complete unity of purpose by the staff sections concerned, and every decision has been personally made by me. I have aggressively furthered this objective, not alone because to do so is in compliance with the basic directive by which my course of action as Supreme Commander is bound, but because any other course would be to ignore those very causes which led the world into war, and by so doing to invite the recurrence of future war.

"It was these very persons, born and bred as feudalistic overlords, who held the lives and destiny of the majority of Japan's people in virtual slavery, and who, working in closest affiliation with its military, geared the country with both the tools and the will to wage aggressive war. This, to the end that a large part of the earth's surface and inhabitants might be brought under the same economic bondage they had so long maintained over a majority of the Japanese people -- and that Japan might weld from conquered nations and peoples of the world a vast totalitarian economic Empire, designed further to enrich them. These are the persons who, under the purge, are to be removed from influencing the course of Japan's future economy.

"Petitions and letters have been received by the thousands from the people of Japan calling for the extension of the purge to which "Newsweek" objects, and since its announcement the press of Japan has been practically unanimous in applauding its purposes. The only dissenting views thus far heard are from that small minority to be adversely affected by its application, such as the anonymous Japanese sources which are quoted in the article's support.

"The details of the purge program have been carefully evolved so as not to disturb the ordinary businessman, nor the technicians whose skill and brains did not influence formulation of the policy which directed Japan's course toward aggressive war. It is fantastic that this action should be interpreted or opposed as antagonistic to the American ideal of capitalistic economy. In my opinion, and I believe in the opinion of truly responsible Japanese as well, the action will not unduly disturb the development of a future peaceful industrial economy. But even if this should prove not the case -- even if, as "Newsweek" avers, this cleansing of the economy of Japan of undesirable influence is destined seriously to handicap industrial revival for lack of essential leadership -- or even if such revival is wholly impossible without the guidance of those several thousand persons involved who directly contributed to leading the world into a war taking a toll of millions of human lives and effecting destruction of hundreds of billions in material resources -- then, in that event the interests of those other hundreds of millions of people who want and seek peace leave no alternative than that Japan must bear and sustain the consequences; even at the expense of a new economy geared down to the capabilities remaining."

not prove the case,² there was no other alternative.

In view of MacArthur's reply, Newsweek asked its sources to review their original opinions. They reported that they still believed that actions by the occupations forces were working to the detriment of American interests and in a manner contrary to what they felt sure the Supreme Commander intended. They cited such new developments as: (1) the power shown by extreme leftists in the threatened general strike; (2) their action in going over MacArthur's head in appealing to the Allied Council for Japan, and (3) the support in the Russian press for the leftists. They also pointed out the danger of the use of a new nationalistic and anti-American leftist movement. They quoted the reaction of a small-time labor boss in Tokyo to MacArthur's banning of the general strike. He said: "The Military lost the war. The Kanryo (civil-service career men) surrendered. But the Japanese working man was undefeated, and America must realize this fact."

BEHIND THE JAPANESE PURGE
AMERICAN MILITARY RIVALRIES

"All I can do now is make a good black-market connection or join the Communist party."

That was what a typical Japanese businessman last week told Compton Fakenham, chief of Newsweek's Tokyo bureau. He was bewildered. Some 25,000 to 30,000 of his nation's businessmen, financiers, and industrialists faced removal from their jobs. Furthermore, all their relatives to the third degree were also forbidden to hold such posts, thus making a total of 250,000 victims. In effect, the brains of the entire Japanese economic structure were being removed. The inevitable result: to turn Japanese economic life over to shinyen (new yen) millionaires, black marketeers, and speculators. The extreme left could capitalize on such a situation to the advantage of the ever-watchful Russians, the advocates of severe purges.

The Japanese businessman was bewildered because these things were being done under the orders of the only remaining great capitalist power, the United States. The original purge directive had been issued by General of the Army MacArthur, and was largely used for a political house-cleaning. But now the economic application of the purge cuts off the most active, efficient, experienced, cultured, and cosmopolitan section of the nation—the very section that has always been the best disposed toward cooperation with the United States. These classes consider that they helped make the occupation one in which the United States has been able to reduce its occupying forces to a minimum because resistance to them has been practically nil. Now, these Japanese are concerned about the growth of a possible underground with Soviet connections.

Many occupation officers on all levels shared the bewilderment of the Japs. Some felt that instead of pressing for an investigation in Germany, Congress should send a committee to Japan to discover why American capitalist principles are being undermined by American occupation authorities.

They felt that such an investigation would help clear General MacArthur of any blame and would repaid the damage already inflicted on his dignity in the eyes of the Japanese. Finally, these officers believed that only a Congressional investigation could clear up the mystery of American occupation policy.

Insofar as could be ascertained by Newsweek's sources, this was what lay behind the current purge: The original purge order was issued on Jan. 4, 1946, by General MacArthur. Theoretically it was designed to eliminate from Japanese life those who had aided militarism and plans of conquest. On Nov. 21, 1946, and Jan 4, 1947, MacArthur's original directive was deepened and broadened in the economic field by Japanese ordinances. Because of the structure of Japanese business this worked out as would a similar order in the United States purging all businessmen who contributed to the war effort and members of the National Association of Manufacturers. It was thus

nearly all-inclusive, unlike demasification in Germany which has a specifically political basis. It was given to the Japanese Government to implement but its execution was closely supervised by occupation authorities.

"A HOUSE DIVIDED: The purge originated in the military government branch of the occupation. This branch has long been involved in a four-cornered fight for authority with the G-2 section of Maj. Gen. Charles A. Willoughby, the economic and scientific section of Maj. Gen. William F. Marquat, and the civilian information and education section under Lt. Col. Donald R. Nugent. The relations between these four sections of military government have progressively degenerated as their aims and methods diverged.

"Both Willoughby and Marquat are professional soldiers accustomed to operating through channels. They therefore make their recommendations through a chief of staff, who is primarily interested in the occupation force rather than Japanese internal affairs. Their opinions were thus often shelved. This has been particularly irking to G-2, which observers account the most efficient and effective of any of the occupation sections in the art of dealing firmly with the Japanese.

"On the other hand, the chief of the military government section, Brig. Gen. Courtney Whitney, went straight to MacArthur with his ideas. Thus in the occupation a curious feature of prewar Jap government was revived: The man with direct access to the throne had the best chance of gaining his objectives. Whitney also had the advantage of coming from Manila, a city with which MacArthur has long been associated. There Whitney was a lawyer, a skilled county-courthouse type of orator with the ability to turn dramatics off and on. He is a red-faced man of about 5 feet 6, inclined to be portly and short-tempered.

"One odd development: Even though Whitney's MG fathered the purge, some MG officers are already claiming that it had to be undertaken because of direct orders from the eleven-nation Far Eastern Commission sitting in Washington, where "the Russians put something over." This alibi was not borne out in Washington, where neither the FEC nor the War Department even possesses up-to-date information on the purge--although the State Department knows of the extent of recent developments.

"THE BEATEN WONDER: Such is the background of the purge. The mystery remains as to why an American military government fell into this confusion of motives and actions. One possible reason was cabled by Pakenham: "Military government officers arrived expecting to run Japan and were disappointed at finding the Japanese Government functioning, although guided by MG. The MG contains many theoretical experts in limited phases, but otherwise they are immature, untrained for local conditions, blindly unconscious of their tremendous power, and unconcerned over the practical consequences."

It is an open question as to the extent to which General MacArthur is aware of the ideological implications of the action of his military government. The very aloofness that made him a virtual god to the Japanese and was at least partly responsible for the original success of the occupation has also insulated him from contact with many developments.

There has, however, been no mystery about the results of the purge. One Japanese put it this way: "We know better than any that we have been beaten. We know the United States is entitled to impose any punishment it wants and to force us to make any amends it sets. But we can't understand why, when America could have all Japan working in its own interest, it is now engaged in wrecking the country so as to leave it as an eventual prize to the Russians."

(Copy)

Purge

212 BayTree Road,
San Carlos, Calif.,
25 January 1947.

The Editor,
"Newsweek Magazine",
350 Dennison Ave.,
Dayton 1, Ohio.

Sir:

As a recently-inactivated colonel on General MacArthur's staff in Tokyo, I read the article "Behind the Japanese Purge -- American Military Rivalries", in the January 27th issue of Newsweek, with much interest. It is, however, filled with so many errors of fact and interpretation that your readers have been given a seriously misleading impression of the magnificent job being done in Japan by General MacArthur. In the interest of a more accurate understanding of the progress of the occupation, I hope you will see fit to print this rebuttal of the position you have taken.

It is not within the Supreme Commander's authority to undertake "purgings" contrary to the policies of the United States and the other nations represented on the Far Eastern Commission. As the sole executive authority in Japan, he is responsible for implementing these policies, by the means and at the time he judges most appropriate. Both the FEC and the War Department must necessarily have been aware that an economic purge was to be undertaken as a matter of approved policy.

Throughout my year in Japan, I was most agreeably impressed with the general ability, loyalty, and teamwork displayed by the personnel comprising the various functional sections of the General Headquarters, all of which together -- not just General Whitney's Government Section -- form the "military government" staff. General Willoughby's G-2, General Harquist's Economic and Scientific, and Colonel Nugent's Civil Information and Education sections are responsible for the execution of certain phases of the democratization of Japan. All of these able officers -- as well as the chiefs of the numerous other sections -- have direct access to General MacArthur as the occasion demands. All of them operate under the Chief of Staff equally and remarkably harmoniously, considering their diverse backgrounds and unique and unprecedented problems, most of which by their very nature cannot be made the sole responsibility of any one section. But the section chief with primary responsibility -- General Whitney in this instance -- is always free to consult directly with the Supreme Commander concerning the execution of his assigned function.

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Incidentally, your word picture of General Whitney so far missed the mark that anyone who knows him well would have difficulty recognizing him from it. He is a careful, conscientious, exceedingly discerning person, certainly anything but short-tempered, who is far too able to have to resort to "dramatics" in dealing with the Supreme Commander -- who would be singularly unimpressed by them anyway.

It is one thing to state that General MacArthur's "aloofness" has made him respected by the Japanese, but quite another to state that this "aloofness" -- which simply does not exist so far as his staff is concerned -- has "insulated him from contact with many developments". No man in Japan is better informed or more thoughtfully aware of all the many-faceted implications of his directives. No general has ever been more willing to assume entire responsibility for the actions of his staff, as approved by him.

Your Tokyo correspondent has demonstrated a most remarkable and even alarming shallowness and lack of perception in discussing the implications of the purge. He apparently is blind to the fact that political and social democracy cannot exist in a country where there is not also economic democracy. Our war with Japan would have been futile indeed if the Japanese had failed to implement, under our leadership, the progressive and amazingly democratic new constitution recently adopted, by shearing the Zaibatsu and their minions -- equally responsible with the destroyed militarist clique for Japan's present plight -- of their stranglehold over the Japanese economy. These 20th-century remnants of Japanese feudalism must forever be discredited and prevented from regaining their positions of dominance.

It is an all-too-common fallacy among democratic peoples to believe that aiding the forces of reaction and the economic status quo can prevent the spread of Communism. Newsweek surely is aware that the contrary is true. These newly-purged Japanese, now posing as the 'friends' of America, responsible for the success of the occupation to date, and indispensable to the economic life of the new Japan, were strangely silent preceding and during the war years, when they aided the Japanese war effort with all the resources at their command. The sanctuaries, it has truly been said, are filled with 'indispensable' men. Without new economic as well as political leadership, the Japanese people will long be denied the fruits of democracy.

In undertaking this new purge, General MacArthur has once more demonstrated that he is high among America's wisest and most far-sighted statesmen, as well as its ablest military leader. If Japan is to become a bulwark of genuine democracy in the Far East, it will be due more to his timely guidance

and leadership during the occupational period than to any other factor. In his efforts he has the overwhelming support of the masses of the Japanese people, who will forever continue to be grateful to him for liberating them from their feudalistic masters. Would you have America throw away its hard-earned military victory? Have you forgotten for what we fought? Thank God, General MacArthur has not! Despite your alarms to the contrary, the occupation of Japan, under his leadership, will continue to be the most sensationally and uniquely successful in history.

Very truly yours,

(sgd) H.E. Robison.

Newspaper:

KOCHI SHIMBUN

Date:

3 January 1947

DO THE JOB WITH YOUR OWN HANDS

The New Year's Day message by General MacArthur provides us with many lessons and incentives for self-examination. On the anniversary of the first year of the occupation last September, the General explained to the Japanese people the importance of taking the middle course. This middle course is in accord, in many respects, with the moral outlook of the Orient. Since the end of the war, the whole nation has been thrown into chaos because of many clashing ideologies. Because there is a danger that Japan may be drawn into the stream of radical ideologies, it would be most appropriate for her to keep to the middle course. The New Year's message also carries a profound message which is both enlightening and philosophical.

To summarize the General's message, he points out that whether a new fate lies in store for Japan depends wholly upon the action of the Japanese people themselves. This is a plain and simple fact, and is a good example of the old saying, "Heaven helps those who help themselves." This saying is old but yet very modern. In regards to politics, the message points out that the success of the various reforms instituted for the purpose of establishing a free society in Japan, increasing the authority of the individual, and increasing the happiness of the individual will depend on the manner in which the Japanese people themselves handle their new political responsibilities. It also depends on the character and the sincerity of the leaders whom the people

elect and the extent to which these leaders protect the rights and the interests of the people.

This year is an election year. It is the year in which a democratic political system based on the new Constitution will come into effect through the various elections. There will be many opportunities in the future when the individual will be able to elect new leaders through his own free will. What type of leaders should the people elect and in what manner? The voter must elect leaders solely for his own sake and that of his community, his country and his people, so that his character and ability can be fully displayed. Elections must not be dismissed lightly after they have been carried out fairly and justly. Election rights mean not only individual rights but also the duties of the individual. These duties must be executed in a positive and resolute manner rather than in a halting fashion. Because the purposes of these rights and duties are to elevate the authority and happiness of the individual and to establish a freer society in Japan, careful, extensive, and thorough preparations are necessary before actions are taken to exercise these rights and duties.

However, these requirements do not apply only to the voters. One must realize that though the voters shoulder heavy responsibilities in a democratic election, the responsibilities of the persons elected are just as great or greater. In other words, there is a natural distinction between the electors and the elected from the standpoint of fulfilling their political responsibilities. Granted that the voters exercise their rights and duties, the persons elected must exercise their responsibilities, rights, and duties in a bold and progressive manner. To express it more concretely, the leaders elected by the people must display their sincerity so as to protect the sovereign rights and interests of the people. Therefore, the responsibilities of the persons

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electors are actually far greater than those of the voters, and as leaders, they administer state and local affairs.

Whether the door to a bright future for Japan will be opened or not depends entirely on the Japanese people themselves. Furthermore, if the right course to the establishment of a true and democratic nation is to be followed, the electors and the elected must endeavor to complete the various projected reforms before the year ends. As the General stated: "We have undertaken and completed many things." However, we must be aware of the fact that much yet remains to be done.

Newspaper:

ISHIKAWA SHIMBUN

Date:

5 January 1947

THE PRACTICAL POWER OF THE PEOPLE

Will the members of the Yoshida cabinet which predicted the March crisis during the New Year cling stubbornly to their posts or will a partial reorganization take place? This question is attracting wide attention among people and is the current topic of public discussion. In predicting the future events of this New Year, there are many signs pointing toward a shaky political situation, unsettled financial conditions resulting from the ever increasing flow of Japan Bank Notes, and complications resulting from the above conditions which contribute toward an unstable national livelihood. There is no doubt that the people maintained an attitude of evasion and dissatisfaction which resulted from the material and spiritual hardships they had to endure. However, the year of 1946 was the year in which these difficulties were controlled, and it was also the year in which a progressive transformation for the eradication of injustices was carried out. It is truly a great accomplishment that the "Period of Realization" has been reached. This goal was achieved through the organization of the practical power of the people which enabled them to cope with the many difficulties. In other words, the three phases of the crises became distinct --- politic, economic, and public sentiment.

General MacArthur made the following statement in his New Year's message, "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." We must carefully study this statement. The Japanese nation rather than the Japanese people did not pay heed to true advice. Traces

of this negligence are still firmly implanted in the minds of the people. Because Japan was not defeated by any foreign nation prior to this war, the people possessed a noncritical and aloof attitude. Everyone must organize his individual capacity and with a new outlook apply it to political problems as well. The rate of progress may be discouraging since the people are inexperienced in dealing with organization on a large scale; however, there is nothing in the future which the strong will and practical power of the people will not be able to overcome.

Newspaper:

KOYO SHIMBUN

Date:

9 January 1947

CONDITIONS NECESSARY TO SECURE THE CONFIDENCE OF THE WORLD

Japan is facing a severe crisis at present. Various steps are essential if Japan is to overcome this crisis and reconstruct her economy. Needless to say, among these factors the action of the Japanese people themselves is of prime importance. We hold high hopes that the foreign nations will aid us in overcoming this crisis. However, Japan must secure the confidence of the world at large in order to gradually receive this aid. The Japanese people must secure the confidence of the world at large in order to gradually receive this aid. The Japanese people must clearly understand that their action will determine whether or not Japan will enjoy the confidence of the world.

Recently the Allied Forces expressed their concern about the importation of crude petroleum and other items to Japan. There are some Japanese who immediately reached the hasty conclusion that this was a step toward establishing confidence in Japan. Such thinking is indeed self-centered. We must bear in mind that only by our sincere efforts can we win the confidence of the world:

General MacArthur said in his New Year's address to the Japanese:

"On the people alone rests the solution to many of the pressing problems which harass Japan's present and will shape her future. All peoples of goodwill will watch with keen interest and abiding hope the manner in which she meets this situation."

The words he used are certainly encouraging. Three years after the end of the war, we must thoroughly digest those words and reflect on our actions.

What confidence and sentiment does the world entertain toward Japan? We must, by all means, refrain from thoughtless speculation. The following statement by Russell Brines, AP Chief of Tokyo Bureau, which is the reply he gave to the question in the Nippon Keisai Shinbun (3 January) is worthy of consideration. He said:

"The American people hesitate to extend credits even to Russia who was a member of the Allied Forces. I do not believe that general sentiment would allow extension of credits to a former enemy nation."

Moreover, he emphatically stated:

"It must be said that the Allied Forces are very much concerned about preventing an economic crisis in Japan. To forestall this, Japan may be permitted to import iron and other essential materials. However, the extent to which her basic requirements can be met will be determined, in the long run by the prospects of her ability to pay for the goods in exports."

UP Chief for the Far East, Vaughan, also commented on the same problem. He said, "I confidently believe that Japan will be extended credits by the United States if, after the signing of peace treaties, she demonstrates her characteristic frugality and diligence known the world over and works with the same intelligence and enthusiasm as before. On the other hand, if strikes and chaos prevail," he warned, "efforts toward obtaining credits will be in vain. I am sure that the American people will not provide economic and financial aid to any country dominated by communism as a result of labor strife."

The comments of these two correspondents imply that the Allied Forces will execute their occupation policy to the point necessary for the prevention of economic crisis. If the Japanese desire more than this, they themselves

must provide the means to its achievement. In short, our basic problem is to determine what policy will best serve the people in making them industrious and thus enable them to resume orderly conduct.

It is not an encouraging sign to see the people of a defeated nation working actually only four or five hours while the military personnel of the occupation forces work nine hours. This surely will not help Japan toward winning the confidence of the world. At this time when the problem of restoring the economy is paramount, it is our fervent wish that both capital and labor will realize their responsibility and rights and will direct their efforts toward bringing efficiency to the country.

Newspaper:

HOKOKU HAINICHI SHIMBUN

Date:

3 January 1947

GENERAL MacARTHUR'S MESSAGE

In General MacArthur's message to the Japanese people which General Headquarters issued on December 31, the first thing which impresses the reader is that each and every section of the nine paragraph message presents the problems which we are facing in a very simple and orderly style.

The second thing which impresses the reader is its universal validity. Although this message was undoubtedly directed to the Japanese people, it can be applied very well to all the former axis nations.

Thirdly, the question arises as to whether we are worthy to receive this message which is filled with sympathy, hope, and commendation.

Can we accept the praise mentioned in paragraph two with an indifferent attitude? We cannot but be put to shame. Paragraph five of the message states:

"I have confined my major effort to charting the course, envisaged at hostilities 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."

This statement clearly shows that the goal of the Allied Nations in this second world war was to completely destroy totalitarianism, a doctrine imbued with a selfish, "all or nothing" creed. This statement also seems to imply that the Japanese people are on common grounds with the Allies in attaining this common goal. It is difficult for us to find words with which to answer this gracious statement.

No matter how much we try to overrate ourselves in self-appraisal, we cannot rate ourselves so high that we can boldly say that we are qualified and ready to accept General MacArthur's words at their face-value. A long test period will be necessary before a decision can be made as to whether or not we are qualified to accept this message. There is no doubt that anyone with a conscience will fully agree on this point.

Finally, I wish to elaborate on the following three points in the message. These points are the kind advice which must be put into practice immediately. The beginning of paragraph four states, "Much yet remains to be done. There have been many successes, some failures; many strong points, some weak, much good, some bad". The failures, weak points, and bad points mentioned above must be re-investigated immediately. A point which must be especially noted in this paragraph is the fact that the message states that the results were brought about by two forces, that is, the Japanese leaders and the Japanese people. Paragraph six points out that with the enforcement of the new Constitution, all sovereign power will be placed in the hands of the people upon whom simultaneously will be imposed new and most serious responsibilities. This statement was undoubtedly made to caution us that the rights of freedom, equality, and the pursuit of happiness must be accompanied with a serious sense of responsibility and ethical considerations which are indispensable to those rights.

Paragraph seven states, "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 dependent, however, in final analysis, upon the manner in which the people themselves discharge their new political responsibilities, the type of leadership which preserves inviolate the people's rights and furthers the people's interests."

This statement sharply criticizes the present trend of our society. Both the government officials and the people must pay special attention to this matter.

The purpose of the General's New Year address is to encourage the Japanese people, who are now exerting all efforts to reconstruct their nation. We must have the determination to show our appreciation in some concrete manner, and we must eradicate all past attitudes which may leave this message unanswered and unheeded.

Newspaper:

NIKKA NIPPON

Date:

5 January 1947

FUTURE IN YOUR HANDS

At the beginning of the crucial test year for the Japanese people General MacArthur strongly emphasized, in his New Year address to the Japanese people, that the success or failure of the various reforms which have been instituted for the purpose of raising the authority and welfare of the people and for the establishment of a free society ultimately rests upon whether or not each individual will exercise his given responsibility. He urged that the year 1947 be the year of fruition.

In referring to the past year he said:

"The foundations for democratic government have been firmly established; the barriers of tradition, prejudice, and oppressive controls have been crushed; and the people of Japan have been given the opportunity and right to live as free and self-respecting individuals."

He went on to say, however:

"It is not sufficient that this right and opportunity be given. At this stage, they are no more than written words. If individual freedom which forms the nucleus of a free society and which springs from the bitterness and tragedy of the past and present of Japan is to become deeply rooted, this right and opportunity must be fully understood and cherished in the hearts of the people."

Although Japan has undergone a series of revolutionary changes in the past year the likes of which have never been seen in the history of the civilized world, far be it to say that the best application of these bestowed

changes have been made. For over a year the Japanese people have been free of the restrictions of the feudalistic and despotic controls of the past. Although the basic rights and opportunities of free men have been given to them without any restriction other than their own conscience, these were not gained by the will or efforts of the people. In the aftermath of our defeat, these rights were thrust upon us as if they were a blessing from heaven. But in our haste to follow the pattern of its purpose, we failed to digest the real spirit of this new freedom. Whether the intentions were good or bad, we cannot excuse the fact that confusion, inconsistency, contradiction, deceit, and selfish action resulted. Although it is said that General MacArthur has had successes as well as failures and that most of the successes can be ascribed to the orders and directives of General MacArthur, there can be no doubt that part of this success can also be ascribed to Japanese leadership and to the spontaneous and independent actions and efforts of the Japanese people. On the other hand, the most of the failures resulted from apathy and lack of vigor on the part of the Japanese. Although the emancipation of the great masses of the working class, carried out on the basis of a bestowed freedom, spurred the democratization of Japan, we feel that individuals are not yet fully conscious of the meaning of real freedom and its accompanying responsibility. The Japanese people as a whole should reflect upon this deficiency.

On the occasion of the commencement of the New Year, we must quietly reflect upon our past and draw up our future plans. As General MacArthur has said, it is a momentous year when the bestowed freedom and democratization should bear fruit. The liberation and the progress of Japan during the past year was due largely to the excellent occupation policies of General MacArthur

Although we need to rely on his influence to some extent in the coming year, the self-determination and self-reliance of the Japanese people is necessary to gain real success.

General MacArthur said:

"Once the citizen has acquired the power of self-determination, limited only by rational 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."

Our aim should be the firm acceptance and enhancement of this power. Many difficulties loom ahead of us. How we surmount these difficulties and how firmly we establish a free Japan will be the measure of our success in meeting this situation during this year. It will determine the future destiny of Japan.

General MacArthur has urged the Japanese people to awaken. We should be inspired by the great kindness and the deep insight regarding the present and future of Japan contained in his speech and we should heed his advice and guidance. With such encouragement, the question that remains is whether the Japanese people have the power and determination to arouse themselves. People throughout the world are watching its solution with great interest. We must meet the test and achieve success in line with our true racial character and mentality. We must not disappoint the expectations of the people of the world and the wishes of General MacArthur.

Newspaper:

YOMIURI SHIMBUN

Date:

1 January 1947

COMMENTS ON GENERAL MACARTHUR'S NEW YEAR ADDRESS

As General MacArthur stated in his New Year's address to the Japanese people, "The past year has been a year of legislated reform, hardly surpassed in a comparable period during the evolution of civilized society." and ... "a year in which much has been accomplished". However, all of these accomplishments were made possible through the good will and active aid of the Occupation Forces, and hardly any accomplishment was achieved through the voluntary and independent democratic action of the Japanese people.

"It is my prayer, and indeed my firm anticipation that the Japanese people will rise resolutely"-----this statement by General MacArthur probably means that he would like to see the Japanese people overcome the many difficulties with their own hands.

Newspaper:

TOKYO SHIMBUN

Date:

3 January 1947

The statement by General MacArthur that "this was the year of fruition" is all the more reason why we should act with vigor during the New Year.

Newspaper:

KOCHI SHIMBUN

Date:

3 January 1947

DO THE JOB WITH YOUR OWN HANDS

The New Year's Day message by General MacArthur provides us with many lessons and incentives for self-examination. On the anniversary of the first year of the occupation last September, the General explained to the Japanese people the importance of taking the middle course. This middle course is in accord, in many respects, with the moral outlook of the Orient. Since the end of the war, the whole nation has been thrown into chaos because of many clashing ideologies. Because there is a danger that Japan may be drawn into the stream of radical ideologies, it would be most appropriate for her to keep to the middle course. The New Year's message also carries a profound message which is both enlightening and philosophical.

To summarize the General's message, he points out that whether a new fate lies in store for Japan depends wholly upon the action of the Japanese people themselves. This is a plain and simple fact, and is a good example of the old saying, "Heaven helps those who help themselves." This saying is old but yet very modern. In regards to politics, the message points out that the success of the various reforms instituted for the purpose of establishing a free society in Japan, increasing the authority of the individual, and increasing the happiness of the individual will depend on the manner in which the Japanese people themselves handle their new political responsibilities. It also depends on the character and the sincerity of the leaders whom the people

elect and the extent to which these leaders protect the rights and the interests of the people.

This year is an election year. It is the year in which a democratic political system based on the new Constitution will come into effect through the various elections. There will be many opportunities in the future when the individual will be able to elect new leaders through his own free will. What type of leaders should the people election and in what manner? The voter must elect leaders solely for his own sake and that of his community, his country and his people, so that his character and ability can be fully displayed. Elections must not be dismissed lightly after they have been carried out fairly and justly. Election rights mean not only individual rights but also the duties of the individual. These duties must be executed in a positive and resolute manner rather than in a halting fashion. Because the purposes of these rights and duties are to elevate the authority and happiness of the individual and to establish a freer society in Japan, careful, extensive, and thorough preparations are necessary before actions are taken to exercise these rights and duties.

However, these requirements do not apply only to the voters. One must realize that though the voters shoulder heavy responsibilities in a democratic election, the responsibilities of the persons elected are just as great or greater. In other words, there is a natural distinction between the electors and the elected from the standpoint of fulfilling their political responsibilities. Granted that the voters exercise their rights and duties, the persons elected must exercise their responsibilities, rights, and duties in a bold and progressive manner. To express it more concretely, the leaders elected by the people must display their sincerity so as to protect the sovereign rights and interests of the people. Therefore, the responsibilities of the persons

elected are actually far greater than those of the voters, and as leaders, they administer state and local affairs.

Whether the door to a bright future for Japan will be opened or not depends entirely on the Japanese people themselves. Furthermore, if the right course to the establishment of a true and democratic nation is to be followed, the electors and the elected must endeavor to complete the various projected reforms before the year ends. As the General stated: "We have undertaken and completed many things." However, we must be aware of the fact that much yet remains to be done.

Newspaper:

ISHIKAWA SHIMBUN

Date:

5 January 1947

THE PRACTICAL POWER OF THE PEOPLE

Will the members of the Yoshida cabinet which predicted the March crisis during the New Year cling stubbornly to their posts or will a partial reorganization take place? This question is attracting wide attention among people and is the current topic of public discussion. In predicting the future events of this New Year, there are many signs pointing toward a shaky political situation, unsettled financial conditions resulting from the ever increasing flow of Japan Bank Notes, and complications resulting from the above conditions which contribute toward an unstable national livelihood. There is no doubt that the people maintained an attitude of evasion and dissatisfaction which resulted from the material and spiritual hardships they had to endure. However, the year of 1946 was the year in which these difficulties were controlled, and it was also the year in which a progressive transformation for the eradication of injustices was carried out. It is truly a great accomplishment that the "Period of Realization" has been reached. This goal was achieved through the organization of the practical power of the people which enabled them to cope with the many difficulties. In other words, the three phases of the crises became distinct --- politic, economic, and public sentiment.

General MacArthur made the following statement in his New Year's message, "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." We must carefully study this statement. The Japanese nation rather than the Japanese people did not pay heed to true advice. Traces

of this negligence are still firmly implanted in the minds of the people. Because Japan was not defeated by any foreign nation prior to this war, the people possessed a noncritical and aloof attitude. Everyone must organize his individual capacity and with a new outlook apply it to political problems as well. The rate of progress may be discouraging since the people are inexperienced in dealing with organization on a large scale; however, there is nothing in the future which the strong will and practical power of the people will not be able to overcome.

Newspaper:

KOYO SHINBUN

Date:

9 January 1947

CONDITIONS NECESSARY TO SECURE THE CONFIDENCE OF THE WORLD

Japan is facing a severe crisis at present. Various steps are essential if Japan is to overcome this crisis and reconstruct her economy. Needless to say, among these factors the action of the Japanese people themselves is of prime importance. We hold high hopes that the foreign nations will aid us in overcoming this crisis. However, Japan must secure the confidence of the world at large in order to gradually receive this aid. The Japanese people must secure the confidence of the world at large in order to gradually receive this aid. The Japanese people must clearly understand that their action will determine whether or not Japan will enjoy the confidence of the world.

Recently the Allied Forces expressed their concern about the importation of crude petroleum and other items to Japan. There are some Japanese who immediately reached the hasty conclusion that this was a step toward establishing confidence in Japan. Such thinking is indeed self-centered. We must bear in mind that only by our sincere efforts can we win the confidence of the world:

General MacArthur said in his New Year's address to the Japanese:

"On the people alone rests the solution to many of the pressing problems which harass Japan's present and will shape her future. All peoples of goodwill will watch with keen interest and abiding hope the manner in which she meets this situation."

The words he used are certainly encouraging. Three years after the end of the war, we must thoroughly digest those words and reflect on our actions.

What confidence and sentiment does the world entertain toward Japan? We must, by all means, refrain from thoughtless speculation. The following statement by Russell Brines, AP Chief of Tokyo Bureau, which is the reply he gave to the question in the Nippon Keizai Shimbun (3 January) is worthy of consideration. He said:

"The American people hesitate to extend credits even to Russia who was a member of the Allied Forces. I do not believe that general sentiment would allow extension of credits to a former enemy nation."

Moreover, he emphatically stated:

"It must be said that the Allied Forces are very much concerned about preventing an economic crisis in Japan. To forestall this, Japan may be permitted to import iron and other essential materials. However, the extent to which her basic requirements can be met will be determined, in the long run by the prospects of her ability to pay for the goods in exports."

UP Chief for the Far East, Vaughan, also commented on the same problem. He said, "I confidently believe that Japan will be extended credits by the United States if, after the signing of peace treaties, she demonstrates her characteristic frugality and diligence known the world over and works with the same intelligence and enthusiasm as before. On the other hand, if strikes and chaos prevail," he warned, "efforts toward obtaining credits will be in vain. I am sure that the American people will not provide economic and financial aid to any country dominated by communism as a result of labor strife."

The comments of these two correspondents imply that the Allied Forces will execute their occupation policy to the point necessary for the prevention of economic crisis. If the Japanese desire more than this, they themselves

must provide the means to its achievement. In short, our basic problem is to determine what policy will best serve the people in making them industrious and thus enable them to resume orderly conduct.

It is not an encouraging sign to see the people of a defeated nation working actually only four or five hours while the military personnel of the occupation forces work nine hours. This surely will not help Japan toward winning the confidence of the world. At this time when the problem of restoring the economy is paramount, it is our fervent wish that both capital and labor will realize their responsibility and rights and will direct their efforts toward bringing efficiency to the country.

Newspaper:

HOKKOKU MAINICHI SHIMBUN

Date:

3 January 1947

GENERAL MacARTHUR'S MESSAGE

In General MacArthur's message to the Japanese people which General Headquarters issued on December 31, the first thing which impresses the reader is that each and every section of the nine paragraph message presents the problems which we are facing in a very simple and orderly style.

The second thing which impresses the reader is its universal validity. Although this message was undoubtedly directed to the Japanese people, it can be applied very well to all the former axis nations.

Thirdly, the question arises as to whether we are worthy to receive this message which is filled with sympathy, hope, and commendation.

Can we accept the praise mentioned in paragraph two with an indifferent attitude? We cannot but be put to shame. Paragraph five of the message states:

"I have confined my major effort to charting the course, envisaged at hostilities 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."

This statement clearly shows that the goal of the Allied Nations in this second world war was to completely destroy totalitarianism, a doctrine imbued with a selfish, "all or nothing" creed. This statement also seems to imply that the Japanese people are on common grounds with the Allies in attaining this common goal. It is difficult for us to find words with which to answer this gracious statement.

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Newspaper:

NIIGATA NIPPON

Date:

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Newspaper:

YOMIURI SHIMBUN

Date:

1 January 1947

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Newspaper:

TOKYO SHINGUN

Date:

3 January 1947

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0007

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS

CHECK SHEET

DRN/bd

(Do not remove from attached sheets)

File No.:

Subject:

Press Coverage of General MacArthur's
New Year Message

Note No.:

From: Chief, CI&E

To: GS

Date: 23 Jan 47

1. A study initiated by this Section indicates that all Japanese newspapers carried General MacArthur's New Year message to the Japanese people with the exception of the following:

- Nikkan Shimbun
- Yukan Miyako
- Nikkan Sports
- Sun Photo News
- Chiba Shimbun
- Shin Osaka
- Osaka Times

2. To date the following newspapers have commented editorially on General MacArthur's message:

- ✓ Asago Shimbun
- ✓ Yomiuri Shimbun
- ✓ Mainichi Shimbun
- Tokyo Shimbun
- Ishikawa Shimbun
- Hokkoku Mainichi Shimbun
- Niigata Nippo
- Kochi Shimbun

3. A number of newspaper editors report that they are still studying the message with a view to comment and that editorial comment will appear at a later date. When such comment appears, a report will be forwarded.

DRN

D. R. N.

[Handwritten signature]

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~~forwarded~~
OK
Press

7A

US daily press dispatches.

Gov't Section.

PRO
(Gen Baker)

1 Apr 46

Request that daily press dispatches received from the United States be forwarded this section for perusal after they have been placed before the C-in-C. This will permit this section to keep better informed of developments and reactions abroad, particularly insofar as they affect SCAP measures in the administration of Japan. The C-in-C furthermore frequently makes reference to press dispatches of which the undersigned has no knowledge.

P.A. FILE COPY

----- C.W. -----

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file H

EDITORIAL - MAINICHI

2 February 1946

Government Billon Constitution Revision to be Settled Next Week

At an extraordinary Cabinet session on 1 February, Matsumoto delivered a detailed explanation on the new constitution revision draft. This draft is based on the deliberation of the Investigation Committee for Revision of the Constitution. The Government will discuss the revision on 4 February at a cabinet meeting. The Government intends to obtain SCAP's approval, discuss the draft thoroughly with the Cabinet, and to publish the draft about the beginning of March. It is to be submitted to the Privy Council and to an extraordinary session of the Diet after the election.

Matsumoto said as follows on the revision: (1 Feb)
I will explain the main draft to the cabinet, along with pertinent comments which do not appear therein, or in the supplementary draft. I think no change should be made in the essential spirit of Article 1-4, though some changes will be made in the wording.

However, it cannot be immediately concluded that this is designed as a conservative constitutional monarchy simply because those articles are not being revised. According to Article 4, the Emperor exercises certain powers in accordance with other articles in the constitution. Thus, if the other articles are democratized, the spirit of Articles 1-4 are also democratized thereby. The aim of the present revision to fulfill the terms of the Potsdam Declaration, at the same time making as few changes as possible.

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EDITORIAL - MAINICHI

2 February 1946

What is Loyal Service?

We hear that, at a Cabinet meeting, the Emperor's sovereignty was discussed. This tells us how formal and empty former Cabinet meetings have been. The character of past Cabinet meetings was not political, but business-like because many Cabinet Ministers were simply business men. At any rate, many people may be disappointed by the conservative character of the constitutional revision draft submitted to the Constitutional Revision Committee. In a word, the present Cabinet Ministers adhere to the words, "Constitution Revision" and lack the administrative order and zeal for the construction of a new state. The Constitutional Revision is no longer a mere matter of law. It is the highest in politics. Nevertheless, as is the case in civil or commercial law, the Cabinet intends to organize merely a revision committee with State Minister Matsumoto, a lawyer, as leader, to draw up a tentative plan. Such a way of thinking is far from the revolutionary trend of the times. It should be remembered that Prince ITO, the greatest statesman in Japan's history, played a most active part, even in making the existing constitution.

It is quite difficult to make a constitution in these revolutionary times because of the lack of a rational, stabilized governing ideal.

However, if the cabinet revises the constitution at all, it must choose a definite course to make the constitution suitable to the social situation which is now in the process of change.

As for the Emperor System, it should be kept in mind that one of the provisions of the Potsdam Declaration is that the actual power to inaugurate a constitution has passed from the Emperor to the people. Speaking frankly, a new constitution would not be granted by the Emperor but would be constructed by the people and the Emperor. Loyalty would be manifested by the present Cabinet by establishing a constitution in this manner.

EDITORIAL - MAINICHI

2 February 1946

Attack on Government's Draft of New Constitution

The revision of the constitution is being investigated by the Government, political parties and scholars. The Government draft has been published and the Shidehara Cabinet's ideas are clear. The criticism of the draft by the larger political parties are as follows:

MIZUTANI (Social Democrat): "Our party is opposed to the Government draft, which perpetuates the present status of the Emperor. This draft does not fulfill the Potsdam Declaration and will not successfully revise the constitution. If the Emperor occupies the position of overseer, he may be used by the real rulers against the interests of democracy, even though limitation of his sovereignty are provided. This revision draft will not give the Emperor the same status as that of the English monarch. The Emperor has said that he desires the English style monarchy, in an interview with a New York Times correspondent. The adoption of a chamber of councillors in place of the House of Peers and of a provincial representative system in conjunction with the professional representative system will change the feudalistic character of the House of Peers. However, limiting the session of the House of Representatives to three months is not democratic. It should be a standing body. We disapprove of that portion of the revision which empowers the Cabinet to dissolve the Diet. The proceedings for appointing a Premier should be determined by the Diet.

This task (revision) should not be undertaken at this time, because of unsettled conditions. The focal point of constitution revision lies in Article 1-4. It is necessary that ruling power be taken from the Emperor. The Privy Council abolition should also be provided in this revision and the rights of workers to strike and slow-down should be granted.

SHIGA (Communist): It is impossible for the present Government to carry out acceptable revisions because it is so far behind the times. The present revision leaves the Emperor with all his power and this is contrary to my party's desires. The Emperor's prerogatives, as in Article 10, are preserved

herein, and the bureaucrats will continue to wield power. The Government has reaffirmed the limitations in the rights of the people in this revision. The draft seems to be calculated to maintain the status quo. It appears that the Government intends to suppress the people's judicial rights. It is essential that representative judicial bodies be appointed. We cannot understand why the present government is so busy with constitution revision when so many more pressing problems exist.

KITA (Liberal): We stand for joint rule by Emperor and people. We don't understand what sort of rule the Emperor is expected to adopt under this revision. We want the State Minister to use the sovereignty in assisting the Emperor. The revision does not define sovereignty. All in all, the Government draft does not seem to be at all progressive.

Newsprint

EDITORIAL - Tokyo Mainichi Shimbun, 9 December

JAPAN MUST BE REJUVENATED

While the Diet has been discussing the war-crimes problem haphazardly, MacArthur's Headquarters has proceeded with the arrest of suspects. Prominent members from all circles of society and all walks of life have been attempting to vindicate themselves, but their pleas have proved to be of no avail. We Japanese must cease such behaviour that reveals the scandalous state of our nation after defeat. We must choose our own destiny with serious self-examination.

It would be difficult to determine the scope of responsibility for the war and the personalities involved, or the period during which one could be classed as a war criminal. Our nation cannot agree with the United States in its judgment of war criminals. There are many men who have not been apprehended whom we feel should be so judged. In the final analysis, the true war criminals can only be judged by the people themselves. This too would be very difficult, for the very words "war criminals" are instilled in the minds of all the people.

In determining the war responsibility, many arguments arise. The question is who should be guilty, those who were responsible for the war, those who caused our defeat in the war, or should we revert back to the period prior to the Great East Asia War or go back even farther and ask the same question? If the term "war criminals" is to be applied only to the leaders who have led us into this disastrous condition, indifferent bystanders must also be responsible. The people who made no effort to save our nation from this disastrous situation are equally responsible.

Military and other governmental leaders as well as members of the Diet shirked their duties and therefore should they not also be classed as war criminals? The present government officials in important positions cannot definitely say that they were free from having a hand in steering the country into its present position. In this respect, many years the people have installed incompetent men in the national and local governmental offices, and thus they too must share the responsibility.

At this time we are not trying to judge where the responsibility for the present condition lies. We are merely attempting to clarify how the responsibility should be determined, especially among the people who occupied important positions of national leadership. In regard to this, it is of primary importance that those judged to have infringed upon the national law, or even those judged not to have infringed upon the law but who were morally responsible for the war, should

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[Handwritten signature]

be dismissed from their posts and never be permitted to return to any position of importance in the future. It should be our aim to bar forever from government service anyone who was in this controlling clique in the past.

There are probably some people among these who have not been guilty of any such acts. However, it is indispensable that these men resign at their own discretion and permit men with new and fresher ideas to take their places. It is natural for some of them to reply that they can change their ideas and can ably handle their work due to their past experiences. However, although subjectively one may believe that his ideas have changed completely, objectively time hardened ideals can hardly be changed overnight and quickly adapted to cope with the problems of the present era.

The history of politics and the government shows that as the result of the constant increase in the ages of the leaders of our nation since the Meiji Restoration, they have been unable to meet the swift pace of the present situation. Look for example at the steady increase of the average age of the members of the House of Representatives. The results of the first general election of the House of Representatives in 1891 shows that the average age of the members was 42 years of age. By the 13th general election the average age had increased to 50 years and after the recent 21st general election it had increased even more to 54 years of age. In recent times new faces have appeared among the members and yet the average age persists in increasing. This is due to the increase in the rate of re-elections with each general election. The older members thus strengthen their influence among the other members because of their years in office. Thus the average age of this group will undoubtedly go on increasing. To have permitted such a condition to continue until now can only be attributed to the conservative trait which has been permitted to permeate through the entire nation.

Now the people are awakening. The populace is unconsciously sensing the absolute necessity for the rejuvenation of its leaders in the reorganization of our country. This necessity must be acknowledged by all, even if it be the method for solving the problem of war responsibility as mentioned above. We must discount any needless fears in delegating the nation's responsibility to younger men at this time. It has been just such fears that have retarded the advancement of our national society and caused us to miss the opportunity for reform.

Our disastrous defeat in this war is incidentally affording us this gleam of hope. Let us not forget it.

Newspaper
Editorials
(Publi)

CO

CO
Copy for Brigadier General Crist

December 5, 1945.

US POLAD, Tokyo

NO. 188

SECSTATE

PRIORITY IN THE CLEAR.

188, December 5, 1945.

Japanese editorial comment November 26 through
December 4.

SHIDEHARA's opening Diet speech criticized as lack-
ing positive policy initiative. Disappointment expressed
government's failure solve pressing problems. Political
parties described as led by war responsible persons and
as failing actually to represent philosophies suggested
by their names. Editorials pointed out difficulties in
important task of increasing production, emphasizing
present coal crisis. SCAP directive establishing war
profit, other taxes, generally favored but difficulties
in fair assessment and danger deflation suggested.
Necessity for clarifying causes of war rather than of
defeat emphasized in connection with establishment com-
mission to investigate defeat. Yomiuri only paper to
comment arrest 59 war criminals by SCAP hailed as
significant step in bloodless democratizing revolution.

Democracy: Yomiuri. If Japanese people had pos-
sessed sovereignty, present war and defeat might never
have

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No. 188, December 5, 1945, TO THE DEPARTMENT.

have occurred. Democracy impossible without sovereignty of people although there is no reason that Emperor system should be inconsistent with popular sovereignty.

Mainichi. Extinction of Army and Navy Ministries on November 30 welcomed since these services nurtured Fascism leading to China Incident and Japan's eventual destruction. Tokyo Shimbun. Although Japan's acts necessitate Allied approval nation should not remain inert lacking all policies.

Diet: Asahi. In spite of its weakness SHIDEHARA's Cabinet must bear heavy burdens placed upon it by SCAP. However Prime Minister cannot win peoples' confidence simply by enumerating these burdens. Present cabinet is transitional and lacks executive power. Tokyo Shimbun. SHIDEHARA's speech revealed lack of understanding prevailing situation. Yomiuri. Premier's speech lacks proper recognition facts. Government has done nothing on own initiative while General Headquarters' directives have been just and fair. Mainichi. SHIDEHARA's announced policies are good but will they be put into effect? Tokyo Shimbun. Government leaders absorbed in Diet issues such as election reform, labor unions but neglect vital problems of food, housing and clothing. Government administration must be speeded up in view present crisis.

Yomiuri.

No. 188, December 5, 1945, TO THE DEPARTMENT.

Yomiuri. Next elections will be barometer of Japan's rate of advance toward democracy. Proportional representation should be effected. Diet responsible for fair progressive election law. Asahi. Present Diet has wasted time in interpellations which have little relations to livelihood of people. Mainichi. Diet members wrangle over war responsibility while people are starving. Tokyo Shimbun. Lack of interest in politics due to retarded political education. Present Diet members have last opportunity to show good example of parliamentary politics.

Political Parties: Asahi. Although Socialists and Communists lack unity and stability, present political atmosphere appears moving toward predominance socialistic parties. Mainichi. Progressive, Liberal, Socialist parties do not live up to their names. People must watch them as Japan enters reconstruction period. Tokyo Shimbun. With general elections approaching, people want to know sources of party funds so they can judge true character of parties.

Economic Problems: Asahi. Obstacles to increased production are lack of government planning, continued control measures, passive attitude of capitalists and present status of watered capital. Political unrest caused by labor union laws and up-surge of proletarian movement causing apprehension among capitalists who fail to understand

No. 188, December 5, 1945, TO THE DEPARTMENT.

to understand present trends. Mainichi. Japan's future foreign trade must submit to controls under Allied direction. Efforts needed to avoid ineffective bureaucratic controls as during war. Sangyo Keizai. Commerce Minister's application for foreign trade large compared 1937 and double 1944. Unusual efforts necessary stimulate peace industries to attain extended production. Abolition control measures of production, distribution and price desirable. Asahi. Elections and war responsibility of minor importance compared far reaching tragic effects present coal crisis. Politics meaningless unless concerned with maintenance of life for people. Sangyo Keizai. Coal shortage due government's mistaken labor policy which failed improve treatment Chinese and Korean miners.

Finance: Yomiuri. SCAP directive levying wartime profits tax, property tax and ending military pensions will act as positive force in Japan's financial reconstruction. Mainichi. Japan itself was unable undertake needed financial reforms now effected by Allied directive. Inflation may be replaced by deflation which in 1930-31 was a direct cause Manchurian Incident and events leading up to present war. Inflation has gone but "fierce deflationary wolf is at door". Sangyo Keizai. Evaluation of property for taxation will be difficult and evasion attempts may be expected. Calculation war time profits difficult. Taxes should be collected

No. 188, TO THE DEPARTMENT.

collected within brief period and efforts made avoid any form social inequality and unrest. Asahi. Allied financial directive desirable as correction inequality prevailing Japan today. Mainichi. Unless new tax measures properly enforced, national economy will be thrown into utter confusion. Present Finance Minister not prepared for this task and his policies will not contribute toward democratization nation's economic life.

War Responsibility: Asahi. Little can be expected from newly established commission to investigate war defeat. Investigations should be concentrated on cause of war rather than reasons for defeat. Japan must not repeat mistake of Germany who investigated defeat and prepared for second war. Such misunderstandings should not be created among Allied powers. Investigation should probe evidence before December 8, 1941 and activities of all organs Japanese government. Yomiuri. Everyone recognizes TOJO and KONOYE as big two among war criminals. KONOYE is responsible for China war and Axis alliance. People and government have responsibility to take action in regard war criminals. Government should undertake immediate thorough war criminal investigation and clarify to world Japan's stand in this matter. Yomiuri. Arrest 59 war
criminals

No. 188, December 5, 1945, TO THE DEPARTMENT.

criminals by MacArthur Headquarters represents advance in Japan's democratizing bloodless revolution. Significant coming at time when Diet tries camouflage own war responsibility. Disappearance various leaders from many circles represents step toward extermination Japan's reactionary elements.

ATCHESON.

Editorials, etc.

C O N F I D E N T I A L

ADVANCE ECHELON
GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
UNITED STATES ARMY FORCES, PACIFIC
Office of the Chief of Counter-Intelligence
Civil Censorship Detachment
APO 500

WJJ/ld

JP/TOK/AFFAC - 1
24 September 1945

ANALYSIS OF JAPANESE EDITORIAL MATTER
September 17 - 22 1945

I. INTRODUCTION

1. This analysis of Japanese editorial matter is derived from a study of the daily editorials, special articles, published public statements of notable figures, commentation news treatment items, and press pick-ups found principally in the following leading papers for the dates of September 17-22:

Nippon Times
Asahi Shimbun
Yomiuri Hochi
Mainichi (Eng. ed.)

2. Translation of Japanese language items are either picked up from English editions or done by foreign nationals, civilian employees of this section. Underscoring is our own, elipses in quotations are indicated by (....) and are accomplished so as not to destroy the original meaning of the quotation.

II. ANALYSIS

1. The earlier self-recrimination for the defeat of Japan against the military has in the past week been shifting its direction to attack the existing political institutions and bureaucracy. Prominently featured in this attack are press pick-ups from American newspapers:

(Nippon Times, 9/22, page 1)
Sumner Welles' attack on military, financial
and industrial groups directing Japan.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L

(Nippon Times, 9/15 - Nelson
Pringle, an American commentator)

"Our greatest danger in Japan comes, they say,
from those who proclaim themselves authentic
moderates and liberals, those who profited
from this war with a bleeding army.

"They will probably tell the Allies almost
every military and diplomatic secret they know
and they will express their admiration for a
parliamentary government and will bring back to
life the now defunct Japanese political parties."

(Nippon Times, 9/15, from
New York Times)
"Nippon Military Heads Hit"

The Japanese press takes the cry up on its own.

(Yomiuri Hochi, 9/17)
"Why Don't Government Officials
Take Responsibility"

"....now cries of accusation and dissatisfaction of
the public towards the army are resounding through-
out the country. But as the army is to be disorgan-
ized....the anger has been centering on the
officialdom. It is very strange that not a single
official has ever taken responsibility for defeat
of the war...."

(Asahi Shimbun, 9/21)
"Responsibility of Senior
Statesmen"

"In recent years it was the custom with the govern-
ment to hold conferences of senior statesmen, but
each time virtually nothing worth noting resulted
....men in the upper political circles, government
officials in general, especially senior statesmen
and diplomatists must act to clarify their responsi-
bility....Now that the militarists have withdrawn
from the scene as a means to atone for their acts
the withdrawal of the senior statesmen and high
officials, including those in charge of diplomacy,
must constitute the second corner stone for the
construction of a new Japan."

C O N F I D E N T I A L

(Nippon Times, 9/18)
"The More Constructive
Attitude"

"Many sections of the Japanese press are almost as critical (as the American) and some of the local papers are vociferous in their demand that the present leaders retire forthwith in favor of new leaders who will represent more accurately the liberal inclinations of the Japanese people. The expressions which do not get into the press are even more vigorousAlthough it is true that the military have been overthrown, too many of the old type bureaucrats and the sycophantic hangers-on who tagged along with the military are still in positions of authority."

The Diet is attacked as the occupational efficiency of the Americans is contrasted to the slowness of Japanese reform and reconstruction.

(Yomiuri Hochi, 9/19)
"Inefficiency and its Results"

"The world had anticipated that the 88th Diet Session would see the dissolution of the Diet. But all that this session did was to listen to an explanation of the unconditional surrender..."

2. Mr. Yoshida's appointment as the new Prime Minister personalizes this displeasure with the old regime according to Nippon Times' editorial of the 19th, "The New Foreign Minister." It is interesting to note that Mainichi English edition also runs the same editorial verbatim.

The Tokyo Shimbun of the 19th is more moderate.

"To the Government Officials"
"We have advocated a general shift of Government employees but....the demand for their withdrawal is not unwarranted."

The Nippon Times of the 18th runs a more violent recapitulation story on page one, top center, two column box.

"Bungling Bureaucrats Scathingly Attacked
by People in Letters to Prime Minister."

C O N F I D E N T I A L

This is a digest of letters allegedly received by the Prime Minister, which letters set forth the following ideas:

- A. "Wholesale resignation of those officials holding the posts above chiefs of bureaus."
- B. "A drastic cut in personnel to one third the present number of Government Officials."
- C. "Appointment of Prefectural governors by public election."
- D. "Indignation of the public was also concentrated on....the inconsistent action of some people interested in politics who, during the war actively worked for the promotion of militarism and who, having now repainted their sign boards, are taking part in establishing new social political parties."
- E. "Abolition of system of peerage."
- F. "Reform of House of Peers."

This article also contains the following quoted "typical letter" to the Prime Minister:

"It is beyond my understanding that no civil officials have taken responsibility for failure in fulfilling their duties after the termination of the war. Though the fighting services are corrupt, General Anami and Vice Admiral Onishi have committed suicide. Some patriots and even some women have also taken their lives to atone for not having fully exerted themselves during the war."

The very same letter appears in Yomiuri Hochi daily editorial of the 17th as a letter to their editor. Point D above of this story was present verbatim in Yomiuri Hochi daily editorial of the 18th. Every other point was present in an article by Ichiro Hatoyama on the "Formation of a New Party" carried originally by Asahi Shinbun of the 15th and carried twice by the Nippon Times, in translation and in review forms.

3. The Japanese press sounds its own warning on the sincerity of any change of heart among the bureaucratic personages.

C O N F I D E N T I A L

(Nippon Times, 9/18)

"The More Constructive Attitude"

"Whatever lip service these men may pay to the new democratic trend of the times, it is impossible to expect any real change of heart for them."

(Yomiuri Hochi, 9/18)

"Most ridiculous of all is that many supporters of militarism are now busying themselves in the formation of new Socialist parties."

4. The Japanese press discusses at length the re-education of the Japanese people in Democracy.

(Mainichi, 9/12)

"The Allied Nations want this country to turn into a democratic state though the merits and demerits are still an unsolved question. We have, however, no right to oppose their plan for we are a defeated nation. Their plan will be carried out whether we like it or not."

Japan is no stranger to Democracy and liberalism.

("Oriental Economist," July/August,
currently being published)

"In 1865 Emperor Meiji set forth the basis principles which the new Japan should live up to in the famous Imperial Oath of five Articles. It may not be too much to say that in those five Articles we have the quintessence of democracy set forth in tabular form. As regards freedom of speech, of religion, and of thought, as well as respect for the fundamental human rights, they were early established in our constitution. We need not be called upon by foreign powers to establish them."

In fact, democracy and liberalism still exist in Japan.

(Nippon Times, 9/18)

"It should also be recognized that there is a respectable sprinkling of sincere and conscientious liberals among the present ruling group."

C O N F I D E N T I A L

But there still is a great need for training the people in democratic ideas. The fall and decline of democratic leanings in Japan is fully treated in an article by Dr. Tanaka, featured on page 1 of the Nippon Times of 9/23, 9/24.

"Japan Took up and Perished by Sword,
Says Dr. Tanaka, Pointing out New
Road"

"There has been in the country a wide use of terms denoting views on the world or political doctrines such as liberalism, individualism and democracy, without a definite idea of what was meant by these words on the part of the user... There were great dangers in the fact that the politicians and the mass of people without any outlook on the world and lacking in training in political philosophy were playing with words...."

(Nippon Times, 9/19)
"Needed a Political Philosophy"

(Nippon Times, 9/23, in interview with
Ichiro Hatoyama, founder of new liberal
party under the head)
"Political Education Needed"

"And the fundamental objective is to educate the people politically and to raise the level of political consciousness."

5. Despite the establishment of a need for such education of the people nothing positive in the way of a program is suggested editorially. Just as previously defeat was blamed on "moral degeneration", salvation in the re-education of the people is proposed through such broad generalizations as "morality", "peaceful culture", and a return to the Meiji era liberalism.

(Nippon Times, 9/23)
Dr. Tanaka's Article

"The so called universal penitence must take on a moral character."

"We must set out to rebuild Japan based on morality and contribute to world peace and the weal of the human race within limits set by the mission with which the Japanese race is charged."

C O N F I D E N T I A L

(Mainichi Shimbun, 9/15)

3,000 Yen Essay Contest

"For the construction of a truly peace loving and cultured Japan in the future, a new ideal for education must be promptly established and the cultural standard of the nation greatly enhanced. Hence the first subject "New Ideal in Education". "....The Japanese people must grasp a clear cut idea about the form and content of democracy which is compatible with the Japanese polity and adaptable to Japan. That is the reason why the second subject "Democracy in Japan" was chosen.

(Asahi Shimbun, 9/17)

"Now we must educate our young men so that they may take their place as good citizens of the world. But, first of all, each must awaken to his individual and social responsibility. This will be best attained by a free circulation of public sentiment and will."

6. This necessary re-education must be a slow and evolutionary process along conservative lines.

(Nippon Times, 9/21)

"Process of Enlightenment"

"Such a process takes time, but the process is now getting well under way....The reaction has been slow not because of any lack of willingness on the part of the Japanese people but simply because the Japanese people had not possessed the facts."

(Asahi Shimbun, 9/17)

"Don't Go to Extremes"

by Yasho Kanemitsu

"Japanese people are inclined to go to extremes - a defect proceeding from their characteristic of being too easily swayed by their emotions.... Now this period of military domination is over. However what we must beware of is swinging too far in the opposite direction....they must remember that every ism must be tempered down according to the necessities of the current situation.

C O N F I D E N T I A L

(Nippon Times, 9/18)

"The More Constructive Attitude"

"While we are thoroughly disgusted and impatient with hemming and hawing which is too much in evidence in official circles, nevertheless we think that we can best serve the cause of democratic reform by refraining from too sweeping a condemnation of what is going on at the present time."

7. This democratic metamorphosis of the people should be of the Japanese variety.

(Nippon Times, 9/22)

"The Deeper Comprehension"

"This is not to say that in this second opening of Japan, Japan should accept uncritically and wholesale everything that comes from the West. A blind imitation of Western ideology would be just as injurious as a blind imitation of Western technology."

(Nippon Times, 9/21)

"Socialism is Advocated for Nation's Salvation" by Chozaburo Mizutani

"I am convinced that real democracy will be born if they assiduously practice the injunctions given in his Majesty the Emperor Meiji's Oath of Five Articles. The practice of these injunctions would, I am convinced, not bring about any conflict between Japanese democracy and that of the Allied Nations."

8. Any re-education of the Japanese people should originate from Japanese sources.

(Nippon Times, 9/15)

"No reform from the outside can be as effective or enduring as a reform carried out nationally from within and in the reforms which are obviously needed in this country we Japanese should strive to push them on our own initiative in order to assure their success."

C O N F I D E N T I A L

(Yomiuri Hochi, 9/18)

"The announcement of General MacArthur's Headquarters says that with regard to the newspapers and the radio, if the policies set by Headquarters are not immediately carried out by the government 'The Supreme Headquarters would do it', and this is a problem about which there is reason to fear that unless all of us, high and low, now become one in mind and carry out what is to be done quickly, the result will indeed be serious."

9. This re-education should have for its first step the formation of new political parties because

(Nippon Times, 9/21)

"....And yet, strangely enough, he (the Japanese) is still the implicit and incorrigible follower of his leaders, in spite of the fact that his political initiative is now being given a great impetus. It may not be a political philosophy, but to the Japanese the Emperor sits supreme at all times. There is no evaluating the confidence and security this fact implies. The Japanese has been spared much labor in deducing for himself a stable and permanent machinery to operate under his Majesty."

and because

(Nippon Times, 9/18)

"Nothing would be gained by hounding the present officials out of office unless a new crop of competent democratic leaders are to take their place....Japanese society cannot be expected to immediately spout forth a flood of liberal leaders fully prepared to take over the helm."

10. This emergence of new political parties is already taking place.

(Nippon Times, 9/16)

"The New Political Parties"

"The first stream is represented by the emergence of a group with a strong liberal coloring centering around the leadership of Ichiro Hatoyama. The second is a rejuvenated Nippon Seiji Kai embracing the centrist elements of the old

C O N F I D E N T I A L

association. The third is a Socialist Party which is in the process of formation through the joining of forces of the various Socialistic Groups of pre-war days."

11. The personalities and the platforms of these parties arising in response to the new situation are:

A. The Dai Nippon Seiji Kai, or Imperial Rule Political Association, the former totalitarian party which alone was permitted to exist during the war and whose, according to Nippon Times of the 17th, "fulfillment of the original task", "the consummation of the war through concentration and strengthening of the political power of the people" was interrupted by the cessation of the war.

"It is expected that the greater part of the defunct Dai Nippon Political Association will also hereafter bend its efforts and make a fresh start in this direction."

B. A new "Liberal" party is being formed by Ichiro Hatoyama and his ideas are given ample treatment in the press.

(Asahi, 9/15)

"Plan for the Formation of a New Party" by Ichiro Hatoyama

"....IN JAPAN THE POLITICAL PARTIES SNARL AT EACH OTHER AND ARE ALL THE TIME DIVIDED; ON TOP OF THIS THE INDIVIDUALS OSTRACISE EACH OTHER ABOUT RANK, POSITION, AND OBLIGATIONS...."

"IN THIS RESPECT ENGLAND....HAS UPHELD CONSTITUTIONAL POLITICS FULLY AND WELL ALL ALONG."

"IN OTHER WORDS THESE ARE ACTIONS WHERE PEOPLE FORGET THEMSELVES AND THEIR PARTY AND MOVE ENTIRELY FROM THE LARGE VIEW POINT OF SERVING THE INTEREST OF THE STATE."

"The first thing is the woman's right of suffrage."

"Secondly, the change of election laws."

"The heads of Political Parties should fix their candidates and the voter should vote not for an individual but for a political party."

"Fundamental change of the House of Peers."

C O N F I D E N T I A L

"....self government of the different districts."

"....a standing committee (of the Diet) should always be in touch with the Government and discuss with it."

"....stress economic and trade freedom by all means."

"....what we need should be brought from foreign countries getting the permission of the United Nations as Germany did after the first World War."

"Righteousness is Strength" is America's motto. She will not be able to deny that the use of the Atomic bomb, the cruel killing of the common people, the sinking of hospital ships, and the use of poison gas are violations of international law and war crimes. Let us with all strength make the Americans inspect the devastated areas and their miserable conditions. They must realize their responsibility to restore and feel their obligation to compensate for their own actions....Let us put the most of our efforts in making the Americans realize the fact that Japan's revival and her re-entry into world trade do not contrast with America's interests....Further make them realize that Japan cannot be revived by her own strength. We must, by all means, see to it that America positively cooperates in the rebuilding of Japan."

"As goes for labor problems, simple raising of wages, shortening of hours and re-organizing the factories will not do. Such measures as the Italian "Dopo Lavoro" (Joy After Work) or the German "Kraft durch Freude" (Strength through Joy) providing for the entertainment of workers should certainly be considered."

"As for industry, it would be quite sufficient to exercise control over the individual guilds....In this regard I am strictly opposed to any control being exercised by government officials."

C O N F I D E N T I A L

"The attitude which new Japan must not forget even in its dreams is to go about the settling of its various social problems with real dignity, not minding the fact that in a new trend the countries of the world are gradually moving forward to the establishment of national socialistic structures."

C. The third political resurgence is along "Socialistic" lines whose platform is set forth by a Chozaburo Mizutani.

(Nippon Times, 9/21)

"Socialism is Advocated for Nations Salvation"

"A new party for keeping up with the movement to democratize Japan."

"....he hopes this new party will comprise all the leftists and rightist elements."

"....we had no real collaboration among the masses for the prosecution of the Pacific War."

"....The practice of these injunctions (Emperor Meiji "Oath of Five Articles") would I am convinced not bring about conflict between Japanese democracy and that of the Allied Nations."

"....Some people may think socialism means bureaucratic government but that is a mistaken idea. Socialism in its essence calls for an autonomous planned economy. We propose the socialization of all key industries such as fertilizer production, marine transportation, banking....Medium and small industry should be given government encouragement, and cooperative movements among the producers should be promoted. We should adopt the principle of free trade."

"....I am inclined to believe that the Allies will permit Japan to undertake necessary peace industries...."

"....We should approach the Allied Nations regarding our needs in this respect."

(Nippon Times, 9/18)

"Veteran Socialist (Isao) Abe Voices Hope in Future - Declares Affairs at Present are Moving Inevitably Toward Socialism"

C O N F I D E N T I A L

"As Japan was never a rich country, now that she has been defeated the hardships will increase.

"....we have to restrain the wishes of the bureaucrats and force them within a grand national plan."

"....who shall be at the head of such a factory? It must be the state itself by all means."

Now it is relevant to compare the following from the same article with the items in capitals under (11-B) above.

"BUT IF WE CONSIDER THE PARTY CONTROVERSION OF THE PAST, ONE OF THE PROBLEMS SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN THIS: THAT THE FEELING OF HATRED AMONG THE PARTY FACTIONS WAS TOO STRONG."

"THUS EVENTUALLY THINGS DEVELOPED TO SUCH A STATE THAT PEOPLE SAW ONLY PARTIES BUT NO STATE.

"IN THIS POINT THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT IS TRULY WONDERFUL...."

It seems that Mr. Hatoyama of the Liberal Party and Mr. Abe of the Socialist Party employ the same speech maker.

11. All these "democratic" leanings must not be endangered by economic desperation of the people. Everything rests on the industrial reconstruction and trade revival of Japan.

(Nippon Times, 9/15)

"The experience of the Bruening Cabinet in Germany after the first World War points out a valuable lesson. The Bruening Cabinet which tried to take Germany along the road to recovery through legitimate liberal means was overtaken and overwhelmed by the more rapid rise of a chauvinism born of economic desperation. We must not allow the same tragedy to occur here."

The Japanese press has been replete with articles demonstrating Japan's economic plight, all stemming from General MacArthur's statement that Japan would be allowed some commercial opportunity. 59 stories appear in the Nippon Times alone for the period studied dealing with Japanese present or future economic condition.

C O N F I D E N T I A L

III. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

1. There are currently in the Japanese Press several themes which are apparent through their consistent daily appearance. They can best be described as follows:

- A. Let's be extra nice to China and the other East Asia countries who need us so badly.
(11 items carried)
- B. The Atomic bomb is a scientific monstrosity. Therefore let us cultivate science in the new Japan.
(13 items carried)
- C. Japan must rise again through peaceful industry.
(14 items carried)
- D. Religion will play an important role in the new Japan.
(6 items carried)

The equal spread and consistency of appearance of these types of stories seem to indicate a central source.

2. The treatment of War Criminal Stories is interesting, ranging from an exceedingly sincere editorial in Asahi Shinbun of September 17, "The Crimes of Tojo's Military Clique" to

(Mainichi English Edition, 9/22)

"According to our military authorities they have for the present no means to ascertain 'the guilt of the Japanese forces in the Philippines' which was disclosed recently by the Allied General Hq."
"From olden times there was a saying in this country, 'Mercy of the Samurai' and even on the field of carnage a humane spirit was displayed by our men of the sword to those captured in battle. As a matter of fact, after the outbreak of the Greater East Asia War, the Imperial Army even issued what was called "Senjun Kun" (precepts for soldiers on the field of battle) to uplift the spirit of Bushido still further. All this is to show that the spirit of Bushido or the honor of the Imperial Army fundamentally despised the maltreatment of prisoners of war.

C O N F I D E N T I A L

However, if such atrocities as have been published by Allied Headquarters were committed by some of our officers and men during the recent war...."

3. News treatment of the Japanese Government's Committee to Investigate War Criminals seems to imply the equal task of investigating Allied charges as well as Japanese war criminals.

4. An eight column spread advertisement has been running for the last week in the Mainichi English edition. It seems to sum up much in its cryptic ambiguity, for it admonishes - the Japanese? or the Americans?

"BE FAITHFUL TO THE POTSDAM DECLARATION"

IV. CONCLUSION

The Japanese press is unanimous in their advocacy of political reform. The attack centers on the "bureaucracy," and their "traditional inefficiency" as the cause of the defeat and their lack of action for current reform and reconstruction.

In view of the admission that the Diet and the government bureaus' role in the prosecution of the war was one of passive compliance to the military and industrial overlords, the possibility of a scapegoat being offered presents itself. Names are never mentioned and it appears that the institutions and the system are being offered up, not individuals. This is pertinent in view of the warning sounded of old faces turning up in new and strange places.

The press is unanimous in its advocacy of a re-education of the masses along democratic lines, but hedges with conditions of a slow evolution, a Japanese version of Western Democracy, and a return to indigenous Japanese democracy. Broad generalizations are used for the objectives of this education, but no definite program is offered or outlined. These terms require definition for us to begin to understand what the Japanese press wishes the people to learn.

C O N F I D E N T I A L

The Japanese press is unanimous in its advocacy of the formation of new parties, but finds nothing wrong in the re-creation of the Dai Nippon Seiji Kai, the totalitarian party of the war era. It makes no query as to its future platform, or as to why the platforms of every one of the new parties still contain some plank of totalitarianism.

The New Liberal Party of Ichiro Hatoyama advocates a reduction in the authority of officialdom, and at the same time would have the voter vote for a political party not an individual. Labor unions will not be controlled by the government, only by individual guilds, but they will be controlled. Such measures as the German "Strength Through Joy" should certainly be considered. And then he accuses the rest of the world of establishing National Socialist structures! The new socialist party wants an end to "bureaucracy" and at the same time state control of industry!

Evidently there is some confusion between our ideas of democracy and the Japanese version.

The Japanese press is unanimous in featuring in editorial and news the desperate economic plight of the Japanese and the danger this encompasses for the evolution of democracy in Japan.

The Japanese Press is unanimous. Each paper echoes and re-echoes the other. In several cases word for word use of the same material is made, credited to a different source each time.

This community of ideas and identity of copy makes this most vivid impression on the analyzer: Japanese press editorial opinion is still being centrally conceived and distributed.