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Reforming Japan: Measuring the Success of the Allied Occupation's Economic Educational and Constitutional

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Reforming Japan: Measuring the Success of the Allied Occupation's Economic,
Educational, and Constitutional Reforms

By

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of the requirements for
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ABSTRACT

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Following the surrender of Japan on September 2 of 1945, American forces occupied Japan in an attempt to remove Japan's ability to wage aggressive war. From 1945 to 1952, Occupation authorities in Tokyo under General Douglas MacArthur undertook a number of reforms intended to 'demilitarize' and 'democratize' Japan, some of which left major structural changes to the pre-war Japanese system. This thesis will focus on three reforms: the dissolution of Japan's *zaibatsu* (large industrial conglomerates such as Nissan), democratization of the education system, and Article IX of Japan's Constitution which bans Japan from possessing military forces. I analyze the success of each reform through the end of the Cold War by examining if their purpose and structure has remained in place.

By 1947 events on the world stage, including the routing of U.S. ally Chiang Kai-Shek's forces in China, by Mao Zedong's communist forces, and the rapid emergence of communist regimes in Eastern Europe, became issues of immediate concern among American policymakers. In Japan, continuing economic troubles including inflation and high unemployment lead to the rise of powerful labor movements that were increasingly linked to communists. In light of these events, conservatives in the United States Government and conservatives

in the Japanese government joined forces to reverse some of the early reforms hoping to create a stable country free from communist influence.

Beginning in 1948, both the structure and purpose of the *zaibatsu* reforms were undermined as the U.S. withdrew support for the Occupation's economic reforms, after which the conglomerates again dominated the Japanese economy. While the Ministry of Education began to regain centralized control of the education system in the 1950s, many structural changes remained in place such as teachers Unions; in addition, pacifist curriculums continue to be an important legacy of the Occupation. Finally, Article IX of Japan's constitution has faced large challenges after independence, however, it has remained unamended 70 years later, and further, during this time Japan has not fought a war. I will argue that the education reforms and Article IX were successful because of widespread popular support while the *zaibatsu* reforms failed due to lack of popular support and Cold War Pressures to stabilize the economy.

Introduction

First destroy the military power. Punish war criminals. Build the structure of representative government. Modernize the constitution. Hold free elections. Enfranchise the women. Release the political prisoners. Liberate the farmers. Establish a free labor movement. Encourage free economy. Abolish police Oppression. Develop a free and responsible press. Liberalize education. Decentralize political power. Separate church from state. These tasks were to occupy me for the next five years and more. All were eventually accomplished, some easily, some with difficulty.

- General Douglas MacArthur, *Reminiscences*, 1964.

Following the surrender of Japan on September 2 of 1945, the United States faced a monumental task: rebuilding a nation utterly destroyed by war, physically, spiritually, and economically. Today, Japan boasts the world's third largest economy by GDP,¹ a robust democracy,² an education system that ranks among the highest in the world each year,³ and it has not fought a war since 1945.⁴ Japan did not become the nation it is today solely on its own. The country owes a large deal of credit to the United States Occupation for shaping the new laws and institutions of the post-war era. The Japanese people too deserve credit for their resilient spirit and dedication to rebuilding a country devastated by firebombs, atomic weapons, and hunger. While many Japanese and many in the international community are aware that there was an American Occupation of Japan from 1945-1952, there is little awareness of the specific reforms implemented during the Occupation or the effects that they had after the Occupation

¹ "Gross Domestic Product 2014," The World Bank, February 17, 2016, Accessed February 22, 2016, <http://databank.worldbank.org/data/download/GDP.pdf>.

² David Pilling, "Democracy Is Robust in Asia," *Financial Times*, April 28, 2010, Accessed February 22, 2016, <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/2abe228c-52f8-11df-813e-00144feab49a.html#axzz40q4c7HND>.

³ Pearson, "Education and Skills for Life," The Learning Curve, Accessed January 19, 2016, <http://thelearningcurve.pearson.com/2014-report-summary/>.

⁴ Philip A. Seaton, *Japan's Contested War Memories: The 'Memory Rifts' in Historical Consciousness of World War II* (Routledge, 2007), 6.

ended. This thesis will focus on three reforms: the dissolution of Japan's *zaibatsu* (large industrial conglomerates such as Nissan), the democratization of the education system, and the implementation of Article IX of Japan's Constitution which bans Japan from possessing offensive military forces. I analyze the success of each reform through the end of the Cold War by examining if their original purpose and structure has remained in place. I will argue that the education reforms and Article IX were successful because of widespread popular support, while the *zaibatsu* reforms failed due to lack of popular support, and Cold War pressures to stabilize the economy.

The key objectives of the Occupation under General Douglas MacArthur, Supreme Commander of Allied Powers (SCAP), were the 'democratization' and 'demilitarization' of Japan.⁵ The basic principles of these objectives began with the Potsdam Declaration, a joint declaration issued on July 26, 1945 by President Harry S. Truman, President Chiang Kai-Shek (Nationalist Party of China), and Prime Minister Winston Churchill, that outlined the terms of Japan's imminent surrender. After Japan surrendered on November 3, 1945, an official order called "Basic Initial Post Surrender Directive" was sent to General Douglas MacArthur by the Joint Chiefs of Staff under the authority of President Truman.⁶ Both the Potsdam Declaration, and the Post Surrender Directive, to a more detailed degree, outlined the economic, military, and political goals for the occupation. Japan was to be a democratic nation with a free economy, a nation disarmed with its ability to wage war removed.

⁵ Tōgō Kazuhiko, *Japan's Foreign Policy 1945-2003: The Quest for a Proactive Policy* (Boston: Leiden, 2005), 36.

⁶ "1-13 Joint Chiefs of Staff, "Basic Initial Post-Surrender Directive to Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers for the Occupation and Control of Japan," November 1, 1945." National Diet Library. Accessed January 19, 2016. <http://www.ndl.go.jp/constitution/e/shiryo/01/036shoshi.html>.

MacArthur's Headquarters, known as GHQ, "ruled" Japan "beyond challenge or criticism."⁷ They did so through a powerful hierarchy, among themselves and above the Japanese government.⁸ However, while MacArthur and his staff controlled the direction of the reforms, they relied on the Japanese to implement the changes. This was necessary because the Occupation forces had no linguistic or cultural knowledge of Japan for the most part, and had to make use of Japanese government structures already in place.⁹ The American agenda was in general heavily inspired by "liberal New Deal attitudes, labor reformism, and Bill of Rights idealism" that was losing support in the United States according to historian John Dower.¹⁰ Many of the reforms envisioned to 'democratize' Japan would have seemed "extreme" if introduced in the United States at the time, says Dower, but they were possible because of SCAP's authoritarian rule.¹¹

By 1947, events on the world stage, including the routing of U.S. ally Chiang Kai-Shek's forces in China by Mao Zedong's communist forces, and the rapid emergence of communist regimes in Eastern Europe, became issues of immediate concern among American policymakers. In Japan, continuing economic troubles including inflation and high unemployment led to the rise of powerful labor movements that were increasingly linked to communists. In light of these events, conservatives in the United States government and conservatives in the Japanese government joined

⁷ John W. Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II*, 1st ed. (New York: W.W. Norton & Co./New Press, 1999), 27.

⁸ Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 27.

⁹ Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 27.

¹⁰ Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 26.

¹¹ Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 26-27.

forces to reverse some of the early reforms, hoping to create a stable country free from communist influence.

In the years immediately after the War, the Occupation favored progressive, left of center parties; in addition, its political purge undertaken in January 1946 removed more than 70 percent of politicians who had been members of the Diet before 1945, most of whom had been conservatives.¹² While this development was a blow to the conservatives, they have consistently remained at the head of the Japanese Government since 1945. The Japan Socialist Party (JSP), established in October 1945, peaked in 1947 when they won 143 seats in the Lower House versus the Liberals 132 seats and the Democrats 126 seats;¹³ however, they were unwilling to form a coalition or compromise on their ideological stances and were unable to enact much change.¹⁴ In addition, it was unable to deal with the increasingly militant labor movement and the ongoing food shortage.¹⁵ Conservative Prime Minister Yoshida Shigeru held the position of Prime Minister from May 22, 1946 – May 24, 1947 as the leader of the Liberal Party, and then again from October 15, 1948 – December 10, 1954 as the leader of Democratic-Liberal Party [which in 1950 merged with the Liberal party].¹⁶ While the Socialists saw some success in 1947, during the 1950s they faced a full on assault from conservatives in the Japanese government.

¹² Louis D. Hayes, *Introduction to Japanese Politics*. 4th ed. (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 2005), 89-90.

¹³ Hayes, *Introduction to Japanese Politics*, 90.

¹⁴ Hayes, *Introduction to Japanese Politics*, 91.

¹⁵ Hayes, *Introduction to Japanese Politics*, 91.

¹⁶ "Prime Ministers in History," *Prime Minister and His Cabinet*, Accessed January 26, 2016, http://japan.kantei.go.jp/cabinet/0031-60_e.html.

The Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) was officially organized in 1955 through a combination of two conservative parties, the Liberal and Democratic parties, but can trace its lineage as far back as the 1870s.¹⁷ The party formed out of concern on the part of the business community and for good relations with Washington and in reaction to the intensifying demands from organized labor; in light of the pressures from the left and organized labor, unity among the two conservative parties was seen as a way of promoting government stability.¹⁸

Ideologically, the party stresses a centralized efficient government with an important role in the economy; it does not favor strong local initiatives but receives broad public support due to its commitment to strong economic development.¹⁹ Its ideology substitutes and economic definition of security for a military one; its foreign policy has been pro-Western and anti communist, however it was willing to trade with the Soviet Union and China from the start.²⁰ The party maintains close ties to business, especially large corporations and in return receives massive amount of funds that keep it strong.²¹ The LDP has been in a commanding position since their formation in 1955; after a brief loss of power in 1993 in which unstable coalition governments superseded its power, the LDP regained power once again.²² Today, the LDP is still in power under, Prime Minister Shinzo Abe.

¹⁷ Hayes, *Introduction to Japanese Politics*, 73.

¹⁸ Hayes, *Introduction to Japanese Politics*, 73-74.

¹⁹ Hayes, *Introduction to Japanese Politics*, 74.

²⁰ Hayes, *Introduction to Japanese Politics*, 74.

²¹ Hayes, *Introduction to Japanese Politics*, 74.

²² Hayes, *Introduction to Japanese Politics*, 69-70.

In 1947-1948, the Truman Administration initiated a recovery program in Japan modeled after the Marshall Plan, which put it at odds with General MacArthur.²³ And the State Department and Defense Department, in addition, halted many Occupation reforms in order to pursue economic recovery and stability in Japan.²⁴ This change in policy was known as the “Reverse Course.” On top of these changes at home, MacArthur became increasingly concerned with communism inside Japan. What followed was the “Red Purge.” The Red Purge was a series of layoffs, often considered arbitrary, according to historians John Dower and Hirata Tetsuo, that were carried out from 1949 to 1951 by Japanese government agencies and corporations; the layoffs were aimed at eliminating workers who were branded as communist, whether actually members of the party or not; the Purge included, for instance, left-wing democrats and labor-union activists.²⁵ Working together with conservatives in the Japanese government, MacArthur silenced leftist elements in all walks of life. While the Occupation had originally supported democracy, liberty, and freedom of speech, such concepts were quickly diluted in favor of strategic expediency.²⁶ Critics in Japan who accused GHQ of imperialism or rationed democracy were silenced.²⁷ And the conservatives’ firm grip on power was secured with GHQ’s blessing.²⁸ In addition, ultra-nationalists and militarists formally banned from positions of authority were

²³ Schaller, *The American Occupation of Japan*, ix.

²⁴ Schaller, *The American Occupation of Japan*, ix.

²⁵ John W. Dower, and Hirata Tetsuo, "Japan's Red Purge: Lessons from a Saga of Suppression of Free Speech and Thought," *The Asia Pacific Journal*, (5) (7) (July 3, 2007): 3.

²⁶ Toshio Nishi, *Unconditional Democracy: Education and Politics in Occupied Japan, 1945-1952* (Stanford, Calif: Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, 1982), 3.

²⁷ Toshio Nishi, *Unconditional Democracy*, 3.

²⁸ Toshio Nishi, *Unconditional Democracy*, 3.

welcomed back.²⁹ Because of this, some question whether any of the reforms were truly successful.

In his book *Aftermath of War: Americans the Remaking of Japan, 1945-1952*, historian Howard B. Schonberger argues that in 1952, when the Occupation ended, the United States had “superficially accomplished its goals in Japan.”³⁰ Even then, however, Schonberger highlights the success of Article IX. The “no-war” clause of Japan’s constitution continued to be embraced by the Japanese people even as the United States set about attempting to rearm the nation, he says.³¹ Schonberger suggests that it was American policymakers, backed by large American corporations, who pushed aside those who called for deep reforms needed to bring about a peaceful democracy in Japan.³² By the end of the Occupation, Schonberger says, the economic and political elites in Japan maintained power under a constitutional monarchy and accepted their new position in the “American dominated system of global capitalism.”³³

Historian Toshio Nishi argues, in his book *Unconditional Democracy: Education and Politics in Occupied Japan, 1945-1952*, that while the Japanese people had to “swallow many alien ideas and practices,” far from being “unpalatable,” the Japanese people found some of them “downright appetizing.”³⁴ When the American Occupation ended in 1952, many of the reforms had already formed a basis for a new political

²⁹ Toshio Nishi, *Unconditional Democracy*, 3.

³⁰ Howard B. Schonberger, *Aftermath of War: Americans and the Remaking of Japan, 1945- 1952* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1989), 279.

³¹ Schonberger, *Aftermath of War*, 279.

³² Schonberger, *Aftermath of War*, 284.

³³ Schonberger, *Aftermath of War*, 284-285.

³⁴ Toshio Nishi, *Unconditional Democracy*, 297.

culture.³⁵ The Japanese people as a whole, Nishi claims, did not break down because of “American mass democracy,” but instead found democracy to be “a pleasant, efficient, and even commercially profitable way of life.”³⁶ As opposed to Schonberger, Nishi views the Occupation as beneficial not just for the economic and political elites, but for all Japanese. I will show that the Japanese people as a whole did benefit, as Schonberger claims, and that they embraced democratic reforms wholeheartedly. This wholehearted embracement of democratic reforms proved itself through widespread resistance to attempts by the U.S. government and Japanese conservatives to undermine aspects of the education reforms and Article IX beginning in the late 1940s.

In his book *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II*, historian John Dower argues that despite the “ultimate emergence of a conservative postwar state, the ideals of peace and democracy took root in Japan—not as a borrowed ideology or imposed vision, but as a lived experience and a seized opportunity.”³⁷ Dower’s argument follows that although the Americans reversed course on their original “root-and-branch agenda” of demilitarization and democratization, an agenda he terms both “self-righteous” and visionary, Japan’s position as a Cold War partner, rearmed and with many reforms reversed, did not prevent it from becoming the democratic and peaceful nation it is today.³⁸ When they arrived, the American forces found a people “sick of war, contemptuous of the militarists” who had caused them hardship, and who wished to both “forget the past and to transcend it.”³⁹

³⁵ Toshio Nishi, *Unconditional Democracy*, 297.

³⁶ Toshio Nishi, *Unconditional Democracy*, 297.

³⁷ Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 23.

³⁸ Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 23.

³⁹ Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 24.

I disagree with Schonberger that the American reforms were “superficial,” and, I think he makes an important point that Article IX has proven to be a successful and widely embraced reform. And I agree with both Dower and Nishi that Japan has embraced democracy and peace, democratization and demilitarization. I think it is important to examine each reform individually as some have been more successful than others, and while some have stood the test of time, others have not.

I would like to look at three reforms: the dissolution of Japan’s *zaibatsu*, democratization of the education system, and Article IX of Japan’s Constitution which bans Japan from possessing offensive military forces. Each of these specific reforms were part of the larger series of reforms encompassing the Japanese economy, educational world, and political structure, that were intended to dismantle militarism and put in its place a democratic and peaceful Japan that would never again pose a threat to world peace. I will argue that the education reforms and Article IX were successful because of widespread popular support while the *zaibatsu* reforms failed due to lack of popular domestic support and Cold War pressures to stabilize Japan’s economy.

I will first give a brief history of the three reforms. I will then measure the level of success of each reform through the end of the Cold War in the early 1990s, and will briefly touch on where each reform stands today. In terms of methods, I will look at key policy directives and other government documents that helped to shape the course of the American Occupation in order to established purpose and structure. Primary sources will also include first-hand accounts of the reforms given by key figures such as Former Prime Minister Yoshida Shigeru and General MacArthur, how they viewed the

Occupation reforms, and how they determined success. I will then look at key periods during which specific reform measures were challenged or reversed. I also believe that it is extremely important to give insight into public sentiment and how the success or lack of success reflected in the United States and Japanese media. Finally, because each reform that I look at has powerful implications for today's Japan, I will briefly examine how the reforms stand in the 2000s.

The first reform that I will focus on is the dissolution of the *zaibatsu*, Japan's large industrial conglomerates. In 1945, just ten of the large conglomerates controlled nearly fifty-percent of the Japanese economy.⁴⁰ The conglomerates were credited with helping to support militarists in the wartime Japanese government in order to profit from imperialist ventures such as the Japanese occupation of Manchuria. The Occupation administration also believed that powerful business interests would interfere with their goals of building a healthy democratic system free from the overarching influence of wealthy Japanese elites. Beginning in 1945, MacArthur and the Occupation forces set about to dismantle the *zaibatsu* and liberalize the Japanese economy under a directive from President Truman. However, by the end of 1948, the reforms were reversed. I will argue in this chapter that the *zaibatsu* reforms were unsuccessful because the Japanese economy continued to struggle and because popular support in Japan, and more importantly the United States, turned against the reforms. I will show that both the structure and purpose of the *zaibatsu* reforms were undermined as a result of new U.S.

⁴⁰ Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 530.

administered economic policy that supported big business and economic stabilization over democratization.

The second reform I will focus on is the reform of the Japanese education system. There is little debate amongst scholars that education played a crucial role in supporting the indoctrination of young Japanese into the principles of Japanese nationalism and that such education helped fuel militarism up to and during World War II. The shape and structure of Japan's education system today owes much to the reforms the Occupation undertook beginning in 1945. In determining the success of these reforms, I will examine key documents including the "The Report of The United States Education Mission," a group sent by the State Department in March of 1946 to help SCAP develop a comprehensive plan for reforms. I argue that the education reforms were successful as a result of widespread popular support and that they have outlasted pressures of re-centralization in part due to the introduction of teachers' unions.

Third, I will examine Article IX of Japan's Constitution, which renounces war and prevents Japan from waging another war of aggression, promulgated on November 3, 1946. It essentially banned Japan from possessing land, air, or sea forces. In a dangerous world and with an uncertain future, such a provision was from its inception somewhat problematic for Japan. Quite simply, all nations possess some form of military for defense from outside forces or from large internal conflicts. Cold War threats and current efforts by conservatives in the Japanese government have challenged Japanese pacifism. However, I will argue that Article IX was successful because of

widespread popular support that continues through to this day. Article IX of Japan's constitution has faced large challenges after independence, however, it has remained unamended 70 years later, and further, during this time Japan has not fought a war. In analyzing the success of the Occupational reforms, I will examine Article IX of the Japanese Constitution, The U.S.-Japan Mutual Security Agreement (effective in 1952), and The Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States and Japan (1960). I will then examine the various challenges to Article IX that have taken place in the past 70 years.

This paper will focus on three Occupation reforms including: the dissolution of Japan's *zaibatsu*, the reform of the education system, and the implementation of Article IX. I will show that the reforms of the *zaibatsu* failed due to Cold War pressures and because of the close relationship between the economic elites and political elites, *zaibatsu* leadership and political leadership. I will then analyze why reforms to education were successful, I will show that while the Ministry of Education began to regain centralized control of the education system in the 1950s, many structural changes remained in place such as teachers' unions; in addition, pacifist curriculums continue to be an important legacy of the Occupation. Finally I will show that like the education reforms, Article IX was successful due to widespread popular support that has ensured it has remained un-amended since its creation 70 years ago. I will measure the success of each reform through the end of the Cold War in the early 1990s by examining if their purposes and structures have remained in place, and will briefly touch on where each reform stands today.

Chapter I: Reform of Industry

In the wake of World War II, Japan was left smoldering, starving, and demoralized. It was under these conditions that GHQ (General Headquarters) under General MacArthur, the Supreme Commander of Allied Powers (SCAP), was tasked with rebuilding a destroyed nation and dismantling the structures in Japanese society and government that had led Japan to militarism in the first place. Ten large business conglomerates known as *zaibatsu* controlled roughly 49% percent of the Japanese economy in the areas of “mining, machinery, ship-building, and chemicals,” as well as 50 percent of banking, 60 percent of insurance, and 61 percent of shipbuilding by the end of the war.⁴¹ They were diverse enterprises and had their hands in everything from mining to aircraft to consumer goods. The debate over whether or not to dismantle the *zaibatsu* arose from the debate over whether they unfairly restricted economic activity and the free market in Japan. MacArthur and his staff believed that a democratic Japan would be a Japan free from the influence of powerful business leaders in accordance with President Truman’s wishes.

Under President Truman’s directive, MacArthur would carry out a plan to dissolve the *zaibatsu* and to liberalize Japan’s economy. But while MacArthur’s original steps to democratize Japanese industry were seen as a success in U.S. media, just two years later, SCAP’s economic reforms in Japan were denounced, as too socialist, and economic restructuring became a main target of the policy reversal. I will argue in this chapter that the *zaibatsu* reforms were unsuccessful because the Japanese economy

⁴¹ John W. Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II*, 1st ed (New York: W.W. Norton & Co./New Press, 1999), 530.

continued to struggle and because popular support in Japan, and more importantly in the United States, turned against the reforms due in large part to Cold War fears. I will show that both the structure and purpose of the *zaibatsu* reforms were undermined as a result of new U.S. administered economic policy that supported big business and economic stabilization over democratization.

T.A. Bisson, a key SCAP reformer argues in his memoir, *Zaibatsu Dissolution in Japan* (1954), that while headquarters officials in Tokyo had not originated the dissolution plan they were responsible for implementing it.⁴² The plan, he says, came from Truman's directive under which SCAP operated until the middle of 1947.⁴³ He also claims that they did not move "beyond the authority vested in them."⁴⁴ However, he says that by the end of 1947, after proceeding cautiously for two years, GHQ was moving at full steam.⁴⁵ And while he believes that GHQ had every right to commit to the measures it implemented, early favor for MacArthur's dissolution program steadily diminished as the Cold War intensified; by 1948, under pressure by the Army, Congress, and U.S. business circles, GHQ drew back from its reform program.⁴⁶

In his book *Zaibatsu: The Rise and Fall of Family Enterprise Groups in Japan*, Hidemasa Morikawa, a Tokyo University Professor of business, argues that during the Allied Occupation following Japan's defeat, the Holding Company Liquidation Commission (HCLC) under SCAP dissolved the last remnants of already weakened

⁴² T. A. Bisson, *Zaibatsu Dissolution in Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1954), 2.

⁴³ Bisson, *Zaibatsu Dissolution in Japan*, 2.

⁴⁴ Bisson, *Zaibatsu Dissolution in Japan*, 2.

⁴⁵ Bisson, *Zaibatsu Dissolution in Japan*, 2.

⁴⁶ Bisson, *Zaibatsu Dissolution in Japan*, 2.

groups.⁴⁷ Morikawa points to wartime pressures under military rule as corrosive and ruinous for the *zaibatsu*. He traces *zaibatsu* demise starting during the 1930s Depression, then he focuses on the outbreak of war with China in 1937, which led to unprecedented levels of military demand and influence over *zaibatsu* affairs.⁴⁸ Key to Morikawa's argument is his assertion that the new *zaibatsu* such as Nissan, which were not really *zaibatsu* in the traditional sense, and benefited from the war because of their disproportionate focus on heavy industry.⁴⁹ But the old *zaibatsu*, including Mitsui, that relied primarily on industries such as banking and commerce did not profit as much from wartime industry.⁵⁰ Although all the *zaibatsu* ultimately cooperated with the military, Morikawa believes that the real preference of the old *zaibatsu* was to avoid war because doing so protected their interests and assets and because war meant higher taxes and decreased freedom.⁵¹ In short, he claims they had not participated in the war out of choice, but rather out of necessity.⁵²

He further argues that despite claims by many critics to the contrary, the reversal of Occupation policy did not lead to a resurgence of the *zaibatsu*, but instead to their destruction.⁵³ Family fortunes, he says, were destroyed by confiscation and taxes, founding families could no longer be major shareholders, and control of the corporations

⁴⁷ Hidemasa Morikawa, *Zaibatsu: The Rise and Fall of Family Enterprise Groups in Japan* (Tokyo, Japan: University of Tokyo Press, 1992), 223.

⁴⁸ Morikawa, *Zaibatsu: The Rise and Fall*, 223.

⁴⁹ Morikawa, *Zaibatsu: The Rise and Fall*, 226-227.

⁵⁰ Morikawa, *Zaibatsu: The Rise and Fall*, 226-227.

⁵¹ Morikawa, *Zaibatsu: The Rise and Fall*, 227-228.

⁵² Morikawa, *Zaibatsu: The Rise and Fall*, 228.

⁵³ Morikawa, *Zaibatsu: The Rise and Fall*, 239.

was handed to salaried managers.⁵⁴ With exclusive family membership gone and their control eliminated, “the *zaibatsu* were indeed dissolved.”⁵⁵

Were the *zaibatsu* necessarily dangerous to a fledgling democracy? And were they really destroyed? *Zaibatsu* new, and old, may have suffered greatly during the first three years of the Occupation, but they ultimately escaped total dissolution as the reforms targeting them were reversed beginning in 1948. Further, the conglomerates helped supply American forces during the Korean War and played a crucial role in Japan’s economic revival beginning in the 1950s. Today, the same *zaibatsu* names that were the subject of dissolution, such as Mitsui and Nissan, dominate the Japanese and the global markets. To understand how these companies went from dissolution back to dominance, we need to examine the period directly after the war, from 1945 until Japan regained independence in 1952.

This chapter begins by examining several primary sources, including President Truman’s Directive to SCAP that was issued at the outset of the Occupation. I will then explore how this directive was shaped into new policies by SCAP by studying original text from the Yasuda Plan/SCAPIN 244, the first proposed plan for dissolving the *zaibatsu*. Next, I will inspect FEC-230, a more comprehensive plan for dissolution, and determine how its wording differed from that in the Yasuda Plan. I will also analyze segments from a Senate Appropriations Committee Hearing that took place on December 19, 1947. The series of hearings, led by Senator William F. Knowland, a Republican from California, helped increase support in the U.S. government for

⁵⁴ Morikawa, *Zaibatsu: The Rise and Fall*, 239.

⁵⁵ Morikawa, *Zaibatsu: The Rise and Fall*, 239.

dramatic changes in U.S. economic policy in Japan. I will then examine the document that signaled the reversal of anti-*zaibatsu* policy titled “Change in Deconcentration Policy, April 19, 1948.” In addition to these key government documents I will look at newspaper articles published in the United States responding to MacArthur’s efforts to dissolve the *zaibatsu*.

As suggested by T.A. Bisson, it was not MacArthur who had originally called for the death of the *zaibatsu*, rather it was President Harry S. Truman. It was the belief of President Truman that initiative had to be taken immediately to ensure a successful occupation of Japan. From the start of the Occupation, MacArthur was tasked with specific directives from the President. Issued on September 6, 1945, President Truman’s directive (also known as the ‘US Initial Post-Surrender Policy for Japan’) ordered the liberalization of the Japanese economy. The directive gave SCAP the task of undertaking “forms of economic activity, organization and leadership” that would “strengthen the peaceful disposition” of the Japanese.⁵⁶ A major goal in promoting free trade was to make it difficult to “command or direct economic activity in support of military ends.”⁵⁷ The directive called for encouragement of the development of labor unions, industry, and agriculture, all of which should be “organized on a democratic basis.”⁵⁸ Policies would be favored which permitted “a wide distribution of income and of the ownership of the means of production and trade.”⁵⁹ According to President Truman, SCAP’s economic policy focus in Japan would be:

⁵⁶ Excerpt from “The President’s Directive” (September 6, 1945) in T.A. Bisson, *Zaibatsu Dissolution*, 239.

⁵⁷ Excerpt from “The President’s Directive” (September 6, 1945) in T.A. Bisson, *Zaibatsu Dissolution*, 239.

⁵⁸ Excerpt from “The President’s Directive” (September 6, 1945) in T.A. Bisson, *Zaibatsu Dissolution*, 239.

⁵⁹ Excerpt from “The President’s Directive” (September 6, 1945) in T.A. Bisson, *Zaibatsu Dissolution*, 239.

- a) To prohibit the retention in or selection for places of importance in the economic field of individuals who do not direct future Japanese economic effort solely towards peaceful ends; and
- b) To favor a program for the dissolution of the large industrial and banking combinations which have exercised control of a great part of Japan's trade and industry.⁶⁰

Attempting to meet the President's expectations and his own objectives, MacArthur and his staff immediately set about to devise a program to dissolve the *zaibatsu*.

A key figure in MacArthur's economic plans, Colonel Raymond C. Kramer, the first Chief of the Economic and Scientific Section (ESS) of General Headquarters, arranged to meet with *zaibatsu* leaders in October of 1945.⁶¹ Kramer ordered the *zaibatsu* to dismantle themselves voluntarily. Fearing the alternative, Yasuda (one of the 'Big Four') immediately started working with SCAP in order to help create a proposal for dissolution.⁶² This makes sense because in theory, no one would know the inner workings and bureaucracy of the *zaibatsu* better than the *zaibatsu* leaders themselves. At the same time, it would be beneficial for companies to have a say in how harsh the dissolution plan would be and to structure the plan as they pleased. The 'Big Four' combines, including Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo, and Yasuda, were the original targets of the dissolution plan.⁶³

By November 6, 1945, Occupation authorities had created a preliminary dissolution plan for Japan's *zaibatsu*.⁶⁴ In the span of about a month, working with

⁶⁰ Excerpt from "The President's Directive" (September 6, 1945) in T.A. Bisson, *Zaibatsu Dissolution*, 239.

⁶¹ Eiji Takemae, Inside *GHQ: The Allied Occupation of Japan and its Legacy*, trans. Robert Ricketts, and Sebastian Swann (New York; London: Continuum, 2002), 335.

⁶² Takemae, Inside GHQ, 335.

⁶³ Eleanor M. Hadley, and Patricia Hagan Kuwayama, *Memoir of a Trustbuster: A Lifelong Adventure with Japan* (Honolulu, HI, USA: University of Hawaii Press, 2003), 77.

⁶⁴ T. A. Bisson, *Zaibatsu Dissolution in Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1954), 61.

zaibatsu executives and Japanese government officials, Occupation authorities gained approval from Washington, and “formally endorsed” through an official SCAP directive to the Japanese government, what became known as the Yasuda Plan.⁶⁵ In contrast to the top down approach later used by SCAP, the Yasuda plan presented the *zaibatsu* with a great deal of autonomy to carry out reforms on their own.

In August of 1946, the Japanese government passed the Yasuda Plan (SCAPIN 244), and the Holding Company Liquidation Commission (HCLC) was set up.⁶⁶ It immediately set out to dispose of the shares of 83 holding companies. Sixteen were dissolved, including 10 of the major *zaibatsu*.⁶⁷ Ultimately, 26 conglomerates were dismantled and then restructured, eleven reorganized, and 30 left intact.⁶⁸

While the President’s directive had called for the dissolution of large industrial and banking combinations, what is notable about Truman’s directive is the lack of specifics; in other words, MacArthur and his staff were allowed to interpret the plan as they saw fit. The vagueness of the language in the original directive is important because it would first carry over into the Yasuda Plan. The following are key excerpts from the Yasuda Plan as proposed to SCAP on November 4, 1945:

A. OFFICIAL JAPANESE PROPOSAL FOR HOLDING COMPANY
DISSOLUTION INCORPORATING THE YASUDA PLAN,
November 4, 1945.

The firms of Mitsui Honsha, Yasuda Hozensha, Sumitomo Honsha, and Kabushiki Kaisha Mitsubishi Honsha, hereinafter referred to as the “Holding Companies,” have been holding conversations with the Minister of Finance with a view to voluntary dissolution in

⁶⁵ T. A. Bisson, *Zaibatsu Dissolution in Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1954), 61.

⁶⁶ Takemae, Inside GHQ, 336.

⁶⁷ Takemae, Inside GHQ, 336.

⁶⁸ Takemae, Inside GHQ, 336.

accordance with the desires of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers.

The following plan is proposed for your approval to govern the dissolution of these firms and such other firms of similar character as may volunteer for dissolution:

1. a. The Holding Companies will transfer to a Holding Company Liquidation Commission all securities owned by them and all other evidences of ownership or control of any interest in any firm, corporation or other enterprise.
- b. The Holding Companies will cease to exercise direction or control, either directly or indirectly, of all financial, industrial, commercial or non-commercial enterprises whose securities they own or of which they hold any other evidences of ownership or control.
- c. The directors and auditors of the Holding Companies will resign all offices held by them in such Holding Companies immediately after the transfer of the securities and other evidences of ownership referred to in paragraph 1a of this Memorandum and cease forthwith to exercise any influence, either directly or indirectly, in the management or policies of the Holding Companies affected by this dissolution.
- d. All members of the Mitsui, Yasuda, Sumitomo, and Iwasaki families will immediately resign all offices held by them in any financial, commercial, non-commercial, or industrial enterprises and cease forthwith to exercise any influence, either directly or indirectly, in the management or policies of the enterprises affected by this dissolution.⁶⁹

When comparing this excerpt from the Yasuda Plan against the directive, we can see that it meets several of the initial requirements called for by President Truman.

Truman's directive had called for "the dissolution of the large industrial and banking

⁶⁹ Excerpt from "OFFICIAL JAPANESE PROPOSAL FOR HOLDING COMPANY DISSOLUTION INCORPORATING THE YASUDA PLAN," (November 4, 1945.) in T.A. Bisson, *Zaibatsu Dissolution*, pp. 241-243.

combinations.”⁷⁰ The directive stated that SCAP must: “prohibit the retention in or selection for places of importance in the economic field of individuals who do not direct future Japanese economic effort solely towards peaceful ends.”⁷¹ In other words, Truman’s directive called for an end to founding family ownership of large conglomerates. Point “c” of the Yasuda plan called on the directors and auditors of the holding companies to vacate office, and point “d” of the Yasuda Plan called for all *zaibatsu* family members to resign from all offices in all industry involved directly or indirectly with the *zaibatsu*.⁷²

Although the Yasuda plan seemed to address many of the underlying power dynamics of the Japanese combines, and despite the fact that its reach was unprecedented, it was in many ways not severe enough in the eyes of MacArthur’s GHQ reformers and some bureaucrats back in Washington. Historian Takemae Eiji suggests that the Yasuda Plan was “patently self-serving and full of loopholes.”⁷³ Takemae points out that although the Yasuda Plan proposed to disband the holding companies and force families to resign from their positions, it left lower-level affiliates in the subsidiaries in their positions and therefore maintained the essential ties and infrastructure of the organization.⁷⁴ Writing in 2001, Eleanor Hadley, a key player on MacArthur’s economic staff, reflected that after the adoption of the Yasuda Plan, SCAP appeared to be dealing with holding companies but not the entire combines, as she

⁷⁰ Excerpt from “The President’s Directive” (September 6, 1945) in T.A. Bisson, *Zaibatsu Dissolution*, 239.

⁷¹ Excerpt from “The President’s Directive” (September 6, 1945) in T.A. Bisson, *Zaibatsu Dissolution*, 239.

⁷² Excerpt from “OFFICIAL JAPANESE PROPOSAL FOR HOLDING COMPANY DISSOLUTION INCORPORATING THE YASUDA PLAN,” (November 4, 1945.) in T.A. Bisson, *Zaibatsu Dissolution*, pp. 241-243.

⁷³ Takemae, Inside *GHQ*, 335.

⁷⁴ Takemae, Inside *GHQ*, 335.

believed the directive had called for.⁷⁵ Similar to Takemae, Hadley noted that the holding companies formed only the “corporate peak” of a combine’s organization and that there were many ties still binding the combines together; eliminating just holding companies would leave many of those ties intact, including “intracompany ownership, interlocking directors, joint credit, joint buying and selling.”⁷⁶ In a *Newsweek* article published in February of 1947, MacArthur declared that he had aggressively pursued the economic purge in compliance with the basic directive by which he was bound.⁷⁷ He may, as is discussed later, have been responding to criticisms from pro-Japanese business elements in the United States who were damaging his image right before his 1948 presidential bid. But, despite MacArthur’s initial confidence in the Yasuda Plan, he soon came to adopt a much harsher dissolution plan.

In January of 1946, a joint departmental mission was sent to Japan, by the State and Justice Departments, led by Northeastern University economist Corwin D. Edwards.

⁷⁸ The mission came in response to what the State and Justice Departments saw as MacArthur’s seemingly “lackadaisical” attitude towards the *zaibatsu*.⁷⁹ Edward’s report titled “The Report of the Mission on Japanese Combines,” was critical of the Yasuda Plan because it left “major operating subsidiaries” untouched and ignored practices such as “interlocking directorates” and “cross-holding of corporate stocks.”⁸⁰ Edwards proposed tough anti-trust legislation that would dissolve the *zaibatsu* and prevent new

⁷⁵ Hadley, and Hagan, *Memoir of a Trustbuster*, 69.

⁷⁶ Hadley, and Hagan, *Memoir of a Trustbuster*, 69.

⁷⁷ Theodore Cohen, and Herbert Passin, *Remaking Japan: The American Occupation as New Deal* (New York: Free Press, 1987), 168.

⁷⁸ Takemae, Inside *GHQ*, 335.

⁷⁹ Takemae, Inside *GHQ*, 335.

⁸⁰ Takemae, Inside *GHQ*, 335.

conglomerates from rising.⁸¹ Significantly, the Edward's report went far beyond the recommendations of the Yasuda Plan. He urged the breakup of all "economic enterprises" constituting "an excessive concentration of economic power" and a "potential threat to competitive enterprise."⁸² All *zaibatsu* assets including real estate would be broken up and sold to executives, employees, labor unions, cooperatives, and the general public.⁸³ In response to the Mission's belief that the Yasuda plan had been ineffective in reforming Japan's corporate structures, Edwards recommended targeting the interweaving of personnel and capital assets between *zaibatsu* banks and individual subsidiaries.⁸⁴

Edward's report was incorporated into a policy proposal called FEC-230. The proposal took its name from The Far Eastern Commission. The Commission was an advisory committee set up by the Allied powers after winning the war. The FEC was supposed to oversee occupation policy in Japan and advise SCAP, although it had no power to enforce its decisions. FEC-230 was incorporated into law by the Japanese government in July of 1947 with the name "The 'Bill for the Elimination of Concentrations of Economic Power'"; it targeted any firm seen as restricting market access.⁸⁵

In *Inside GHQ: The Allied Occupation of Japan and its Legacy*, Takemae Eiji suggests that the officials in GHQ most closely involved in *zaibatsu* dissolution were either New Dealers themselves or had helped plan the Japanese deconcentration

⁸¹ Takemae, *Inside GHQ*, 335.

⁸² Takemae, *Inside GHQ*, 336.

⁸³ Takemae, *Inside GHQ*, 336.

⁸⁴ Takemae, *Inside GHQ*, 336.

⁸⁵ Takemae, *Inside GHQ*, 337.

program in Washington during the war.⁸⁶ Among them was Charles Kades, an idealistic, influential lawyer in GHQ's Government Section.⁸⁷ Kades was an exemplary New Dealer who played a pivotal role in drafting Japan's new constitution.⁸⁸ As Deputy Chief of the Government Section, Kades chaired GHQ's Steering Committee on revising Japan's constitution.⁸⁹ The authors suggest that it might have been Kades, who MacArthur trusted immensely, and the other trust-busters in his organization, who convinced MacArthur of what Takemae deems the merit of "radical dissolution."⁹⁰

Other scholars such as Yoshiro Miwa and J. Mark Ramseyer agree with Takemae's assessment of GHQ as a hotbed for New Deal liberals. In *The Fable of the Keiretsu*, Yoshiro Miwa and J. Mark Ramseyer argue that academics, including Edwards, working for SCAP and the State Department who had liberal ideological agendas were responsible for most of the policies against the *zaibatsu*. Yoshiro and Ramseyer argue that in creating his report, "Edwards understood his job: it was not to decide what to do about the *zaibatsu* but to justify destroying them."⁹¹ More than that, they allege that "the report was remarkably devoid of economic logic" and despite its purpose to gather information, the mission led to a report "equally devoid of new information."⁹²

⁸⁶ Takemae, *Inside GHQ*, 335.

⁸⁷ Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 77.

⁸⁸ Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 223.

⁸⁹ *Pacific Century: -- 5 -- Reinventing Japan*. Produced by Peter Bull and Alex Gibney (Claremont, CA: The Pacific Basin Institute, 1992).

⁹⁰ Takemae, *Inside GHQ*, 337.

⁹¹ Yoshiro Miwa, and J. Mark Ramseyer, *Fable of the Keiretsu: Urban Legends of the Japanese Economy* (Chicago, IL, USA: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 50

⁹² Miwa and Ramseyer, *Fable of the Keiretsu*, 50.

Regardless of the intentions of the Edward's report and FEC-230, it was clear that by 1947, economic conditions in Japan were not improving. A *Washington Post* article from November 18, 1946 reveals just how desperate the Japanese were for even basic necessities while economic reforms were taking place, and how the U.S. public was aware of their situation. The "Japanese ran so critically short of food in September that in some localities 75 per cent of their rations were furnished by imports."⁹³ Despite such figures, MacArthur's monthly report, contained in the news article, stressed that "greater yields of rice, wheat, potatoes and barley" could be expected in the next year along with an increased fish catch.⁹⁴ In addition, MacArthur stressed, "Arrangements were under way to expand [overall] exports to Russia, England and Eustralia [Australia], while exports to the United States increased."⁹⁵ However, despite MacArthur's optimistic reports, unrest continued in Japan and both inflation and starvation ran rampant.

Labor unions were established quickly after the Occupation began and within the first year of the Occupation, more than 4.5 million Japanese joined a union.⁹⁶ Inflation and unemployment continued to increase after the war and the unions soon took radical action. In late 1945, for example, railway workers seized control of the Tokyo train and trolley system and allowed everyone to ride for free; then on May Day of 1946, in the biggest demonstration in Japan's history, over 2 million men, women, and children, took to the streets to demand wage increases, political power, and worker control of the

⁹³ "75% of Food Imported." *The Washington Post*, November 18, 1946.

⁹⁴ "75% of Food Imported." *The Washington Post*, November 18, 1946.

⁹⁵ "75% of Food Imported." *The Washington Post*, November 18, 1946.

⁹⁶ *Pacific Century: -- 5 -- Reinventing Japan*. Produced by Peter Bull and Alex Gibney (Claremont, CA: The Pacific Basin Institute, 1992).

factories.⁹⁷ By the fall of 1946, over one hundred strikes had hit Japanese industries, from car factories to movie studios.⁹⁸

Beginning in 1947, events on the international stage began to bring about changes in occupation policies. In 1947, communist forces led by Mao Zedong were routing the armies of American ally Chiang Kai-Shek in China while in Eastern Europe many communist regimes were emerging, and many in the American government feared an international communist plot led by Joseph Stalin.⁹⁹ In Japan, this seemed to parallel the rise of communists and seemingly contiguous labor unions.

The labor movement peaked in the winter of 1947 as labor leaders called for a general strike to shut down the entire country. However, as the labor movement grew in strength, rifts began to form at Occupation Headquarters between those, such as General Charles Andrew Willoughby, MacArthur's Chief of Intelligence, who believed communists were gaining control of the labor unions and those who wished to continue supporting labor reforms.¹⁰⁰ General MacArthur called a ban on the general strike, permanently crippling the Communist Party.¹⁰¹ The ban signaled a reversal in the Occupation's previous policies towards unions.

In his book *Aftermath of War*, Howard B. Schonberger points to what he sees as an often ignored group that had great responsibility for changing American economic

⁹⁷ Pacific Century: -- 5 -- Reinventing Japan. Produced by Peter Bull and Alex Gibney (Claremont, CA: The Pacific Basin Institute, 1992).

⁹⁸ Pacific Century: -- 5 -- Reinventing Japan. Produced by Peter Bull and Alex Gibney (Claremont, CA: The Pacific Basin Institute, 1992).

⁹⁹ Pacific Century: -- 5 -- Reinventing Japan. Produced by Peter Bull and Alex Gibney (Claremont, CA: The Pacific Basin Institute, 1992).

¹⁰⁰ Pacific Century: -- 5 -- Reinventing Japan. Produced by Peter Bull and Alex Gibney (Claremont, CA: The Pacific Basin Institute, 1992).

¹⁰¹ Pacific Century: -- 5 -- Reinventing Japan. Produced by Peter Bull and Alex Gibney (Claremont, CA: The Pacific Basin Institute, 1992).

policy in Japan in the late 1940s and early 1950s, the Japan Lobby. Within the Japan Lobby were the American Council on Japan, *Newsweek* magazine, politicians, some State Department officials, and major U.S. corporations with investments in Japan.¹⁰² One of the more important leaders, according to Schonberger, was Harry F. Kern, an editor at *Newsweek* with powerful connections to the wealthy and powerful in the USA and in Japan.¹⁰³ After reports on MacArthur's new policy developments in Japan garnered from friends, starting in 1946, Kern became angered and then went on a trip to Japan in June of 1947 to observe MacArthur's policies in action.¹⁰⁴ Starting in early 1947 and growing increasingly scathing after his trip in 1947, Kern and *Newsweek* released a number of articles attacking MacArthur's policies as damaging Japan's ability to resist communism internally and externally.¹⁰⁵ To Kern, "immature, untrained, and impractical officers" in GHQ were responsible for a program that "undermined American capitalist principles in Japan."¹⁰⁶ Kern immediately set about organizing the Lobby, which included former U.S. President Herbert Hoover, Retired Vice Admiral William Veazie Pratt, prominent lawyer James Lee Kauffman, Undersecretary of the Army William Draper, and Secretary of Defense James F. Forrestal, to name some of those involved.¹⁰⁷ MacArthur's actions from this point on began to catch the attention of leaders in Washington.

¹⁰² Schonberger, *Aftermath of War*, 134.

¹⁰³ Schonberger, *Aftermath of War*, 135.

¹⁰⁴ Schonberger, *Aftermath of War*, 135-136.

¹⁰⁵ Schonberger, *Aftermath of War*, 136-137.

¹⁰⁶ Schonberger, *Aftermath of War*, 138.

¹⁰⁷ Schonberger, *Aftermath of War*, 139-141.

SCAP had through its reforms busted up big business in an attempt to make a nation of small capitalists and by doing so upset conservatives in the United States. In the fall elections of 1946, Republicans won control of Congress in the United States; there was concern among many of them that land reform, the breaking up of the *zaibatsu*, and the purge of business leaders, could potentially have a negative effect in Japan and could move it towards socialism.¹⁰⁸ According to, then Diet member, Yasuhiro Nakasone, who later served as Prime Minister, many members of the Japanese government feared that the Occupation reformers were trying to turn Japan into a socialist country, and so conservatives in the Japanese government and conservatives in U.S. government joined forces to undermine some of the earlier reforms.¹⁰⁹ The growing distrust of MacArthur and his Occupation staff soon began to surface in the U.S. press.¹¹⁰

Later newspaper articles are more explicit in their criticism of SCAP's economic policy in Japan. For example, a *Washington Post* article published on March 10, 1947, titled "Jap Economic Crisis Is Occupation Peril," warns of the deteriorating economic conditions in Japan and the implications for GHQ policies. The economic situation in Japan was said to have gotten steadily worse consistently since the beginning of the Occupation. If changes were not made, the article asserted, Japan would face "a long period of economic unrest, perhaps starvation and political unrest."¹¹¹ Greater amounts

¹⁰⁸ Pacific Century: -- 5 -- Reinventing Japan. Produced by Peter Bull and Alex Gibney (Claremont, CA: The Pacific Basin Institute, 1992).

¹⁰⁹ Pacific Century: -- 5 -- Reinventing Japan. Produced by Peter Bull and Alex Gibney (Claremont, CA: The Pacific Basin Institute, 1992).

¹¹⁰ Pacific Century: -- 5 -- Reinventing Japan. Produced by Peter Bull and Alex Gibney (Claremont, CA: The Pacific Basin Institute, 1992).

¹¹¹ Wayne Coy, "Jap Economic Crisis is Occupation Peril," *The Washington Post*, March 10, 1947.

of food imports would be required for 1947 than for 1946 to enable even “a minimum standard of living.”¹¹² In 1946, “700,000 tons of food were imported,” while in 1947, 1,600,000 tons would be needed.¹¹³ Such a situation would not be conducive to the development of democracy or stability.¹¹⁴ Significantly, the article suggests that the decisions SCAP had made, including the dissolution of the *zaibatsu* had contributed to this worsening economic state. The removal of “all industrialists” and businessmen who contributed to the wartime economy had “robbed Japan’s business life” of much of its “competence.”¹¹⁵ Allegedly, the purge had been so extensive that it seemed to prevent anyone eligible to run a business from doing so, and this had resulted in new, incompetent leadership.¹¹⁶ The article states that in re-evaluating the prospects for the restoration of economic stability, MacArthur would have to reconsider his purge of the industrial leadership. The article might also reveal how popular sentiment was shifting against MacArthur’s policies as they increasingly appeared ineffective in dealing with Japan’s worsening economic woes.

By December of 1947, FEC-230 reached the halls of Congress, where it was investigated in Congressional hearings. Senator William F. Knowland, a Republican from California, who would later become House Majority Leader, challenged President Truman on the ethicality of FEC-230, as well as its effect on a still desperate Japan. Senator Knowland criticized the bill for being issued under “confidential classification on the 12th of May [1947]” and took issue with the fact that “very few members of the

¹¹² Wayne Coy, "Jap Economic Crisis is Occupation Peril," *The Washington Post*, March 10, 1947.

¹¹³ Wayne Coy, "Jap Economic Crisis is Occupation Peril," *The Washington Post*, March 10, 1947.

¹¹⁴ Wayne Coy, "Jap Economic Crisis is Occupation Peril," *The Washington Post*, March 10, 1947.

¹¹⁵ Wayne Coy, "Jap Economic Crisis is Occupation Peril," *The Washington Post*, March 10, 1947.

¹¹⁶ Wayne Coy, "Jap Economic Crisis is Occupation Peril," *The Washington Post*, March 10, 1947.

Senate or the House of Representatives” had seen the document.¹¹⁷ Knowland then quoted a correspondent from a major American newspaper [unspecified] who had recently remarked that the bills passed with FEC-230 as a guide were “the most socialistic ever attempted outside of Russia.”¹¹⁸ Among the issues being debated by the Senate Appropriations Committee were:

- 1) Whether FEC-230 is a fair interpretation of President Truman’s directive to make Japan safe and self-sufficient or whether it is a wasteful scheme which will perpetuate the cost of the United States occupation;
- 2) Whether FEC-230 will “democratize” and pacify Japan or whether it will socialize that country and keep it in chaos and poverty;
- 3) Whether the State and Defense Departments were justified in keeping the document secret so that they could negotiate effectively in the Far Eastern Commission, or whether this was merely a device for keeping a controversial policy quiet while it was being implemented in Japan.¹¹⁹

Further evidence of changing attitudes on Japanese economic reform are revealed in an article in the *Los Angeles Times* from December 25, 1947, titled “Knowland Plan Makes Headway,” which reveals that during that time period, Senator Knowland’s efforts to roll back Japanese economic reform were working. The article also reports that Undersecretary of State Robert A. Lovett, in defense of MacArthur, stated that efforts to break up the *zaibatsu* and to achieve positive reform had been accomplished.¹²⁰ Knowland’s investigation argued otherwise. Knowland’s criticism, voiced in a speech to the Senate a week before this article was published suggested that MacArthur’ had carried out an “arbitrary purge” under which all former managers,

¹¹⁷ Congressional Record, Senate Appropriations Committee Hearing (December 19, 1947).

¹¹⁸ Congressional Record, Senate Appropriations Committee Hearing (December 19, 1947).

¹¹⁹ James Reston, “Senate Group Asks to See Japan Plan.” *New York Times* (1923-Current File), Dec 18, 1947.

¹²⁰ “Knowland Plan Makes Headway,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 25, 1947.

stockholders and creditors of large businesses were being divested of their holdings and positions and barred from holding them for 10 years, without any trial.”¹²¹ The measures in FEC-230 were said to be “contrary to American standards of decency and fair play” and went far beyond what would be an acceptable amount of government control by most American’s standards.¹²²

A *New York Times* articles from March 16, 1948 titled: “Easing of Policies Expected in Japan” reveals that MacArthur’s plans to remove the *zaibatsu* were no longer being followed.¹²³ The article reports that the State and Army Departments “have decided to restudy the policy indicated as FEC 230.”¹²⁴ The article suggests that GHQ officials had proceeded to implement FEC-230 “despite objections from American business and political circles” who saw it as “socialization of the Japanese economy.”¹²⁵ The GHQ plan [FEC-230] had called for large companies to be split up not because they dominated their fields, but “simply because they were big.”¹²⁶ Under General MacArthur’s authority, the government section of GHQ had obliged the Japanese Diet to pass another bill forbidding “*zaibatsu* appointees,” business executives who had been appointed to their jobs by the ten leading family holding companies, from working for any company previously associated with the same *zaibatsu* group for a period of ten years.¹²⁷ The reporter argues further that because of growing opposition to MacArthur’s policies at home, “The feeling here is that these laws, or at least the economic

¹²¹ "Knowland Plan Makes Headway," *Los Angeles Times*, December 25, 1947.

¹²² "Knowland Plan Makes Headway," *Los Angeles Times*, December 25, 1947.

¹²³ "Easing of Policies Expected in Japan," *New York Times*, March 16, 1948.

¹²⁴ "Easing of Policies Expected in Japan," *New York Times*, March 16, 1948.

¹²⁵ "Easing of Policies Expected in Japan," *New York Times*, March 16, 1948.

¹²⁶ "Easing of Policies Expected in Japan," *New York Times*, March 16, 1948.

¹²⁷ "Easing of Policies Expected in Japan," *New York Times*, March 16, 1948.

deconcentration law, will probably stay on the books, but that standards will be eased so that the impact upon business will be less disastrous.¹²⁸

On March 12, 1948, the U.S. withdrew its support of FEC 230 and within the same month published the Draper-Johnston Mission Report.¹²⁹ The Draper-Johnston Mission was implemented in order to reorient GHQ, and public thinking, towards new U.S. economic policy in Japan.¹³⁰ The visit to Japan by Undersecretary of the Department of the Army, William Draper [a part of the Japan Lobby], and a group of big business representatives, aimed at addressing the problem of economic recovery in Japan in 1948.¹³¹ A Headquarters memorandum released in mid-April of 1948 outlined the new U.S. economic policy in Japan:

- (1) No banks were to be considered as excessive concentrations or reorganized under the Deconcentration Law;
- (2) No more than twenty companies were to be subject to reorganization under the Law and these were to be chosen on the basis that they were interfering with Japanese economic recovery;
- (3) All the rest were to be removed from designation with no less than 100 companies taken off in the first such action and where necessary to be remanded to the Fair Trade Commission for surveillance.¹³²

Basically, most of the major *zaibatsu* dissolution measures would be reversed. This was achieved by way of Senator Knowland's Senate Hearings, news articles critical of the occupation, such as those in *Newsweek*, and by the lobbying of U.S. business interests who were frightened of the worsening business climate in Japan. In addition to reversing the dissolution of the *zaibatsu*, in December of 1948, Washington announced

¹²⁸ "Easing of Policies Expected in Japan," *New York Times*, March 16, 1948.

¹²⁹ Eleanor M. Hadley, *Antitrust in Japan*, Princeton (N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1970), 166.

¹³⁰ Hadley, *Antitrust in Japan*, 144.

¹³¹ Hadley, *Antitrust in Japan*, 145.

¹³² ESS/AC, Memorandum to ESS/C, "Change in Deconcentration Policy, April 19, 1948" in Eleanor M. Hadley, *Antitrust in Japan* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1970), 166.

“nine principles of economic stabilization” to be imposed in Japan.¹³³ Headed by Joseph Dodge, a Detroit banker, a mission was sent to Japan to carry out a change in economic policy.¹³⁴ By 1950, Dodge had reined in Japan’s rampant inflation; on June 25, the Korean War broke out, stimulating the Japanese economy immensely through military procurement.¹³⁵ Dodge’s actions as well as this new boom had brought about an economic revival.¹³⁶

The successors of the *zaibatsu*, known as the *keiretsu*, have some differences which are important to note. The Occupation succeeded in breaking up the *zaibatsu* into separate groups based on their original subsidiaries, or smaller groups, between 1945 and 1948. Today’s *keiretsu* are generally publically traded and are not run solely by family members but by powerful boards. However, when the Occupation’s *zaibatsu* reforms ended in 1948, many of the subsidiaries once again merged and grew into conglomerates. The story of Mitsubishi exemplifies the story of reconsolidation.

In 1950, Kowa Jitsugyo, one of the former subsidiaries, was allowed to take over the old assets and businesses of Mitsubishi Shoji (the old Mitsubishi *zaibatsu*).¹³⁷ GHQ also loosened restrictions on employing the old officers and employees; and as a result, the new Mitsubishi conglomerate began to emerge.¹³⁸ In 1952, Kowa Jitsugyo adopted the name Mitsubishi Shoji Kaisha (MSK); soon after, it began negotiations with three of

¹³³ Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 540.

¹³⁴ Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 540.

¹³⁵ Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 541-542.

¹³⁶ Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 544.

¹³⁷ "Since 1954 Vol.1 The Launch of the New Mitsubishi Shoji: President Takagaki Urges Fairness in Business." Mitsubishi Corporation. Accessed March 16, 2016.

<http://www.mitsubishicorp.com/jp/en/mclibrary/roots/1954/vol01/>.

¹³⁸ "Since 1954 Vol.1 The Launch of the New Mitsubishi Shoji."

Mitsubishi's old subsidiaries that had emerged as the core companies, including Fuji Shoji, Tokyo Boeki and Tozai Koeki.¹³⁹ Under "encouragement" from the elders of the old Mitsubishi organization, the four companies eventually reached an agreement and merged into the new Mitsubishi Shoji conglomerate.¹⁴⁰ Katsujiro Takagaki, the former president of Fuji Shoji, became the new company's first president and sought to bring the company under a common philosophy, originally articulated by Koyata Iwasaki, the fourth president of the original Mitsubishi organization. Takagaki remarked that: "A company is a profit-making organization, but the unbridled pursuit of profit by any means possible is not a philosophy that we subscribe to. We must strive to establish a sound and ethical corporate culture by acting fairly at all times and taking pride in our role as of one of Japan's leading trading companies."¹⁴¹ From the end of 1954, the U.S. economy began to recover and sparked an upturn in the global economy; the new Mitsubishi Shoji went on to expand its business as Japan entered a period of unprecedented economic growth.¹⁴²

In 1960, the party in power of the Japanese government was the conservative Liberal Democratic Party (LDP); it was run by Nobusuke Kishi, a man who had been jailed as a war criminal during the American Occupation.¹⁴³ Kishi owed his comeback to his prewar contacts with big business and his skill at backroom deals.¹⁴⁴ Those close

¹³⁹ "Since 1954 Vol.1 The Launch of the New Mitsubishi Shoji."

¹⁴⁰ "Since 1954 Vol.1 The Launch of the New Mitsubishi Shoji."

¹⁴¹ "Since 1954 Vol.1 The Launch of the New Mitsubishi Shoji."

¹⁴² "Since 1954 Vol.1 The Launch of the New Mitsubishi Shoji."

¹⁴³ Pacific Century: -- 6 -- The Era of "Japan Inc." Produced by Peter Bull and Alex Gibney (Claremont, CA: The Pacific Basin Institute, 1992. July 26, 2013. Accessed March 16, 2016).

¹⁴⁴ Pacific Century: -- 6 -- The Era of "Japan Inc." Produced by Peter Bull and Alex Gibney (Claremont, CA: The Pacific Basin Institute, 1992. July 26, 2013. Accessed March 16, 2016).

ties between big business and politicians in Japan were the primary reasons for the Occupation's *zaibatsu* reforms. However, these close and potentially corrupting ties still exist today. In his article *Toshiba Scandal Exposes Japan's Weak Oversight*, reporter William Pesek argues that a recent scandal in 2015 involving Toshiba Corporation, in which it overstated profits by roughly \$1.2 billion, outlines the lack of corporate accountability in Japan.¹⁴⁵ The scandal, he says, undermines Shinzo Abe's [Prime Minister, and current head of the LDP] claims that his government is pursuing a revolution in corporate governance including increased transparency and accountability.

¹⁴⁶ A large part of the problem, Pesek argues, is the practice of "*amakudari*" in which bureaucrats, after they leave government, receive lucrative jobs in the industries they oversee; because of this they tend to go easy on offending CEOs when scandals arise.

¹⁴⁷

Beginning in 1948, both the structure and purpose of the *zaibatsu* reforms were undermined as the U.S. withdrew support for the Occupation's economic reforms. Japan's economy had remained in tatters after the war. Inflation and unemployment were widespread and imports continued to provide nearly all of Japan's food supply. While communists had been released from prison, and labor unions encouraged to form, in order to counter *zaibatsu* influence, both soon came under scrutiny by conservatives in the Japanese and U.S. governments. International events, including

¹⁴⁵ William Pesek, "Toshiba Scandal Exposes Japan's Weak Oversight," *The Japan Times*, July 22, 2015. Accessed March 16, 2016.
<http://www.japantimes.co.jp/opinion/2015/07/22/commentary/japan-commentary/toshiba-scandal-exposes-japans-weak-oversight/#.Vuj8ROlrLRY>.

¹⁴⁶ William Pesek, "Toshiba Scandal Exposes Japan's Weak Oversight," *The Japan Times*, July 22, 2015.

¹⁴⁷ William Pesek, "Toshiba Scandal Exposes Japan's Weak Oversight," *The Japan Times*, July 22, 2015.

the routing of Chiang-Kai Shek, and transition of numerous countries in Eastern Europe to communist regimes, led to a new international climate and growing fear of communism in the United States. As labor union demonstrations grew to massive proportions in 1947, U.S. politicians decided to take action. And in 1948, the United States Government withdrew its support for anti-*zaibatsu* policies, and instead began to encourage Japan's Government to once again support big business, the *zaibatsu*. Beginning in June of 1950, with the onset of the Korean War, Japan's industrial powerhouses, the *zaibatsu*, started down a path to growth and prosperity at a speed unrivaled in history. As the story of Mitsubishi shows, the successors of Japan's *zaibatsu*, the *keiretsu*, have successfully returned to prominence and surpassed their pre-war size and strength under the guidance of their old leadership and old employees, as well as new equally adept leadership, thanks to the reversal of the Occupation's reforms. And as the recent scandal at Toshiba has once again brought to light, the close and compromising relationships between government and big business in Japan that Occupation reforms had attempted to sever, exist to this day. While Japan's economy stabilized and has prospered, the Occupation's reform of the *zaibatsu* failed.

Chapter II: Education Reform

“The prewar education system suppressed freedom of thought and conscience, ignored basic human rights, and intently pressured the entire country toward war” said Mogi Yohio, a former middle school principal in Japan during the war writing in 1986 to the *Asahi Shimbun*.¹⁴⁸ As defense spending surpassed one percent of the GNP and a national secrets bill was proposed, “we are in danger of repeating the errors of the past” he wrote.¹⁴⁹ There is little debate amongst scholars that education played a crucial role in supporting the indoctrination of young Japanese into the principles of Japanese nationalism and that such education helped fuel militarism up to and during World War II, however, a fierce debate rages today in Japan, and abroad, about the current direction of education in Japan and whether it may contribute to a return to militaristic nationalism. In this chapter I will examine post-World War II reforms to the education system that were imposed by the Occupation. The reforms were intended to demilitarize and democratize Japan’s education system and to spread democratic ideals. I argue that the education reforms were successful as a result of widespread popular support and that they have outlasted pressures to recentralize in part due to the introduction of teachers’ unions.

Because education served as a means of shaping Japanese political and cultural values from a young age, it was an essential target for reform in the creation of a new democracy. Not only was subject matter democratized, but the administration of schools was also democratized and decentralized to prevent control by national political parties,

¹⁴⁸ Frank Gibney, *Sensō: The Japanese Remember the Pacific War: Letters to the Editor of Asahi Shimbun* (Armonk, N.Y: M.E. Sharpe, 2007), 299-300.

¹⁴⁹ Gibney, *Sensō*, 300.

the Ministry of Education, or special interest groups. In this chapter I will examine whether those efforts were successful by seeing if the structure and purpose of the education reforms remained in place through the end of the Cold War. I will show that the democratization of the Japanese education system was successful despite threats induced by anti-communist fears. And I will show how the reforms weathered efforts by powerful conservative segments of the Japanese government to re-centralize the system after independence in 1952.

The first policy directive issued by the U.S. government that addressed expected changes to Japan's education system was called the "Basic Initial Post Surrender Directive to Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers for the Occupation and Control of Japan (JCS1380/15);" it was sent to General Douglas MacArthur by the Joint Chiefs of Staff on November 3, 1945.¹⁵⁰ Besides outlining economic, military, and political goals for the Occupation, the directive outlined goals for reform of the education system in Japan. The new education system would be required to aid in the "strengthening of democratic tendencies and processes in governmental, economic and social institutions; and the encouragement and support of liberal political tendencies in Japan."

¹⁵¹ In addition, all teachers who had been "active exponents of militant nationalism" and those who opposed the military occupation would be fired and replaced.¹⁵² Just as the Japanese education system had been used to indoctrinate Japanese youth into the

¹⁵⁰ "1-13 Joint Chiefs of Staff, "Basic Initial Post-Surrender Directive to Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers for the Occupation and Control of Japan," November 1, 1945." National Diet Library. Accessed January 19, 2016. <http://www.ndl.go.jp/constitution/e/shiryo/01/036shoshi.html>.

¹⁵¹ "Basic Initial Post Surrender Directive to Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers for the Occupation and Control of Japan (JCS1380/15)," (November 3, 1945).

¹⁵² "Basic Initial Post Surrender Directive to Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers for the Occupation and Control of Japan (JCS1380/15)," Section (November 3, 1945).

mindset of militant nationalism, the American Occupation would alter that same system to indoctrinate the Japanese youth with concepts of democracy.

In his book *American Interlude*, published in 1960, historian Kazuo Kawai argues that the prewar system of education in Japan was a “notorious instrument” for instilling “a reactionary and ultra nationalistic point of view” and that in order for democracy to make headway, revolutionary reform was needed.¹⁵³ He also argues, however, that the Japanese people’s permanent acceptance of the reforms ensured the reforms’ success.

¹⁵⁴ I agree with Kazuo and will show how reforms to the Japanese education system were popular and widely accepted and how that aided in ensuring that they remained in place.

In his article, “Making Peace with Hirohito and a Militaristic Past,” published in 1989, *Asahi Shimbun* editorial writer Kurita Wataru argues that prewar education focused too much on the imperial institution, but that those educated in postwar Japan have learned too little about the emperor and about militarism as a result of the new post-war education system.¹⁵⁵ In order to take an “equal and honored place” in “the community of nations,” he asserts, Japan must face its militarist past beginning with the education system and must rethink its acceptance of the emperor system.¹⁵⁶ I will show that the Ministry of Education, by continuing to censor Japanese textbooks to remove militaristic history, a move originally sanctioned by the Occupation, has created a dangerous pattern of ambivalence among many Japanese. However, I will also show

¹⁵³ Kazuo Kawai, *Japan's American Interlude* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1960), 183.

¹⁵⁴ Kawai, *Japan's American Interlude*, 183.

¹⁵⁵ Wataru Kurita "Making Peace with Hirohito and a Militaristic Past." *Japan Quarterly* 36, no. 2 (1989): 186.

¹⁵⁶ Kurita "Making Peace with Hirohito and a Militaristic Past," 192.

that unions have allowed teachers to retain a great deal of autonomy in creating their own curriculums, and this I argue is an important legacy of the Occupation education reforms.

In his book *Unconditional Democracy: Education and Politics in Occupied Japan, 1945-1952*, historian Toshio Nishi argues that after the Americans left Japan and the Occupation ended, “indigenous Japanese forms remained” and remained “conspicuously, at that.”¹⁵⁷ Important and lasting changes were made under the occupation, for instance, the number of years of compulsory education were expanded under new educational requirements.¹⁵⁸ However, education in the ideals of “democracy, popular sovereignty, individual human rights, and freedom of the press” are not concepts that have been fully embraced in Japan and Japanese still have great respect for authority as long as initiatives are seemingly taken for the national interest.¹⁵⁹ I will show that while Occupation expectations for curriculums focused on democracy initially left many Japanese befuddled, the teachings caught on quickly and were embraced by the Japanese people. In addition, pacifism continues to be an important concept taught in schools as a result of ideological changes introduced during the Occupation.

What did the Japanese education system look like before the Occupation and what elements could endanger a fledgling democracy? Writing in 1964, General MacArthur recalled that when he arrived in Japan, he was deeply concerned with the

¹⁵⁷ Toshio Nishi, *Unconditional Democracy: Education and Politics in Occupied Japan, 1945-1952* (Stanford, Calif: Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, 1982), xv.

¹⁵⁸ Nishi, *Unconditional Democracy*, xxxvi-xxxvii.

¹⁵⁹ Nishi, *Unconditional Democracy*, xxxvii.

education system. According to MacArthur, in the war years, the Japanese state exercised central control over the schools; the Ministry of Education in Tokyo chose the textbooks, for all subjects, which were filled with militaristic, anti-American teachings, and there were no local school boards or superintendents.¹⁶⁰ Until the Occupation, General MacArthur notes, “the schools, newspapers, theater, radio, and motion pictures” were all part of the state propaganda machine.¹⁶¹ They existed for the purpose of “thought control” rather than for their own “intrinsic purpose.”¹⁶² In examining the basis of Japanese education, I will first focus on the Meiji Constitution and 1890 Imperial Rescript on Education.

Toshio Nishi argues that the 1889 Meiji Constitution and the 1890 Imperial Rescript on Education were the two most important documents of Imperial Japan.¹⁶³ The Meiji Constitution, he says, “codified the sanctity and inviolability of the Emperor” while the Rescript on Education turned the Japanese education system into a tool by which “the people’s loyalty to the throne was nurtured.”¹⁶⁴ The 1890 Imperial Rescript on Education was promulgated by the Imperial Government on October 30, 1890.¹⁶⁵ The Rescript says that Japan was founded by the Imperial Ancestors on “a basis broad and everlasting” and with “deeply and firmly implanted virtue” including “loyalty and filial piety;” these values served as the basis of Japanese education in ethics.¹⁶⁶ In addition,

¹⁶⁰ Douglas MacArthur, *Reminiscences* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), 311.

¹⁶¹ MacArthur, *Reminiscences*, 311.

¹⁶² MacArthur, *Reminiscences*, 311.

¹⁶³ Nishi, *Unconditional Democracy*, 146.

¹⁶⁴ Nishi, *Unconditional Democracy*, 146.

¹⁶⁵ Nishi, *Unconditional Democracy*, 17-18.

¹⁶⁶ Japanese Imperial Government, Ministry of Education, *The Imperial Rescript on Education*, official translation (Tokyo, 1909).

the Rescript calls for subjects to offer themselves “courageously to the State” in the event an “emergency” arose, thereby guarding and maintaining the “Imperial Throne.”¹⁶⁷ From 1890-1945, The Imperial Rescript served as the basis for moral education in schools and led to a strong emphasis on nationalism, Emperor worship, and working for state, as the new focus of schooling.

Democratic teachings had become a target of the Ministry of Education in the late 1800s. In 1880, the government compiled a list of books favorable to democracy and banned their use in schools as textbooks.¹⁶⁸ Then, in 1886 a textbook certification program was created by the Ministry of Education, and after 1904 elementary school textbooks were produced by the government.¹⁶⁹ Shortly after 1900, Japan achieved an enrollment rate of more than 90 percent and successfully increased the length compulsory education from three to six years.¹⁷⁰ While nearly every child now received a basic education, historian Ienaga Saburo, who attended school during Japan’s war years, argues that the content of this education caused a uniform outlook for most Japanese through the teaching of “state-approved knowledge.”¹⁷¹

The textbooks, which had been either censored or compiled by the Ministry of Education, contained “moral” lessons in every subject. An elementary school ethics

¹⁶⁷ Japanese Imperial Government, Ministry of Education, *The Imperial Rescript on Education*, official translation (Tokyo, 1909).

¹⁶⁸ Saburo Ienaga, *The Pacific War, 1931-1945: A Critical Perspective on Japan’s Role in World War II* (New York: Pantheon, 1978), 19.

¹⁶⁹ Ienaga, *The Pacific War*, 20.

¹⁷⁰ Ienaga, *The Pacific War*, 20.

¹⁷¹ Ienaga, *The Pacific War*, 20.

book for second graders published in 1903 stressed loyalty to the emperor first and foremost.¹⁷² Here is one example provided by Ienaga:

Lesson 23. The Emperor attends the annual maneuvers of the army and navy and watches the soldiers and sailors perform their duties. We must appreciate the emperor's royal benevolence.¹⁷³

In addition, even from a young age, students were taught that war was noble. Here is another example provided by Ienaga:

Lesson 24. Kiguchi Kohei was not the least bit afraid before the enemy. He bravely sounded the call to advance on his bugle three times. Inspired by his brave example, our troops attacked and defeated the enemy, but Kiguchi was hit by a bullet and fell to the ground mortally wounded. Later they found his body with the bugle still at his lips.¹⁷⁴

Ienaga argues that it became the objective of the Government to "militarize the entire curriculum" during and after the Russo-Japanese War (February 8, 1904-September 5, 1905).¹⁷⁵ The war and nationalism were to be taught in every class.¹⁷⁶ Arithmetic, for example, focused on examples about military matters, science focused on information about "searchlights, wireless communication, lands mines" and so forth.¹⁷⁷ And physical education included "character training and war games."¹⁷⁸ He argues further that this rigid militarized education "implanted jingoistic ideas in the populace" and pushed Japan towards war.¹⁷⁹ Neither parents nor the teachers had the

¹⁷² Excerpt from elementary-school ethics book in Saburo Ienaga, *The Pacific War, 1931-1945: A Critical Perspective on Japan's Role in World War II* (New York: Pantheon, 1978), 24.

¹⁷³ Excerpt from elementary-school ethics book in Saburo Ienaga, *The Pacific War, 1931-1945: A Critical Perspective on Japan's Role in World War II* (New York: Pantheon, 1978), 24.

¹⁷⁴ Excerpt from elementary-school ethics book in Saburo Ienaga, *The Pacific War, 1931-1945: A Critical Perspective on Japan's Role in World War II* (New York: Pantheon, 1978), 24.

¹⁷⁵ Ienaga, *The Pacific War*, 23-24.

¹⁷⁶ Ienaga, *The Pacific War*, 23.

¹⁷⁷ Ienaga, *The Pacific War*, 23-24.

¹⁷⁸ Ienaga, *The Pacific War*, 24.

¹⁷⁹ Ienaga, *The Pacific War*, 28.

ability to control their child's education under the "centralized control of the Ministry of Education."¹⁸⁰ Therefore, he says, it was all but impossible to teach students to "think rationally about society."¹⁸¹ Sato Rokuro, a former fourth grade student in Japan in 1943, recalls that his class was broken into ranks just like in the military; those in the lower ranks had to salute those in the higher ranks, and if they did not obey they could be demoted in rank.¹⁸² Primary school, he writes, was "a training ground" for future soldiers; those who were physically weak did poorly.¹⁸³ Even good grades on grammar and arithmetic tests did not guarantee success, and students also needed good grades in "moral teachings."¹⁸⁴ Ienaga's observations, widely substantiated by accounts of former wartime students such as Sato Rokuro reveal issues with wartime standardization and centralization of the system and of its ability to serve as a conduit for nationalism.

Before the Occupation released education directives to the Japanese, the Ministry of Education unilaterally prohibited military training in schools, dismissed all military officers on school staffs, removed equipment used for the training, and developed plans to re-educate teachers beginning October 3, 1945.¹⁸⁵ Despite the Ministry of Education's efforts to appeal to MacArthur before he issued specific directions, the General Headquarters Civil Information and Education Section (CI & E)

¹⁸⁰ Ienaga, *The Pacific War*, 28.

¹⁸¹ Ienaga, *The Pacific War*, 28.

¹⁸² Gibney, *Sensō*, 189.

¹⁸³ Gibney, *Sensō*, 190.

¹⁸⁴ Gibney, *Sensō*, 190.

¹⁸⁵ Nishi, *Unconditional Democracy*, 164.

felt that the Ministry of Education was unable to understand democracy and unwilling to embrace it.¹⁸⁶

On October 13, 1945, the Minister of Education Maeda Tamon was ordered by Occupation authorities to make new changes to the structure of the Ministry in what would become the precursor to more detailed future plans.¹⁸⁷ Changes included:

1. A new Bureau of School Education, to carry out reforms in elementary and secondary education.
2. A new Bureau of Textbooks, to rewrite textbooks.
3. A new Bureau of Social Education, to cultivate the moral sense of the Japanese people and to improve national culture.
4. Abolition of the old bureau of Moral and School Education, which preached blind loyalty.
5. Abolition of the old Institute of Research in Racial Characteristics and the Seminary of Moral Training, because they perpetuated racism.
6. A new Institute of Educational Investigation, for re-educating teachers with “a strong conviction in democracy.”
7. Division of the Ministry of Education into six bureaus, to further decentralization and democratization.¹⁸⁸

Thus, Minister Maeda effectively removed militarism from the schools at this point, but did little to decentralize the education system.¹⁸⁹

Due to the slow progress made by the Ministry of Education, in March 1946, The United States Education Mission was sent by the State Department to Japan to aid SCAP; its recommendations became the blueprint for SCAP’s comprehensive education reforms.¹⁹⁰ The mission was composed of twenty-seven prominent American academics and chaired by Dr. George D. Stoddard, who would later serve as President of the

¹⁸⁶ Nishi, *Unconditional Democracy*, 164.

¹⁸⁷ Nishi, *Unconditional Democracy*, 164.

¹⁸⁸ Memorandum, George to Orr, 10 July 1946, HI, Trainor Papers, Box 28, cited in Nishi, *Unconditional Democracy*, 164.

¹⁸⁹ Nishi, *Unconditional Democracy*, 164-165.

¹⁹⁰ Kawai, *Japan's American Interlude*, 187.

University of Illinois.¹⁹¹ Historian Kazuo Kawai points out that the mission gathered much of their information about Japan from GHQ education officers under MacArthur's command; thus, he suggests, many of the report's proposed recommendations were likely mere endorsements of pre-prepared SCAP proposals.¹⁹²

What the report calls "a revision of courses of instruction and of textbooks" as well as the "purging of vicious elements in the teaching profession" was actually in full motion even before the Education Mission began.¹⁹³ Following Japan's surrender on August 15, 1945, school textbooks were quickly altered to remove militaristic phrases. The Japanese government mandated that schools begin the "blackening over" (*suminuru*) textbooks even before American troops had set foot in Japan.¹⁹⁴ Schools were directed by order of the Ministry of Education to "ink over or cut out those inappropriate parts of the text."¹⁹⁵ Writing to the *Asahi Shimbun* in 1986, former 5th grade teacher Kawamura Fusako, sixty-five (f), recalled that they notified teachers in Japan to "ink out the following parts in Japanese language, Japanese history, and geography textbooks so that they cannot be read."¹⁹⁶ These sections included parts of the curriculum that emphasized honoring the state and that supported Japan's "belief in victory."¹⁹⁷ She, along with her colleagues, decided to burn all "valuable historic photographs, rare books, and documents depicting the Ise Shrine" that hung in the

¹⁹¹ Kawai, *Japan's American Interlude*, 187.

¹⁹² Kawai, *Japan's American Interlude*, 188.

¹⁹³ Report of the United States Education mission to Japan, submitted to the Supreme commander for the Allied powers, Tokyo (March 30, 1946), 3-4.

¹⁹⁴ John W Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co. /New Press, 2000), 247.

¹⁹⁵ Kurita "Making Peace with Hirohito and a Militaristic Past," 189.

¹⁹⁶ Gibney, *Sensō*, 278-279.

¹⁹⁷ Gibney, *Sensō*, 278-279.

teacher's room and library.¹⁹⁸ She felt "angry and wretched," but also felt that she could not resist.¹⁹⁹

The primary focus of the report was on the decentralization. In one section, "The Aims and Content of Japanese Education," the report claims that a highly centralized educational system, even if not caught under the influence of "ultra-nationalism and militarism...is endangered by the evils that accompany an entrenched bureaucracy."²⁰⁰ Decentralization was seen as necessary so that teachers could develop professionally without regimentation and in turn develop their students into "free Japanese citizens."²⁰¹

In order to decentralize the education system and achieve democratization, MacArthur chiefly targeted the textbook system. The control of textbooks was therefore "promptly" taken out of the control of the Ministry of Education.²⁰² In his memoirs, MacArthur wrote that "a free people can exist only without regimentation of thought."²⁰³ He privatized the textbook system, putting the Japanese publishing industry on "a competitive basis" for "the first time" and tasked them with the "preparation and printing of the textbooks."²⁰⁴ According to MacArthur, while the Occupation did not force specific texts upon Japanese schools, it did require them to be free of "previous militaristic, ultra-nationalistic propaganda."²⁰⁵ As a result, MacArthur stated that it must have been the first time in several generations that Japanese students studied from textbooks that

¹⁹⁸ Gibney, *Sensō*, 278-279.

¹⁹⁹ Gibney, *Sensō*, 278-279.

²⁰⁰ "Report of the United States Education mission to Japan," (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Govt. Print, 1946), 57.

²⁰¹ "Report of the United States Education mission to Japan," (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Govt. Print, 1946), 57.

²⁰² Douglas MacArthur, *Reminiscences* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), 311-312.

²⁰³ MacArthur, *Reminiscences*, 311.

²⁰⁴ MacArthur, *Reminiscences*, 312.

²⁰⁵ MacArthur, *Reminiscences*, 312.

were “primarily educational.”²⁰⁶ General MacArthur estimates that in the first few years of the educational reforms, around 250,000,000 new textbooks were distributed.²⁰⁷

MacArthur also wrote that he wanted Japanese teachers to have “complete academic freedom,” as uncensored textbooks would have been “little value” without “uncensored teachers.”²⁰⁸ In his directive to the Ministry of Education, MacArthur ordered that all teachers and education officials who had been “dismissed, suspended, or forced to resign” for “liberal or anti-militaristic opinions or activities” be immediately declared eligible for reappointment.²⁰⁹ Further, he directed that discrimination against any student, teacher or education official based on “race, nationality, creed, political opinion, or social position” was prohibited.²¹⁰

After the new education system had “been in effect for some time,” Occupation authorities tested the effects of the reforms.²¹¹ In his autobiography, MacArthur called the results, which he claimed were “a complete re-orientation” in “the outlook” of Japanese children, “extremely gratifying.”²¹² For example, MacArthur recalled that in a society that had been completely militaristic years before, most Japanese school children in the Occupation’s sampling were now interested in being professionals; out of hundreds of students surveyed, only one expressed interest in an “army or navy

²⁰⁶ MacArthur, *Reminiscences*, 312.

²⁰⁷ MacArthur, *Reminiscences*, 312.

²⁰⁸ MacArthur, *Reminiscences*, 312.

²⁰⁹ MacArthur, *Reminiscences*, 312.

²¹⁰ MacArthur, *Reminiscences*, 312.

²¹¹ MacArthur, *Reminiscences*, 312.

²¹² MacArthur, *Reminiscences*, 312.

career,” and that student “wanted to be General MacArthur.”²¹³ If we are to believe General MacArthur, then the educational reforms were a complete success.

However, after the Occupation, several important changes were made to the education system by conservatives in the Japanese Government. The Yoshida Cabinet, which held power during most of the Occupation years, was responsible in many ways for the success and failures of reform efforts. Yoshida Shigeru held the position of Prime Minister from May 22, 1946 – May 24, 1947 as the leader of the Liberal Party, and then again from October 15, 1948 – December 10, 1954 as the leader of Democratic-Liberal Party [which in 1950 merged again with the liberal party].²¹⁴ The Yoshida Government “acquiesced” in some of the “momentous changes” to the education system but resisted in other areas, according to Japanese historian Takamae Eiji.²¹⁵ The conservatives objected to the creation of independent boards of education and succeeded in postponing their full introduction until October 1952, after Japan had regained independence.²¹⁶

Writing critically about teachers newfound autonomy, former leader of the Liberal Party, Yoshida Shigeru, recalled in 1973 that: “Japan seemed to have an increasing number of teachers who did not appear to have any idea what education was about and was intended to accomplish.”²¹⁷ Teachers, he said, now tended to pamper their students

²¹³ MacArthur, *Reminiscences*, 312.

²¹⁴ “Prime Ministers in History,” *Prime Minister and His Cabinet*, Accessed January 26, 2016, http://japan.kantei.go.jp/cabinet/0031-60_e.html.

²¹⁵ Eiji Takamae, *Inside GHQ: The Allied Occupation of Japan and its Legacy*, trans. Robert Ricketts, and Sebastian Swann (New York; London: Continuum, 2002), 546.

²¹⁶ Takamae, *Inside GHQ*, 546.

²¹⁷ Yoshida Shigeru, *The Yoshida Memoirs: The Story of Japan in Crisis*, Trans. Yoshida Kenichi (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1973), 171.

and submit to their juvenile views, which these teachers believed was progressive; teachers did this instead of encouraging students to form their own opinions rather than accept the latest fashionable view.²¹⁸ Yoshida expected teachers to educate young Japanese as the future citizenry of the country first and foremost.²¹⁹ Patriotism and reverence for the Throne were widespread values of Japanese before the war, he wrote. According to Yoshida, replacing these wartime values with the new and unfamiliar values of democratic education left an education that lacked the same degree of meaning, and purpose, for Japanese.²²⁰

Yoshida recalled that social conditions and “particularly the education issue” had taken a turn for the worse.²²¹ At the same time, little had been accomplished towards reconstruction of the country from the effects of war, he said.²²² Yoshida placed much of the blame for this deterioration on unions, in the case of education, the teachers’ unions. The nation, he said, had become prey to “destructive Communistic tendencies,” which led to mounting labor troubles and strife.²²³ Of concern to Yoshida were numerous instances of primary school teachers and students going on strike.²²⁴

Teachers’ unions originally formed with the support and encouragement of the Occupation. For example, the Japanese Association of University Professors was formed in 1946 and by 1951 had more than 5,200 members in 92 public and private

²¹⁸ Yoshida, *The Yoshida Memoirs*, 171.

²¹⁹ Yoshida, *The Yoshida Memoirs*, 170-171.

²²⁰ Yoshida, *The Yoshida Memoirs*, 171.

²²¹ Yoshida, *The Yoshida Memoirs*, 170.

²²² Yoshida, *The Yoshida Memoirs*, 170.

²²³ Yoshida, *The Yoshida Memoirs*, 170.

²²⁴ Yoshida, *The Yoshida Memoirs*, 170.

universities.²²⁵ Their intended purpose as an organization was to defend academic freedom; during October of 1949, the Association issued an “unambiguous definition of academic freedom,” which GHQ would later undermine as part of its Red Purge. In the public school system, teachers formed the All-Japan Teachers’ Union to improve working conditions for teachers and to speed the democratization of schools.²²⁶

While GHQ originally encouraged the formation of unions, the international U.S.-led battle against communism soon led to a reversal of some important Occupation reforms to education. In a *New York Times* article from February of 1949, titled “Japan Told to Oust Red School Cells” shows that the Occupation began to support efforts, similar to those taken by militarists in the 1920s, to rid Japan’s universities of communist cells.²²⁷ A spokesman for the Civil Education Section of GHQ, Captain Paul T. Dupell, criticized certain communist teachers for making converts out of disgruntled students and other teachers; “they have become so obnoxious,” he said, “they have to be discharged for incompetence and undesirability.”²²⁸ He indicated that the Occupation would support, “without limit,” schools that summoned police to remove discharged teachers who returned to “arouse students.”²²⁹ This statement shows a clear deviation from the original goals of democratization of schools; if teachers were too left-leaning in 1949, they could be fired.

²²⁵ Takemae, Inside *GHQ*, 367.

²²⁶ Takemae, Inside *GHQ*, 367.

²²⁷ Burton Cranes, “Japan Told to Oust Red School Cells,” *The New York Times* (1923-Current File), Feb 5, 1949.

²²⁸ Burton Cranes, “Japan Told to Oust Red School Cells,” *The New York Times* (1923-Current File), Feb 5, 1949.

²²⁹ Burton Cranes, “Japan Told to Oust Red School Cells,” *The New York Times* (1923-Current File), Feb 5, 1949.

In 1954, purportedly in an effort to counter these perceived threats, Yoshida's Cabinet introduced two laws. One of these laws prohibited teachers engaged in compulsory education from taking part in political activities.²³⁰ The second law banned all "overt" political education forced on teachers by the teachers' unions.²³¹ These laws essentially banned all political activity by public school teachers both during and after school hours, with the exception of voting.²³² Yoshida recalls that these bills were met with "violent opposition" from the minority in the Diet, the teachers' unions, and certain elements of the press.²³³ Despite efforts to obstruct their passage, however, the bills were ratified in May of 1954.²³⁴

In a *New York Times* article from September of 1955, The Japan Teachers' Union was reported to have been preparing to fight government plans to bring school textbooks once again under the control of the Ministry of Education.²³⁵ Government officials charged that many teachers, who at the time had the freedom to select textbooks for their classes, chose books containing "pro-Communist material."²³⁶ Kiyoshi Okachi, Deputy Secretary General of the union, warned that the government move threatened to bring about a return to Japan's pre-war system in which the Ministry of Education held absolute control over teaching procedures.²³⁷ Prime Minister Ichiro

²³⁰ Yoshida, *The Yoshida Memoirs*, 175.

²³¹ Yoshida, *The Yoshida Memoirs*, 175.

²³² Takemae, *Inside GHQ*, 546.

²³³ Yoshida, *The Yoshida Memoirs*, 175.

²³⁴ Yoshida, *The Yoshida Memoirs*, 175.

²³⁵ Robert Trumbull, "Textbooks Curb Fought in Japan," *The New York Times* (1923-Current File), Sep 9, 1955.

²³⁶ Robert Trumbull, "Textbooks Curb Fought in Japan," *The New York Times* (1923-Current File), Sep 9, 1955.

²³⁷ Robert Trumbull, "Textbooks Curb Fought in Japan," *The New York Times* (1923-Current File), Sep 9, 1955.

Hatayama and the Democratic Party had earlier released a pamphlet that concerned the union and its leadership. The pamphlet, which was distributed to prefectural education committees and parent-teachers associations, called the teachers' organization a "hotbed of communism."²³⁸ It added "the textbooks with distorted educational contents are the result of efforts by the Japan Communist Party and the Japan Teachers' Union to Communize textbooks."²³⁹ Such efforts by conservatives in the Japanese Government to target teachers' unions have shown how influential the unions were in combating centralized control.

In 1956, under Prime Minister Hatoyama's Cabinet, elected local school boards were effectively abolished by the Local Educational Administration Law; thereafter, local school boards were appointed by mayors and school superintendents were appointed by prefectural boards, which now controlled the hiring and firing process for local teachers.²⁴⁰ According to historian Takemae Eiji, these superintendents, chosen by prefectural and municipal boards, undermined local prerogatives; the boards ratified decisions made by higher ups and used their indirect power to set local education policy.²⁴¹ The Ministry of Education regained limited centralized power in the form of "advice, guidance, and consent" to the appointed officials.²⁴² While this new system was markedly different than the prewar system of direct control, it did take Japan's education system closer to centralized control. At the time the law was passed, there was

²³⁸ Robert Trumbull, "Textbooks Curb Fought in Japan," *The New York Times* (1923-Current File), Sep 9, 1955.

²³⁹ Robert Trumbull, "Textbooks Curb Fought in Japan," *The New York Times* (1923-Current File), Sep 9, 1955.

²⁴⁰ Takemae, *Inside GHQ*, 546.

²⁴¹ Takemae, *Inside GHQ*, 371.

²⁴² Takemae, *Inside GHQ*, 546.

widespread popular anger at the changes; in 1956, 500 police had to enter the Upper House of the Diet to restrain angry lawmakers roiled up by the efforts at centralization.

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And then in 1958, the Ministry of Education began to further reassert control over the textbook censoring process. Through its conservative advisory body, the Textbook Review Council, the Ministry has since 1958 censored and purged proposed textbooks considered harmful to Japan's self-image.²⁴⁴ Textbook screening had originally served as a tool for purging textbooks of militarist ideology, but is now used to whitewash texts with perceived anti-Japanese sentiments. As a result of the Ministry of Education's efforts to recentralize the curriculum, they have faced outspoken criticism and staunch resistance from the Japan Teachers' Union (*Nikkyouso*).²⁴⁵

In the years after the Occupation, historian Saburo Ienaga has fought against continued efforts by the state to shape the content of education in local schools. After Ienaga's revised edition of his *Shin Nihonshi* textbook in 1955, the Ministry of Education (MOE) requested he make 216 edits; finally the book was published in 1956.²⁴⁶ New guidelines were issued by the MOE soon after and it took him until 1958 to gain approval for a further revised copy, which was eventually published in 1959.²⁴⁷ Finally, a revised 1962 textbook was rejected by the MOE, which disclosed only 20 reasons (despite there being 323 items altogether); he made those revisions and the book was

²⁴³ Takemae, *Inside GHQ*, 546.

²⁴⁴ Takemae, *Inside GHQ*, 546.

²⁴⁵ Takemae, *Inside GHQ*, 546.

²⁴⁶ Nozaki Yoshiko and Inokuchi Hiromitsu, "Japanese Education, Nationalism, and Ienaga Saburo's Textbook Lawsuits," in *Censoring History: Citizenship and Memory in Japan, Germany, and the United States*, ed. Laura Hein and Mark Seldon (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2000), 107

²⁴⁷ Nozaki and Inokuchi, "Japanese Education, Nationalism," 107.

then approved if he agreed to change 293 items; after again completing the requested revisions, this book was approved and published.²⁴⁸ These cases convinced Ienaga that the textbook screening by the Ministry of education was a form of censorship.²⁴⁹

In 1965, Ienaga sued the Ministry of Education for excising more than 300 passages from a textbook he had submitted for review.²⁵⁰ While some legal scholars and publishers' unions worried at first that Ienaga's suit was risky, Ienaga received massive support from the Japan Teachers' Union, the Publishing Workers' Union, many individual teachers, scholars, and publishers' staff.²⁵¹ The suit was filed on the premise that the state screening of textbooks was unconstitutional as it violated freedom of expression and scholarship and ran contrary to the Fundamental Education Law [an Occupation reform].²⁵² The case stalled after the state appealed Ienaga's request to disclose key documents explaining its objections to his textbooks.²⁵³ The Tokyo District Court handed him a partial victory in 1974, ruling that the Ministry of Education had abused its power on 11 specific items out of the 293 that Ienaga had contested; but at the same time it affirmed the state's right to regulate the content of education.²⁵⁴ Ienaga appealed.

In the mid-1980s, Ienaga was in the midst of three court cases at once, all moving towards the Supreme Court.²⁵⁵ The rulings were mixed. For example, on March

²⁴⁸ Nozaki and Inokuchi, "Japanese Education, Nationalism," 107

²⁴⁹ Nozaki and Inokuchi, "Japanese Education, Nationalism," 107.

²⁵⁰ Takemae, *Inside GHQ*, 546-547.

²⁵¹ Nozaki and Inokuchi, "Japanese Education, Nationalism," 107

²⁵² Nozaki and Inokuchi, "Japanese Education, Nationalism," 107

²⁵³ Nozaki and Inokuchi, "Japanese Education, Nationalism," 109.

²⁵⁴ Nozaki and Inokuchi, "Japanese Education, Nationalism," 109.

²⁵⁵ Nozaki and Inokuchi, "Japanese Education, Nationalism," 117.

1993, the Supreme Court dismissed his first case after a 28 year battle.²⁵⁶ In 1989, the Tokyo District court ruled, in Ienaga's third lawsuit, that censors had been wrong in censoring part of a textbook he had written.²⁵⁷ While the court upheld the government's right to review school texts and dictate course content, it also allowed Ienaga's inclusion of the Nanjing Massacre and other wartime atrocities.²⁵⁸ The rulings reveal that the Japanese people, especially those in teachers' unions, widely disapprove of efforts to re-centralize the education system, but that the Japanese government and the Japanese courts continue to push centralization as legitimate.

In 1946, Dr. George D. Stoddard, Chair of The United States Education Mission, wrote that he had been impressed with the "cultural resources of the Japanese," their "will to move on," and their willingness to face the demands of democracy "unfearfully."²⁵⁹ In 2014, rankings released by education firm Pearson placed Japan in second place globally behind South Korea in terms of the best education systems.²⁶⁰ The education systems at the top of the list included those with "strong culture[s] of accountability" as well as "engagement among a broad community of stakeholders."²⁶¹ These traits were, in many ways, what the Occupation's reformers sought to craft from Japan's postwar education system.

²⁵⁶ Nozaki and Inokuchi, "Japanese Education, Nationalism," 117.

²⁵⁷ Takemae, Inside *GHQ*, 546-547.

²⁵⁸ Takemae, Inside *GHQ*, 547.

²⁵⁹ George D. Stoddard in "Report of the United States Education mission to Japan," (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Govt. Print, 1946), iv.

²⁶⁰ Pearson, "Education and Skills for Life," The Learning Curve, Accessed January 19, 2016, <http://thelearningcurve.pearson.com/2014-report-summary/>.

²⁶¹ Pearson, "Education and Skills for Life," The Learning Curve. Accessed January 19, 2016, <http://thelearningcurve.pearson.com/2014-report-summary/>.

Even though the Japanese government has regained much of its influence in the school systems as a result of appointing local school boards and superintendents, these structures are much different and much more susceptible to opposition than the system of direct authoritarian control of the Ministry of Education during the war years. Textbooks, while increasingly censored by the Ministry of Education beginning in 1955, are still published independently. And while Ienaga has been largely unsuccessful in challenging the State's right to review school textbooks before they are published, he has been successful in disputing some redactions made to his work. This also would not have been possible during the war years. His case also reveals widespread support for decentralized curriculums as he has received sympathy and interest from large segments of Japanese society. Another important legacy of the Occupation's education reforms was the teachers' unions. Teachers still retain much greater levels of independence than they had before the Occupation and the unions continue to voice powerful opposition to Government efforts to recentralize education. In addition, Japan is a flourishing democracy with high civic participation. As the Pearson survey from 2014 shows, Japan's education system, a system built by the Occupation, is successful in large part due to widespread support from the Japanese people. If we return to the original purposes of the Occupation education reforms, to rid the country of militarism and help build a successful democratic system, the education reforms were a success. Despite the influence of conservative forces in the government, there still exists a strong opposition to militarism owing in part to the post-war curriculum that continues today.

Chapter III: Article IX

On September 18, 2015, the upper chamber of Japan's Diet approved controversial bills allowing its military to engage in overseas combat in limited circumstances.²⁶² These sweeping changes will potentially undermine over 70 years of pacifism that resulted from post-war Occupation reforms undertaken by the Allied powers. Much of the current debate, over the Liberal Democratic Party's actions to shift Japan from a pacifist nation to one capable of waging overseas war, ignores the long process by which Japan has regained much of its military prowess. Article IX of Japan's constitution, which bans Japan from possessing a military, faced large challenges after independence, however, it has remained unamended 70 years later, and furthermore, during this time Japan has not fought a war. I will argue that the Article IX was successful because of widespread popular support that continues through this day. To gauge the success of Article IX, we must examine if its purpose and structure of has remained in place.

On July 26, 1945, President Harry S. Truman, Chinese President Chiang Kai-Shek, and Prime Minister Winston Churchill issued the Potsdam Declaration outlining the terms of Japan's imminent surrender. The Declaration called for: the removal from authority of Japanese leaders responsible for leading Japan into imperialist war; a continued Allied Occupation until Japan proved its "war-making power" was destroyed; the disarmament of all Japanese military forces and demobilization to civilian life; "stern justice" would be meted out to all war criminals;

²⁶² Will Ripley, Jason Hanna, and Eimi Yamamitsu, "Japanese Lawmakers OK Greater Overseas Role for Military," *CNN*, September 18, 2015, Accessed February 02, 2016, <http://www.cnn.com/2015/09/18/asia/japan-military-constitution/>.

Occupying forces would be withdrawn from Japan as soon as demilitarization and democratization took place; [and] the unconditional surrender of all Japanese armed forces the alternative of which would be “prompt and utter destruction.”²⁶³ On August 14, 1945, Emperor Hirohito decided that the Potsdam Declaration must be accepted and on August 15, Japan formally capitulated to Allied forces.²⁶⁴ Reflecting on Article IX of the Japanese Constitution, General MacArthur claims he was “convinced” that it was the “most moral of ideas” and that it was “exactly what the Allies wanted at that time for Japan...they had said so at Potsdam and they had said so afterwards.”²⁶⁵ While MacArthur wrote in 1964 that Article IX complied with the wishes of the Occupation to rid Japan of militarism, he may in his writing have overlooked the distinctly Japanese edits to its wording.

MacArthur recalled in 1964 that the problem of demobilization and disarmament of Japanese forces became the Occupation’s “immediate objective” as soon as the surrender ceremonies were completed.²⁶⁶ On September 2, 1945, Japanese military forces numbered 6,983,000 troops, consisting of 154 army divisions, 136 brigades, and 20 important navy units spread from Manchuria, to the Solomon Islands, to the islands of the central and southwest Pacific.²⁶⁷ There were 2,576,000 Japanese soldiers on Japan’s home Islands alone.²⁶⁸ MacArthur asserted in 1964 that demobilization of

²⁶³ “Proclamation Defining Terms for Japanese Surrender, Issued, at Potsdam, July 26, 1945” (the Potsdam Declaration), <http://www.ndl.go.jp/constitution/e/etc/c06.html>.

²⁶⁴ Tōgō Kazuhiko, *Japan’s Foreign Policy 1945-2003: The Quest for a Proactive Policy* (Boston: Leiden, 2005), 29.

²⁶⁵ Douglas MacArthur, *Reminiscences* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), 304.

²⁶⁶ MacArthur, *Reminiscences*, 285.

²⁶⁷ MacArthur, *Reminiscences*, 285.

²⁶⁸ MacArthur, *Reminiscences*, 285.

Japan's "war machine" was tasked to the Japanese Army and Navy Ministers.²⁶⁹ While General Headquarters, the Eighth Army, and the U.S. Navy helped supervise and coordinate the demobilization and disarmament efforts, it was the Japanese "themselves who performed the task."²⁷⁰ Once demobilization and disarmament was complete, GHQ set about planning what Japan's future would look like in a new constitution.

The constitutional basis for Japan's renunciation of armed forces was promulgated on November 3, 1946 as Article IX in the Japanese Constitution. At the time Article IX was introduced to the Japanese Diet, many Diet members voiced concern that it was pledging Japan to be unarmed state in a dangerous world.²⁷¹ However, some significant changes were made to the article's wording before it was passed in the Japanese Diet. While the basic integrity of the law was maintained, the new wording allowed later debate over and changes to the status of Japanese military strength. Article IX of the Constitution of Japan reads as follows:

Article IX. Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes. In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized.²⁷²

Historian John Dower argues in his book, *Embracing Defeat*, that revisions to the original wording of Article IX made by a small group in the Japanese Diet before

²⁶⁹ MacArthur, *Reminiscences*, 285.

²⁷⁰ MacArthur, *Reminiscences*, 286.

²⁷¹ Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 394.

²⁷² "The Constitution of Japan," November 3, 1946, <http://www.ndl.go.jp/constitution/e/etc/c06.html>.

passage of the Constitution created ambiguity that may have intentionally left Japan open to rearmament.²⁷³ The wording of the original version of Article IX was as follows:

War, as a sovereign right of the nation, and the threat or use of force, is forever renounced as a means of settling disputes with other nations. The maintenance of land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be authorized. The right of the belligerency of the state will not be recognized.²⁷⁴

So what was changed? Dower points out the importance of several changes in wording made by former Hitoshi Ashida then a Diet member (and later Prime Minister) and Chairman of the Committee on the Bill for Revision of the Imperial Constitution, the Japanese body tasked with reviewing the new constitution. These changes in wording, known as the Ashida amendment, included “maintenance of international peace” as the objective of the article; and changes that included the wording, “In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph,” “war potential” will never be maintained.²⁷⁵ While the original version of Article IX began with its focus on forever renouncing war as a means of settling disputes with other nations, the Ashida amendment instead began by focusing on international peace as its focus. Ashida’s version reads that “war potential” will not be maintained, however unlike the original version it does not say that limited military forces cannot be authorized. This change, says Dower, allows proponents of military forces in Japan to argue that Japan can possess limited military forces as long

²⁷³ John W Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co./New Press, 2000), 394.

²⁷⁴ Original Version of Article IX of the Japanese Constitution as Submitted to the Japanese Diet, quoted in John W Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co./New Press, 2000), 394.

²⁷⁵ Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 396.

as they are incapable of waging a war of aggression thereby disturbing international peace.²⁷⁶

As quoted in a *New York Times* article from 1953, former Prime Minister Hitoshi Ashida took credit for changes made to Article IX before it was promulgated. He argued that Japan had the right to arm itself in matters of self-defense. Japan, he said, could “assume her responsibilities of joint defense” with other free nations of the world without the need for a constitutional amendment.²⁷⁷ He argues further that Japan’s peace clause, by 1953, was no longer a matter of international debate because the 1951 Peace Treaty had recognized Japan’s “inherent right of individual and collective self-defense.”²⁷⁸ This argument is important because many politicians on Japan’s far right have used Ashida’s very same argument to legally justify rearming Japan even without officially amending the constitution.

In thinking of Article IX’s success, another way to look at it, despite changes to its wording, is how it was embraced by ordinary Japanese. Article IX has remained unamended since promulgated nearly seven decades ago, despite mounting efforts to amend it. In his memoirs published in 1964, General MacArthur credits former Prime Minister Kijūrō Shidehara for suggesting the idea that would become Article IX. He claims that during an appointment with Shidehara, Shidehara thanked him for bringing penicillin to Japan, which had helped the Prime Minister recover from a severe illness; directly afterwards, MacArthur claims, he proposed that the new constitution include

²⁷⁶ Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 396-397.

²⁷⁷ Burton Crane, "ASHIDA SAYS JAPAN HAS A RIGHT TO ARM," *New York Times*, Oct 05, 1953. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/112757535?accountid=14637>.

²⁷⁸ Burton Crane, "ASHIDA SAYS JAPAN HAS A RIGHT TO ARM," *New York Times*, Oct 05, 1953. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/112757535?accountid=14637>.

“the so-called no-war clause.”²⁷⁹ The Prime Minister, MacArthur said, wanted to “prohibit any military establishment” for Japan.²⁸⁰ In doing so, the old military party would be deprived its instrument to seize power, and it would send a message to the world that Japan “never intended to wage war again.”²⁸¹ MacArthur also adds that Shidehara believed Japan was a poor country and that whatever resources it had left should put towards “bolstering the economy.”²⁸²

The exact origins of Article IX are unclear, however scholars, politicians, and researchers have strongly suggested that General MacArthur himself may have been responsible. In the context of today’s debates about revising the constitution, many feel that it is important to know to what degree Japanese input was involved in the March 6th draft constitution.²⁸³ What is clear is that Shidehara was “profoundly enthusiastic” about introducing reforms demilitarizing Japan, but he did not believe strongly in achieving those goals through constitutional reform.²⁸⁴ In an interview conducted in the 1992 documentary series *Pacific Century*, Richard Poole, a former member of GHQ’s Government Section, and one of the drafters of Japan’s new constitution, revealed that while drafting the constitution, he expressed worries on including Article IX, which he feared would face opposition from the Japanese, to Colonel Charles Kades. In response Poole recalled, Charles Kades Responded, “Poole, do you know where that draft comes

²⁷⁹ MacArthur, *Reminiscences*, 303.

²⁸⁰ MacArthur, *Reminiscences*, 303.

²⁸¹ MacArthur, *Reminiscences*, 303.

²⁸² MacArthur, *Reminiscences*, 303.

²⁸³ Tōgo, *Japan’s Foreign Policy*, 39.

²⁸⁴ Tōgō, *Japan’s Foreign Policy*, 38.

from? The General. Need I say anything more?” “No sir” replied Poole.²⁸⁵ Why would MacArthur attempt to credit the Japanese with creating the no-war clause? The evidence supports the theory that MacArthur wanted to make the initiative for Article IX look like it was coming from the Japanese so that it would prove more popular. While it is unlikely that MacArthur would have attempted to convince members of the Japanese Diet of the authenticity of the clause, perhaps he intended to influence the Japanese people instead.

However, historian Toshio Nishi further argues that MacArthur’s “belated attempt” to deny his close association with Article IX was due to Cold War backtracking which might have been a source of embarrassment for him.²⁸⁶ Speaking about Article IX’s later interpretation, MacArthur claimed that nothing in it “prevents any and all necessary steps for the preservation of the safety of the nation.”²⁸⁷ If Japan is attacked, “she will defend herself.”²⁸⁸ Article IX, he wrote, was aimed “entirely” at eliminating Japanese aggression.²⁸⁹ As the Cold War intensified and communist forces gained control of China, the Soviet Union exploded its first nuclear bomb, MacArthur ordered the creation of a National Police Reserve, the force that would later become the Self-Defense Forces and whose existence potentially poses a constitutional threat in violation of Article IX.²⁹⁰ To continue to argue for the legitimacy of Article IX and ensure its ultimate

²⁸⁵ Pacific Century: -- 5 -- Reinventing Japan. Produced by Peter Bull and Alex Gibney (Claremont, CA: The Pacific Basin Institute, 1992).

²⁸⁶ Toshio Nishi, *Unconditional Democracy: Education and Politics in Occupied Japan, 1945-1952* (Stanford, Calif: Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, 1982), 127.

²⁸⁷ MacArthur, *Reminiscences*, 304.

²⁸⁸ MacArthur, *Reminiscences*, 304.

²⁸⁹ MacArthur, *Reminiscences*, 304.

²⁹⁰ Nishi, *Unconditional Democracy*, 127.

success, MacArthur needed to come to terms with present day realities. Either explanation for why MacArthur credited the Japanese takes into account his desire for the reforms to prove successful.

Regardless of who originated Article IX, it has received staunch support from those in the Japanese Government just as it has received criticism from conservatives. Former Prime Minister Yoshida Shigeru stated in 1950 that “The right of self-defense in Japan’s case” is the right of self-defense without resorting to “arms.”²⁹¹ Speaking to the House of Councilors later that month, Yoshida added that if lawmakers held onto the idea of protecting the country with weapons, then “we ourselves will impede the security of Japan.”²⁹² Further, true security lay in “earning the confidence of other nations.”²⁹³ While Dower argues that Yoshida surely wished to hasten the end of the Occupation and expedite Japan’s reacceptance into the international community, he also points out that Article IX “possessed a compelling psychological attraction” to the Japanese people who were sick of war and “burdened by the knowledge” that the world still viewed them as “inherently militaristic.”²⁹⁴ If Dower’s interpretation of the Japanese people’s desires is correct, and I suspect there is a great deal of truth to his argument, Article IX was not something simply thrust upon the Japanese. Not only did the Diet pass it into law, but a Conservative Prime Minister later defended its pacifist intentions.

To understand the Cold War threat to Japan, we should first look at Soviet actions directly after the War in the Pacific ended. Writing in 1964, General Douglas

²⁹¹ Prime Minister Yoshida Shigeru quoted in Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 398.

²⁹² Prime Minister Yoshida Shigeru quoted in Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 398.

²⁹³ Prime Minister Yoshida Shigeru quoted in Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 398.

²⁹⁴ Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 398.

MacArthur recalled that Russia “commenced to make trouble from the very beginning.”

²⁹⁵ He recalled that Russia demanded that its troops should occupy Hokkaido and that Russian forces would be independent of the authority of the Supreme Commander.²⁹⁶

General Kuzma Derevyanko at first threatened that the USSR would move into Hokkaido without MacArthur’s permission, but MacArthur threatened to “throw the entire Russian Mission, including himself, into jail” after which the plans were dropped.²⁹⁷

On March 19, 1947, MacArthur announced at a press conference that a Peace Treaty with Japan might soon be in the works, and that Japan might be ready to regain sovereignty.²⁹⁸ When asked who would protect the Japanese, MacArthur stated that Japan might need to backtrack and establish a small military, but that it would also rely upon “the advanced spirituality of the world” to protect them against foreign aggression.

²⁹⁹ At the time a Peace Treaty was being considered, the U.S. government, especially the Department of Defense, pushed back against MacArthur’s suggestion for a pacifist Japan.³⁰⁰ Japan was widely considered the “most important nation, strategically and economically” in Asia.³⁰¹ Underlying the public announcements was a top-secret debate between MacArthur, the Department of State, and the Department of Defense over the positives and negatives of authorizing limited Japanese re-armament in the peace treaty.³⁰²

²⁹⁵ MacArthur, *Reminiscences*, 285.

²⁹⁶ MacArthur, *Reminiscences*, 285.

²⁹⁷ MacArthur, *Reminiscences*, 285.

²⁹⁸ Toshio Nishi, *Unconditional Democracy: Education and Politics in Occupied Japan, 1945-1952* (Stanford, Calif: Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, 1982), 268.

²⁹⁹ Nishi, *Unconditional Democracy*, 268.

³⁰⁰ Nishi, *Unconditional Democracy*, 268.

³⁰¹ Nishi, *Unconditional Democracy*, 268-269.

³⁰² Nishi, *Unconditional Democracy*, 269.

In his memoirs published in 1964, Prime Minister Yoshida Shigeru, who held the office of Prime Minister from 1946 to 1947 and from 1948 to 1954, offered his own sentiments on rearmament directly after the war and his thoughts on the sentiments of the Japanese people. Yoshida claimed that during his time in office, he consistently opposed rearmament, and said that on no occasion did he contemplate taking such a step.³⁰³ The idea of rearmament, he said, always seemed to be “verging on idiocy.”³⁰⁴ Japan, unlike the United States, was not a wealthy country and could not afford a large military, even proportional to its wealth.³⁰⁵ Yoshida blamed politicians for conjuring the idea in the first place, and he felt they threw it around without understanding the subject, and they did not understand that it could never be done.³⁰⁶ Yoshida said that what would stop rearmament was not only Japan’s lack of wealth; Japan’s people lacked the “psychological background,” the desire of the people, to rearm.³⁰⁷ This he attributed to the vivid war memories that Japanese still possessed, the memories of miseries and destruction, and, he said, “they want none of it again.”³⁰⁸

In 1951, the original U.S.-Japan Mutual Security Treaty was signed alongside the Treaty of San Francisco, the second of which ended World War II and granted Japan independence.³⁰⁹ The Mutual Security Treaty was a ten-year, renewable military agreement that outlined a security arrangement between Japan and the U.S. in light of

³⁰³ Shigeru, *The Yoshida Memoirs*, 191.

³⁰⁴ Shigeru, *The Yoshida Memoirs*, 191.

³⁰⁵ Shigeru, *The Yoshida Memoirs*, 192.

³⁰⁶ Shigeru, *The Yoshida Memoirs*, 192.

³⁰⁷ Shigeru, *The Yoshida Memoirs*, 192.

³⁰⁸ Shigeru, *The Yoshida Memoirs*, 192.

³⁰⁹ Beina Xu, “The U.S.-Japan Security Alliance.” Council on Foreign Relations (July 1, 2014).

Article IX.³¹⁰ In essence, the treaty granted the United States the right to operate military bases in Japan in exchange for a U.S. guarantee to defend Japan if it was attacked.³¹¹

Beina Xu, a writer at the Council on Foreign Relations, writes that the security treaty dovetailed with the Yoshida Doctrine- a strategy for postwar Japan developed by former Prime Minister Yoshida Shigeru- that called for Japan to rely greatly on the United States for its security needs while it focused resources on its own economic recovery.³¹²

In May and June of 1960, Japan was rocked by massive protests, some of the largest in its history, in response to the revised security treaty between the U.S. and Japan.³¹³ Ratified on June 23, 1960, it committed the United States to come to Japan's aid in the event Japan was attacked and it provided bases and ports for U.S. forces in Japan.³¹⁴ The revised agreement, termed "Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States of America and Japan" faced a different climate than its predecessor. In what have become known as the "*Anpo*" protests, hundreds of thousands of people demonstrated on the streets each day, ten million signed petitions against the treaty, thousands were injured, and one person was killed.³¹⁵

In an interview in 2010, Yuichi Yoshikawa, 79, a veteran peace campaigner, said that opposition to the renewed security agreement arose "as we still had vivid memories of World War II, which had ended only 15 years (earlier), and believed the treaty would

³¹⁰ Xu, "The U.S.-Japan Security Alliance."

³¹¹ Xu, "The U.S.-Japan Security Alliance."

³¹² Xu, "The U.S.-Japan Security Alliance."

³¹³ Justin Jesty, "Tokyo 1960: Days of Rage and Grief Hamaya Hiroshi's Photos of the Anti-Security-Treaty Protests," *Visualizing Cultures* (MIT: 2012).

³¹⁴ Keiji Hirano, "Legacy of 1960 Protest Movement Lives On," *The Japan Times*, June 11, 2010.

³¹⁵ Jesty, "Tokyo 1960: Days of Rage."

lead to another war.”³¹⁶ While the protests started with relatively small numbers, numbers soon swelled, revealing widespread “antiwar sentiment stirred also by the outbreak of the Korean War and the launch of the Self-Defense Forces in the 1950s” added Yoshikawa.³¹⁷ In addition, the nuclear brinkmanship of the 1950s caused massive anxiety throughout Japanese society and as a result, support for neutrality as opposed to an alliance with the United States, grew stronger during the pre-renewal period.³¹⁸ Polls taken in 1950 showed that among those Japanese polled, 22% supported neutrality while 55% supported the U.S.-Japan alliance; by 1959 those numbers were 50% and 26% respectively, while by 1960, 59% supported neutrality and only 14% supported the U.S.-Japan alliance.³¹⁹

These numbers reveal that while very little opposition arose in response to the original Mutual Security Treaty signed in 1951, pacifism had evidently taken hold in Japan by the end of the 1950s. By 1960, even the prospect of getting dragged into a war through an alliance with the United States was unpalatable for a majority of Japanese citizens. The *Anpo* protests were so large in scale that they forced President Dwight D. Eisenhower to cancel his planned visit to Japan, and opposition to the treaty ended up toppling Prime Minister Kishi Nobusuke who had pushed the bill through the Diet.³²⁰

Perhaps the most effective way to measure the success of Article IX in Japan is to examine the public’s acceptance and embracement of pacifism. While calls from the

³¹⁶ Keiji Hirano, "Legacy of 1960 Protest Movement Lives On," *The Japan Times*, June 11, 2010.

³¹⁷ Keiji Hirano, "Legacy of 1960 Protest Movement Lives On," *The Japan Times*, June 11, 2010.

³¹⁸ Jesty, "Tokyo 1960: Days of Rage."

³¹⁹ Jesty, "Tokyo 1960: Days of Rage."

³²⁰ Jesty, "Tokyo 1960: Days of Rage."

conservatives to strengthen Japan's military, such as those by Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, come often, protest and backlash against such a move equally constant. In response to the *Asahi* newspaper's request in 1986 that readers reflect on their wartime experiences, four thousand readers wrote in with their experiences.³²¹ Among these letters were many that denounced war and expressed strong support for Japan's post-War path of pacifism. While some readers tried to explain their own wartime misdoings or support for the war, most every reader agreed that war had been an incredibly bad thing for Japan, economically, morally, and spiritually.

One reader, Sakuraba Mieko, fifty-six (f), in 1986, reflected that her son, home from college, told her of a new field called "peace studies" being taught in college.³²² In reply to her son, Mieko replied, "Now that's more like it! I think it's wonderful to have "peace studies.""³²³ While we can by no means take Mieko's enthusiasm and apply it to all Japanese, it certainly reflects a new mindset among Japanese. Not only did her son's college create a field for peace studies, but also Mieko thought it important enough to write to the *Asahi Shimbun* about. While foreign media often publicizes controversial visits by members of Japan's Diet to *Yasukuni* Shrine, it regularly fails to publicize popular resistance to symbols of militarism.

Asahi Shimbun reader Kojima Yuki, fourteen (f), wrote, in 1986, of the widely prevalent resistance to the rising sun flag seen in Okinawa. She hoped this hatred toward militarism would push Okinawans, who experienced such horrors during the war,

³²¹ Frank Gibney, *Sensō: The Japanese Remember the Pacific War: Letters to the Editor of Asahi Shimbun* (Armonk, N.Y: M.E. Sharpe, 2007), vii.

³²² Gibney, *Sensō*, 303.

³²³ Gibney, *Sensō*, 303.

to fight future militarism.³²⁴ On top of these hopes, Yuki took great pride in the Constitution and reforms, which she believed had contributed to a lifestyle more “affluent than it was during the war;” in addition, she expressed a strong desire to “etch” into her heart the horrors of war and to help Japan progress toward peace thereby aiding in the “progress of mankind.”³²⁵

Another reader, Mogi Yoshio, sixty-eight (m), a former principal in Japan, expressed guilt, in 1986, for contributing to militaristic education. He recognizes the huge “switch in values” embodied in the new Constitution, but calls on all Japanese to take pride in it and resist anything that infringes upon it, in order to prevent future war.³²⁶ War, he says, is “a horrible act” that “suppresses the conscience and thought” of a people, and “tramples” on their “basic human rights.”³²⁷

This new pacifist identity receives criticism from Japan’s far right because they see a new, more effeminate Japan, unwilling to hold its place in a dangerous world. However, to other Japanese, their pacifist identity is a matter of pride. Kawaguchi Ikuo, sixty-one (m), took pride in Japan’s new Constitution when he wrote to the *Asahi Shimbun* in 1986. Japan, he said, will not be able to abolish war by opposing it alone, but policies could be adopted that would prevent Japan from “growing close to war.”³²⁸ Keeping military expenditures low was one such measure; and Japan, he said, should be proud of the diversion of such expenditures toward international economic

³²⁴ Gibney, *Sensō*, 304.

³²⁵ Gibney, *Sensō*, 304.

³²⁶ Gibney, *Sensō*, 300.

³²⁷ Gibney, *Sensō*, 300.

³²⁸ Gibney, *Sensō*, 302.

assistance and cultural exchanges.³²⁹ While some, he recognized, see the Constitution merely as “an idealistic daydream,” it had allowed Japan to rise to its “present state of economic prosperity.”³³⁰ Even if Japan were to amend Article IX, the difference between modern day Japan and pre-1945 Japan is that Japan’s population, resistant to militarism, is vocal, can vote, and the government has checks and balances in place to prevent a handful of powerful men from sending the country on imperialist forays.

In addition to popular opinion, pacifism is also an official foreign policy position of the Japanese government in the way it distributes foreign aid. Starting in 1990, the Japanese government, under the leadership of Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu, released an Official Development Assistance (ODA) charter that included an objective of nuclear nonproliferation.³³¹ In making aid decisions, lawmakers would consider: “(1) trends in military expenditures; (2) the development and production of weapons of mass destruction and missiles; (3) exports or imports of arms; and (4) democratization efforts, the development of market-oriented economies, and the status of human rights and freedom.”³³² As the world’s “largest donor of aid,” Japan is defining an important role in international non-proliferation through the manipulation of foreign aid.³³³ And thus it

³²⁹ Gibney, *Sensō*, 302.

³³⁰ Gibney, *Sensō*, 302.

³³¹ William J. Long, “Nonproliferation As a Goal of Japanese Foreign Assistance” in Akitoshi Miyashita, and Yoichiro Sato, *Japanese Foreign Policy in Asia and the Pacific: Domestic Interests, American Pressure, and Regional Integration* (New York, NY: Palgrave, 2001), 119.

³³² William J. Long, “Nonproliferation As a Goal of Japanese Foreign Assistance” in Akitoshi Miyashita, and Yoichiro Sato, *Japanese Foreign Policy in Asia and the Pacific: Domestic Interests, American Pressure, and Regional Integration* (New York, NY: Palgrave, 2001), 119-120.

³³³ William J. Long, “Nonproliferation As a Goal of Japanese Foreign Assistance” in Akitoshi Miyashita, and Yoichiro Sato, *Japanese Foreign Policy in Asia and the Pacific: Domestic Interests, American Pressure, and Regional Integration* (New York, NY: Palgrave, 2001), 120.

occupies a vital role in the international community in encouraging peace and human rights.

In March 2016, *The Japan Times* covered current Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's efforts to amend Article IX. Abe has said openly that he hopes to pass a constitutional amendment to Article IX while he is still in office; his term as the Liberal Democratic Party's leader ends in September 2018.³³⁴ He hopes to alter Article IX to allow the Self Defense Forces, which he says have had the public's support since 1954, greater capabilities and to allow Japan to come to the aid of allies even when Japan does not face a direct threat of attack.³³⁵ Abe's remarks have drawn criticism from fellow members of the LDP and its coalition partner, the Komeito party; they worry that efforts to amend Article IX will alienate voters and unite the opposition parties ahead of this summer's Upper House elections.³³⁶ Abe himself acknowledges that revising Article IX does not yet have popular support in Japan.³³⁷ He says he will focus on making changes to the constitution starting with less controversial subjects, such as granting the prime minister emergency powers in times of crisis such as natural disasters or direct attacks on Japan, before he focuses on amending Article IX.³³⁸

Article IX of Japan's constitution has faced large challenges after independence, however, it has remained unamended 70 years later, and furthermore, during this time Japan has not fought a war. As the renewal of the Mutual Security Agreement between

³³⁴ Editorial Board, "Abe's Drive to Amend Constitution." *The Japan Times*, March 15, 2016 (Accessed March 17, 2016),

<http://www.japantimes.co.jp/opinion/2016/03/15/editorials/abes-drive-amend-constitution/#.Vuo7BRlrLIF>.

³³⁵ Editorial Board, "Abe's Drive to Amend Constitution." *The Japan Times*, March 15, 2016.

³³⁶ Editorial Board, "Abe's Drive to Amend Constitution." *The Japan Times*, March 15, 2016.

³³⁷ Editorial Board, "Abe's Drive to Amend Constitution." *The Japan Times*, March 15, 2016.

³³⁸ Editorial Board, "Abe's Drive to Amend Constitution." *The Japan Times*, March 15, 2016.

Japan and the United States came to a vote in the Japanese Diet in 1960, huge protests rocked the capital city of Tokyo, revealing an intense desire among the Japanese people to prevent being drawn into another war. And while conservative forces in the Japanese Government, such as current Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, continue to push to amend Article IX, widespread popular support still stands against them.

Conclusion

Writing in his memoir, *Reminiscences*, in 1964, MacArthur reflected that among his goals for the Occupation, had been to: “destroy the military power...punish war criminals...build the structure of representative government...modernize the constitution...establish a free labor movement...encourage free economy...liberalize education...decentralize political power.”³³⁹ These tasks had occupied him for more than five years until the end of the Occupation in 1952. All of these reforms, he wrote, were “eventually accomplished, some easily, some with difficulty.”³⁴⁰ The goals of the occupation, put simply, were to demilitarize and democratize Japan. However, while MacArthur claimed absolute success, scholars with expertise on the Occupation reforms disagree on the success of each reform. Japan is not the country it once was and it owes a large deal of credit to the United States Occupation for shaping the new laws and institutions of the post-War era. The Japanese people too deserve credit for their resilient spirit and dedication to rebuilding a country devastated by war. The three major reforms focused on in this work, the reform of the *zaibatsu*, reform of the education system, and Article IX, have faced very different fates despite all three undergoing intense undermining pressure by conservatives in the U.S. and Japan beginning in the late 1940s. As I have shown, what separated success from failure were the differing levels of widespread popular support, in Japan and in the United States, which each reform received. Let us briefly examine where each reform stands today.

³³⁹ MacArthur, *Reminiscences*, 282-283.

³⁴⁰ MacArthur, *Reminiscences*, 283.

The debate over whether to reform Japan's *zaibatsu* had arisen from the debate over whether they unfairly restricted economic activity and the free market in Japan. MacArthur and his staff believed that a democratic Japan would be a Japan free from the influence of powerful business leaders. Complying with President Truman's directive, MacArthur and his staff immediately set out to dissolve the *zaibatsu* and to remove their top-level executives from power. As the Japanese economy continued to struggle through 1947 and 1948, and as Japan's increasingly leftists labor movement grew, conservatives in Japan and the United states mounted a successful campaign in the United States media and in Congress to halt the reforms. Worried that Japan was venerable to communist takeover, conservatives in both countries pushed for economic stabilization over democratization.

In 1948, the United States officially withdrew its support for anti-*zaibatsu* policies and instead began to encourage Japan's Government to once again support big business. Beginning in June of 1950, with the onset of the Korean War, the successors of Japan's *zaibatsu*, such as Mitsubishi Shoji (Mitsubishi Corporation), led Japan's economy down a path to growth and prosperity unrivaled in history. These successors, known as the *keiretsu*, have since retained their privileged place in the Japanese economy and in Japanese politics. The Toshiba scandal in 2015 has once again brought light to the close and compromising relationships between government and big business in Japan that the Occupation reforms had attempted to severe. In the end, the reversal in *zaibatsu* reforms undermined both their structure and purpose. And while

Japan's economy stabilized and has prospered, the Occupation's reform of the *zaibatsu* failed.

Japan's education system had served as a notorious tool for indoctrinating young Japanese into the principles of nationalism and had inarguably helped fuel militarism up to and during World War II. Because education served as a means of shaping Japanese political and cultural values from a young age, it was an essential target for reform in the creation of a new democracy. Not only was subject matter democratized, but the administration of schools was also democratized and decentralized to prevent control by national political parties, the Ministry of Education, or special interest groups.

Efforts by conservatives in the Japanese government, beginning in the 1950s, to recentralize control under the Ministry of Education, such as implementing increased censoring of school textbooks, have challenged the reforms greatly. So too have conservatives' efforts to undermine the teachers' unions, a successful legacy of the reforms, which continue to fight recentralization. However, despite these challenges, widespread support still exists for decentralized education and free, often pacifist, curriculums. Teachers, with support of the unions, still retain much greater levels of independence than they had before the occupation. And while the Ministry of Education continues to increasingly censor what it sees as anti-Japanese sentiments in textbooks, Ienaga's lawsuits show widespread support across Japanese society to fight this trend. In addition, Japan is a flourishing democracy with high civic participation. If we return to the original purposes of the Occupation education reforms, to rid the country of militarism and help build a successful democratic system, the education reforms were a

success. While their structure has been somewhat altered in place, their purpose remains in place. As the Pearson survey from 2014 shows, Japan's education system is successful in large part due to widespread support from the Japanese people. Despite the influence of conservative forces in the government, there still exists in Japan a strong opposition to militarism owing in part to the post-War curriculum that continues today.

Article IX of Japan's constitution has proven to be one the Occupation's most successful reforms. While it has faced large challenges after independence, it has remained un-amended 70 years later, and furthermore during this time Japan has not fought a war. As the renewal of the Mutual Security Agreement between Japan and the United States came to a vote in the Japanese Diet in 1960, huge protests rocked the capital city of Tokyo. The protests revealed an intense desire among the Japanese people to avoid being drawn into another war. Since 1954, the growth of Japan's Self Defense Forces has caused concern among many Japanese; however, it remains a non-aggressive and defensive force with limited size and limited capabilities. And while conservative forces in the Japanese Government, such as current Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, continue to push to amend Article IX in order to grant greater strength and greater capabilities for the Self Defense Force, the efforts have so far been unsuccessful. Both the structure and purpose of Article IX have remained intact. And even Shinzo Abe, who has led recent efforts to amend Article IX, publically recognizes that the Japanese people widely support it. As the Japanese people continue to embrace pacifism, the legacy of Article IX is one of success.

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