# FUTURE OF THE JAPANESE: DIFFICULTIES FACING ALLIES

## Threat of Conflict Between Aims of Ruling Class and Those of U. S.

### Return of nation to place in economic world as reward for co-operation

A highly complicated job now lies ahead in liquidating the war with Japan. That job, like the job of winning the war, falls largely on the shoulders of the United States.

**As war ended,** Japan still dominated an empire that covered the richest areas of the Pacific and of the Asiatic mainland, peopled by more than 500,000,000 individuals. The world's main sources of rubber, tin, quinine and much of its rice, vegetable oils, sugar and other products remained in Japanese hands. A scattered Army of 3,000,000 Japanese still was policing this vast empire.

**After war,** the task is to untangle Japan from her empire. The 3,000,000 troops on scattered islands, in China, in Manchuria, all through Southeast Asia, must be rounded up, disarmed, interned, transported home. More than 3,000,000 Army and Navy personnel inside Japan also must be dealt with. There is the task of occupying, ruling and readjusting a nation of 70,000,000 Japanese crammed back into their little islands.

A Japan that a few days ago remained one of the world's great powers, today is in the process of shrinking to the size of a little island power.

The task of working this transition will be at least as complicated as turning Germany from war to peace, and probably much more so. The task itself is made more difficult by the unusual fact in war that Japanese control and Japanese military power at the end of the fighting remain scattered over a vast area of the world.

**In Japan itself,** U. S. troops will be dealing with a strange people of a different race. General of the Army Douglas MacArthur, as commander of the American Army of Occupation, will give orders to the Japanese people through their Emperor. The American policy will be to maintain order and avoid revolution, and to that end General MacArthur may find it necessary at first to govern through the existing upper classes. Immediate problems of reconstruction will be acute. Hunger is widespread, industry is blasted, unemployment is serious. These problems are certain to get early attention.

**In Manchuria,** Russian troops will be doing the occupation job. This means policing an area with approximately 50,000,000 population. Ultimately, that area is to be turned over to China under the terms of the Cairo and Potsdam Declarations,

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to which Russia has subscribed. Here an immediate problem is control of Manchuria's coal, steel, chemical, petroleum and manufacturing industries. Those industries were an important part of the basis of Japan's warmaking power, and are being counted on by China as the keystone of her own industrial future. By occupying Manchuria now, Russia is certain to retain a strong influence there, no matter what is done with Manchuria later on.

***In China***, the Central Government of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek faces the job of ejecting the Japanese and re-establishing control over key areas. The seat of government probably will be returned to Nanking, long occupied by the Japanese. Shanghai will become once more the financial and trading capital. With extraterritoriality relinquished by the other

**JAPS ON U. S. FLATTOP**

**. . . the job is to untangle 3,000,000 scattered troops**

powers, China will assert her control over the old international settlement there.

Overshadowing the job of ejecting Japanese, however, is the threat of civil war between the Chiang and Communist regimes. The Communist groups are trying to obtain Japanese arms. Chiang's Central Government is telling the Japanese to keep their arms and fight the Communists if necessary. The Chiang Government apparently is counting on the new treaty with Russia to prevent Russia's intervention on the side of the Communists. It also expects U. S. aid in this struggle, through the supplying of American arms. Unless this dispute is speedily settled, China may become the world's No. 1 trouble spot.

***In Southeast Asia***, the British, Dutch and French governments will have the job of reopening one of the world's richest areas to outside commerce. Sources of oil, rubber, tin, rice, sugar and spices are waiting to be tapped. Complications may develop, however, in the rounding up of hundreds of thousands of Japanese who have been ruling this area.

***In the islands of the Pacific***, scattered garrisons of Japanese must be returned home. Where food supplies are

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lacking, some of these garrisons are starving. Elsewhere, as in the Solomon Islands, the Japanese are producing their own food. Many have married native women and settled down, and already are raising families. This situation will present a special problem for the American forces of occupation.

When the Japanese have been sent back to their homeland from all the territories they conquered, the question for General MacArthur is how to remold Japan into the peace-loving nation the Allies would like to see. On this, the attitude of the Japanese themselves may be determining.

LOSERS—JAPAN
. . . the seeds of future aggression?

***First evidence*** is that the Japanese leaders hope to retain their power over the Japanese people, in spite of the American occupation. Emperor Hirohito, in his broadcast to his people, defended his nation's action in declaring war on America and Britain and said Japan had been able to "maintain the structure of the Imperial State." He urged the Japanese people to continue as "one family from generation to generation" and to "enhance the innate glory of the Imperial State."

Similar thoughts are being expressed by lesser officials. Jusuo Oya, of the Japanese Broadcasting Corporation, in a broadcast to Japanese troops overseas, said: "We have lost, but this is temporary. . . . We do not think the way we have thought has been wrong." And a hint as to the method by which Japan hopes to come back was given by Lieut. Gen. Reikichi Tada, president of the Japanese Board of Technology, who stated: "At this time the national feeling is . . . a desire to rise anew, and in the years to come to advance science to the point where some weapon superior to the new-type bomb may be devised in revenge."

***If Japan resists***, as these statements suggest may be the case, General Mac-

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# THE DIFFICULT FUTURE OF JAPAN

## WINNERS—CHINA

## . . . the seeds of continued misery?

Arthur's job promises to be extremely difficult. In that event, the present ruling group will try to make keeping their power the price of preserving law and order. Such a situation might force General MacArthur to deal directly with the Japanese people in an attempt to foster democracy. Since few Americans now speak or understand Japanese, that might prove to be a big order.

***If Japan co-operates***, however, the United States is prepared to help her work toward a new place in the world, based not on conquest, but on competitive economic achievement.

***Japan's industry***, in that case, will consist largely of agriculture, production of silk and textiles, and light manufacturing of a type that cannot be converted to war-making. For such purposes, the Potsdam Declaration promised Japan "access to, as distinguished from control of, raw materials."

***Japan's foreign trade***, under such a setup, eventually could exceed even its former volume. Markets in this country for silk, toys and light bulbs might not be regained, but these markets could be replaced by new and profitable outlets in the Orient. The Japanese are ambitious and are skilled at industry and trade. In the past, they have led all the Oriental peoples in these respects. The American occupation forces will hold out to them the opportunity to regain this leadership by leading "peaceful and productive lives."

***The big question*** for the United States is how long American troops are to occupy Japan. The Potsdam Declaration says that the occupying forces of the Allies shall be withdrawn from Japan as soon as the objectives outlined are accomplished, and "there has been established in accordance with the freely expressed will of the Japa-

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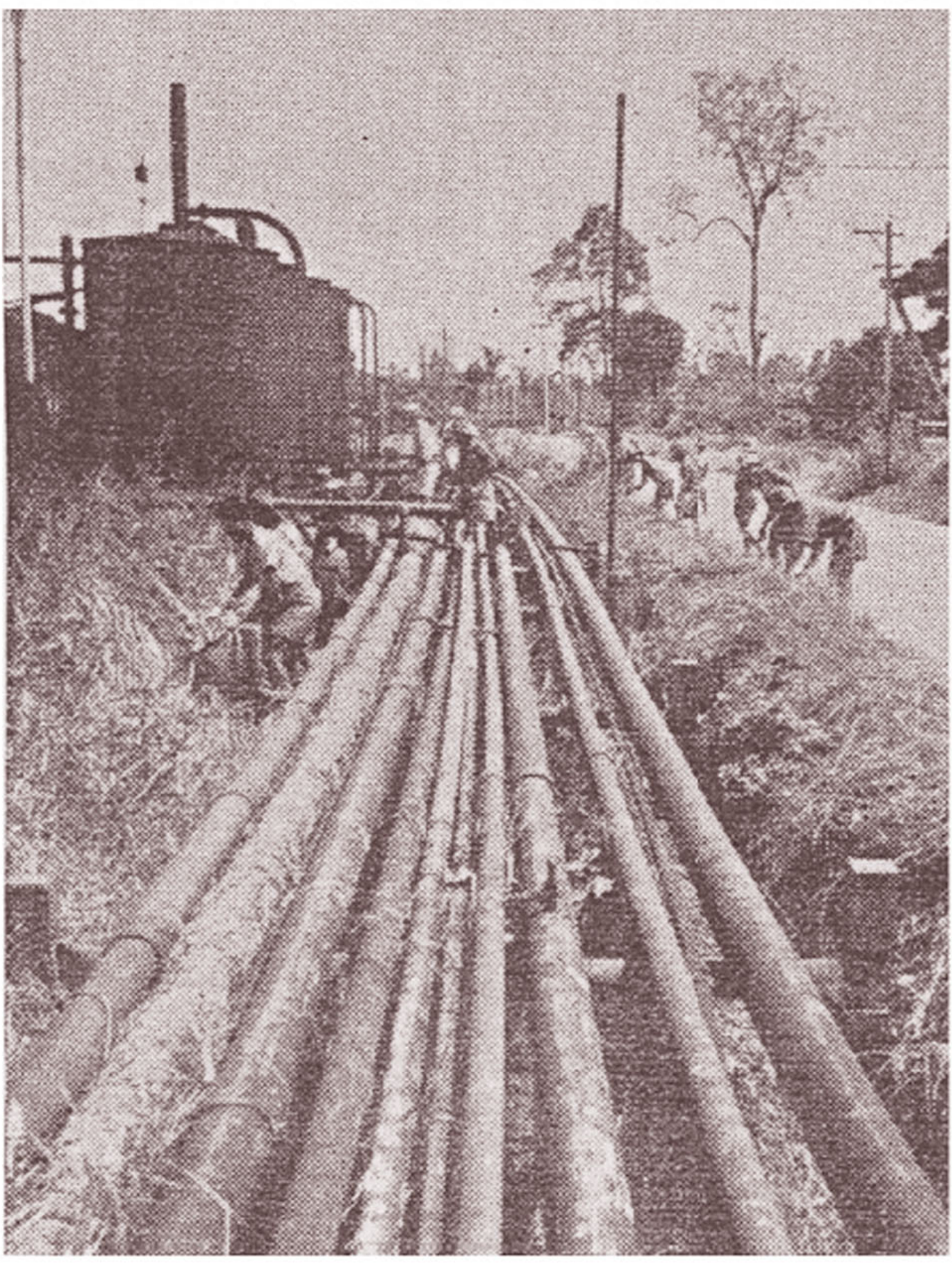

REOPENING OIL PIPE LINES
. . . Japs in jungles complicate things

nese people a peacefully inclined and responsible government."

U. S. officials appear to be thinking in terms of an occupation of only 5 or 10 years. Japanese officials, however, in looking ahead to a resurgence of Japanese power, appear to be thinking in terms of 50 or 100 years.

Scattered through the East Indies, the Philippines, Malaya, Indo-China, China, Manchuria and the islands of the Pacific will be thousands of Japanese civilians and former soldiers, who for years have been systematically penetrating these areas. The purpose of recent Tokyo broadcasts to these Japanese overseas may be to strengthen their ties of loyalty toward their homeland. They or their descendants may turn out to be the Fifth Columnists of a new Japanese bid for power.

While the Allies at present are acting in a spirit of unity, history shows that nations fighting on the same side in one war often are found on opposing sides in a later war. Right now there may be ground for Japanese hope in the threat of civil war in China and the possible opposing roles of Russia and the United States. If Russia and the United States become rivals for spheres of influence on the Asiatic continent, the Japanese may get their chance. That is the real long-range complication for this country as she starts to liquidate her war with Japan.

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