

NUMBER 1 SHIMBUN

August 2020 · Volume 52 · No. 8



RENOVATE AND RESET

The 75th Anniversary of Peace in the Pacific

**Singapore's
Japanese Interlude**

WALTER SIM

**Kohima: turning
the tides of war**

MONZURUL HUQ

**Occupational
Hazards**

ROBERT WHITING

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In This Issue

Our August issue commemorates Japan's acceptance of the Potsdam Agreement in the "Jewel Voice Broadcast" (Gyokuon-hōsō) at noon on August 15 1945. The Imperial line and Japan itself were renovated, then reset for the Cold War in Asia.

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Cover photo: Tokyo Bay, Japan, September 2, 1945. Presided over by General Douglas MacArthur, troops, top brass and reporters prepare for surrender ceremony on the USS Missouri, ending the Pacific War and WWII. Photo David Douglas Duncan, US Marine Corps/Torin Boyd Archive.

THE FRONT PAGE

From the President

Dear members,

The life of my 2019-2020 Board has been inadvertently extended by nearly two months, thanks to the complicated election system imposed on us by the Shadan Hojin Law. A certain voting percentage is now essential for any candidate to be elected. When members fail to vote in sufficient numbers, the Club and our staff consume much-needed resources on establishing the new Board of Directors.

I have been serving on the Board for more than four years. In every one of those years, we had to meet the challenge of an insufficient quorum when we held GMMs and elections.

My own and past Boards have racked our brains for ways out of this situation. How can we encourage members to vote for officials of their own Club? One suggestion was that those members who fail to vote in any one year should lose their right to vote in the following year. On one occasion we were unable to reach the required quorum to approve the annual budget. We eventually succeeded, but our electoral negligence brought us very close to shutting down all Club operations.

This year, as we await the result of the third round of elections to the Board, we have been obliged to set up a Caretaker Board comprising both new and outgoing Board members until we can elect our full 2020 Board. Once all new Members of the Board of Directors are elected (we're still one Director short), my Board's term will formally end.

The electoral issue must, I believe, become a priority for the new 2020-2021 Board. We must find an effective way to encourage members to participate in Club elections. Therefore my final request as FCCJ President is: please help your club use its resources wisely by exercising the privilege of your vote.

A historic moment

All of this comes at a historic point for our host country. August 15th marks the 75th anniversary of the "Jewel Voice Broadcast", in which the Showa Emperor broadcast Japan's acceptance of the Potsdam Agreement, effectively ending World War Two and the Pacific War. Many of our correspondents have been hard at work covering events related both to the August 15th statement and to the formal signing of the Terms of Surrender on September 2, as illustrated so graphically on the cover of this issue of *No.1 Shimbun*.

Today, the news in Japan refers to the anniversary of the end of the war in a tone of relative calm. When I first arrived here about thirty years ago, I was astonished by the intensity and extent of the coverage of events related to WWII in this region. No missiles were brought out of their silos in East and Southeast Asia, but the media war was waged with extraordinary ferocity, and some of these media battles have yet to die down.

Intense debate continues over issues such as the so-called "Comfort women", territorial disputes, the interpretation of history, and the meaning and value of official apologies. The



names given to wars and to "incidents", even whether the usage should be the "End of WW2", as often used in Japan, or "Japan's surrender", just as often used elsewhere, remain hot-button issues. And of course, Yasukuni, where a visit by a sitting Japanese Prime Minister on the 15th of August is still a hugely controversial issue. Sometimes it seems that these issues have been in the headlines forever.

After a few years as a correspondent here, my sense of surprise turned into no surprise at all. I became one of the herd of reporters obliged to cancel all personal commitments in the first three weeks in August in order to focus on the anniversaries of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and on the War Memorial Service held in the Budokan ceremony rendered so majestic by the attendance of the Japanese Emperor.

Our own story

Going back to the dawn of the FCCJ, this Club was established by correspondents who had been embedded with the Allied forces and then became a force of their own during the Occupation. Right from the start in October 1945, these men and women made our Club an essential forum for freedom of speech and expression in Japan. As will be seen in our October issue, the 75th Anniversary of the founding of our Club marks a historic milestone.

I have been granted the pleasure and been privileged by the honour of serving either as a Member of the Board of Directors or, more recently, as FCCJ President for twenty-one of the twenty-two years of my membership of our Club.

Along with all fellow members, the current Caretaker Board and, I am sure, every member of the imminent 2020 Board, I thank the membership, the staff and the news makers who have joined, attended, and worked so hard to maintain the FCCJ as one of the world's great press clubs. Like all of us, I look forward cheerfully to celebrating our Centenary twenty-five years from now.

● Khalidon Azhari, President September 2016 - June 2018;
December 2019 - present

FROM THE ARCHIVES

James Abegglen, Guru of Japanese Management



James Abegglen, Japanese management guru, author, and educator, pausing for thought during his presentation at the FCCJ on April 9, 1998. Abegglen was a founding member of the Boston Consulting Group's Tokyo Branch, with which he was affiliated from 1967 to 1983, who then established his own Asia Advisory Service (AAS) on top of publishing insightful books on Japanese business and teaching at universities. Looking on expectantly is Anthony Rowley (*Business Times*), the Club's 1st Vice President.

CHARLES POMEROY

Born in Michigan in 1926, James C. Abegglen's first encounter with the Japanese came while serving as a U.S. marine in WWII, during which he suffered wounds on Guam and Iwo Jima. At the war's end, he was assigned to Japan as a researcher for the Strategic Bombing Survey before moving on to a higher education at the University of Chicago. After receiving a Ph.D. in anthropology and psychology, he returned to Japan in 1955 on a Ford Foundation fellowship to study organizational differences between U.S. and Japanese businesses. Building on this knowledge, he went on to write key books acquainting the U.S. and the rest of the world with Japanese business management, structure, and strategies.

Abegglen's pivotal books include *The Japanese Factory: Aspects of Its Social Organization* (1958); *Kaisha, The Japanese Corporation* (1985, co-authored with George Stalk, Jr.); and *Sea Change: Pacific Asia as the New World Industrial Center* (1994). Familiar with U.S. business and industry from co-authorship of several earlier books, his 1958 revelations

on factory employment practices highlighted Japan's huge differences. He then edited, wrote, or contributed to a number of scholarly books on Japanese business management and economic relations prior to his 1985 *Kaisha* that explained Japanese business methods and strategies. His 1994 *Sea Change* presented opportunities and risks for corporate America in doing business in East Asia.

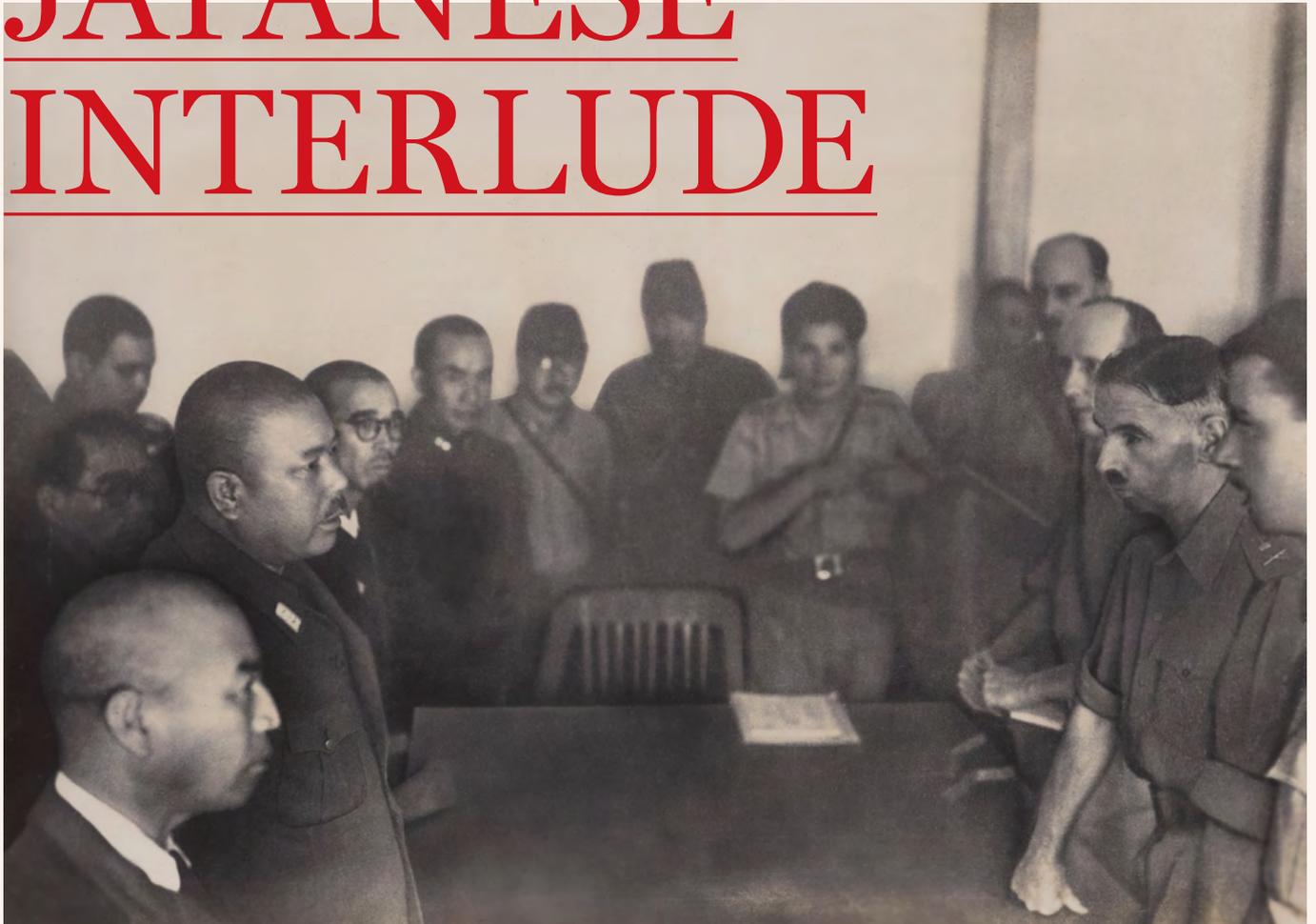
As an educator, Abegglen taught at the University of Chicago and Massachusetts Institute of Technology in the U.S. and Sophia University in Japan. He also served as a trustee at the International House of Japan. Married to a Japanese, he became a permanent resident from 1982 and in 1997 became a Japanese citizen. Many of these details can be found in an interesting interview Abegglen gave to Bradley Martin: <https://www.japaninc.com/article.php?articleID=152>.

Abegglen's career ended on May 2, 2007, when he died of cancer. His legacy lives on, however, especially at the International House of Japan to which he willed his book collection.

● Charles Pomeroy is editor of *Foreign Correspondents in Japan*, a history of the club that is available at the front desk.

FEATURE » *War Ends: The 75th Anniversary Issue*

SINGAPORE'S JAPANESE INTERLUDE



WALTER SIM

My late grandfather was a chatty man, happy to talk about anything and everything, except for his experiences during World War II. His uncharacteristic reticence meant he would eventually take these anecdotes to his grave when he died more than 20 years ago when I was a young boy, try as I did to pry wartime stories from him. My grandfather might not have been a national war hero, but it would have been tough for him - or anyone old enough to remember the war - to relive the three torrid years when Singapore lost its name and became *Syonan-to* (Light Of The South) during the Japanese Occupation.

Power in the Pacific

Singapore had, by the time of Japan's successful invasion, been long-established as an important Pacific port, and the key to British naval power in the Pacific, making it a crucial capture for the Imperial Japanese Army. The Empire of Japan ruled the island from February 15, 1942 to August 15, 1945. Among other projects, the Occupation authorities had set up on the territory a branch of the infamous biological warfare Unit 731 to study how to weaponise the plague, as well as malaria-carrying mosquitoes, and diseases like cholera, typhus and smallpox.



February 15, 1942: Lieutenant-General Arthur Percival (1887-1966) commander of 'Fortress Singapore' faces his captor, Lieutenant-General Tomoyuki Yamashita (1885-1946), Commander of Occupation forces.

FEATURE » War Ends: The 75th Anniversary Issue

SINGAPORE'S JAPANESE INTERLUDE



Language and power

The *Straits Times*, the newspaper which I work for, this year marking its 175th anniversary, spent three years renamed as the *Shonan Times* and the *Syonan Shimbun*. One notable headline from the archives had read “Nippon-Go Popularising Week: Your Future Depends Upon A Knowledge Of Nippon-Go”, with a story that chastised Singaporeans for “having made no effort to commence upon the study” of the language.

“It is difficult to understand the failure on their part,” the report said. “It is quite possible that they are unable to understand that without a knowledge of Nippon-go, their futures to this country will be beset with difficulties, hardships and even unemployment and destitution, unless they are content to work as unskilled laborers or coolies.”

As seen on television

I was just 11 years old when my grandfather passed, but even by then I had become acutely aware of how an older generation of Singaporeans must have suffered at the hands of captors that had seen themselves as superior to other races.

Part of this was due to popular culture: Singapore television ran an inspired-by-real-events blockbuster serial, *The Price Of Peace* (1997) that was produced by the state-run broadcaster. The prime-time drama featured scenes of suffering, air raids and brutal torture and,

most memorably, the rape and humiliation of a woman who was paraded naked in public.

Total Defense

National movements, as well as education, of course also played a major role in my learning about the war. Singapore practices the concept of “Total Defense”, an annual event held on February 15 to mark the surrender of the island’s then-British occupiers to the Japanese. “Total Defense” comprises six prongs - military, civil, economic, social, digital and psychological - and is annually commemorated with a ceremony and emergency preparedness drills in schools as well as the sounding of the island-wide Public Warning System.

Singapore’s Defense Ministry says on its website: “We mark Total Defence Day on 15 February every year as a reminder of what could happen to us if we cannot defend Singapore ourselves, and to strengthen our resolve to keep Singapore safe, secure, and sovereign.”

The S word

Social studies and history textbooks in schools now dwell at length on the fall of Singapore and the role that war heroes played in standing up to their captors. While the city-state has assiduously forged a forward-looking bilateral relationship with Japan, and does not take as much umbrage as China or South Korea over thorny issues like comfort women and political visitors

▲ 7-15 February 1942: Japan takes Singapore in 8 days: *The Straits Times* becomes the *Syonan Times* and *The Shonan Shimbun*.



▲ *The Shonan Shimbun* ca. May 1943. Japanese lessons had to be taught and publicised in the language of the enemy.

FEATURE » *War Ends: The 75th Anniversary Issue***SINGAPORE'S JAPANESE INTERLUDE**

★ *Nippon-Go Popularising Week* ★

**YOUR FUTURE DEPENDS UPON
A KNOWLEDGE OF NIPPON-GO**

Start To Learn Now!
THIS week has been set aside for the popularising of the study of the Nippon language, so as to convey to the public the will of our Government that every man, woman and child should learn Nippon-Go

A very large proportion of the public have made no effort at all to commence upon the study of Nippon-Go, and it is difficult to understand the reasons for this failure on their part.

It is quite possible that they are unable to understand that, without a knowledge of Nippon-Go, their future in this country will be beset with difficulties, hardships, and even misfortune and dejection, unless they will be content to work as unskilled labourers or coolies.

It is, of course, quite possible that they have not thought about the matter at all.

IT IS THRUROPPRE NECESSARY TO MARK THE

Civilians To Be Mobilized Into Govt. Service

Tokyo, June 5. (Dated.)

THE mobilization of civilians with special knowledge or ability in various fields into Government service was decided in principle on Tuesday when the Government in the Cabinet today agreed to create categories in the Civilian and Mobilization Bureau from Tokyo.

THE decision was taken with the aim of lightening administrative efficiency and facilitating co-operation between Government and civilian groups.

According to the plan, for establishment of categories, civilian organizations will be assigned to the Cabinet and each Ministry according to the War and Navy Ministries, to take possible maximum efficiency.

The mobilization will be chosen



Shonan Shimbun, Saturday Supplement ca. October 1942.

to the Yasukuni Shrine, the wounds of wartime still run deep.

Such sensitivities came to the fore when Singapore marked Total Defense Day in February 2017 by officially proposing to adopt *Syonan Gallery: War and its Legacies* as the name of a revamped war museum. The proposed change of title sparked such an uproar that the Singapore government, in a rare move, backpedaled days after its opening.

The National Library Board, which runs the gallery, had reasoned that the new name would serve as a reminder of “how brittle our sovereignty can be, as Singapore lost not only its freedom but also its name during the Japanese Occupation”.

The very idea that the Gallery, a national institution, could use the word *Syonan* provoked a huge backlash, including from war survivors and descendants of war heroes who declared that under this new name the Gallery would be glorifying a dark period of history. Two days later, on February 17th, Cabinet Minister Yaacob Ibrahim apologised, and said that the feelings of those who suffered terribly and lost family members during the Japanese Occupation must be honoured and respected.

In turn, a much less offensive name was chosen for the Exhibition, one I’m sure my late grandfather would also have approved: *Surviving the Japanese Occupation: War and its Legacies*.

The power of memory

Truth be told, I was surprised that the use of a single word could have evoked such a reaction three years ago. Perhaps I had

become desensitized to the name, never having experienced the war at first hand and given that my only interaction with the word *Syonan* had come from emotionless school textbooks.

But my initial apathy was most certainly not unusual, especially among the younger generation. Given the rapidly dwindling ranks of those World War II survivors who actually witnessed the atrocities committed during the Occupation, I cannot help but wonder whether the lessons and the legacy of the war will survive the test of time among future generations.

Meanwhile, the international order that was built on the ruins of the Second World War looks increasingly fractured and fragile as flare-ups around the world only serve to raise the question: what has the world really learnt since August 1945?

First-hand survivor testimony, as well as photographs and artifacts in museums, have helped recreate the experience, but are such evocations doomed to turn into dusty memories competing for attention with the information clutter most of us face each day?

And as memories fade, are governments right to risk awakening old ghosts, as ours did in Singapore? How long should sleeping dogs be let lie? Such questions will not go away. Rather, they will gain urgency with the passage of time.

● Walter Sim is the Japan Correspondent for *The Straits Times*, Singapore.

FEATURE » *War Ends: The 75th Anniversary Issue*

KOHIMA: TURNING THE TIDES OF WAR

ANOTHER VIEW OF WW2 IN ASIA

MONZURUL HUQ

With the fall of Singapore on February 15 1942, the British Indian Army surrendered and was quickly divided and transported to two locations by the Japanese Occupation forces. All officers, mostly British, alongside a handful of commissioned officers of Indian origin were marched to Changi. All NCOs (non-commissioned officers), rank and file troops and a few Indian officers were ordered to gather at Farrer Park, a nearby sports ground.

Here at Farrer Park unfolded a drama that would lead to the creation of an Indian national army set up with a mission to free India from British colonial subjugation under the guidance of the victorious Imperial Japanese Army. Around 40,000 men gathered on the sports grounds at Farrer Park, not knowing exactly what awaited them. Most expected to become prisoners of war, but none had any idea of what their new masters would expect of them.

The mission

A microphone was fitted on the second floor of the stadium building. Shortly afterward a Japanese officer, Major Iwaichi Fujiwara, made a speech in Japanese, later translated into English and then Hindustani, of welcome. Fujiwara asked the assembled troops not to think of themselves as prisoners of war but as friends of Japan. He finished by announcing that he was turning the command of all officers and men over to Major Mohan Singh, the most senior of the captive Indians.

Mohan Singh then came to the microphone and announced that together they were forming an Indian national army that would fight to free India and asked his audience if they were ready to liberate their motherland from



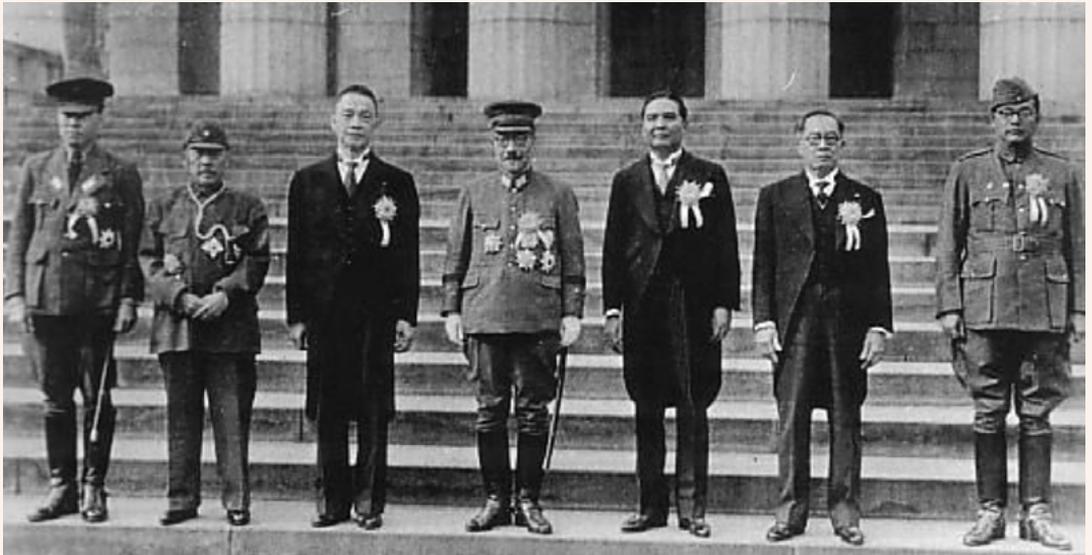
◀ Military positions during the Battle of Kohima

British colonial rule. It took a few minutes for the audience to react. However, quickly seeing a new door of opportunity to serve mother India in a meaningful way, they lifted their arms in jubilation.

This is how the Indian National Army (INA) was born from the defeated remnants of the British defense of Singapore, a force that would march alongside Japanese troops all the way

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►
Subhas Chandra Bose (extreme right) and other leaders of Greater East Asia with Tojo Hideki, Tokyo, autumn 1943



to Imphal and Kohima, the eastern gateway to India, where their adopted dreams would either come to nothing or, looking back, come to a premature end.

Uncertainty and disillusionment

Indians today see the formation of the INA as a symbolic act that paved the road to the independence that was achieved roughly five years after it got into marching order. However, the journey of the INA was from its inception rough and uncertain as it became clear that the role of the INA was not that of an independent military force designed to free India from British colonial rule, but rather a supporting arm of the Imperial Japanese Army.

This uncertainty and frustration led to the fall from grace of Mohan Singh, who, not long after taking nominal command of the INA was arrested by the Japanese and imprisoned until Singapore was retaken by British Indian troops



Subash Chandra Bose inspecting his troops before the final engagement at Kohima

in September 1945. Singh's political successor, Ras Behari Bose, was then entrusted by the Japanese to lead the INA. The INA became disillusioned with Bose, but the INA's sense of mission was restored by the arrival in 1943 of Subash Chandra Bose, a charismatic Indian politician who left Hitler's protection in Germany to take over the command of the INA.

The INA was welcomed in India once Subash Bose took the helm. But this enthusiasm was not uniform, as by then the independent movement within India was already gaining momentum under the leadership of the Indian National Congress and the All India Muslim League. Given this uncertainty and these schisms, when the INA finally reached Imphal along with the advancing Japanese troops, few in India expected it to achieve its declared aim to overrun India's cities starting with Calcutta.

The British retrench

The British Indian Army had by now regrouped under the command of Field Marshall William Slim. Slim had suffered defeat in 1942 when his battalions retreated before Japanese forces in Burma. However, by the time Japan launched the invasion of India through Imphal and Kohima in March 1944, Slim, under the overall guidance of Lord Mountbatten, since August 1943 Supreme Allied Commander in South-East Asia, had already cleared the way for a greater battle by bringing in American and Chinese support.

Until the spring of 1944, the Japanese had planned a breakthrough into Assam, affording Subash Bose an opportunity to encourage a

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◀
Subhas Chandra
Bose meeting
Hitler in Germany,
late 1930s

popular rising against the British, thus clearing the way to securing Japan's western flank.

And there in Kohima, the remote hill town base of the British deputy commissioner, the two sides clashed for a second time, the first having resulted in the routing of British defenses in Singapore and Burma.

This time the overstretched Japanese could not match the advancing British Indian troops supported from the air by the Americans, and the Japanese were soon on the retreat. Barely a month after their arrival in Kohima, Japanese troops were cleared from Kohima Ridge on May 13 and the battle of Kohima ended on June 6, 1944. There is a direct line from Japan's retreat from Kohima to the formal surrender of the Japanese in Singapore in September 1945.

Midway on land

For the Imperial Japanese Army, Kohima stands with the Battle of Guadalcanal as a turning point in the Second World War. It is the terrestrial equivalent of Japan's June 1942 defeat at Midway in the Battle of the Coral Sea. Despite the support of the INA, fighting on their native soil, Kohima put an end to Japan's dreams of gaining the mastery of Asia.

As for the Indian National Army, Kohima was an absolute end-point. Never again would its Indian fighters support Japanese troops against British imperialism. Many INA fighters



Subhas Chandra Bose meeting Tojo Hideki in Tokyo, ca. 1943

were taken prisoner, later to face trial for treason, by virtue of an Act that British India had to abandon in the face of mass national protest. By then, the INA had gained a mythical status as patriots of a supreme order.

By the law of unintended consequences, history reshapes the popular mind in unimaginable ways. To many Japanese, Kohima has re-emerged, not as a nightmarish rout for Indo-Japanese forces but as a symbol of friendship. In 2019, Prime Minister Shinzo Abe declared his intention to set foot in Kohima to pay respect to the fallen Japanese. The visit was cancelled, but the intention and its meaning were unmistakable.

● Monzurul Huq is Tokyo Bureau Chief of the Bangladesh daily *Prothom Alo* and a former President of the FCCJ.

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THE YURAKUCHO TAPES



James Abegglen with (left to right) Kaoru Ogimi, Jack Russell, and moderator Roger Schreffler

HOW THE FCCJ INVITED AND RECORDED OVER 50 WITNESSES TO A WORLD AT WAR

ROGER SCHREFFLER

Following in 1995, the 50th was the last big-anniversary chance to assemble a good sampling of high-profile witnesses to the war in the Pacific, and the FCCJ's Professional Activities Committee went all out to make it happen.

We kicked off the series with Saburo Sakai, a much-decorated Japanese fighter pilot who told us that on June 9, 1942, he had almost shot down a plane carrying one Lyndon Baines Johnson, then on a factfinding mission to Southeast Asia for President Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

Speaking at the Club on November 25, 1994, Sakai raised eyebrows in the audience when he criticized Emperor Hirohito for his role in Japan's decision to go to war. "He was commander in chief," said Sakai, standing straight and resolute. "We fought because he gave the decree to go to war. It doesn't make sense (for him) not to bear any responsibility..."

The programme

Our speaking programme ran for nearly nine months until early August 1995 and was widely followed in foreign and domestic media. Besides Sakai and other retired military and naval personnel, the series included a former Japanese Prime Minister, Yasuhiro Nakasone, and a future South Korean president, Kim Dae Jung. Among the other speakers were several POWs from Allied nations who were visiting Japan seeking redress. The programme served as a prelude for two follow-up series involving Club members. In

FEATURE » *War Ends: The 75th Anniversary Issue***THE YURAKUCHO TAPES**

total, including members, commentary by more than 50 individuals, foreign and Japanese, can be found in the FCCJ's archives.

Gebhard Hielscher, Japan correspondent for the *Suddeutsche Zeitung* and FCCJ President (1994, 1995) enthusiastically endorsed the project. The late Naoki Usui, a former Club president, took an active interest and personally approached many of the retired Japanese officers who agreed to share their stories.

Nuclear ambitions

Imperial Japanese Navy pilot Zenji Abe, a squad leader in the attack on Pearl Harbor, followed Sakai's talk. Other notable witnesses included Yasuo Yamamiya, a naval officer who spent the last six months of the war fighting in the jungles of the Solomon Islands, followed Abe. Next up was Tatsusaburo Suzuki, an Army lieutenant colonel who was involved in Japan's own nuclear weapons programme.

A physicist by training, Suzuki was one of a team of 50 scientists who worked on the bomb project, which never came close to completion. Would Japan have used the bomb? Suzuki, who broke many years of silence by coming to the Club, told us the most likely targets would have been U.S. air bases in the Pacific.

“Suicidal”

Also speaking was Masamichi Inoki, founder and chairman of the Research Institute for Peace & Security. In 1939, Inoki, as a young researcher at Mitsubishi Economic Institute, was tasked to conduct a special study on America's war-making capabilities for the Mitsubishi Economic institute.

Inoki's study concluded that a war with the West would be unsustainable, noting that in steel production alone, the U.S. produced 60 times more pig iron than Japan.

“To start a war with such a major power would be suicidal,” Inoki reported in 1939, adding that the U.S. had accounted for 30% of Japanese trade, imports and exports, since the Meiji Restoration. After the war, Inoki went on to become President of the National Defense Academy.

Naval “arrogance”

Masataka Chihaya, a former naval officer who survived the naval battle of Guadalcanal and the sinking of his ship, the battleship Hiei, admonished the Japanese navy for its “arrogance” and openly criticized Fleet Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto, who engineered the attack on Pearl Harbor, for not having a proper command structure in place.

Chihaya, who went on to become a renowned naval historian, traced Japan's catastrophic defeat at the battle of Midway in early June 1942 to a series of crucial tactical errors committed two months earlier during the Battle of Ceylon (today's Sri Lanka) on April 5, 1942. Although Japan won a victory, its naval commanders failed to implement corrective measures.

Chihaya made a strong case for the significance of British, not American, success in breaking the Japanese code and



Fighter pilot Saburo Sakai (standing) with former FCCJ President Naoki Usui



Beate Sirota Gordon

setting the stage for the U.S. victory at Midway where four Japanese aircraft carriers were sunk, effectively sealing Japan's eventual defeat.

“But even if Japan had won at Midway, it would have suffered a similar defeat by the end of the year,” said Chihaya. He knew what he was taking about. After all, Chihaya had collaborated with historian Gordon Prange on two standard works: *At Dawn We Slept: the Untold Story of Pearl Harbor* and *Miracle at Midway*.

The firebombing

For the American side, we hosted U.S. Air Force major general (Retd.) Earl Johnson, who spoke on March 9, one day before the 50th anniversary of the devastating Tokyo firebombing raid of March 10, 1945. As a young officer and navigator, Johnson flew on one of the lead B-29 bomber aircraft on the raid.

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During March 1945, the U.S. conducted five major raids in four cities, with the raid on Tokyo the deadliest, killing an estimated 88,000 to upwards of 100,000 people, a toll greater than the initial fatalities reported in the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. There, as more victims succumbed to burns and exposure to radiation, the cumulative total in Hiroshima eventually exceeded total fatalities in the March 10 Tokyo bombing.

Yoshimasa Yamamoto, eldest son of Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto, shared memories of his father and corrected parts of the record about the man whose biography was titled *The Reluctant Admiral*. Yamamoto provided intimate details of his final meeting with his father at a family dinner just one week before the Pearl Harbor attack.

Two women on women's rights

We were fortunate to recruit two significant contributors to women's rights in post-war Japan: Shizue Kato and Beate Sirota Gordon, both playing important roles in changing modern Japan with respect to the rights of women.

Kato, a legend in the woman's rights movement in Japan, expressed her disappointment with the Occupation's failure to follow through on efforts to "democratize" Japan, not just for women but for all Japanese citizens.

"When the war ended," she said, speaking shortly after her 98th birthday, "the Occupation was prepared to teach us democracy. They brought in many specialists, including specialists in the labor movement. They started off well. Unfortunately, war broke out on the Korean peninsula (with) their work only half complete."

Fifty years after the end of the war, Kato, an early advocate of family planning in Japan (in the war's immediate aftermath family planning consisted mainly of terminating pregnancies by abortion), lamented that Occupation goals still had not been achieved.

The Austrian-born Gordon, who as a 22-year-old collaborated on the women's rights provisions of the Japan's postwar Constitution, told us how she was recruited to be part of the team to write the "people's rights" section and was then tasked to write what eventually became Article 24, stipulating that "marriage shall be based only on the mutual consent of both sexes and maintained through mutual cooperation with the equal rights of husband and wife."

Gordon had grown up in Japan, her family having moved from Austria in the late 1920s. She matriculated at Mills College in Oakland, CA, in 1939 and was estimated to be one of the fewer than 50 non-Asian Americans (she naturalized in 1945) who were fluent in Japanese.

Gordon provided rich and colorful detail about her role in getting the women's rights provision into Japanese constitution. From March 4-5, 1946, when the Americans and Japanese finalized the constitution in a marathon 30-hour session, including the future role of the Emperor (Article 1) and the renunciation of war as a sovereign right (Article 9), Gordon took a seat in the room.



Former Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone (standing) with Naoki Usui



Masatake Chihaya, Commander, Imperial Japanese Navy

Colonel Charles Kades, deputy chief of staff to General Courtney Whitney, one of Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers General Douglas MacArthur's most trusted advisors throughout the Occupation, brought Gordon in to provide interpreting assistance to the American interpreting pool.

As expected, there was heated discussion about the future role of the Emperor. "It just went on and on," Gordon recalled.

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"We didn't get to the Rights and Duties of the People chapter (Article 3) until 1:00 a.m. At 2:00 a.m. (this would have been 16 hours after the meeting began), we finally got to Article 24. And all hell broke loose. The men on the Japanese side were just as vehemently opposed to the Women's Rights provisions as they had been about the Emperor.

"At this point, Colonel Kades, who had seen that the Japanese were favourably inclined towards me - they didn't have the faintest idea I was involved with the writing - turned to them and mentioned me by name. I was still "Sirota" at the time."

"Miss Sirota," Kades said, "has her heart set on the Women's Rights provision. Why don't we pass it?" The Japanese side was stunned. I mean, imagine in a discussion about a constitution to bring in such a personal matter? And they passed it."

In 1997, Gordon published her autobiography, *The Only Woman in the Room: A Memoir of Japan, Human Rights and the Arts*.

Speaking for Hiroshima and Nagasaki

Takashi Hiraoka and Hitoshi Motoshima, the mayors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki speaking at a joint session, openly criticized Japan's "war of aggression" in Asia while declaring that the atomic bombings on their cities, which targeted mostly civilians, to be illegal.

Estimates vary, but it is generally believed that between 70,000 and 80,000 died on the first night of the Hiroshima bombing and as many as 40,000 in Nagasaki. By December 1945, the totals had grown to around 140,000 and some 70,000 respectively.

Motoshima, who five years earlier had survived an assassination attempt for publicly criticizing the Emperor, declined to comment on the Emperor's war responsibility, although he was to do so at the Club ten years later at the 60th anniversary of the war's end.

"Because General MacArthur created a situation whereby the Emperor didn't have to assume responsibility, the question remains unresolved. But legal issues notwithstanding, he bears moral responsibility for what Japan did in his name, in violation of the Constitution, on the Korean peninsula."

Members remember

In a second series of talks, over 30 Club members discussed the firebombings in Tokyo, Yokohama and Nagoya, the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings, the Tokyo tribunals in which one witness, Takashi "Tak" Oka, former Christian Science Monitor correspondent, served as a court interpreter, and the "comfort women" issues. Others included the son of an Indian merchant family, Chuck Lingham, who emigrated to Japan in the 1935 only to be recruited into the Indian liberation movement during the war; Kaoru Ogimi, son of a Japanese diplomat father and Irish-Welsh-British mother, who was one of a small number of foreign wives of Japanese diplomats to remain in Japan during the war, and a Russian doctor, Eugene Aksenoff, who tended to condemned Japanese Class-A war criminals at Sugamo Prison.

In addition: three of Japan's most prominent interpreters in the postwar period, namely Sen Nishiyama, Masumi Muramatsu and Ichiro "Ken" Urushibara. Nishiyama went on to become interpreters for U.S. Ambassador Edwin Reischauer. The Club members' programme also included Frank Gibney, author, editor, FCCJ life member and interrogator of Japanese POWs, and Koichiro Ueda, deputy chairman of the Japanese Communist Party.

James Abegglen, (see Charles Pomeroy's portrait in this issue), who was wounded in the battles of Guam and Okinawa, and in September 1945 posted to Hiroshima with the U.S. military survey, discussed a range of issues ranging from spending Christmas Day, 1945, in Hagi, Yamaguchi Prefecture, to watching the "victor's justice" war crimes trials.

"I have no sympathy with those trials. If we were to discuss the causes of the war, they are more complex than American mythology would normally have it. I should've thought we'd have done better to have simply ended things and gotten on with our lives," he said. "But the immediate cause of the war was the U.S.'s blocking of Japanese supplies, oil supplies in particular, which was designed to turn Japan off. I don't think at that point Japan had much choice, not to say that the Americans turning off the supplies of metals and oil was without some justification."

Abegglen, who eventually became a naturalized Japanese citizen, was credited with coining the well known expression "lifelong employment" to characterize the Japanese employment system.

"Tokyo Rose" debunked

Former Club President Ken Ishii, a veteran newsman who spent more than 20 years with the International Herald Tribune, worked at Radio Tokyo toward the end of the war alongside Iva D'Aquino, née Toguri, shed light on the myth of "Tokyo Rose."

"To try and stay out of the army," recalled Ishii, "I got a job at Radio Tokyo (where) Iva Toguri and I sat across from each other at the same table for the year I was there. My job (like hers) was an English-language propaganda announcer, translating Japanese Imperial Army Headquarters communications to English and broadcasting them and other bits of news on what most people know as the "Tokyo Rose" program. Afterwards I was sent to the United States to testify at her trial."

D'Aquino, born in Los Angeles to Japanese immigrants, was visiting an ailing relative when war broke out and stranded her in Japan, leading her to seek employment at Radio Japan. She was convicted of treason in 1949 and sentenced to 10 years in prison, earning release after serving six years. Ron Yates, a former Tokyo-based correspondent for the Chicago Tribune who conducted extensive interviews with D'Aquino before her death at age 90 in 2006, told me that Ishii was one of 12 witnesses for the prosecution at her trial, but said nothing incriminating.

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“Having known her, I am sure she was never conscious of the subject of treason. We never discussed it. We were all trying to make a living, stay out of the war, stay alive. Everything was rationed. It was tough. And that’s all she was doing. That’s what we were all doing,” he reflected. “I am very convinced she never believed she had done anything against the United States. She was a victim of publicity by the Hearst publications and Harry Brundige and people like that who wanted a story. She was all too willing to talk about it. And, as she reportedly admitted to Brundige at the time with a smile: “the one and only.”

No more monsters

Donald Richie, widely known as an authority on Japanese cinema, arrived in Japan on New Year’s Day, 1946. Richie spoke about his experiences during the early years of the Occupation as a young military officer who would sneak off to movie theaters, prohibited for U.S. military personnel, where he developed many of his earliest insights into Japanese society and culture.

His first encounter with Japanese, in fact, took place several months earlier, in Shanghai in September 1945, when he faced a contingent of the Japanese army. His recollections of that encounter are worth noting.

In uniform and armed with a sketchpad, Richie was drawing pictures of the countryside outside Shanghai when behind him he heard soldiers marching.

“It was larger than a platoon,” he recalled, “maybe even a company. I supposed it was the beginning of some kind of repatriation. I expected (them) to be bright yellow, have buck teeth and wear glasses, smiling continuously. Treacherous really, having been told what we were told during the war.

“‘Clank, clank, clank, clank.’ I could hear them behind me. They didn’t have guns. But I saw an officer at the rear [who] I thought probably had a sword. And of course I already knew what Japanese ‘did’ to prisoners or people they’d discovered were the enemy. And nominally I was still the enemy.

“I didn’t turn my head. I kept right on sketching, brave as I was. Then everything came to a stop. And right behind me was the man I took to be the officer. And he said something. I was so surprised to hear him say something and it obviously was in Japanese. I knew no Japanese, but I was so impressed that I remembered for years what the syllables had sounded like.

“And when I finally learned Japanese, I finally knew what he had said. He was looking over my shoulder at my sketch and said “Nakanaka yoi” or “Not bad.” He was complimenting me. And then he marched off.

“Looking back, I thought that this is what the war was about. And this was a good lesson at the end of the war because I recognized them (the Japanese soldiers) not as Japanese but as people.

“And I remember the feeling of relief that I didn’t have to believe in monsters anymore, that I didn’t have to believe in something uncomplicated like a Manichaeism of ‘all bad, all good’, that the end of the war returned my humanity to me. And for that I will always be grateful.”

Richie shared the stage with Edward Seidensticker, who also came to Japan with the U.S. military in the early postwar period and went on to become a noted scholar and translator. Seidensticker, a marine, shared in highly personal terms his thoughts about the atomic bombing of Hiroshima as it related to bringing the war to an end.

“Looking back, I thought that this is what the war was about. And this was a good lesson at the end of the war because I recognized them (the Japanese soldiers) not as Japanese but as people”

National leaders on national issues

The issue of the “comfort women” was discussed briefly from a policy standpoint by future South Korean president Kim Dae Jung and former Japanese prime minister Yasuhiro Nakasone. Our focus was on the issue of legally sanctioned prostitution in Japan by a man on the streets of Tokyo during the Occupation as well as a Japanese journalist, Akira Murase, who wrote a book on the subject.

Jack Russell, whose job when he arrived in 1946 as a 19-year-old military policeman was to patrol the brothels for the U.S. military. Working in concert with U.S. military authorities, the Japanese government had set in motion the National Prostitution Order designed specifically to cater to Occupation forces. Russell, who would go into journalism

following his two-year stint, explained that part of the rationale was to protect the health of U.S. forces.

Russell also shared his recollections about American racism toward Asians at the start of the war, a legacy of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and the Immigration Act of 1924.

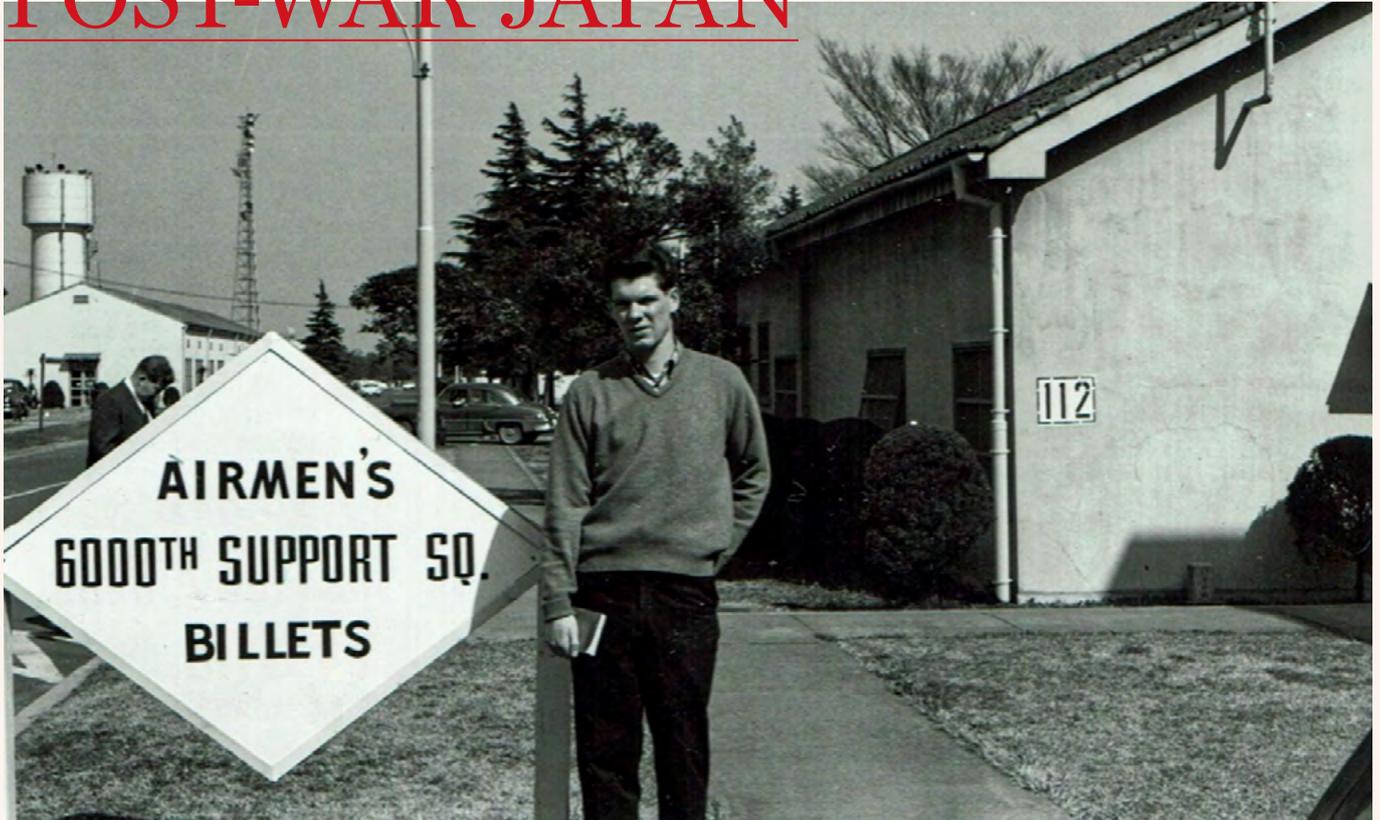
“We went into that war a pretty racist country,” said Russell. “We came out of the war, albeit slowly, with an improved sense of tolerance. We met people. It wasn’t a nice way to meet them. Nevertheless...”

The Club has over 40 hours of digitized recordings in the archives. They’re all there today, a legacy for us all on the 75th anniversary of the one of the greatest rifts between nations of the 20th century.

● Roger Schreffler is a business journalist who previously served as Club President and five-time Chair of the Professional Activities Committee at the FCCJ.

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OCCUPATIONAL HAZARDS: THE CANON AGENCY IN POST-WAR JAPAN



The author in 1962, aged 19 and working at the Elint Center

ROBERT WHITING

I first came to Japan in 1962, in the U.S. military, assigned to Fuchu Air Station in the Tokyo suburbs. I was 19 years old. I was a trained electronic intelligence analyst working in the Elint Center, a windowless bunker protected by armed guards, under the joint supervision of the CIA, which was making top secret U-2 spy flights over the Soviet Union and Red China three times a week, and the National Security Agency, which operated low-altitude flights and coastal surveillance missions in those areas.

The Elint Center was an important cog in the overall US defense scheme of things at the time. It was a primary target of the Russians during the Cuban Missile Crisis. At one point during that 13-day stand-off our superior told us to write our farewell letters home.

It was while working at the Center that I began to learn about the extensive history of American intelligence operations in Tokyo during the postwar era and came to learn about the Canon Agency, thanks to a veteran warrant officer who knew Canon. Later, after I had written *Tokyo Underworld*, I interviewed the

last two surviving Canon agents, Victor Matsui, a *nisei* from Los Angeles and one-time amateur sumo champion of the United States, and Alonzo Shattuck, an ex-Army Sergeant from St. Louis.

Genesis

The Canon Agency was a Black Operations group that dated back to the early days of the Occupation. Originally known as the “Z Unit,” it was created in 1946, along with other groups, by the G-2 Intelligence wing of the GHQ under General Charles Willoughby, who was alarmed by the advances of Mao Tse-tung’s armies in China, the existence of a pro-Soviet North Korea, and an increase in demonstrations by leftist groups in Japan that threatened the country’s political stability.

Jack Canon had served in Borneo and Manila during WWII as an explosives expert and became one of the first Americans to enter Tokyo after the war, arriving in September 1945 as a member of the 411 Counter Intelligence Corps (CIC).

Canon’s mother was from Germany and he spoke fluent German. One of his first acts upon landing in the bombed-out capital was to blow open the safe at the German Embassy, where he discovered documents that showed the notorious Sorge spy

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ring was still in operation. Canon took the papers to Willoughby at G-2. Willoughby, also of German descent, then gave Canon his own group to smoke out Communist spies in Tokyo.

Canon recruited 26 Euro-American, Japanese Nisei and Korean-American agents and trained them to conduct secret operations against the Soviet Union and communist sympathizers in Japan. The Canon group carried arms, made arrests and carried out interrogations. It was one of a number of such groups in the G-2 whose targets expanded with the creation of the Democratic People's Republic of North Korea and the Communist takeover in China, events which helped transform the Occupation's initial goal from turning Japan into a peace-loving Switzerland of Asia towards building it up as an Asian bulwark against communism.

Among many Canon Agency exploits was the 1948 infiltration of the newly established government of the DPRK, which, Canon learned through underworld informants, was manufacturing heroin refined from opium fields in Manchuria, with the intention of flooding the Tokyo-Yokohama area with it.

"The DPRK regime had two goals," Victor Matsui, who had spent most of the war in an internment camp in Arkansas, told me. "One was to sell as much of their drugs as possible in Japan and channel the profits to the Japan Communist Party. The other was to turn as many American soldiers as possible into heroin addicts so they'd be unfit to fight in the war that was coming on the Korean Peninsula, which broke out two years later in 1950."

Until then, there hadn't been a lot of heroin in Japan, except that brought in from China by the ultranationalist Yoshio Kodama, whose Kodama Kikan comprised of *yakuza* had plundered China to fund the war effort back home. (It was Kodama's wartime treasure chest that had founded the Liberal Democratic party in 1955.) However, the DPRK project was much more ambitious.

The Canon people came up with a daring counterplan. Posing as a *yakuza* gang based in Yokohama, under the leadership of a Korean-American from San Diego named Young Hou, Canon's agents traveled to Pyongyang and struck a deal with the generals to distribute as much heroin as they could supply. They returned to Tokyo and shortly thereafter, a North Korean fishing boat dropped off a dozen aluminum cans in a flotation device at the mouth of Tokyo Bay. Each aluminum can weighed one kilogram and bore the printed label, in English, *Red Lion*. Inside were packages of 99.9% pure heroin. The agents picked up the cans and took them to an office in Yokohama where they unpackaged the heroin and weighed and measured it.

Alonzo Shattuck piloted the boat that picked up the heroin canisters. As he told me, "The stuff was so powerful that just the few puffs of powder that escaped into the air during this measuring process were enough to get everybody stoned."

The agents, of course, did not want to deal the heroin, nor did they want to reveal their operations, so they stored it and sent word to the North Koreans that they had lost the shipment at sea and requested another to be sent. That was a lot of heroin to go missing.



Jack Canon, ca. 1946

The North Koreans sent another shipment, and another one after that, but grew suspicious when no GI junkies immediately manifested themselves. So they cut ties with Young Hou's impostors and struck deals with a succession of real *yakuza* gangs based in the Yokohama area. Soon heroin was being peddled on the streets of that city but cut as much as 20 times, with some of the profits siphoned off to the JCP.

"By the end of 1948," said Shattuck, "there were drugs all over the place. There was a certain bridge in Yokohama where you could buy heroin in any quantity you wanted. The dope was submerged underwater in waterproof packets attached to a string the dealer pulled up to fill your order."

After the real *yakuza* gangs took over distribution, the Canon Agency mission became one of intercepting the clandestine drug shipments. Violent shoot-outs between Canon's men and the gangs took place on beaches outside Yokohama, in public parks, and sometimes even in deserted shrines and temples in the small hours. In one battle at Yokohama's Nogeyama Park, Canon was wounded in the leg with a .38 caliber slug.

From 1948 on, narcotics manufactured in North Korea became a fixture on the drug scene in the Tokyo-Yokohama area. Drug trafficking was said to be worth more than a million dollars a year, an enormous amount of money at the time.

Despite all the heroin flowing into the country, the drug never really caught on among the Japanese. As Matsui explained it, heroin was a lethargy drug and Tokyo was a city on the go where people worked down to dusk as much as seven days a week. Speed was the perfect drug for a taxi driver, a night laborer, a student cramming for exams or a nightclub hostess.

Once the generals in Pyongyang figured this out, North Korea was perfectly willing to manufacture and supply it to them in the form of crystal meth, which became Tokyo's designer drug. There

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had been something called *hiropon* (Philopon), that was supplied to soldiers, factory workers, pilots and others during the war by the Japanese government, leaving many of them addicted and suffering adverse side effects such as migraine and blackouts because the drug was of such low quality. But the meth coming out of North Korea, distributed by the Yamaguchi-gumi and other gangs, proved to be a better product and dominated the under-world market for the next several decades. It is still available today, although China and Mexico are now the primary suppliers of crystal meth, synthetic cocaine and fentanyl.



The former Iwasaki House. Jack Canon's office was on the second floor to the rear of the building (Source: Wikipedia)

The Hongo House

The headquarters of the Canon Agency for most of the Occupation was the Hongo House in the former Iwasaki Estate (Kyu-u-Iwasaki-tei) built on a palatial scale, like something out of the Great Gatsby. On the sprawling 17,000 acre premises were three buildings: a two-storey western style mansion, a large 44-room Japanese-style house and a billiard house. There was also a garden with a lawn, stone monuments, stone lanterns, a hand washing basin and a tennis court. Originally the home of Baron Hisaya Iwasaki, eldest son of the founder of the Mitsubishi Group and its third president, the Iwasaki Estate was designed by the British architect Josiah Conder (1852-1920) and completed in 1896.

Canon's Headquarters in the Hongo House had the feel of an old European hotel. On the first floor was a big dining room with a fireplace, a big kitchen with a pantry, a library, nine bedrooms and four assorted smaller rooms.

Canon's office was upstairs overlooking the garden. According to his interpreter Vic Matsui, Canon had decorated the garden with empty coke bottles, tin cans, beer cans and light bulbs, and used them for daily target practice, often firing at them from his desk with the gold plated pistol he always carried with him. Once he took aim at an intruding crow and broke a store window in Ueno's Ameyoko-cho, a busy market area, causing a minor scandal.

Guns, midnight assignments and the third-degree

Canon knew more about firearms than anyone else in Japan. According to Matsui, "He was a real gun nut. He had the *Shooter's Bible* memorized. You could wake him up at 3 o'clock in the morning and ask him what the weight, length and velocity of a German Walther PK was and he could tell you, even half asleep." Canon, in fact, would later invent the Glaser Safety Slug and would die when a gun he was building went off and sent two bullets into his chest, thereby demonstrating that the slug was not all that safe after all.

"Canon was a night person," Shattuck told me. "All the agents were. His routine started after dark when he went out to meet undercover operatives, collaborators and rival agents, and also perform recon on suspected Communist activities. He'd assume a false name and go to bars and nightclubs, and receptions where he thought he could get the information he was looking for."

"The ladies liked Canon. A big guy, burly, good looking, with a high forehead. He was the kind of guy who could easily strike up a conversation with a beautiful woman whenever he wanted. It was a talent he used a lot with the Russian ladies. He would get them to invite him to Soviet receptions, and once there, he'd secretly take photos of people he thought were spies."

One of Canon's assets was a Japanese clerk at the Russian Embassy who provided him with secret reports including photos and details of communications equipment the Russians were using in Tokyo. Canon also turned a Japanese field operative working for the Russians to his side and supplied him with misinformation in the form of documents and tape recordings to dispense to his contacts.

When he wanted to send real information, Canon encrypted his messages, recording and compressing them, so that they could be sent over the radio in bursts lasting a matter of seconds. The receiving operator would record the message, then play it back at slower speed. Meetings with contacts usually took place in the middle of the night in public parks like the Hibiya in Tokyo and Nogeyama in Yokohama.

The Agency also used ethnic Korean *yakuza*, like Hisayuki Machii, boss of the Tosei-Kai, one of the top Tokyo gangs, to suppress leftist demonstrations in and around the city.

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In the basement of the Hongo House was a utilitarian office with a desk and a cot in the corner that looked like it had once been a bedroom or servant's quarters. There Canon and his people would interrogate known or suspected Communist sympathizers they had arrested.

"They held one guy down there," said Shattuck, "a leftist journalist named Kaji Wataru, who was also a spy for Red China, for five months. Canon kidnapped him off the street. He was lucky in a sense because he had tuberculosis and our doctors cured him of it, but only after he had given it to a couple of our agents."

The Canon Agency held onto Kaji until December 1951 as the Occupation neared its end and they had to leave. According to Shattuck, "They didn't know what to do with him. So they turned him over to their Japanese counterparts in intelligence, who didn't know what to do with him either. They held on to him for a while and then released him. He went straight to the police and the newspapers picked it up and it became a national scandal. That's how the Japanese public first learned of the existence of the Canon Agency and that it was a Black-Ops group. The leftists went nuts. They blamed all sorts of unexplained events on us, like the train wreck at Matsukawa in 1949. But they didn't know what they were talking about."

Closing down

The beginning of the end for the Canon Agency came shortly before the Occupation closed down. A CIA representative simply walked in one day —appropriately clad in a trenchcoat and fedora — and announced that all military intelligence operations in Japan would thenceforth come under the CIA's control.

Said Shattuck later, "It was a complete fiasco. The people they sent over from Washington couldn't find their ass with both hands."

There were many resignations as a result, starting with Jack Canon, who immediately asked for a transfer and was sent to Fort Hood, where he wound up working for the CIA anyway. H.L. Hunt, one of the Kennedy assassination's suspected financiers, was another. (Canon was spotted in Dallas, with Willoughby, on the day Kennedy was shot.)

Shattuck also resigned and stayed on in Tokyo to go into the night club business, opening up the Latin Quarter in Tokyo's Akasaka district in 1952 with the Manila-based gambler Ted Lewin and another Canon Agency veteran, Saburo Odachi, a 10th dan judo black belt from Southern California. Later Shattuck and Odachi opened Club 88, a popular Roppongi watering hole. Victor Matsui went on to work for the CIA in Southeast Asia.

The CIA, however, did prove to be effective in its own way, despite the deprecations of Canon, Shattuck and others. The Agency had paid the LDP one million dollars a month through most of the 1950's and 1960's, using trusted American businessmen as go-betweens. Among them were executives from Lockheed, the aircraft company then building the U-2 and negotiating to sell warplanes to the newly set-up Japanese self-defense forces.

The CIA also helped get Nobusuke Kishi, a former Class A War Crimes suspect, and descendant of a samurai family, elected to the presidency of the Liberal Democratic Party and subsequently the post of Prime Minister. Kishi (maternal grandfather of Japan's current prime minister, Shinzo Abe) was notorious for his brutal rule of the Japanese puppet state of Manchukuo in Northeast China in wartime, using yakuza thugs to keep Chinese workers in line, and his lavish spending amid much drinking, gambling and womanizing. Kishi was released from Sugamo Prison in 1949 on the very day General Hideki Tojo and others were hanged, under an agreement with GHQ whereby Kishi would work with the Americans to pursue conservative interests in exchange for political and financial support.

As Prime Minister of Japan in 1960, the flop-eared Kishi oversaw the Diet ratification of the extension of the Mutual Security Treaty, originally signed in 1951 despite massive public opposition in Japan, allowing for the stationing of U.S. troops on Japanese soil. Kishi also allowed the Americans to secretly store nuclear weapons on military bases in Okinawa.

Following the end of the Occupation, new U.S. intelligence agencies came into operation. One was the National Security Agency, established by U.S. President Harry S. Truman in 1952 and funded and overseen by the Secretary of Defense, which co-managed my duty station, the Elint Center. Two others were the Defense Intelligence Agency, which Defense Secretary Robert McNamara created in 1962 after the Bay of Pigs fiasco, and the National Reconnaissance Office, set up in 1962 to build spy satellites.

But the CIA, with its monetary pipeline to the highest levels of government, was the most active U.S. agency in Japan. At the time, no-one was privy to everything that was going on. Some people knew about the connection between the CIA and the *yakuza* but hardly anyone knew about the pipeline between the CIA and the ruling LDP.

And no one knew about the operations of the Canon Agency. All records were destroyed and the activities of the group remained secret for a long, long time until Canon granted an interview to NHK decades later in 1977 and the aforementioned Young Hou wrote the memoir "Kyanon Kikan Kara No Shougen", (Bancho Shobo, 1973), a work noted for its exaggerations. Jack Canon shot himself on March 8, 1981, the first victim of his own invention, the Glaser Safety Slug, at his home in Maclean, Texas. Matsui passed away in 2016 but Alonzo Shattuck is still alive and residing in Fountain Hills, Arizona.

● Robert Whiting's *Tokyo Underworld: The Fast Times and Hard Life of an American Gangster in Japan* was first published in 1999 and is available in paperback from Penguin Random House (Audio version also available). It is currently under option to Legendary Global. The Canon Agency will be explored in greater depth in a forthcoming English edition of his *Tokyo Outsiders* (Kadokawa Bunko, 2004).

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AFTERMATH

VETERAN MEMBERS LOOK BACK ON POST-WAR DAYS

SUVENDRINI KAKUCHI



The Ginza, Shimizu, ca. 1946, looking towards Shimizu Bridge and Hongo-cho (photo by Yamanashi Toshihiko).

Jun Takahashi

Veteran FCCJ Associate Member Jun Takahashi was 11 years old when Japan surrendered in August 1945. As impoverished and uncertain as all Japanese at that traumatic time, Jun's experience of growing up illustrates the complexities of life during the American occupation. Against the backdrop of impoverishment and war-weariness that gripped the country, Jun's experience of growing up reflects the complex relationship the Japanese had with their new masters.

Living in Shimizu, a port town close enough to the shores of the Pacific Ocean to be spared the worst of the Allied bombing, Jun kept up his schooling but developed an obsession with sweets, even dreaming of candy.

"Life was basic then and the very thought of having an ice cream represented an impossible luxury. So I only salivated on the possibility of eating one," he mused when we spoke recently.

The extended Takashi family managed a small pharmaceutical company in which Jun's father was employed.

Getting by

Like most of his friends, Jun, the eldest of 6 children, also worked part-time in Shimizu port delivering packages to trucks to supplement the family income. Food was scarce and malnutrition was rampant. Several uncles had died fighting in Manchuria. Yet Jun remembers, despite the enormity of the losses, the public mood was stubbornly grounded to look ahead. Even on those rare occasions when questions about the war were raised, the standard explanation was that Japan had lost because the military pursued the wrong strategy.

The public mood reflected a resistance when it came to finding a deeper meaning in the personal suffering and the slaughter of 3 million Japanese who had sacrificed their lives for beliefs now discredited under the new schooling system established by the Americans, Jun explained.

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Jun Takahashi (tallest, back row, right) aged 16, and family, Shimizu City, 1950



Jun Takahashi on good form at the FCCJ

English lessons

Jun credits his love of English for playing a central role in his survival. For example, being able to visit the United States as a Fulbright fellow where he studied film and the arts, and his former two marriages to American women. That precious talent was nurtured by his mother who had imposed a love for the English language that she taught by using Japanese *senbei* rice crackers. “I took to the lessons like a duck to water. English opened the door to exciting paths in my life,” he said.

Buoyed by his English ability, Jun absorbed the new culture of freedom that was emerging. The family had moved to Kanda, Tokyo, and Jun attended school where remnants of the old discipline were rigidly imposed, even though his own particular resentment, bowing to the Emperor each morning had been discontinued.

At home, children still hesitated to question the authority of the father, who was still revered and treated with the same respect as before the war. Much of this eased for the teenage Jun when he attended bible studies at the local chapel. His American teacher taught differently, encouraging students to “ask Jesus any question”, while also encouraging friendship.

“I entered a world of living English, a culture that was not possible in Japanese society. I made friends quickly and invited my GI friends to meet the family,” he said. Jun recalls the warm welcomes given to the Occupying forces. His grandmother even spoke to them in English.

Setsuya Kobayashi

Setsuya Kobayashi’s member card number is KA48, making him one of the earliest members of the FCCJ. Now 87, Setsuya’s long membership is witness to the rich history of the club, a legacy founded by the journalists and buttressed by the many Associate members at the core of our Club.

Kobayashi joined the FCCJ in 1965, a year after he returned to Tokyo from the United States to join a subsidiary of the then Chicago-based Zenith Electronics, a world leader in electronic

Victors and subjects

Still, there was no denying the differences between the Japanese and the foreign victors, who were regarded as superiors for their affluence and higher quality of life. The difficulties implicit in relation with Occupation personnel permeated Jun’s feelings as he watched children following GIs, pretty Japanese women draped over their arms. As a student at then left-leaning Waseda University, Jun opposed the US-Japan Security Treaty and dabbled with communism, a personal quest for many Japanese youth grappling with the numerous political contradictions and scandals shaking Japan in transformative post-war years.

Jun joined the Foreign Correspondent’s Club of Japan in 1973 when he was employed as marketing head for *Reader’s Digest*. Founded as a gathering place for foreign journalists to report on Japan it was first located in the Mainichi Newspaper building in Takebashi and then moved to the Dai-ichi Semi building in Hibiya. The Club was a hive of activity where Japanese members gained access to foreign opinions and ideas over drinks at the bar.

Seventy-five years later, Jun believes this critical role continues to attract Japanese members to the Club.

“Japan may now be an important global player in international affairs. Even more reason why the FCCJ remains a place for us to deepen our understanding of the world,” he points out.

radio and television receiver production, notably the ‘all-wave’ radio. He returned to Tokyo at the height of US influence: the world’s most powerful nation reshaping Japan to the grand design of Pax Americana.

On American terms

Taking up a new post as an expat, Kobayashi was hired on American terms as head of marketing at Zenith Japan, as a consequence of his university education in the United States. The Japanese subsidiary was more than ready ready to move ahead.

FEATURE » *War Ends: The 75th Anniversary Issue***AFTERMATH**

◀ Setsuya Kobayashi with friends at the Yurakucho Club premises. Left to right, Donald Houk, Baba of IRS's FB manager, Thomas Brown, Nagomi Koike, David Young and Setsuya Kobayashi.

“We had strict quality control, with every product part manufactured in US factories. Japan faced the uphill challenge of catching up,” he recalls.

The quest for quality control was taken with the utmost seriousness and determination. Having just emerged with a national image considerably burnished by the 1964 Olympics, Japan was more than ready to forge ahead and shed its tragic past. According to Kobayashi, while American businesses viewed Japan as a cheap manufacturing base, the ambition sweeping the nation was to learn, master and catch-up with the victors.

No turning back

There was no turning back. Kobayashi remembers umpteen visits to factories in the United States by Japanese engineers and by renowned business leaders such as Matsushita Konosuke and Sony's Morita Akio. Morita, Matsushita and many others visited thousands of American factories to look, learn and adapt US manufacturing skills and management systems to the home economy.

“Japanese products were strictly checked by the American supervisors and returned for revision and reproduction. That process was taken seriously by managers determined to change the image of Japan-made products as cheap and unreliable. They succeeded, displaying the commitment that is the essence of Japanese post-war recovery.”

Wartime in Kobe

During the last years of the war, Kobayashi was based in Nishinomiya, Kobe, a Treaty Port open to foreigners since 1858 and subject to considerable Western influence. In 1901, Arthur Hesketh Groom and friends completed Japan's first golf course on Rokko-san in Kobe. Meeting foreigners, though not on familiar terms, was not unusual for the young Kobayashi.

“The atmosphere in the city was different, which opened my eyes. As a boy I used to sit on the pier watching the vast ocean before me and dream of exploring the vast continents that lay hidden in the distance,” he told me.

While Kobayashi did witness deaths from bombings and lived with the dread of the defeat shared by most Japanese, a dread made all the sharper by his own foresight, his family was spared the ordeal of losing close relatives. Kobayashi senior had special engineering skills and was not sent to the front line but enlisted in the Navy to navigate Japanese warships. When the war was over, the family embraced western culture playing tennis with foreigners and speaking English.

Occupation

“I feel the American post-war strategy for Japan was strict but was not as harsh as practiced in other countries. In return, the Japanese people also avoided animosity towards their victors. We were more accepting of them,” he mused.

The FCCJ played its own role in cementing personal relations between the two countries. As one of the few Japanese members who was also a fluent English speaker representing an American company, Kobayashi enjoyed the special atmosphere of the Club. Small things stand out. For example, being invited to events accompanied by his wife, expressing individual opinions, and other cultural traits less observed in Japanese society. Yet, as he sees it today, Kobayashi views the separatism between foreign correspondents and associate members at the Club as a lingering issue that could be improved to the benefit of both categories.

● Suvendrini Kakuchi is Tokyo Correspondent for *University World News* in the UK.

CLUB NEWS

New members

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS



AKIKO KINOSHITA is President and CEO of Owls Co. Ltd., One World Language Services.



KEISUKE OGATA is Communication Director for the Sasakawa Peace Foundation



SHIGEO OGURI is President and CEO of Netz Toyota Nagoya Corporation.



SEIICHI YAMAMOTO is President and Director of Urban Co. Ltd.



YUSUKE MURAYAMA
REGULAR MEMBER (freelance)
Yusuke Murayama has been a freelance journalist since April 2020, after 19 years on the *Asahi Shimbun*. He covers global issues such as migrants, refugees, conflict and development.

Murayama-san was awarded the Vaughn-Ueda Memorial International Journalistic Prize in 2019 by the Japan Press Research Institute, and the Encouragement award in the documentary category by the All Japan TV Program Production Alliance (ATP) in 2018.

He was the *Asahi's* diplomatic correspondent in Washington DC from 2009-2012, then Dubai bureau chief from 2012-2014. At the *Asahi*, he also covered the Prime Minister's Office, Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (METI), Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA), and the Tokyo stock exchange. Murayama-san is a keen backpacker, and a lover of hot springs.

Exhibitions

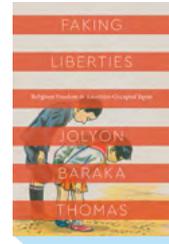
09/05 - 10/02 **Osamu Nagahama: Cotton Fields**

10/03 - 11/06

Photo Correspondent Stanley Troutman: From Hollywood to the Pacific War

New in the library

1



Faking Liberties: Religious Freedom in American-Occupied Japan
Jolyon Baraka Thomas
The University of Chicago Press

2



Ise: Japan's Ise Shrines Ancient Yet New
Suvend M. Hvass
Aristo Publishing
Gift from Kent Dahl

3



Masu komi sekuhara hakusho (The State of Sexual Harassment in Media) Women in Media Network Japan (WiMN) Masu Komi Sekuhara Hakusho
Bungeishunju
Gift from Suvendri Kakuchi

4



Boku no kareshi wa dokoni iru?
Boku no kare wa doko ni iru?
Taiga Ishikawa
Kodansha
Gift from Taiga Ishikawa

5



Gei no boku kara tsutaetai: "suki" no? (hatena) ga waku hon
Gei no boku kara tsutaetai "suki" no? (hatena) ga waku hon
Taiga Ishikawa
TaroJiro-Sha Editus
Gift from Taiga Ishikawa

PHOTOGRAPHY

STANLEY TROUTMAN

Stanley Troutman became a professional photographer aged 20 in 1937, when he joined the Los Angeles bureau of Acme Newspictures. Starting out as a darkroom assistant, he soon worked his way up to staff photographer and covered the golden era of Hollywood.

In 1944, Acme sent Troutman to the Pacific Theater where he was embedded with the Wartime Still Picture Pool. His first assignment was Saipan in June 1944, followed by Tinian, Peleliu, Guam, Borneo, Leyte, Luzon, Manila, and Corregidor, where he barely survived hostile fire during a beach landing.

In July 1945, Acme assigned Troutman to the Army Air Force (AAF) on a worldwide press tour aboard a plane called the 'Headliner'. By mid-August, Troutman was in Shanghai, covering the release of internees from the Chapei internment camp.

Troutman returned to Japan on August 30, 1945 to cover the arrival of General Douglas MacArthur at Atsugi. He toured Yokohama and Tokyo, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, bombed-out aircraft factories in Nagoya.

By late September 1945, Troutman was back home in Los Angeles settling into postwar life. In 1946, he left Acme to work for the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), where he headed up the school's photo publicity and film department until 1980. He passed away on January 2, 2020, aged 102 in Orange County, California.

The photographs on these pages are derived from a documentary film on the life and work of Stanley Trout-

man that photo historian and film maker Torin Boyd is completing for release in late 2020. The Club will be holding an Exhibition of Stanley Troutman's photography in October.



Stanley Troutman, 101, with his beloved 4x5 Speed Graphic camera, catching the Pacific sunset at Corona Del Mar, Ca. Photo Torin Boyd.

PHOTOGRAPHY



Atsugi airfield, Japan, August. 30, 1945:
Defeated Japanese forces march past US
Army Air Force planes. Later that day, General
Douglas MacArthur arrived to take control of
the base, then oversight of Japan as Supreme
Leader of Allied Forces Pacific (SCAP) from
1945-1951. Photo Stanley Troutman Estate.

PHOTOGRAPHY



Tokyo, early September 1945. The charred remains of the Ginza district. The Wako Department Store at centre was soon converted into the Base Exchange or "PX" for US military personnel. Photo Stanley Troutman Estate.

PHOTOGRAPHY



Nagasaki, September 13, 1945. A family makes do in the ruins of Nagasaki, struck on August 9, 1945. Over the next two to four months, the acute effects of the atomic bombing killed between 39,000 and 80,000 people in Nagasaki. Photo Stanley Troutman Estate.



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Outside Kanto Regular or Outside Kanto P/J Associate member

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