

for him, and must both adjust his relation to the government and democratize the government. But we cannot do that for them, or in the trying will even strengthen his power--or better stated, the military power that uses him as their tool.

Other than this wise insight into the Japanese political and psychic situation, how worthless is our propaganda offensive against Japan. We are radioing to them about our military prowess, our victories. But we say nothing about the things that a Japanese liberal or Christian would be listening ^{for} while in danger of his life for listening. What about repeal of the Exclusion Act, to show that Japan's propaganda is wrong--That Japan fights against the racial arrogance of the West? It would help about as much to be able to announce that India had been freed, the The Netherlands government was willing to give her colonial peoples freedom now. What are we saying about reconstruction of Japan, strengthening of her industries in the interests of the common people (when our government and capitalists right up to Pearl Harbor ~~XXXX~~ was busy at strengthening the imperialist army, and the great family monopolies)? What can we say about our treatment of Japanese--and Negroes--in America? Of course we can quote the few vague ~~XX~~ promises of the Atlantic Charter that we promise to apply to all nations, but can we also quote--what Mr. Tojo must now be very busy quoting--the Churchill charity, "we mean to hold our own"?

Frank Herron Smith, knowing him well, must be saying some of the very things that will make ineffective our appeals to Japan, in his broadcasts from KGEI. But in one of his broadcasts he gives sample of possible, positive ~~XXXXXX~~ appeal to the Japanese masses--that if we only had practical, political offers to accompany this kind of talk with, would go far to shortening the war, winning the peace.

"Woe to you, false prophets, destroyers of your own people and your own country! You are doomed. All you will give Japan is a procession of little white boxes containing the ashes of your choicest youth. The present Yasukuni Shrine will hardly be big enough to hold all the little tablets. Your name, Tojo, will go down in history with the names of Judas Iscariot, Benedict Arnold and other traitors. You and all those associated with you in your dastardly aggression are marked for destruction and your days are numbered. Our hearts are filled with sympathy for the millions of innocent Japanese men, women and children who must die because of your selfish and insane ambition...."

In fact, even in this talk is some of the spirit that will help cancel the effectiveness of our propaganda. There is a partial failure to recognize the age-long psychology of the Japanese people, increased by our increasing their racial pride through our racial arrogance. We must first admit that we helped drive Japan into this war, and then (as repentance) promise to take away the occasion for Japan's warlikeness through such definite actions as the repeal of the Exclusion Act, etc., etc. Then of course, his talk promises the downfall of Tojo but by military means, and the downfall of Tojo by such means ~~XXXXXX~~ signifies of course our promised destruction of Tokyo (Gen. Stillwell, et al) and other cities--In other words, ^{the killing} these same "millions of innocent" that we are "filled with sympathy" for: Are the Japanese innocent millions so ~~AM~~ unintelligent that they cannot see that for a military downfall of Tojo to come there also must come death of millions of these innocents?

Here below is a tentative program, that after careful revision and studied application to the special problems involved in the case of Japan, could be pressed by pacifists and liberals as a program for our government at least, and if possible for the United Nations. ~~XXXXXX~~ ("If possible for the United Nations". One of the major members of the United Nations, China, has been the most specific and generous ~~XXXXXX~~ member in her statements about
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the post-war world. CHIANG Kai-shek: "In the spirit of the saying 'All men are brothers', we shall regard it as our responsibility to treat the peoples of Asia, like all oppressed and suffering humanity elsewhere, as equals and to help and support them. Recognizing equality as the highest guiding principle of international affairs, we shall do well neither to underestimate nor overestimate our own importance and dignity". He declared China's aim to be "the restoration of her original frontiers and in regard to the rest of the world a gradual advance of all nations from the stage of equality to that of an ideal unity". No cynicism or vengefulness here. The Generalissimo has several times in the last twelve months made it clear that China "has no desire to replace Western imperialism in Asia with an Oriental imperialism or isolationism of its own or anyone else" and has gone ahead to list several specific principles to guarantee this and a just peace for all in the Orient. I have in the last few months heard different official spokesmen for China in L.A. talking on China's will for the post-war world and they are almost invariably more generous towards post-war Japan than the American arm-chair generals that speak on the same platform with them.

This all helps to make clear that the nations and peoples of the East must all be dealt with as one, for a freeing of India and the Dutch East Indies for example, will encourage the liberals in Japan, and unless we can recognize Japanese as equals and promise Japan also a just peace arrangement, no matter if we give China and India a bit better treatment, they and all Asiatics will have reason to suspect us--and rightly so. The fact will be, if we are ungenerous in our plans, especially present plans, towards any section of the Asiatic peoples, it will be taken as our distrust and superiority feeling towards all Asiatics--with only variations in degree of feeling towards Japanese, Chinese, Indians, Malaysians.

I have taken all this space for preliminary and introductory material, since our understanding of the Orient is so little, since our racialism is so strong, so the problem is so involved--even more than in our post-war treatment of Germany and Italy.

TENTATIVE PROGRAM:

Naturally this program can only gain mass support and thus governmental acceptance by a better knowledge of the true Japan than the public now has. For this there must be a wider reading of the objective interpretations of recent Japan (as with William Henry Chamberlin's excellent "Japan Over Asia"). One sample bit of knowledge that would help a lot would be the report of Otto Tolischus, New York Times representative in Tokyo till Pearl Harbor, that the assault on Pearl Harbor was touched off by a "virtual revolt" of military extremists. The great likelihood that the Emperor did not know of this move, backed by strong circumstantial evidence (Once before--1931 to be exact--the Japanese military acted without the Emperor's knowledge or permission). Tolischus thinks that Nomura did not know of this plan either, though Kurusu was in on it. (See "Newsweek", August 10, '42). This evidence, supported by Stanley Jones evidence gathered as he sought negotiations between Nomura and Hull in the months just before Pearl Harbor, would help greatly to show that "not all Japanese are treacherous, etc., etc. /...yellow...!"

1. Repeal of the Oriental Exclusion Act, putting all Orientals on the quota basis. This with our already completed repeal of extra-territorial rights would have a tremendous impact that no Japanese censorship could keep from the Japanese public. Of course Britain has already canceled