

**MATSUTARO SHORIKI'S
CHARACTER
and
CAREER**

*This pamphlet has been written by his friends so
that American counsel will fully understand
his character and career in case he is
indicted as a war criminal suspect.*

NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT

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MATSUTARO SHORIKI'S CHARACTER AND CAREER

Chapter-I

HIS CAREER

(1) He was born in Toyama Prefecture in 1885 and entered the government after graduation from the Law Department of the Tokyo Imperial University in 1911. He was head of the police department of the Metropolitan Police Board immediately after the great earthquake of September 1st, 1923 and was noticed by Count Shimpei Goto, Home Minister at that time, who was one of the senior statesmen in Japan. In 1923, Daisuke Namba, anarchist, fired at the Emperor and the cabinet resigned immediately assuming responsibility for the incident and he was dismissed by way of disciplinary punishment as he was in charge of the police on guard. Soon afterwards, i.e., in February, 1924, he became president of the Yomiuri Shimbun upon the recommendation of his friends.

To run a newspaper was one of the most difficult jobs and many well-known persons failed in this job. The Yomiuri Shimbun was at that time under the management of Mr. C. Matsuyama, noted journalist, who, however, was compelled to retire after spending ¥1,000,000 of an anonymous association formed with the support of businessmen in Tokyo and leaving debts of more than ¥100,000. Having been a governmental official with no experience at all in running news-

papers, people thought it a rash thing for Shoriki to accept the post of president of the Yomiuri Shimbun and no one believed his success. No doubt, then, that none of his friends or acquaintances made him a loan of working funds. He, however, succeeded in obtaining a loan of ¥100,000 from Count Goto and was installed as president of the Yomiuri Shimbun. It appears that he never forgot Count Goto's kindness and at the time of Count Goto's death in 1928 he expressed his sincere feeling to one of his intimate friends as follows. "I will forego all political ambitions and exert myself to the utmost for the development of the Yomiuri Shimbun in order to requite Count Goto's favor."

(2) He became president of the Yomiuri Shimbun as stated above, but on the first day of his business the editorial staff went on strike believing that he was not capable of running a newspaper having been a government official, but the strike was called off in a day because of his decision and earnest persuasion and the publication of the paper was not suspended for a single day. Since that time he has had no Sundays and no holidays, except January 2nd of each year, staying in the newspaper office from 7 or 8 o'clock in the morning until about 8 o'clock in the evening and sometimes he has stayed up there all night. He has always told the members of the executive that they should work harder than their subordinates, and that he, being the president, must be at his desk earlier than anybody and work harder than the members of the executive. He did what he said. Such a practice was perhaps quite different from the one usually seen in business firms and government offices.

(3) At the time he assumed the post of president the Yomiuri Shimbun had a history of 50 years after its establishment and was read by the better educated classes as a literary paper, but the circulation was only 50,000. The paper had no rosy future, having received a great blow as the result of the earthquake/fires and being hard pressed by two big papers, namely, the Tokyo Asahi and the Tokyo Nichi-Nichi (taken over by the Mainichi Shimbun later).

However, his constant efforts and special schemes did much towards the development of the paper and the following were inaugurated as the result of his plans.

Publication of radio edition in November, 1924.
Publication of Sunday evening edition in January, 1925.
Addition of columns for games of "Go" and chess in September, 1925.
Addition of graph pages in October, 1926.
Addition of sports pages in June, 1928.
Publication of juvenile newspaper printed in colour in May, 1931.
Publication of an 8-page evening edition in February, 1936.
Withdrawal of advertisements from the front page of the morning edition in January, 1937.
Publication of the first and second evening editions in August, 1937.
Limiting space for advertisements in the case of irresistible reduction of pages of evening edition in September, 1938.
Ban on the so-called courtesy advertisements in February, 1940.
Limiting space for advertisements in March, May, July, October and December, 1941 in the case of reduction of pages of morning editions.

Other newspapers later modelled themselves upon the Yomiuri in regard to the greater part of the above schemes. He also created a sensation by carrying out the following plans.

Hon-in-bo, champion "Go" player, and Karigane, runner-up, never agreed to play a game between them, but Shoriki succeeded in persuading them to play a game in September, 1924.
Exhibition of fine articles and masterpieces of art which were treasured by peers and wealthy men and never shown to the public in

March, 1929 and in April, 1930.
 Sent a party to explore the bottom of the crater of Miharyama, a volcano, and set a new world's record, a descent of 1,250 feet, in May, 1933.
 Twice (October, 1931 and October, 1935) invited to Japan baseball teams, their line-up including such star players as Babe Ruth, Gehrig, etc., who were selected from among players of the two biggest American baseball leagues. On account of great expenses involved, no other newspaper could do that.
 Invited to Japan French champion boxers Pradner, Lappel, Hugue and others in June, 1933.
 Invited to Japan the world lawn-tennis champions Tilden and Vines and others in October, 1936.

Further, he did much toward promoting public interest by making good use of his newspaper.

(4) His constant efforts gradually bore good fruit as shown in the following table.

Year	Circulation	Year	Circulation
1924	56,000 copies	1935	676,000 copies
1925	59,000 "	1936	770,000 "
1926	91,000 "	*1937	890,000 "
1927	125,000 "	1938	1,026,000 "
1928	153,000 "	1939	1,204,000 "
1929	183,000 "	1940	1,367,000 "
1930	222,000 "	**1941	1,516,000 "
1931	276,000 "	1942	1,691,000 "
1932	343,000 "	1943	1,835,000 "
1933	504,000 "	1944	1,919,000 "
1934	596,000 "	1945 (Oct.)	1,502,000 "

* Outbreak of China Incident.

** Outbreak of Pacific War in December.

As stated above, he has, for more than twenty years, made efforts solely for the growth and prosperity of the Yomiuri Shimbun. After the termination of the war in August, 1945, he retired from the presidency due to a strike organized by the Yomiuri Shimbun's employees and was taken into custody on December 12, 1945 as a war criminal suspect.

It may be added here that in running a newspa-

per Shoriki's policy was to leave the selection of news and editorials to his editorial staff and he seldom did the selection himself.

Chapter II

HIS EVERYDAY LIFE AND IDEAS

(1) He lived quite simply and was content with coarse clothing and poor food and the house at Zushi, in which he has lived for more than ten years, is not adequately furnished or equipped and is quite different from the house one may imagine as that of the president of one of the biggest newspapers in Japan. There is a world of difference between his living conditions and those of millionaires or businessmen. He used to leave that house at 7 o'clock in the morning and when he took a day off he either cleared his small garden of the weeds or played "Go" with his friends and never, it appears, sought pleasure for his own sake. His wife is weak and they have one son and two daughters. After graduation from the Keio University, their son served in the navy and went down to one of the South Sea Islands, whence he has not yet returned to Japan.

(2) He had a deep interest with Buddhism, having been born and brought up in a province where the Jodo-Shinshu sect of Buddhism is very popular. For this reason he succeeded, years ago, in making the Higashi Honganji temple act in concert with the Nishi Honganji temple. This was thought a very difficult matter until that time. It is a well-known fact that he

was kind and warmhearted not only toward his seniors and friends, but also toward his subordinates and looked after their welfare. Many instances can be cited in this connection, but the following beautiful story about his consideration for his subordinates was not told until recently.

As stated above, he retired from the presidency of the Yomiuri Shimbun due to a strike organized by the paper's employees after the termination of the war. Mr. Tomin Suzuki, chairman of the strike committee and the present chief editor, had been known as anti-Nazi and for this reason Shoriki received from the general manager and the German Embassy repeated requests for his retirement from the paper. Shoriki, however, continued to harbour him until the termination of the war and paid his salaries as recuperation expenses after he was transferred to a local office of the newspaper.

(3) The Yomiuri Shimbun was not the organ of any political party but an independent newspaper run strictly on a business basis. Shoriki was not affiliated with any of the political parties because he feared that his affiliation with any particular political party would only reduce the circulation. It may also be true that he had no interest in any political party at that time. In 1940 he became a director of the Taisei Yokusan-kai (Imperial Rule Assistance Association), not of his own accord, but he merely allowed his name to be displayed together with those of distinguished men owing to the situation prevailing at that time.

(4) He was not affiliated with any of the political parties nor had he relations with any of the thought

movements. The following facts will prove that he, far from being a militarist, had a good understanding of liberalism.

- a) Shoriki was on bad terms with the military, particularly with the leaders of the Army Information Office, who, during the war, were anxious that he would retire from the newspaper. During the China Incident the government as an easy means to restrict freedom of press, created a newsprint control committee and virtually empowered the army to control the supply of newsprint—a life line for newspapers—and the army acted as if it would suspend or limit the supply of newsprint to any newspaper publishing company if the latter did not comply with its wishes. On the eve of the outbreak of the Pacific War, in September, 1941, to be exact, the government and the army, especially the latter, being anxious to hold the command of the press, tried to combine the capitals of all newspapers and make them into a single newspaper. For that purpose Vice President Okumura of the Information Board of the Government and Chief Matsumura of the Army Intelligence Office brought pressure to bear upon the newspapers with the German made newspaper control theory. It is a well-known fact that the majority of the newspapers followed blindly the wishes of the government and the army, but the Yomiuri, the Asahi and the Mainichi were quite against the government and

the army, and Shoriki, particularly, declared that he was opposed to such a scheme at the risk of his life and the scheme was dropped ultimately.

The army's manoeuvre to oust Shoriki from the presidency of the Yomiuri continued and the Tokyo gendarmerie took him into custody in 1943 by reason of the paper's having a short-wave radio receiver despite the government's ban thereon. The commander of the gendarmerie told him that the case would be dropped on condition that he resigned from the post of president, but he proved that the radio receiver had been installed with the connivance of the government authorities and refused to resign.

- b) Even after the outbreak of the Pacific War Shoriki let Tsunego Baba, Nyoze Kan Hasegawa and other liberalist commentators write on his paper their signed comments. Moreover, while the leader-writers committee of the Yomiuri included many democrats, more communists and democrats were working as its staff members as compared with other newspapers.
- c) It can be proved, if need be, that Shoriki harboured during the war his friends and subordinates who were commonly acknowledged as liberalists, upon whom the army exerted pressure.
- d) From 1924 when Shoriki became president of the Yomiuri until 1930 when the Manchurian Incident occurred, the liberalism was in its

palmy days in Japan and the paper grew rapidly going with the current of the times. This shows that the Yomiuri Shimbun was not opposed to liberalism.

e) During five years, 1931-1936, the following incidents were responsible for changes in the realm of ideas.

1. Outbreak of Manchurian Incident in 1931.
2. Outbreak of Shanghai Incident in 1932. The assassination of the then Premier, Mr. K. Inukai, by young naval officers on the active service on 15th, May, 1932.
3. Japan's withdrawal from the League of Nations in 1933.
4. The February 26th Incident broke out in 1936, in which a few groups of young army officers assassinated the Premier, Ministers of State and elder statesmen. An anti-communist alliance was concluded in the same year between Japan, Germany and Italy.
5. The China Incident broke out in 1937.

Despite the fact that the realm of ideas underwent a revolution, Shoriki employed the following means to make his paper grow, the means perhaps appropriate when liberalism was in its palmy days.

1. Publication of juvenile newspaper printed in colours.
2. Publication of an 8-page evening edition.
3. Invitation to Japan of the strongest American baseball team.
4. Invitation to Japan of the French title-holder

boxers.

5. Invitation to Japan of the lawn-tennis champions. No doubt the Japanese government and military regarded him as a man utterly incapable of realizing the gravity of the situation in those eventful days for Japan. In fact he has been on bad terms with the military men since that time.

(5) Shotiki's words and doings since the termination of the war on August 15th will be described below so that those concerned will understand his sentiment.

a) Immediately after the termination of the war he told one of his friends to the following effect.

"Thanks to my strenuous efforts the Yomiuri has grown to be one of the biggest newspapers in Japan and I think I have repaid my seniors and friends who made me a journalist. Availing myself of this opportunity, I consider retiring from the press and entering upon a political career, so that I shall be able to exert myself for the reconstruction of Japan. However, some quarters said recently that I am a war criminal and if I retire from the press now they will think I am afraid of close inquiry by the Allied Powers. I shall therefore stay in my post as president of the Yomiuri until they are convinced that my responsibility for the war is no more than that of the average Japanese."

b) Believing that the rehabilitation of Japan after

her defeat in the Pacific War would depend upon the strength of new political parties, Shoriki expressed his desire to enter the Japan Socialist Party. When his friends said they had doubts, in view of his career, whether that political party would accept him, he replied as follows.

"In 1924 immediately before he took over the Yomiuri Shimbun, he and Mr. Rikizo Hirano, one of the agricultural socialists at that time, had made plans to form a Japan agricultural party, to revise the arable land system through social policies, and to enter upon a political career."

Mr. Hirano knew his character well and as he was a director of the Japan Socialist Party he thought he would be able to enter that political party, by the introduction of Mr. Hirano.

In October, 1945 in the house of Mr. Kenjiro Kinoshita, his senior in the political world, Shoriki met Mr. Gaku Sano, once a communist but now well-known as a socialist scholar and had a talk with him about the rehabilitation of Japan.

Judging from these facts, it appears that Shoriki had socialistic ideas in politics and desired to carry out social policies for Japan's rehabilitation.

(6) A few words about his character.

As seen in his career, he is a hard worker and such a man of action as is seldom found among his contemporaries, and his friends admit that he is peerless on that score. Before and after the outbreak of

the Pacific War he was asked several times to become a minister of state because according to his friends, Premiers gave him credit for being a man of action. Once he was determined to do anything, he did it regardless of obstacles thrown in his way and his intrepid spirit was felt by everybody. Needless to say, his friends thought that he was an indispensable man for the reconstruction of Japan into a liberal country or a democracy. He is insignificant-looking, but after a few meetings one will feel his peculiar character.

Chapter III

HIS RELATIONS WITH MR. HEARST

In January, 1933 the Yomiuri Shinbun entered into an agreement with the Hearst Newspaper Organization for the exchange of news, both national and international. Although other papers in Japan were anxious to enter into such an agreement with the Hearst Organization, Mr. Hearst picked the Yomiuri run by Shoriki as a paper with rosy future and when Mr. James Young, the Hearst Papers Far East manager stationed in Tokyo, met him his personality attracted Mr. Young's attention. Then, it was comparatively easy for Shoriki to conclude the agreement for a dual purpose, namely, first, to strengthen and complete the Yomiuri's news gathering network abroad, which, at that time, was no match for that of the two big Osaka papers, and second, to use his best efforts to preserve friendly relations with the United States of

America.

In a special number entitled "International", issued on September 23rd, 1934, in commemoration of the fifteenth anniversary of the founding of the magazine Shimbun oyobi Shimbun Kisha (Newspapers and News Men), which used to give information on the press and to announce results of its study of such information, Shoriki wrote an article on "Appeal to America through Mr. Hearst", the gist of which was as follows:

"I entertain a great respect for you, Mr. Hearst, who, having great influence over the American press and by making good use of the most complete organization of newspapers, always reports promptly valuable and interesting news and enhances public opinion, and, who, on the other hand, strives all along to show a right course to America and her people by taking a firm and positive stand. Your papers and my Yomiuri Shimbun are now exchanging news under an agreement, which I concluded with you solely for the purpose of promoting our mutual understanding and preserving friendly relations between our two countries. The Yomiuri Shimbun is by no means a big newspaper worthy of my pride and it is my long cherished desire to see my paper well-developed in substance and fulfill its mission as a newspaper. I firmly believe that when you and I become to know each other better than ever, join hands to lead public opinion in our respective countries and active to promote mutual understanding, it will contribute not only to the cordial relations between America and Japan, but also to the peace of the world."

The article above referred to clearly shows his real

intention in regard to American-Japanese relations. The exchange of news between the Hearst Papers and the Yomiuri Shimbun continued up to December 8th 1941 when the Pacific War broke out and was revived immediately after the termination of the war.

Shoriki was very kindly disposed towards Mr. Young, Hearst Papers Far East manager, and when he was detained at the Metropolitan Police Board on a charge of espionage Shoriki did everything possible in his power for his release and sent him meals and bed-clothes.

Shortly after Mr. Young's departure from Japan to Chungking via Shanghai in June, 1938, the Yomiuri printed a telegram from him, who was a persona non grata to the Japanese government at that time, and was reproved by the army. This was one of the reasons why Shoriki was branded by the army as pro-American. Up to the time immediately before the outbreak of the Pacific War Shoriki believed that America and Japan would come to an understanding and although political and social editors of his paper called his attention to strained relations between America and Japan he took a long view and denied their reports. Such a stand taken by him in those eventful days for Japan is well-known to his former subordinates.

When the agreement was entered into between the Hearst Papers and the Yomiuri Shimbun for the exchange of news, Shoriki, by way of fraternizing with Mr. Hearst, presented him with a suit of armour (armour and steel cap), a symbol of old Japan. Mr. Hearst, in return, sent to Shoriki three bisons, a pro-

ected animal in America as a natural keepsake. The trip of the three bisons from Yokohama to the Ueno Zoological Garden was described by Mr. Hearst in his fine style, covering the whole front page of the American Weekly. The arrival of the bisons was reported in the Yomiuri under a big caption, and the April, 1934 number of the Shimbun oyobi Shimbun Kisha (Newspapers and News Men) contained a full report about the bisons under the heading "Promotion of Cordial Relations Between America and Japan Through Journalism."

Beginning with the remarks:

"Supposing the whole front page of the American Weekly was used for advertisement, it would cost \$15,000, equivalent to ¥40,000-50,000 in Japanese currency. This is a pretty big sacrifice paid by Mr. Hearst for the presentation of the three bisons."

After introducing a Japanese version of Mr. Hearst's description of the bisons' trip from Yokohama to the Ueno Zoological garden and explaining the historical meaning of the presentation of a suit of armour, the magazine made a detailed story about the Ueno Zoological Garden's delight, the bisons' condition of health whilst in transit by ship, how they were eagerly sought for by various cities and towns in Japan, special treatment accorded them at the customs, a serial report about them in the Yomiuri, preparations to welcome them, their arrival at the Ueno Zoological Garden, "Bison" week, etc., etc. The magazine, in conclusion, declared that while the military clan was seized with a great

fear that a war in the Pacific might break out at any time, the masses, nay, journalism representing the masses of the population was giving full scope to cordial relations between America and Japan ignoring such a fear on the part of the military clan.

In May, 1937 Shoriki received from Mr. Hearst two pumas (a ferocious beast found in North America but not found in other parts of the world) and sent them to the Futago-Tamagawa Pleasure-Ground, where they were popular with boys and girls. When they died, they were stuffed and used as ornaments in the distinguished visitors' room next to the president in the Yomiuri Shimbun office and Shoriki used to tell his visitors about Mr. Hearst's kindness.

The bison were kept at the Ueno Zoological Garden until after the outbreak of the Pacific War but were put to death together with lions, tigers and ferocious beasts when Tokyo became a target of violent air-raids. While the bison were kept at the zoological garden, a notice-board was put up outside their cage, stating their history, and they were popular with the citizens of Tokyo and did much, in their own way, towards promoting friendly relations between the two countries.

Shoriki received a serious wound in 1935 when Katsusuke Nagasaki of a rightist touch gang assaulted him with a Japanese sword.

The motive of Nagasaki's assault on Shoriki deserves careful consideration because he stated that the select players of the two strongest American baseball leagues, invited to Japan by the Yomiuri Shimbun, crossed bars

with Japanese baseball players in the outer garden of the Meiji Shrine and desecrated a divine place.

Chapter IV

HIS RELATIONS WITH POLITICS

As stated above, he declared to his friends immediately after the death of Count Shimpei Goto that he would have nothing to do with politics and instead would devote himself for the growth of his paper, the Yomiuri Shimbun. The people knew that the paper's rapid growth was solely due to his merit and after this success it was only natural that he was dragged into the political world on account of Japan's strained relations with other countries. His relations with politics will, for the sake of convenience, be explained in two items, "His Relations with Politics" and "His Political Position."

As to "His Relations with Politics" it was his fixed principle as a journalist not to have anything to do with political parties and for this reason he had no relations at all with any of the political parties. However, he was installed as a director of the Yokusan-kai (Imperial Rule Assistance Association) and the Yokusei-kai (Political Party to assist the Imperial Rule). The Yokusan-kai and the Yokusei-kai were in the true sense of the word neither political parties nor clubs or associations with political colouring, and it was not of his own accord that he became a director of the Yokusan-kai and the Yokusei-kai but rather it may be

said that it was an appointment forced upon him by the state. This point requires some clarification and will be explained later, so here explanations will be given in regard to "His Political Position".

(A) Shortly before the fall of the Tojo cabinet he was nominated by His Majesty as a member of the House of Peers. The number of Imperial nominees in the House of Peers is limited and where there are some vacancies the government recommends to His Majesty suitable candidates who will become members of the House of Peers after His Majesty's nomination. Although those favoring the government policies are usually nominated by His Majesty, those, who are against the government, often become Imperial nominees.

In some cases, those who have rendered good services in academic or economic circles are made members of the House of Peers by the Imperial nomination regardless of the sentiment of the government. The owners of the Osaka Asahi and the Osaka Mainichi, as representatives of the press, had been nominated by His Majesty as members of the House of Peers and it was only natural that Shoriki, as president of the Yomiuri Shimbun, one of the biggest newspapers in Japan, became an Imperial nominee after the death of the owners of the Osaka Asahi and the Osaka Mainichi. This clearly shows that Shoriki was not granted the Imperial nomination for special relations with the Tojo cabinet. Rather it may be assumed that the Tojo cabinet, thinking that it would not live long on account of adverse criticisms of people, recommended him as an Imperial nominee in order to make him a prop-

of the cabinet, he being such a man of action as stated above. He did nothing particular for the Tojo cabinet because he thought it was as a representative of the press that he was nominated by His Majesty as a member of the House of Peers,

(B) The Tojo cabinet asked Shoriki to take office as president of the Information Board but he refused.

(C) It is a fact that a seat in the Koiso cabinet, which succeeded the Tojo cabinet, was reserved for Shoriki but he did not enter the cabinet. He, however, accepted the Koiso cabinet's offer and became one of its advisers but the only suggestion he made as a cabinet adviser was in regard to an extensive dispersion of city dwellers in view of the increasing air-raids.

Chapter V

START OF CHINA INCIDENT AND PACIFIC WAR AND PUBLIC OPINION

Japan has during the past seventy years experienced several wars against foreign countries solely for self-defense, and it is no exaggeration to say that the Japanese government was encouraged and led to declare war by public opinion. Since the start of the Manchurian Incident, however, wars have been fought in defiance of public opinion, that is to say, the nation has been drawn into the vortex of wars by the military and ultra-rightist organizations. This is the consensus of opinion of the whole nation except the military and ultra-rightist organizations and for this reason it

may safely be said that the majority of the general public have had no intention to fight any war and that military leaders and ultra-rightist organizations should assume full responsibility for the outbreak of wars. Even if there are indications that some civilians were somewhat responsible for the outbreak of the war, it is obvious that they yielded to the government's intimidation, according to the opinion of the general public. Ask a man in the street for his opinion in this connection and he will tell you the same story.

Before the outbreak of the China Incident the nation felt neither a shortage of commodities nor a crisis in national defence and was on the whole not discontented with its living and the maintenance of peace and order. The nation did not even realize the objective of wars. It goes without saying that public opinion was against the Pacific War, because five years of the China Incident brought about a shortage of almost all commodities and other difficulties and it was far from the desire of the nation to fight a war which would inevitably add to its suffering. It was just at that time that Japan declared war against the United States of America and Britain. What role did the press play in a war without the support of public opinion, especially in a war against the United States of America and Britain? It is only natural that the press, being a kind of merchandise, sometimes leads public opinion and at other times follows it. The press at the time of outbreak of the war against the United States of America and Britain was rather tired of wars and appeared to have followed public opinion. One year before the outbreak

of the Pacific War, October, 1940 to be exact, Colonel Sato, the then chief of the Intelligence Office of the army, gave a lecture on "the mission of the press in the latter phase of the China Incident" in the study of the press room of the Literature Department of the Tokyo Imperial University. In the course of his lecture he said that although the Incident had entered upon a critical phase public opinion was so low-toned that he could not but entertain apprehension as to whether the Incident would come to a successful close. He also stated that the government appeared to exercise pretty strict control as regards prohibition of publication but that it was impossible to expect the press to fulfil its mission, that is, to stir up public opinion for the purposes of the war. Thus, the nation and the press were not enthusiastic about the war.

With regard to the low tone of public opinion, Colonel Sato said that while the government was partly responsible it was also due to the fact that the object of the Incident was very difficult to understand. The nation did not even understand the object of the Incident and it appears that the nation's lack of understanding was the result of the government policy.

Immediately after Colonel Sato's lecture, Mr. Kyujiro Yanada, a journalist, gave a lecture at the same meeting, the gist of which was as follows.

"If the press print Colonel Sato's lecture in detail readers will find it very interesting, but it is impossible for the press to carry such a confidential talk."

Public opinion and the sentiment of the press a year before the outbreak of the war against the United

States of America and Britain were such as were described in Colonel Sato's lecture, and no change appears to have been made in public opinion since that time.

Chapter VI

COMBINATION OF NEWSPAPERS

Newspapers, together with radio, movies and news services are the four principal public devices in the war of thought and are a kind of weapons viewed in the light of modern wars. Needless to say, it was the most earnest desire of the military to effect a combination of all newspapers, so that they could utilize the press as they pleased. From the first, radio in Japan has been a joint undertaking of the government and the people and has seen no competition as in the case of America where it is a private enterprise.

In regard to the news service business, the military leaders were in a position to command the services of the Domei Tsushinsha, the only news agency in Japan, which had been established about two years before the outbreak of the China Incident, i.e., October, 1935, by the amalgamation of two news agencies. In the case of newspapers, however, each one had an old history of free enterprise and its own tradition and it was impossible to expect each paper to support a combination. Even if the government effected the combination compulsorily it was a question whether things would go smoothly. With the development of the China Incident, people began to feel the scarcity of various commodities

and newsprint was no exception. The government, availing itself for that opportunity, suggested the combination of newspapers and as the suspension of supply of newsprint could give a fatal blow to newspapers, a federation of newspapers was formed in May, 1941 (the Pacific War broke out in December of that year) to allocate newsprint to each paper. The functions of the federation included the creation of a committee to consider the combination of newspapers, and officials, who were committee-men and who represented the government, attended committee meetings and exercised pressure. In September of that year the committee passed a resolution that the capitals of all newspapers be combined and that all newspapers be merged into a single newspaper. The resolution was brought up for debate by the federation's board of directors, and although the presidents of the Domei and local papers spoke in favor of the resolution, the Yomiuri, the Asahi and the Mainichi were absolutely against it, and while Vice President Okumura of the Board of Information declared that he would, even at the risk of his life, carry out the press control, Shoriki of the Yomiuri maintained that he was dead set against it. Their heated discussions are well known among newspaper-men. Finally Shoriki carried his point and the combination of capitals was not effected. The chairman of the board of directors submitted to the Premier afterwards, a statement of his views in regard to the combination of newspapers and it was on the basis of that statement that the Newspaper Business Ordinance was promulgated by the government immediately after the outbreak of the

Pacific War, on December 13th, 1941 to be exact.

Nippon Shimbun-kai (Japan Newspapers' Association) was established in February, 1942 in accordance with that Ordinance and the newspapers were on the whole combined during the war. Unlike radio and news services however, such a fundamental combination of newspapers in any form or manner, even aside from the question of capitals, was not effected until the termination of the Pacific War.

Chapter VII

SUSPICION ATTACHED TO HIM ON TWO OR THREE POINTS

(1) Three American officers from the Occupation Forces called on Shoriki at the Yomiuri Shimbun office in November, 1945 and made the following question.

"The Yomiuri Shimbun made a radiophone call to Hawaii on December 6th, 1941 (on the eve of the Pearl Harbor raid) and had a conversation about the Hawaiian situation at that time and especially about military affairs there. Why did the Yomiuri make that radiophone call to Hawaii? Was it at the request of the military?"

The question was received by Shoriki with surprise because he never remembered such a radiophone call to Hawaii. An investigation conducted immediately revealed that although the Yomiuri made a radiophone call to Hawaii and the contents of the conversation were the same as those stated above, it was not on-

Shoriki's order but at the suggestion of the social department of the newspaper that the radiophone call was made. In view of the strained relations between America and Japan at that time, the radiophone call was made to obtain some hot news and the contents of the conversation were reported on the paper the following day. Thus it was found that the long distance telephone call was made at the suggestion of the social department chief. These were explained in detail to the American officers who, however, did not appear to have been satisfied.

No further question was made in regard to the radiophone call to Hawaii. In view of the situation in Japan at that time, it was natural that newspapers were anxious to obtain hot news from abroad by radiophone calls, even if they were not requested to do so by official or military quarters. For caution's sake, Shoriki made further investigations and found that the Tokyo Asahi Shimbun made a radiophone call to Manila on the same day, i.e., December 6th, 1945 and had a conversation of a similar nature.

To find out whether the Yomiuri made the radiophone call to Hawaii at the request of the military was the primary object of interrogation. Shoriki had no intimate friends in the army and moreover military leaders, with whom he was on bad terms, were anxious to oust him from the presidency of the Yomiuri Shimbun, as stated in other paragraphs. Under the circumstances, there was absolutely no foundation for the statement that the army had asked him to make such a radiophone call to Hawaii. Moreover, preparations

for the Pearl Harbor raid must have been guarded with utmost secrecy and any man possessed of a grain of common sense knows that no army or navy could have been foolish enough to request the newspaper—most sensitive about such matters—to make radiophone calls to Hawaii or Manila.

(2) The Japanese government sent Mr. Ginjiro Fujiwara to Germany in September, 1939 as a special envoy. Before his entry into the political world he had been an industrial magnate and had extended many kindnesses to the Yomiuri. Even after Shoriki became president of the Yomiuri Shimbun he was kindly disposed towards Shoriki. Moreover, he was Shoriki's senior in personal relations. It was only natural, therefore, that Shoriki presented him with an embroidered picture (embroidered in Kyoto from a picture originally painted by a famous painter) as one of the souvenirs to be carried to Germany. When the Yomiuri Shimbun employees went on a strike last year, the presentation of that embroidered picture was reported on the paper as proof that Shoriki had been an admirer of Hitler. It was contrary to the truth, because Shoriki gave the embroidered picture to Mr. Fujiwara and not to Hitler and Mr. Fujiwara was at liberty whether to give it to Hitler or keep it for himself. If the picture had really been sent to Hitler through Mr. Fujiwara, it would have been reported in The Yomiuri under big caption because such a thing had a good news value at that time.

(3) On May 26th, 1945 Captain Zacharias, spokesman of the U.S.A. Navy, made a broadcast from San Francisco and said:

"When a cultural convention was signed in 1938 between Japan and Germany, pro-nazi leaders in Japan made the spread of German influence possible through the medium of public opinion. For instance, it was an easy matter for Ehrich Wickert, representative of the German Propaganda Minister who had his office in the German Embassy, to handle the Yomiuri Shimbun run by Shoriki. The Hochi Shimbun and even the Kokumin Shimbun, which was closely connected with the military, were under his control."

In this connection, however, the following facts may be pointed out.

1. There was absolutely no foundation for the above report because the Yomiuri had nothing to do with Ehrich Wickert. The Yomiuri at that time obtained information from the German Embassy through Councilor Milbach and Tsunashima, Japanese and a member of the embassy staff, in the same manner as other vernacular papers. The governing body of the Yomiuri Shimbun, and even the chief of the Europe and America department, did not know the name, Ehrich Wickert. How Captain Zacharias came to make such a broadcast was, in fact, quite beyond the comprehension of Shoriki and the Yomiuri people.
2. Dispatches from special correspondents in Europe and D. N. B. news received through the Domei Tsushin were the whole information on Germany printed in the Yomiuri Shimbun because it had discontinued to report

Trans-Ocean news in 1940, a year before the outbreak of the Pacific War. Thus, there was absolutely no truth in the statement that the Yomiuri had special relations with the German Propaganda Ministry.

3. As clearly shown by the news and comments appearing in the Yomiuri Shimbun at that time, the paper followed national policies already decided upon and was never under the influence of Germany.

As stated above, Captain Zacharias's broadcast was absolutely unfounded. If the broadcast was not a war-time trick but a speech by Captain Zacharias in his capacity as spokesman of the U. S. A. Navy it cannot be left without correction.

(4) The Yomiuri Shimbun was rather opposed to Japan's joining hands with Germany, and therefore soon after the signing of the German-Japanese anti-communistic pact in November, 1936 the following brief comment appeared in the 26th November issue of its evening edition.

"Why was it necessary for Japan to cooperate with Germany alone? It is a shame for her to sink to the standing of Czecho-Slovakia or Rumania. What a foolish policy to place her between Scylla and Charybdis. What she has done does not stand to reason, because while she advocates the parliamentary system her travelling companion is now Fascism."

The evening edition issued the following day, i.e., November 27th, 1936, contained a brief comment:

"China says she will resist communism by her-

self. China is very old and infirm but her statesmen are not. It is impossible to resist communism unless a nation's indomitable spirit is unbroken under any circumstances."

It seemed upon the surface of things that other newspapers welcomed the anti-communistic pact between Japan and Germany, but they backbit and made cynical comments in their sleeves. Thus the straight forward comments in the Yomiuri aroused a great deal of interest and other papers were branded as cowards.