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SHORIKI
Miracle Man of Japan



MATSUTARO SHORIKI

SHORIKI

Miracle Man of Japan

A BIOGRAPHY

by Edward Uhlan *and* Dana L. Thomas

FOREWORD BY BOB CONSIDINE

Illustrated



A Banner Book

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Foreword

MATSUTARO SHORIKI, the somewhat incredible subject of this arresting biography, is one of the top wonders of the Asiatic world. His "lives" exceed those of the mythical cat and the legendary Bengal lancer. His closest associates through successive decades—even successive generations—often find it difficult to think of him as an individual. He is not what every Japanese schoolboy wants to be: he appears to be what every Japanese schoolboy *individually* wants to be. To put it simply and give Shoriki's career its proper scope, let us say he is at once the entrepreneur of Japan's budding atomic-energy program and of the Brooklyn Dodgers baseball club, which must be the longest suspension bridge in human performance.

When I had the great honor of visiting with him shortly before last Christmas—a meeting arranged in Tokyo by the seventy-one-year-old wonderman's good friend Marvin Stone, Far Eastern Director of International News Service—he told me with equal satisfaction that he was vigorously fighting Communist infiltration in Japan and that he, the rugged septuagenarian, had just learned a new maneuver in judo.

Shoriki's range of interest has become legendary. But it seldom, if ever, fails to astound.

Admiral Arthur W. Radford, after listening to Shoriki expound on atomic energy for an hour (the Japanese politely but firmly told the chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff that the British were clearly ahead of America in the matter of building more economical reactors), exclaimed: "Mr. Shoriki, you are to Japan what Lewis Strauss is to my country."

Shoriki smiled and thanked the American, when the words were hastily interpreted. But there was more to the smile than satisfaction over being linked with the chairman of the United States Atomic Energy Commission. For Shoriki, the compliment had a timeless ring. He had been compared to many Americans, many times, many years, and in many fields. Yet Americans once jailed him!

In the publishing field he was called "the William Randolph Hearst of Japan" for decades. In baseball he was, at first, "the Judge Landis and Colonel Jake Ruppert of Japanese baseball," and in later years "the Ford Frick" and whichever American club-owner was current and choice. In the matter of television he is "the David Sarnoff." There is almost no end to this likening. The biographers here ably tell you why, in their searching examination of this man in whom the juices of vision find expression in great achievement.

When most of our crop of present major-league baseball stars were in the contemplated or nursing stage, the most versatile Asian of them all was bringing the Big Time to his crowded and appreciative homeland. San Francisco's pride and joy, Lefty O'Doul, led the parade of major-league stars to Japan, under Shoriki's auspices. Then the immortal Lou Gehrig. By 1934 Shoriki had persuaded the likes of Babe Ruth, Jimmy Foxx, Earl Whitehill, Moe Berg, the educated catcher, and other stars to make the then semi-endless trip to Nippon. They were received with an enthusiasm that made them blink, and that has been true of subsequent emissaries. Indeed, Ruth became such a towering figure in modern Japanese folklore that the U.S. Navy for a time considered using him as a one-man peace committee to persuade Japan to surrender during the weeks leading up to the dropping of the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The Americans were richly paid in money and experience by

those pre-Pearl-Harbor trips. Shoriki paid with his blood. The spring after he introduced Ruth and Co. to the Japanese people—to their delight, generally—he was ambushed by a gang of ultra-nationalist toughs and left for dead in a Tokyo alley. The chief scar he inherited from that brutal assault runs from the crown of his nude pate down along the side of his smooth face to well into the neck. It appears to have been inflicted by a broadsword, at least.

This was the possible token of the rising tide of fierce and unreasoning militarism in Japan. Shoriki fought this fanaticism right down the black path to World War II, protesting that it was not criminal to have a respect for all the peoples of the world, or even to encourage Americans to come to Japan so that they might have a better understanding of that country. It was for the latter faith that he was nearly killed.

In the Far East, whenever editors speak of the great press lords of our age, they often mention Hearst and sometimes Beaverbrook. But they *always* mention Shoriki. His newspapers are among the great institutions of journalism anywhere. They go into more than 3,000,000 Japanese homes daily, flowing from plants in Tokyo and Osaka. When Shoriki took over his first paper, its circulation was less than 100,000 and its attitude toward the times both flabby and colorless. Shoriki's *Yomiuri Shimbun* sounded off with a voice clear and firm. It brought the Japanese newspaper reader—a most literate person, by the way—not only the news of the world, the hemisphere, the area, the nation and his city but, by dint of what publishers in the United States would consider an excruciating amount of extra work, the news of his neighborhood. Prizes rolled in as circulation zoomed.

Shimbun means "newspaper." As for *Yomiuri*, it is practically indefinable except that ancient town criers sometimes carried that title. There is nothing archaic about *Yomiuri Shim-*

bun, however. On a big story, Shoriki will send up to a hundred reporters into the field, bolstered by as many as two dozen photographers. The army of news- and picture-gatherers will be transported by plane, helicopter, boat, jeep and motorcycle. It will get the story back by means ranging through the spectrum from walkie-talkies to homing pigeons.

Shoriki is quick to sponsor worth-while projects, even though his paper's subscribers may at first be bewildered. For example, competitors balked or looked vaguely out of windows when the United States State Department first searched for a Tokyo newspaper to sponsor its Atoms for Peace exhibit. Shoriki quickly accepted the challenge. It cost him better than \$25,000 to build the exhibit hall, and probably much more than that in the course of explaining to A-bomb-blitzed readers that *atom*, essentially, is not a sinister word. Shoriki's editorials and news features lucidly explained President Eisenhower's great dream of spreading the wonders and benefits of nuclear energy. Shoriki found Japan, of all the nations of the world, perhaps most desperately in need of the peaceful products of the uranium and plutonium which killed, maimed or contaminated several hundred thousand of his countrymen in the ultimate hours of World War II. His faith was justified. More than 360,000 visited the exhibit.

When Shoriki walked into the United States Embassy in Tokyo at the close of the exhibition (1955) to send his thanks to President Eisenhower through the American Ambassador, it would have been only human of him to recall a previous brush with American officialdom. Ten years earlier he was thrown into prison by U.S. Army Occupation forces. He was held without trial for twenty-one months as a "war-crimes suspect," then summarily released with a vague, mumbled apology. He was never formally charged. His "crime" seems to have been that,

once in that war he had hoped his country would not enter, he wished for its success.

It is typical of Shoriki that he put these twenty-one months of confinement to good use. It gave him time for reflection and to chart the rest of his life, he says. Also, he picked up again the threads of his boyhood religion, Zen Buddhism, possibly the most contemplative religion of them all. Zen Buddhism has no theology. Its followers hold that the goal closest to truth is the concept of "emptiness." Shoriki sat expressionless and motionless for as long as eight hours a day in his cell in Sugamo Prison. But he was no recluse. He knew his neighbors. When Japanese Ambassador Tani was about to leave Tokyo for Washington, Shoriki gave him a farewell party. At the proper time, and with straight face, Shoriki toasted the diplomat. "My classmate at Sugamo University," he said fondly.

Zen Buddhism's most notable exterior facet, friends of Shoriki have witnessed, is its true disciples' ability to relax without warning, and in the most all-out manner. Not long ago Shoriki was entertaining an American official at a banquet when suddenly his legs folded beneath him and Shoriki descended fathoms deep into a trancelike repose. His guest suggested that a doctor be called instantly, but a Shoriki aide explained that the boss was simply relaxing for a few minutes.

But on with the "lives" of Matsutaro Shoriki. He was one of the great detectives of the Orient. He is a master fencer. He founded one of the country's most successful race tracks. He recently financed and built the largest, most striking structure in the heart of bustling Tokyo. He has been a member of the Diet, the equivalent of a U.S. senator. He has been a cabinet officer. One of his lasting monuments promises to be NTV, the Japan Television Network, a sparkling Tokyo institution Shoriki created when everyone said it could not be done. (He

is proud of the fact that in setting up this network he broke a government monopoly and proved wrong many who predicted that the low-paid Japanese worker could never afford a television set.)

Japan has excellent internal communications mainly because of Shoriki. For months he harangued the Japanese government to install microwave relay stations for the transmission of messages. The government's best experts said, "Not feasible." Shoriki shrugged, finally, and said, "Nonsense! I'll install it. I'll raise ten million dollars and take the responsibility as a private venture." The government, shaken, took on the task and completed it.

Shoriki can be tough and blunt when he wants to be. Occasionally, he will call in his top executives in his publishing empire (his newspaper chain also prints magazines and pictorials, controls radio interests and movie houses, an English-language daily, a newsreel outfit and assorted other periodicals) and give them the Word. In fifteen minutes he can lay down plans and policies for the three months to come. "These are your problems," he will say. "Don't bother me with details." The men who work for Shoriki sometimes complain, but they usually wind up conceding that the old man works hardest of all. They are as loyal to him as men are to a good platoon sergeant in battle.

Shoriki's proudest achievement is he has proved that in Asia, as well as in the West, a man left free of government restrictions—without interference either from militant right or Communist dictatorship—can work to perform miracles which may benefit millions. Shoriki's paramount crusade is to get this mighty truth across the length and breadth of Asia, where private enterprise so often finds both right and left challenging its right to exist. He is an implacable foe of these extremes. His fight against military dictatorship in Japan before

Pearl Harbor is written in this record. So is his fight against Communism. That latter engagement opened fire in the 1920's when he battled the leftist uprisings in his country. It reached a summit when he overcame very strong efforts on the part of Communists to seize his newspapers after the war. He remains a watchdog against this villainous conspiracy.

Again, the old man finds the burden of leading. A somewhat alarming (to the Westerner) number of Japanese apparently believe that Communism is no great threat to a people who for centuries have thrived on the Emperor system and, much more recently, on constitutional government. Shoriki understands the workings of the Communists better than some of his fellow countrymen who have been delegated to achieve just that understanding. He has embarked on the enormous task of eradicating the conditions that invite Communism: poverty, ignorance of the enemy's designs, inefficient or corrupt bureaucracy, narrow spread of education. He would have the Japanese government produce educational television on a nation-wide scale, in classroom, home and factory. He would introduce sweeping pay raises and better living and teaching conditions for Japan's schoolteachers at every level. Like some other thoughtful Japanese who know the dimensions of the Red intrigue, and the nightmare of what the painfully crowded nation would be like under a Communist dictator, Shoriki is convinced that the teachers' unions are being systematically infiltrated. He is afraid that thousands of teachers are now feeding students pure leftist propaganda, which could bear poisoned fruit within the next decade. He will not rest until the Japanese government recognizes the need to reach the remotest classroom with the truth.

There are other titanic plans and programs. For Shoriki the atom looks like Japan's last great chance for survival and progress. The peaceful atom, to him, is what the battleship

and the Zero must have been to Tojo. And he has just as great a desire to use it effectively as did the misguided war premier. Nobody knows better than Shoriki that Japan is swiftly—as geneticists measure things—approaching the “explosion point.” That nation, about the size of California but with only 17 per cent as much arable land, contains 90,000,000 souls. Pre-Pearl-Harbor theorists agreed that at the 90,000,000 mark Japan would have no alternative but to “explode”—in search of new land off which to live. Technical progress has raised the figure to 100,000,000, which Japanese fertility will produce by 1967. This is the now agreed point at which Japan must begin to starve, unless . . .

“If people starve the Communists will have won,” Shoriki says. “Communism stalks hungry people, poor people, dissatisfied people. Our battle is to see that people are well fed, well clothed, contented. Communism will find it impossible to advance on people’s minds and loyalties if the means to make people better off are found.

“President Eisenhower’s ‘Atoms for Peace’ proposals are worth a million troops.”

He would use nuclear power to develop Hokkaido, Japan’s sparsely settled northern island. At the rate of progress he has stimulated, Japan will have cheap atomic power just before the 100,000,000 explosion point. And its millions will have new reason to feel grateful that this quiet, remarkable worker of miracles passed their way.

BOB CONSIDINE

New York, April, 1957

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SHORIKI

Miracle Man of Japan

CHAPTER I

The Surprise Attack

THE FIRST WEEK IN AUGUST, 1918, was an apprehensive one for Japan. On the other side of the world, the great Western powers were engaged in the life-and-death struggle of World War I. Japan had thrown in her lot with the Allies—and she was suffering in consequence an austerity program.

It had been a lean year for Japan's rice paddies; and rice, the staff of life for sixty million Nipponese, was in short supply. Because of speculative hoarding, the price had skyrocketed far beyond the pocketbooks of the peasants and factory workers. A riot broke out in the tiny village of Namekawa, where wives of fishermen descended upon shops demanding free rice. Within a week demonstrations spread through the entire prefecture and into the neighboring provinces of Ishikawa and Fukui. Rioting broke out in Osaka, Kyoto, Nagoya and finally in Tokyo.

Matsutaro Shoriki, the thirty-three-year-old inspector of the Tokyo Metropolitan Police, was at lunch when reports of the rioting reached him. He hurried over to police headquarters and summoned his aides. Sasaki, chief of the Nishikicho Police Station, suggested calling out the force to break up the demonstration with clubs. It was the custom for the Japanese police to settle all arguments by smashing heads. But Tokyo's young police officer objected to using violence.

"Sasaki, I am sending you to persuade the leaders of the mob to disperse their following peacefully." When Sasaki pro-

tested that this was an absolutely impractical procedure, Shoriki concluded curtly, "Very well; I will attend to the matter myself." Shoriki showed on this occasion his intuitive genius for making right decisions. He made up his mind to break up the riot by direct appeal to the leaders of the rice demonstrations.

With Sasaki as his lone companion, Shoriki sought out Kanichi Otake and Matajiro Koizumi, who were directing the demonstrations from headquarters in the Kanda Youth Hall. In an unprecedented appeal, Shoriki promised to withdraw the police if they would help disperse the mob. Otake and Koizumi were won over by the unheard-of attitude of the young police officer, and the two thousand demonstrators dispersed peacefully.

They then drifted toward Hibiya Park, swelling in number. By nightfall, the gathering had grown to ten thousand persons, a leaderless mob.

Shoriki realized that his previous tactics would not be successful this time, that the mob would now have to be broken up forcibly, but still he did not want broken heads and bones. To prevent swords being drawn, even accidentally, he ordered the sixty policemen on duty to tie their swords tightly to their scabbards.

"Stay close to me," he shouted. Then, with the policemen acting as blockers, he plunged into the mob and made directly for a speaker haranguing the demonstrators from an improvised platform.

Dragging the speaker down, Shoriki quickly handcuffed him. Then, as the mob watched, he mounted the stand and shouted, "Disperse peacefully. I will not arrest anyone except those who try to resist my orders."

His unexpected actions cowed the demonstrators, who meekly broke up their gathering, following his instructions.

At eight o'clock that same evening, Shoriki drew up in an automobile at the Rice Exchange. He found things fairly well out of hand. Crowds were hurling rocks at the windows of the Exchange and the near-by offices of rice-dealers. Almost every street lamp for miles around was smashed. As Shoriki descended from his car, the mob hurled stones at him. Two of his policemen fled ignominiously; but Shoriki pressed forward, using every trick of judo he knew to fight his way through to the instigators of the crowd.

Suddenly he was staggered by a jagged rock that hit him in the head. Blood spurted from his face onto his white uniform. Still he went forward. He arrested two rioters and handed them over to the one policeman who had remained at his side.

Then, as his strength ebbed, he leaned against an iron gaslight. Overcome by dizziness, he did not know how long he stood helpless before the mob; but when he regained awareness, he saw that he had been deserted by the remaining policeman. He was alone in the center of a ring of rioters.

But it was a quiet, subdued crowd, silently watching the stricken policeman. Shoriki studied their faces. He saw expressions of worry and apprehension. He saw no intent to kill. One man met his eyes and stepped forward with a handkerchief. "You are bleeding very much. Wipe yourself with this." Another man offered a towel. Shoriki used it to tie his inspector's cap onto his head. Standing under the ghastly light of the gaslamp, his white uniform turned hideous by splotches of blood, he presented an awesome spectacle.

A group of newspaper reporters arrived on the scene and urged Shoriki to withdraw while there was still time to save his skin. But the young police official refused. "As long as I stand here unarmed under the gaslamp, this mob will not resort to violence."

And he was right. The mob, shamed by the courage of the

police official and by the lesson in nonviolence he had taught them, broke up and dispersed to their homes without a murmur. Its leaders subsequently met with the city authorities and arrangements were made for distributing rice to the poor all over the nation. Imports and larger crops ended the shortage, and the issue was settled without further bloodshed.

In the meantime, Matsutaro Shoriki turned to other duties. A police doctor had closed his wound with three stitches. When he had returned home wearing his cap over his bandage, he found that his superiors had sent him a case of wine in appreciation of his heroism.

To this day Shoriki carries a large scar on the left side of his head, and he still suffers severe headaches from the wound. But he had taught the people of Tokyo a more impressive lesson than centuries of police clubs and head-smashing had ever done. Using the aggressive strategy of nonviolence, he had quelled the rioting and prevented the need for calling out the Japanese army with the possibility of brother shooting down brother.

This man, who at the age of thirty-three had dispersed a frenzied mob without raising a finger, was to reach great heights of power and influence in Japan. He was to become a leading newspaper publisher, a molder of the opinion of millions, a pioneer who introduced professional baseball and television into Japan, and, in the cabinet of Ichiro Hatoyama, Japan's first commissioner of atomic energy. But never did Shoriki experience a greater victory of the spirit than on the streets of Tokyo that steaming August day in 1918.

Curbing the rice riots was only one of a number of dramatic episodes with which the story of Matsutaro Shoriki could be introduced, for the career of this extraordinary man reads like an oriental romance conceived by Dumas. However, this episode, perhaps, pinpoints most vividly Shoriki's personality.

Matsutaro Shoriki was born in the village of Daimon-machi, in modern Toyama, on Honshu Island in the Sea of Japan. Nature was harsh in Etchu, as Toyama was formerly called. Cold winds swept down from Siberia, even in the summertime. Typhoons and floods ravaged the countryside. Shoriki came from a hardy, determined folk who did not flinch from hardship. They were dour men, turned gloomy because the life they led was cruel.

Nature was not the only enemy of the natives of Etchu. In olden days they had been conquered by neighboring warlords, the powerful family of Maeda in Kaga, who ruled Etchu with an iron hand. The samurai, or warriors, of Etchu—hot-headed men who wore two swords—were forced to defer to the samurai of Kaga: they had to walk a step behind the Kaga swordsmen in the streets, indicating that they recognized their proper status as inferior ones.

Throughout the history of Daimon-machi the dominant theme is flood. Daimon-machi lay just below the juncture where tributaries run into the River Sho. Floodwaters were always highest there. The house in which Shoriki was born lies today under the water of the Sho, which later broke through the earth with such force that it changed its course.

As was natural in such a place, many men in Etchu learned something about engineering. Shoriki's grandfather, Shosuke, won a reputation for building bridges to withstand the rising waters. As the result of one ingenious job, the governor of Toyama heaped Shosuke with honors. Since, as a commoner, Shosuke had no surname, the governor bequeathed on him and his descendants a family name—"Shoriki," which, in Japanese, means "true power."

Furthermore, Shosuke was granted the privilege of wearing a samurai sword, an honor that was forbidden to commoners except by special decree. Shosuke Shoriki became

famous along the west coast of Japan for his engineering exploits. And his second son, Shojiro, succeeded to the profession when he retired.

Matsutaro was born on April 11, 1885, one of a family of three sons and seven daughters. On the day of his birth, Shojiro, his father, was away on business. Spring thaw from the Tateyama range of mountains had brought flood disasters, and Shojiro was engaged in relief work. When he returned home, as he pondered over the name to give the new baby he stood in his garden and looked at the old pine trees that lined the embankment of the River Sho. "Pine is good," he murmured. "It lives long and even in old age it gives shadow to man and serves him in other useful ways."

So the baby was named "Matsutaro," the Japanese word for pine.

The boy was troubled by illness and was a weak child. Therefore his parents encouraged him to play outdoors as much as possible. Almost every day Matsutaro romped with his older brothers and sisters along the river embankment. Sometimes they boated; other times they swam or waded, or they threw stones at handy targets.

One spring when Matsutaro was five, he was caught in a flash flood. The flood suddenly rolled down on them like a giant wave. The sister managed to get to the shore, but not the boy. The girl called for help; the whole village turned out. Almost everyone raced down the river, certain that the water had carried the boy with it. Fortunately a villager who was either late or lagging, caught sight of the child's head in a whirlpool close to the place where he had been playing when the flood hit.

The boy was pulled from the water, but it seemed too late. His body was cold. There was no perceptible breathing. His mother grabbed him in her arms and shouted over and over

again, "He shan't die!" A doctor was summoned; he pumped the child's stomach and revived him. Years later, as a man with much power in Japan, Shoriki was fond of saying: "Mother's love—that alone saved me from dying when I was young."

Even at six the little boy demonstrated the kind of pride and fury that were to lead him to the heights. He was sent on an errand to an engineer who was senior on the job to his father. The system of seniority is rigid in Japan. The contractor listened to the message the boy relayed from his father. But something in his attitude caused Matsutaro to feel he was slurring his father. The young emissary flew into a rage and took leave without bowing.

Such an act in Japan is either an insult or a mark of extremely poor breeding. The contractor was irked and snapped at the boy: "What's the matter with you, are you wearing pants made of bamboo?" The boy understood that the man was sarcastically asking whether his trousers were too tight or stiff to permit a bow, but he paid no heed. He did not turn to acknowledge the contractor's anger but went straight home.

Family tradition has it that greatness was prophesied for Matsutaro when he was only six. A fortuneteller visited the Shoriki home. With great ceremony the mystic studied the faces of little Matsutaro and two of his elder sisters. He declared in somber tones: "One of the sisters will find a good husband and live a happy life, but the other will be less fortunate and live unhappily. As for Matsutaro, he will become the greatest man in this part of the country. At least he will attain as great a position as that of chief priest of the Eihei Temple."

In the Etchu country that is greatness indeed. The Etchu people consider the office of the chief priest the measuring stick of all greatness. According to tradition, the prophecy came true in all particulars. One sister married her cousin and lived happily to the age of seventy. The other sister lived unhappily

and died at fifty-four. Matsutaro far surpassed the greatness, power and influence of the chief priest of the Eihei Temple.

However, the latter-day fame of Shoriki has baffled the school teachers of Daimon-machi for thirty years. Shoriki was third from the bottom of his graduating class at the middle school. His scholastic rating was mediocre at the University of Tokyo, and he was unable to pass the civil-service examinations until a year after his graduation. To this day students at Daimon-machi excuse their own laziness and indifferent marks by pointing out, "Mr. Shoriki was a poor pupil and that did not prevent him from rising to a position of great influence in the country."

This tradition of dullness attributed to him has annoyed Shoriki. He told his nephews recently that originally in primary school he had been a bright student but that due to chronic sinus trouble he found it necessary to limit his efforts to just enough study to get by. Long after he became powerful in Japan and shortly before he was appointed a state minister in the cabinet of Prime Minister Ichiro Hatoyama, one of his nephews, Masatsugu, visited him in Tokyo, and uncle and nephew engaged in a lively discussion over Shoriki's scholastic record. Shoriki asked Masatsugu to search the storage room of the family home in Daimon-machi for a primary-school diploma and honor scrolls awarded to Shoriki. Masatsugu searched diligently and found a scroll signed by the principal of the Daimon-machi Ogawa Primary School in 1892, when Shoriki was seven. It was labeled "Honor Scroll No. I" and attested to the excellence of the young pupil's scholarship. Other records disclosed that Shoriki remained at the head of his class until he was graduated from primary school at ten. The higher schools presented problems, however. He had to walk nearly five miles to and from higher primary school each day. In addition, he contracted trachoma and was obliged to visit the

hospital daily for eye treatments. He was thin and weak and his parents were concerned. They advised him to wrestle and row and play out of doors to regain his physical strength.

It must be admitted that as time went on Shoriki placed greater emphasis on physical activities and sports than on books. The times were not conducive to quiet study. There was restlessness in Japan. The Empire, restored to its Emperor little more than thirty years previously, was definitely on the march. It was making up for the 250 years in which it had been sealed off from the world like a hermit. Wars had been fought and won. China had been defeated by Japan. War with Russia was in the offing.

Along with other students, Shoriki was intoxicated by this flexing of Japan's national muscles. For a fencing tutor he had Kyodo Ozeki, one of the brothers who later became renowned as fencers at the Martial Arts Association, the mecca of fencing and judo in Japan. Ozeki specialized in the "one-sword" school of fencing which, according to the Japanese, was noted for its almost suicidal way of fighting and for the intrepid spirit it developed among its followers. This was the spirit with which Shoriki was to attack all problems throughout his life, headlong and direct.

The year 1906, when Shoriki was twenty-one, was a heady year, for victory had been tasted in war with a major power, Russia. It was a year of heroes, like Admiral Heihachiro Togo, who smashed the Russian fleet in the great naval battle of Tsushima Strait. In less than forty years Japan had emerged from backward feudalism to the status of a world power.

Shoriki was a student at the Fourth High School in Kanazawa. Already an accomplished fencer, he now turned to judo with as much enthusiasm as he had devoted to fencing. A new friend, Koizumi, was an expert in the "floor technique" of judo. Once he wrestled an opponent to the floor, he was

well-nigh unbeatable. Koizumi taught much of his "floor technique" to Shoriki and helped him earn a place on the judo team of the Fourth High School.

In judo, the Japanese art of self-discipline, it is essential that one learn to use the strength of an opponent against himself. The practitioner learns to attain a state of bodily passivity. Speed and scientific skill, not weight, are essential factors. The key element in judo is the training of the mind. A judo contest is a struggle of minds for mastery over one another. Will power—the training of the nerve centers—is essential to judo mastery.

Judo, ignoring size, weight, and strength, vividly demonstrates that there is no physical limit to what a man can accomplish as long as the task lies within his intelligence. A judoist with an insignificant body can control a powerful adversary as if the latter has no will of his own. Judo makes a man the master of his physical environment by training him to be virtually independent of the laws of gravitation. It rids a human being of the fear of falling (which usually colors a person's entire psychological development). Specifically, it teaches knowledge of points of the body on which pressure can produce temporary paralysis—the exposed nerve at the elbow (the "funnybone"), the arm pit, the tendon running downward from the ear; it teaches points at which pressure disturbs the balance—the back of the knee joint, the base of the spine.

Judo is a dramatic illustration of the subtle workings of the oriental mind. In Japan it has been more than a science of defense. It is a philosophical, ethical system. Shoriki as a young man became adept in judo. When the Japanese war against Russia was over, athletic contests were resumed between schools. And Shoriki's school, which like the others specialized in sports and judo, held contests with competitors.

In the spring of 1906, the Fourth High School of Kanazawa

scheduled a meet with the Third High School of Kyoto, the ancient capital of the Japanese emperors. The meet was slated for Kyoto. The schools were to compete with each other in baseball, tennis, fencing and judo. This competition aroused general interest. But the interest was especially keen in Kanazawa, Shoriki's school. A new song was written by the students to enliven the send-off of the seventy-seven athletes who were going to Kyoto. The debating team held a rally to boost the morale of the judo team. Traveling expenses were raised through public subscription.

On the day before departure, all students of the Fourth High met in the school auditorium. Toasts to victory were proposed. Some of the athletes rose and vowed they would shave their heads bald if they suffered defeat. Newspaper editorials in the city called for victory. At the railroad station next day the entire student body, together with great crowds of townspeople, turned out to give the high school teams a tumultuous sendoff. Interest was so high that some Fourth High graduates who were studying at Kyoto University traveled all the way to Kanazawa so they could ride back to Kyoto on the train with the teams.

Unfortunately, the athletes fared better in receiving kudos at home than they did in meeting their adversaries in Kyoto. On the first day of the meet, the Kyoto baseball team humiliated the Kanazawa boys, 11 to 1. On the second day the Kyoto tennis stars swept the Kanazawa players from the courts. On the third day, the Kanazawa fencers bowed in defeat. The contests were not even close. The Kanazawa tennis captain, star of his team, lost to the opponents' third-ranking player. The captain of the Kanazawa fencing team was eliminated by a low-ranking member of the Kyoto team.

Only in judo, on the final day of the meet, could the Kanazawa team hope to save something from the tragic com-

petition. But the outlook was dark. The home of the celebrated Martial Arts Association was in Kyoto. The instructors at the association had helped the Kyoto high school boys. Furthermore, the captain of the Kyoto team was Tomojiro Kojima who, although still a high school student, already wore the Black Belt that was the emblem of the established judo expert. There are ten ranks of Black Belt judo experts. Grade ten is the highest. Kojima already had reached Grade Two.

None of the Kanazawa judo wrestlers was a Black Belter. None had taken the examinations at the Martial Arts Association or the Kodo-kan, the central organization of judo—examinations necessary to win the Black Belt. Therefore, as the fourth and last day of the meet dawned, there was deep gloom in the camp of the Kanazawa boys. It seemed impossible that they could overcome Kojima, judo expert, Grade Two.

The contest was one of elimination. A Kanazawa wrestler named Kumada surprised the experts by eliminating several of the Kyoto boys. This gave Kanazawa a manpower advantage, for when Kojima, the captain of Kyoto, came to the mat, the Fourth High still had five wrestlers to pit against him. The instructor of the Fourth High wrestlers decided that the best strategy would be to tire out Kojima in hope that by the time he met the fifth Kanazawa wrestler he would be too weary to use his superior skill successfully.

But Kojima did not tire. Each of the first four men to face him was defeated in less than a minute. Now it was Shoriki's turn to challenge Kojima. Shoriki was the last hope of the Kanazawa school. But his supporters were ridden with anxiety. They knew Shoriki had nerves of iron. But how could he possibly stand up against the merciless skill of the Kyoto champion?

The audience sat tensely waiting for the match to begin. Shoriki's muscles were hard and supple and his stomach was as

flat as a board. He was a fit match for Kojima. The contestants bowed to each other from the waist. Several thousand heads bent forward, absorbed in the outcome of this fight to the finish.

Cautiously the wrestlers glided in toward one another. Then Shoriki, without holding the sleeve and neckband of his opponent's uniform as was customary in beginning proceedings, attempted with a piercing yell a desperate whirlwind throw. It came as a surprise. Had it failed it would have meant the quick, certain ruin of Shoriki. For Kojima could have pinned him easily. In the fraction of a second, as friends and foes held their breath, Kojima, taken by surprise, dropped to the floor. Shoriki was an expert at floor technique; he applied relentless choking pressure. In less than a minute the referee gave his decision. "Stop the fight." Shoriki rose, savoring the sensation of victory. Kojima got up painfully and swayed in utter dejection, the tears rolling down his cheeks. After a moment of stunned silence, the crowd broke out into tremendous cheers for Shoriki and his teammates carried him from the arena on their shoulders.

Shortly afterwards Shojiro appeared beside his son, tears of joy streaming down his face. Shoriki was amazed. He had thought that his father was miles away on business.

"My son," Shojiro explained, "I was so concerned about you that I made a special effort to come to see the bout."

Shojiro had had trouble getting into the arena. He did not have a *hakama*, the pleated skirt-like garment Japanese men were required to wear at ceremonial affairs and he could not be admitted without one. Hurriedly he had gone to a pawn shop, explained his predicament, and he was loaned a *hakama*, which made it possible for him to be present at his son's triumph.

To Shoriki this victory was "the greatest day of my life." Back in Kanazawa, newspapers published editorials in his

praise. Long years later he still considered the triumph over Kojima to be one of the sweetest of his accomplishments and he was fond of reminiscing about it.

“Our plan was to tire out Kojima, but even before I went into the ring, four of my teammates had clearly shown him our hand. And, of course, he thought he knew what was in store when he faced me. Through normal methods I could not hope to win. The only way open was by surprise attack. So I risked myself to mount a surprise assault. It was like the classic Okehazama tactics, and fortunately it worked. Through this bout I learned something about life itself.”

Okehazama is the name of an historic battleground in central Japan. There, Oda Nobunaga, a medieval hero who launched the campaigns that finally unified Japan, mounted a surprise attack that overwhelmed his enemy. Shoriki never forgot the lesson of his bout with Kojima. Throughout his career he relied on the surprise attack to attain his objectives.

CHAPTER II

Shimakura, Students and Suffrage

MATSUTARO SHORIKI grew to manhood in exciting times. His career was to draw him to the very heart of the social and political ferment that overtook the Japanese nation during the first quarter of the twentieth century, when the chains of medievalism dropped away under the impact of ideas from the West.

Until the visit of Commodore M. C. Perry, which in 1864 threw open Japan to trade with Europe and America, the Nipponese had been sealed off from the rest of the world, bogged down in a feudal society centuries behind the social advances of the West. But after the visit of Perry, Japan imported Western engineers and financiers and adopted vaccination, post offices and telegraph communications. Within fifty years the country leaped industrially from the Middle Ages into the twentieth century.

In 1890 the first Japanese constitution was drawn by Marquis Ito, a statesman who had visited Europe and America to study the political systems of the democracies. This constitution, providing for a House of Peers, a House of Representatives, and a cabinet system for the executive branch, was a tremendous step toward parliamentary government, even though the vote was limited to the wealthy classes. At first there were no stable political parties in the Western meaning. Loyalties were to individuals and to clans and sectional inter-

ests, rather than to political principles. However, by the time Shoriki reached manhood, parties had broadened into responsible instruments of economic and social expression. The office of prime minister which had been monopolized by the aristocracy was yielded to a commoner in 1919.

The period of the 1920's, when Shoriki was in his prime, developed into the most liberal, socially advanced decade in Japanese history. Labor unions grew to maturity and intellectuals, imbued with politically advanced philosophies of Western thinkers, were influential in the press. Art and the theater flourished.

During the first stages of this period, Shoriki, as we shall see, upon graduating from college, entered the Tokyo police department and served as an enforcer of the law. This was rather curious training for a man who, as a newspaper publisher, was ultimately to become one of the leading molders of national opinion. However, coming in contact with the seamy Tokyo underworld as a policeman, dealing with all conceivable types of human nature, learning to judge men and their actions with an uncanny eye, Shoriki became fully equipped for his subsequent career as a leader of men.

Shoriki's triumph over Kojima, the Black Belt holder, encouraged him to press on with his concentration on judo, to the detriment of his studies. When he entered Tokyo Imperial University School of Law in 1907, he devoted more time to judo training than to his books. In Tokyo, Shoriki studied judo at Kodo-kan, the center of all judo, under two masters of the Eighth Rank, Mifune and Yokoyama. Under their direction Shoriki mastered the art rapidly and rose to the rank of Black Belt, Grade Three. In recognition of his proficiency in judo, Shoriki was honored by appointment to the Imperial University Judo Committee.

It was but a short step from judo to religion, for in Japan judo is considered to be related to religion insofar as it teaches mental discipline. Religion had played only a minor part in the life of the young Shoriki, although his parents were pious devotees of the Nishi Honganji, a Buddhist sect. They taught Shoriki to pray and he prayed to please his mother while she lived. After she died, the habit of prayer was strong within him and he continued it. It was on the 18th day of the month that his mother died. In her memory, Shoriki, along with other members of his family, chants prayers on the 18th day of every month and on that day strictly observes the rules of Buddhism.

Such religious observance is not unusual among Japanese. Judo led Shoriki a step further into religion. At Kodo-kan, he met the great personalities of the art, including Kano, the dean of judo. In these men Shoriki detected an inner strength which he desired to attain for himself. He soon learned that the men practiced Zen, a Japanese adaptation of Yoga. Desiring instruction, he went to the hermitage of a priest, Daitoku Shoho Daitetsu, who was followed by men of prominence in worldly affairs, men who wanted to balance their hectic business and political activities with the solace of Zen meditation.

Shoriki sought an audience with Daitetsu. After a glance at the young man, the priest declared, "I can see you are devoting much of yourself to martial arts. With due concentration you may also make headway in Zen. Study hard and come to see me."

Shoriki plunged into the study of Zen. As often as possible, he visited the hermitage to talk with the priest. When summer came, Shoriki decided to stay in Tokyo to continue his religious study rather than go home for his holiday.

All this earned more encouragement. Daitetsu said to Shoriki: "I think it would be a good idea for you not to try to get a job following graduation but to spend one more year

of meditation in this hermitage. The result would be invaluable for your future."

Shoriki was attracted by the idea. But, unfortunately, in the spring of the year in which he graduated from the university, Daitetsu died. Bereft of his influence, Shoriki gravitated away from religion. It was to be thirty-five years before he was able to follow the counsel of the priest and devote himself to Zen meditation.

Traditionally the political leaders of Japan come from Tokyo Imperial University, and the friends Shoriki made there during his student days later became influential in government councils. Among these were Mamoru Shigemitsu, later to be Foreign Minister of Japan; Hitoshi Ashida, Prime Minister; Sankuro Ogasawara, Finance Minister; and Taizo Ishizaka, industrialist. These student friends became important to him in later stages of his career.

In July, 1911, at the age of twenty-six, Shoriki graduated from the university. But he was initially stalled in his efforts to get ahead. The time he put into judo and Zen had detracted from his studies, and he failed the civil-service examination necessary for a career in government. He was obliged to seek other work while waiting for a chance to take the examination a second time. A friend from his native province, Hiroshi Minami, was serving as chief secretary of the cabinet of Prince Saionji. Minami gave Shoriki a letter of recommendation by which he got a minor job in the cabinet statistics bureau.

Shoriki looked upon the job as temporary. Statistics seemed dry and dull to him. All through school he had been bored with mathematics. But a curious thing happened: Shoriki gradually lost his prejudice toward statistics. As the figures flowed over his desk, he began to translate them into what they meant in terms of people and social forces. He was drawn particularly to statistics on crime.

Shoriki's fascination with the sociology of crime cushioned him against a blow to his ego. There were set courses for graduates of Tokyo Imperial University to take in those days. Of those who wanted to go into government service, the most brilliant were admitted into the Finance Ministry. Second preference was the Home Ministry and third the Ministry of Commerce and Industry.

Shoriki knew that his scholastic record was not good enough to get him a place in any of these ministries. There were too many better students ahead of him. When, therefore, after passing his examination, he was advised by his friend Minami to enter the Metropolitan Police Board, Shoriki found this advice congenial. In June of 1913, Shoriki was appointed inspector with the Metropolitan Police Board in Tokyo.

Once again Shoriki threw himself into the martial arts, sometimes neglecting other aspects of police work to concentrate on judo and fencing. His first measure of fame as a policeman came from the way he went about learning to ride horses. He used a violent method. He would remove the stirrups, tie the reins behind the horse's neck, hold his hands behind his back and try to control the horse with pressure of his knees alone. Among his fellow police officers he became known as a daring and violent man.

Shoriki added to this reputation by his work in the police combat-training school. The police were taught judo of a most vigorous kind, one that would give them an advantage in street fights or riots. Shoriki quickly learned to fight in police fashion and made the police team, which held competitions periodically with the team from the Imperial Palace Guard. The rivalry between the Guard and the police was a classic one in judo. Shoriki always liked to point out that after he joined the police team it never once lost to the Guard.

After a year as a police inspector with general duties,

Shoriki was given a police station of his own. It was no easy one, and other police officers wondered that a stripling of only twenty-nine would be handed such a post. Shoriki was made chief of the Nihonbashi Horidome Station House in the very heart of Tokyo. In this district were the stock market and rice exchange, large department stores, and many gay restaurants and bars.

The great wealth which flowed through the district attracted the fortune hunters, criminals who used brain instead of muscle. Crimes of violence were rare in Horidome. But there was a parade of confidence men, imposters, embezzlers, blackmailers and other rogues of their ilk.

One of the smoothest crooks in the district was a man skilled in fraud, blackmail and extortion. He had long been known to the police, but until the time of Shoriki, they were powerless to move against him. He had spread a web of fear over his domain of crime. Through threats of violence, the criminal made all fear to testify against him. Even some police officers were too much intimidated to undertake a wholehearted investigation of this criminal. One of Shoriki's first acts as station-house chief was to order a full inquiry. He named detectives Aiko and Sato for the job. They compiled a list of crimes almost certainly committed by their quarry. But nowhere could they find a victim willing to bear witness.

The hunted man scented the net the detectives were trying to draw about him. He learned the names of his pursuers and sought them out. He suggested they be his guests at a geisha dinner. His meaning was clear. He was preparing the way for a bribe. Aiko and Sato reported the invitation to Shoriki, who perceived his opportunity. He went to the prosecutor of the criminal courts, Kanayama, and told him the story. Kanayama was from the same province as Shoriki, and in Japan people from the same province feel a special kinship.

Shoriki told Kanayama that he wanted his detectives to accept from the hunted man bribes which could be used as evidence. Kanayama agreed to the plan. Detective Aiko carried it through. He accepted an invitation to a geisha dinner. Money was offered him in a sealed envelope. He took it. The envelope still was sealed when it was presented as evidence in the trial of the man on bribery charges. The plan had worked. Horidome was rid of a man who preyed on one and all. And Shoriki's star in the police service was rising.

Shoriki was made chief of another station house in Tokyo in February, 1917. Almost immediately he became involved in a case that shocked all Japan, the case of the "Monster" who dealt in stolen Bibles.

It began quietly enough. Two detectives on routine duty were puzzled by the large number of newly-printed Bibles on sale in one of the night stalls near the small temple of Kagurazaka Bishamonten. All the other books in the stall were secondhand. Only the Bibles were new. The stall-keeper told the detectives he had bought the Bibles from a man who styled himself a Christian minister. His name was Gihei Shimakura.

Informed of the incident, Shoriki instructed his detectives to arrest Shimakura for questioning. This was routine. Police had to know the source of things put on sale in the street stalls, which were a favorite place for the disposal of stolen goods.

Three detectives went to the Shimakura home. One stood at the front door, one at the back and the third went inside. He was Detective Kaneko. He confronted Shimakura and bade him come along to the station house. Shimakura offered no objection but asked permission to change into street clothes. Kaneko consented. Shimakura went upstairs to change. He never came down again. He climbed through a window to the roof of the house next door, made his way to the street by a telephone pole and fled. The three detectives trembled with shame when they

had to appear before Shoriki and confess that in broad daylight they had let their man get away.

But Shoriki surprised them with his reaction. Before he could become enraged, as they had expected him to, a thought struck him. He thought it strange that a man would flee if all he had on his conscience was the theft of Bibles. Shoriki suspected something more serious must be involved. Instead of reprimanding the three detectives, he assigned them to work full time on the case. He asked their help in trying to determine what other crime or crimes Shimakura may have committed.

Then came taunts from the fugitive. A postcard was mailed to Shoriki at the station house. It said: "In spite of your summons I cannot appear before you until I complete some business. Stop all unnecessary investigations, for I will show up as soon as I have finished this business." Shoriki was more determined than ever to catch his man.

Two facts developed early in the investigation. First, it was learned that Shimakura stole the Bibles from the warehouse of the Yokohama printing firm that published them. Posing as a Christian minister, he sold the Bibles while traveling about Japan to preach. Secondly, Shimakura destroyed every photograph of himself before he fled from his home. Except for Kaneko, who had talked with him, no police officer knew the face of Shimakura.

The taunts continued. A second postcard called the detectives "idiots" and said they would never catch him. Shoriki laid a trap. He tracked down Shimakura's cousin, who was proprietor of a rice shop in Tokyo. Shoriki ordered the cousin to lure Shimakura to Sakamoto Park, an amusement center. Detectives in disguise lurked about the park, watching the cousin and waiting for Shimakura. He never presented himself.

Hours later Shimakura telephoned the station house. He

boasted that he had gone past the park in a streetcar. Even from the moving streetcar, he taunted, he had been able to see through the disguises of the "idiotic" detectives.

Shoriki used another lure. A photographer, who was a friend of Shimakura, was ordered to write a message proposing a meeting at the Fukagawa Hachiman Shrine in Tokyo. This time the detectives did not depend upon disguises. The three detectives and ten other plainclothesmen hid from sight. Some crouched behind the great stone boulder on which was placed the basin of water in which worshippers cleansed their hands before entering the shrine. Some hid behind the main shrine building itself. A few lounged among crowds across the street. And a little group waited out of sight in a dead-end alley right by Miyagawa's Restaurant, which specialized in eel dishes.

Shimakura came by streetcar. He wore a brown hat with the brim pulled down to shadow his face. He also wore an Inverness cape, much in fashion then in Tokyo, and Japanese wooden clogs held in place by a strap between the big and second toes.

The hunted man lingered on the rear platform of the streetcar, studying everyone in sight to try to see if this, too, was a trap. At the last moment before the car began to move, he stepped quickly onto the street and walked toward his friend, satisfied that this was no ambush. Kaneko, the one police officer who knew Shimakura by sight, rushed him, and he was captured.

By this time the police had learned many unsavory things about Shimakura. Four times he had served sentences for theft. In addition, four times he had collected insurance for fires that started in houses adjoining his own. There was another suspicious thing. When he was released after a two-year prison term in Kyoto, he was penniless. Yet five years later he possessed his own two-story house with a telephone. In those days,

few could afford a telephone in Japan. It was a mark of wealth.

But Shimakura was not called "Monster" for any of these crimes. These were but pale offenses when compared to his worst.

The man became a Christian, or said he became a Christian, through the teachings of a minister named Osaka. At this man's church Shimakura met a Sunday-school teacher. He married her and she bore him a son. A friend of the minister, Osaka, had an eighteen-year-old daughter. This girl Shimakura hired as maidservant in his home.

Shoriki's men learned that this girl was missing. At first there was no suspicion of Shimakura. But in jail he acted like a madman. He snarled at his jailers. He tried to commit suicide by swallowing broken glass. He attempted to escape. These acts strengthened the suspicion of Shoriki that Shimakura was hiding a crime far more serious than Bible-stealing or even arson. He asked for a complete investigation of the case of the maidservant who had been missing three years.

Almost immediately, the investigation showed there was reason for suspicion. It became clear that the girl was missing after leaving Shimakura's house on the pretext of returning to the home of her parents. Further investigation revealed that Shimakura had slept with her and that the girl had contracted syphilis from him. It also turned out that Shimakura had been taking the girl to a hospital. Beyond that, police learned she had been pregnant.

The long arm of coincidence led to confirmation of the suspicion. Detective Kaneko went to the Takanawa Station House to ask for records of a fire which it was believed Shimakura had started. The station house desk officer muttered: "Many requests came today for old records." Kaneko asked questions. He was told that that very day the parents of the missing girl

had requested information about the body of a young woman that had been taken from a well three years before. They wanted to know particularly where the body was buried.

Kaneko forgot all about the fire and suspected arson. This was something far greater. He went into the records. The body of the girl taken from the well had never been identified. It had been in the well some months before it was discovered and identification had been almost impossible. The estimated age was twenty-one or twenty-two. She was petite. Her canine teeth were conspicuous. Two teeth were gold. A black satin kimono, bound with a muslin sash, covered the body. Over it was worn a light "haori" coat with a distinct pattern of peonies and lions. The body was buried in a communal cemetery adjoining land used by the Japanese Navy.

The wife of Shimakura, Katsuko, was summoned. She described the clothing worn by the missing girl the night she disappeared. Her description exactly fitted the description in the records of Takanawa Station House.

That brought Shoriki face-to-face with a decision all his men feared. The logical next step was to exhume the body of the girl found in the well three years before. But nobody had courage enough to recommend this procedure.

Shoriki listened to the reports, then said: "Let us try. All would become clear if only we exhumed the body." The chief judicial officer of the station house reluctantly pointed out that if the body was exhumed and it turned out to be the wrong one, the consequences would be most grave. He said further that the Takanawa Station House officers who handled the case three years earlier closed it as a suicide. A question of face was involved. The act of exhumation would in itself cast doubt on the record of the Takanawa Station House officers.

Shoriki shrugged off objections and surprised his men by

saying: "Let us try. If it is a mistake then it is too bad. I will hold myself responsible for all the consequences. You will be doing the work under my command."

What astounded the officers was Shoriki's offer to accept responsibility himself. Always before they had worked with station-house chiefs who were impatient for results, quick to claim credit for success, reluctant to accept responsibility for mistakes. Most chiefs they had known were quick to blame subordinates for failures.

It was no easy job to locate the body of the girl. The police had to depend upon the memory of the old men who were gravediggers at the communal cemetery. It was so long ago, the gravediggers could only guess where the grave was. There was intensive questioning. Finally the detectives had a hunch they knew where to look. The gravediggers spaded out the earth. A skeleton was found. There was no trace of clothing. Detective Kaneko took the bones to the Police Identification Department.

Later that day Kaneko reported to Shoriki with a placid face: "Station House Chief, I resign from the service. It was the wrong body."

Shoriki hid his disappointment. He answered softly but firmly, "As long as there was no mistake in the records at the Takanawa Station House, the body of the woman found in the well must still remain somewhere in the cemetery. The memory of the gravediggers was not good enough, and we investigated a wrong spot. Let us try again."

Once more his subordinates were reluctant. A second mistake could bring far worse consequences than the first. They warned Shoriki he would have to take the blame if there was a second mistake. But Shoriki answered, "I personally will preside over the digging tomorrow."

The next day the right body was found in the communal cemetery.

There still remained the task of proving whether the body was that of a girl murdered or a girl who committed suicide. Shoriki ordered the further questioning of Shimakura's wife. She said her husband had gone to see the body when it was pulled from the well. He told her it was out of idle curiosity. Shoriki decided it was time to grill Shimakura hard in an effort to break him. Up to this point, Shimakura denied even stealing Bibles.

Shoriki assigned one of his veteran detectives, Minegishi, to question the suspect each day. Shoriki himself took over the questioning through the nights. Each night at midnight Shoriki confronted Shimakura in a special examination room. On a table was an urn which held the bones of the dead girl. Incense sticks were kept burning before the urn.

But even these strong measures failed to break Shimakura. He denied stealing the Bibles. He denied setting fires. He denied murder. Four days and four nights the questioning went on. During the questioning, Shoriki came to understand that Shimakura still had a strong love for his wife and son. On the final night, Shoriki told the suspect that if he confessed, his house and properties would be returned to his wife and son. "I will personally guarantee their future well-being." This guarantee was given in the presence of the minister, Osaka, in whom Shimakura placed the greatest faith. At this offer, the suspected man burst into tears and made a full confession.

He was permitted to bathe. He was given a haircut. Then he met his wife and Osaka. Once more, before his wife and the minister, Shimakura confessed to all his crimes. Then to his wife, he said, "I feel extremely sorry for you. Because of me you have undergone considerable mental agony."

The wife, Katsuko, wept, but replied: "I am not regretting at all. Perhaps it is my fate. As to the child, I will do my best to bring him up. And you can depend on me for that. Should you die, I earnestly hope you will go to heaven."

Shimakura's trial began in 1917. The criminal testified that he had given poisoned sweets to the girl, and that when pains began to grip her, he threw her into the well to die. Trials were long, then, in Japan. In April of 1918, it was still under way. But in the final stages a curious change came over Shimakura. He reverted to the mad actions of his early imprisonment. And he recanted his confession.

The change came shortly after he received word that his wife, who had professed so much affection for him, had given her love to another man. The news that his wife belonged to another destroyed whatever vestige of reason remained in him. He struck out satanically. He sent threatening letters to Shoriki. He took to wearing in the courtroom an eccentric coat fashioned in the style of the old samurai warriors of medieval Japan.

Despite his profuse pleas of innocence, he was sentenced to death in June of 1918. His attorney launched a series of appeals. The case continued to drag on for six years as a result of interminable legal maneuvering. At the final session in June, 1924, Shoriki was called as a witness, and the sudden confrontation of the criminal by the policeman plunged the court in uneasiness. Shoriki was compelled to sit shoulder to shoulder with Shimakura, giving testimony against him, and the court feared that the defendant might turn violent and attack the policeman.

Shimakura, whose moods were unpredictable, reacted in exactly the opposite fashion. He turned docile, kept his eyes downcast. When Shoriki had completed the testimony and left the room, Shimakura followed the witness with eyes that were blank.

That night Shimakura hanged himself in his prison cell.

Shoriki was involved not only with catching crooks and murderers. His duties brought him into political and educational disputes that were symptomatic of the growing pains of the newly industrialized Japan.

The chief testing ground of new ideas were the Japanese universities. Some Nipponese students not only imbibed the political doctrines of Rousseau and Thomas Jefferson, but they went even further, espousing the socialistic doctrines of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. Many of the radicals aped the black uniforms and small caps of the German university students.

As police inspector-general of the First District of Tokyo, Shoriki, in 1917, became involved in a political outbreak of young radicals at the University of Waseda. The trouble was rooted in the proposal to erect a statue on the campus to the recently deceased Marchioness Ayako Okuma, whose husband had founded the university. In 1916, when the proposal for the statue was made, he was also prime minister of Japan. His minister of education was Dr. Sanae Takada, former president of Waseda University and a man who had been held in high esteem by the prime minister. It seemed in 1916 when the proposal was first made that there would be no difficulty in erecting a statue to the marchioness. But in the summer of 1917, the Okuma cabinet fell. Dr. Takada was out of his government job. Rumors spread that he wanted to return to Waseda as president. Soon his friends began a campaign to oust the current president, Dr. Tameyuki Amano, so as to make way for the return of Takada.

Rebellion spread among the students. The times were anxious. Germany was still fighting stubbornly in Europe, and the United States had just thrown her weight into the war. In Japan there were labor troubles, and tenant farmers rioted against their landlords. Newspapers were filled with tales of struggle

and many published editorials in support of new liberal ideas.

Traditionally the men of Waseda considered themselves the vanguard of liberal thought and academic freedom in Japan. They felt the Takada maneuvers and the plan to build the statue to the marchioness as a threat to liberalism. Takada was a Conservative and the Okuma family who supported him belonged to the hidebound aristocracy. The students grumbled that their university was not the personal property of the Okuma family.

The secretary of President Amano, the current head of Waseda, sought help from Tanzan Ishibashi, editor of an economic periodical in Tokyo. Ishibashi agreed to assist Amano. He published a manifesto calling upon young professors and students to join the movement to defend him. When students returned from their homes after the summer vacation, they found men of the Ishibashi Reform Group awaiting them on the platforms of the railway stations, enlisting members for the campaign. A room upstairs from a billiard parlor was used as headquarters. Drums and Shinto banners were purchased for use in demonstrations. The first meeting was scheduled for September 10 at the theater on the university campus.

Shoriki had only recently been appointed police district inspector-general as a result of his work in the Shimakura murder case. This was his first assignment on his new job. His orders: to prevent a Waseda student riot. There was a time-honored way to accomplish that in Japan. Bash heads. Shoriki was given four hundred policemen to do the bashing. But Shoriki thought there was a better way. He bunched his four hundred riot-breakers on a vacant lot some distance from the theater, and he sent a few to observe the meeting. Then, without a bodyguard, he entered the meeting place of the angry, emotional students.

There were about 1,000 at the meeting. Shoriki arrived before it had been called to order. He went backstage and asked

to see Tanzan Ishibashi, the leader. Ishibashi has described the meeting as follows:

I consented to see him in one of the dressing rooms. The policeman was sitting there alone. He was a stocky man, dressed in an impressively be-medalled uniform. I sat in the formal Japanese way on the tatami [straw mat] floor of the dressing room and conducted the talk. Mr. Shoriki was extremely courtly. I was taken aback when he bowed politely, putting his two hands on the floor in the strictly formal Japanese way. He then said: "Your meeting is the university's business, and the police have no intention of interfering in it. Our only desire is that the meeting come to an end quietly, and there is no disturbance of the peace." I promised Shoriki we would not start any trouble. On this we parted.

This was a daring approach for a high-ranking police officer to take, particularly on his first assignment. There probably was not another man of Shoriki's rank who would have tried this soft tactic. In the past a show of force was always used to control such meetings. Whenever a labor dispute occurred, the police were mobilized to drive away the laborers and arrest their leaders. Fastening the chin-straps of their caps, police would rush in to chase away the people at the gathering place. The public naturally turned hostile at the sight of the police force. It felt pressure, even if the police did not resort to force.

Shoriki's new tactics seemed on the verge of working. The meeting was emotional, but not violent. A few professors, graduates and students made impassioned speeches. So did Ishibashi. Resolutions were passed. One demanded that Waseda be "liberated" from the Okuma family control. Another proposed a strike to force the resignation of three Takada-controlled directors, one of whom was Tadaichiro Tanaka.

The meeting was coming to an orderly end when Atsushi

Kono, a graduate of the university and former leader of its baseball team, suddenly proposed: "The intrigue has been masterminded by Tadaichiro Tanaka, who is trying to drive Amano from the president's chair. Let's march over to his home and demand that he quit trying to make Takada president!"

Ishibashi was dismayed. He had promised non-violence. But things were out of control. The students began a dog-trot serpentine march to the house of Tanaka, which was near the university. One group split off and invaded the university buildings. In the offices, windowpanes, desks and chairs were smashed.

The Tanaka house, like most big houses in Japan, was in a compound, behind a wall. Word of the march reached the house. The gates of the wall were barred. A platoon of police rushed to guard the house. When the students arrived, it seemed inevitable that they would fight the police.

But Shoriki arrived before any blows were exchanged. He raced up in a limousine and strode to the gate. There he addressed the demonstration leaders. He pointed out the hour was past midnight and asked them to break up the demonstration. The leaders protested that all they wanted to do was hand a copy of their resolutions to Tanaka. Shoriki went inside the house. There he talked with a frightened Mrs. Tanaka. He said that he would preside over a meeting between the students and Tanaka and that there would be no danger. But she replied that her husband was not at home. Shoriki called in the leaders of the students who talked with Mrs. Tanaka. She promised that her husband would meet them the following noon. Assured by this, the demonstrators dispersed.

On the second day, however, there was violence. But again Shoriki refused to order his police into action. During the night the striking students met again at the Waseda Theater. Tempers flared. The meeting broke up with a march on the university offices once again. The students occupied all the main offices.

A few frightened school employees tried to escape them by leaping from windows. Some were injured.

Still Shoriki refused to interfere with force. He took the position that the students were rioting inside their own university and that the affair should be settled by Waseda officials. But once again he went to the rioters alone. The newspaper *Asahi*, largest in Tokyo, reported the next day: ". . . Into the offices, where the students were rioting, District Inspector-General Shoriki came and tried to persuade them to put an end to their irresponsible conduct. 'Please stop breaking furniture,' he said. 'The police will take no action against you, since the university itself should hold itself responsible for incidents occurring within the university compound.' The students appreciated the remark and after making a decision to use the auditorium as their office, calmed down."

For three days the Reform Group occupied the university. Students manned picket lines and refused to permit university officials to enter the compound. A number of the younger professors announced their support of the students. The directors planned legal action and appealed to Home Minister Shimpei Goto to order police to use force to break the strikers' control of the university buildings. Later Goto was to become a most important influence in the career of Shoriki, but at that time they were unknown to each other.

The strikers were ready to resist legal action and force, but they were not ready for the more subtle weapons of the directors. This was the circulation of a rumor that the university would have to be closed down permanently if the strike continued. Such a thing the students could not tolerate. They were good Waseda men. They might strike to make their university better, but they would not strike to close it down. Frightened by the rumors, the Reform Group hurriedly entered negotiations. A compromise president was named to succeed Amano.

To this day the leaders of the Reform Group have not for-

gotten the part Shoriki played in the crisis. As Ishibashi declared, "Shoriki kept the promise he made at the Waseda Theater. As far as the troubles at Waseda were concerned, the police to the last refrained from interfering in the affairs of the university. How much more peaceful and quiet the world would be if all police leaders and statesmen would behave like he did."

One of Shoriki's most exacting assignments as police chief occurred during the rice riots already mentioned—riots that swept Japan during the first week in August, 1918. They took place during a period of oppressive heat when the people—to use a Japanese simile—felt as though they were being cooked in a steam pot.

On the first Sunday in August, Bunji Okada, the Chief of the Metropolitan Police Board and Shoriki's immediate superior, suggested that his senior officers accompany him in an outing on Tokyo Bay in a fishing boat. That was a favorite summer pastime for those Japanese who could afford it. On hot days Tokyo Bay is alive with merrymakers drinking beer and eating freshly caught fish in the small boats which are propelled by oarsmen.

The police officers met at Tsukiji, the fish-market section of Tokyo. They boarded their boat from a wooden landing hard against the stone walls of a canal. The center of the boat was a shallow well—the passenger section. Its deck was covered with straw matting almost identical to the tatami that cover the floors of Japanese homes. Okada, Shoriki and the other police officers took off their shoes before stepping down into the well. They sat cross-legged on the matting, their backs resting against the low sides of the wall. Some dipped their hands into the water of the canal which was relatively cool. It took about a pleasant half hour to get from the landing to the open bay.

The canal was lined by towering stone walls on either side. There were other fishing boats on the canal and the friendly shouts between the fishermen added a happy and comforting sound to the occasion.

Once in the bay, the fishing boat headed straight for a predetermined anchorage. So many fishermen made their livelihood from the bay that it was divided into sections and each boat had its proper place. It was lunchtime when the boat finally reached its mooring. The fishermen lowered the anchors and spread their net which covered 600 square feet and weighed about forty pounds when wet. This net was twirled and flung onto the water. Then it was hauled back with its rich catch of sea bream, gray mullets and sea perch.

Once the catch was in, the fishermen turned cooks. The Japanese say, "Unless you have eaten fish from Tokyo Bay, you have never tasted fish." It seemed that way to Okada and Shoriki and the other police officers that day. The bream and perch were sliced thin and served raw. Each man dipped each slice into his own little bowl of soy sauce, made hot with horseradish and mustard. The beer and rice sake was broken out. Tongues loosened as the men washed down their fish with drink. There was an infectious spirit of gaiety.

At one point Shoriki took over the conversation. He steered it to the subject of a minor rice riot that had broken out ten days before near his home village of Namekawa in Toyama. The wives of the village fishermen had marched to the rice shops to demand that the owners stop shipping rice to other places. They complained they were running short of rice and prices were going too high. This peaceful, unsuccessful request of the fishwives was only the beginning. Within a week protests spread through the whole prefecture and into two neighboring provinces, Ishikawa and Fukui. The air was tense even in Kobe and Osaka.

Shoriki told Okada and his other colleagues that he knew the village of Namekawa well, that he had gone there to swim frequently when he was a boy. "They are a modest and obedient people and they must have been in extremely dire circumstances to take so bold a step as to make demands on the rice-shop owners." Then he added, "Chief, I'm afraid something serious is in store. Rice cost only thirty sen until recently. The price is now fifty-odd sen, an increase of 60 per cent. The people with low incomes will be hard hit by this. I'm told that both in Osaka and Kobe an air of unrest prevails already. We will have to be on the lookout in Tokyo. The government is slow-moving and I don't believe it can frame effective countermeasures in time. Don't you think it advisable for the Metropolitan Police Board to take preparatory steps now?"

Shoriki had not chosen his time for the warning well. It was so pleasant on the water, eating fish and drinking beer, that nobody wanted to bother about such unpleasant things. And nobody did.

But the very next morning reports came into the Metropolitan Police Board of riots in Kobe. Next day they spread to Okayama and then on like wildfire to Osaka, Kyoto, Nagoya and Shizuoka. Finally Tokyo itself was hit. Mobs broke into rice shops.

There were several reasons for the rice crisis. World War I touched off a wave of inflation in Japan. In addition, 1918 was a lean year in the paddies and production was seriously off. Furthermore, the government had failed to plan for adequate imports. Speculators moved in to buy up all the rice available and force the prices higher. The reaction was violent. The police lost control in many provinces. In some cases, calls were sent out for the army and that led to further complications, for Japan was currently sending troops to Siberia as part of the International Expedition to protect allied interests from the

Bolsheviks. Numbers of troops were called back at the moment they were boarding transports at the port of Moji to sail for Vladivostok. In Osaka and Kobe troops actually fought the rioting mobs. But the soldiers had a distaste for their duty. Many came from families who were suffering from the rice shortage.

In Tokyo two influential politicians stepped into the picture. They were members of Parliament, Kanichi Otake and Matajiro Koizumi, who had first achieved prominence in 1905 at the end of the Japanese-Russian War when they led a mob that burned buildings in Hibiya Park in downtown Tokyo to protest the "too generous" peace given Russia.

Now in 1918, Otake and Koizumi announced a plan to hold a public meeting at the Kanda Youth Hall to denounce the government for its failure to meet the rice crisis. The Hall held 2,000 people. Police feared that rioting would result and they banned the meeting. But the ban was ineffective. By 4 P.M. the hall was packed. But still the people flocked to the area by foot, by bicycle and by streetcar. The crowd assumed dangerous proportions outside the hall.

Shoriki was sent to investigate the situation. He found about two hundred policemen from two station houses deployed in a cordon around the hall, chasing people away. The station-house chief, Sasaki, following Japanese police practice, decided to break up the meeting. He told Shoriki he was ready to use force. Shoriki opposed the decision. He ordered the police cordon withdrawn and all the officers sent back to the station house. Then, with a reluctant Sasaki, Shoriki went to the stage door entrance and asked to see the two leaders, Otake and Koizumi. The two men were of advanced age. To them Shoriki, who was only thirty-three at the time, must have appeared a stripling. Patiently he explained to them that the Kanda Youth Hall was so close to the Imperial Palace that a riot would have serious

consequences. He pointed out that he had removed the police cordon.

"It is because of my respect for each of you that I come to see you with only one high-ranking police officer as my companion. I come to you without a bodyguard. Please, sirs, voluntarily cancel your meeting."

The Shoriki appeal was effective. Otake and Koizumi agreed to call off the rally. But at that moment news was rushed to Shoriki that the police cordon had not been removed as he had ordered. Shocked, he instructed Sasaki to investigate. Sasaki reported that the cordon had started to move away but that new orders had come from Security Department Chief Noguchi to restore the guard. Noguchi was fearful for the safety of Shoriki. Shoriki issued new orders for the police to withdraw. And this time they did so. Koizumi, in turn, lived up to his part of the agreement and canceled the meeting. The people left without trouble.

However, as mentioned previously, Shoriki did not escape unscathed with his philosophy of nonviolence. Shortly after the episode in Kanda Hall, when he pleaded with a mob around the Tokyo rice exchange to disperse peacefully, he was hit by a stone. And he had to have stitches taken to close his wound. To this day he suffers migraine.

However, his philosophy made a deep impression upon the police force. Tokyo alone of all the cities affected by the riots did not have to call out the army to control the mobs. Shoriki received a warm commendation from his superiors.

The government resolved the rice crisis by lowering prices. The shortage was eventually eliminated by more satisfactory production from the paddies. However, the rice crisis was only one symptom of a general restlessness that had overtaken Japan. President Woodrow Wilson of the United States had captured imaginations with his plea for democracy and self-determina-

tion of peoples. Even before World War I, manhood suffrage had been an issue in Japan. As early as 1911, the Japanese House of Representatives passed a suffrage bill. But the aristocratic House of Peers crushed it with a unanimous vote and a member of the Upper House intoned what he meant to be an epitaph. "Make it be known," he said, "that never in the future shall a bill of this nature be sent to the House of Peers."

The issue simmered through the war years and then flared again in 1919. Students, journalists, intellectuals and liberal politicians got behind the banner of manhood suffrage. Three political parties joined to support legislation which provided that the right to vote be accorded to each male citizen who was twenty-five years old and had "independent means of livelihood." In 1919 Japan even this appeared a bit radical, for under existing law the only citizens qualified to vote were those who paid a tax of more than ten yen to the state treasury. And at that time relatively few Japanese earned enough to be taxed ten yen a year.

The movement for manhood suffrage gained momentum, however, and a National Manhood Suffrage Association was formed in 1920. Rallies and demonstrations were held throughout Japan. The movement became so strong the police felt called upon to keep it under constant surveillance. Police spies were given the mission of infiltrating the headquarters organization in downtown Tokyo; as a result the Metropolitan Police Board knew every plan and almost every secret of the Association.

On February 14, 1920, the suffrage bills were introduced into the House of Representatives. This touched off tempers. Inside the House there was scuffling and nose-punching between members. Outside, demonstrators fought with police.

The following week 100,000 people jammed Shiba Park for a demonstration which both the police and suffrage leaders

wanted to be peaceful. Otake and Koizumi, leading political strategists during the rice riots, spearheaded the suffrage demonstrations. They went to the Metropolitan Police Board and offered that they would keep the meeting at Shiba Park orderly. Riots, they argued, were caused by police provocation. Since 172 members of the House of Representatives would participate in the demonstration there was no need for police. The House members, they insisted, would be responsible for maintaining order.

The police accepted the offer. As a result the leaders of the rally posted a large sign at the entrance of the meeting grounds reading, "No policeman, uniformed or in plainclothes, allowed. The sponsors of this meeting will not hold themselves responsible for the consequences of their presence within the meeting grounds."

Like most Japanese political rallies, there was a picnic atmosphere about the gathering. Beside the sign board which warned off the police were bowls of steamed rice flavored with vinegar and soy sauce and topped with slices of raw fish and hot radish. In almost no time the rice and soy sauce was sold out at thirty sen a bowl. A hasty order was put in for enough rice to feed 10,000 more people. This, too, was sold out by noon.

There were political experts to run the meeting. Banshu Kono was elected chairman. He had achieved notoriety in 1903 on the eve of the Russo-Japanese War with a spectacular trick in the very presence of the Emperor. It was the custom for the Emperor to open each session of Parliament with an Imperial Address, and for the speakers of each House to make a non-political statement in reply. Kono secretly substituted a letter denouncing the government for the usually tame statement read at such occasions. The letter was read, and since all messages read at the opening of Parliament in the Emperor's presence

had to be adopted as a matter of courtesy by unanimous vote, this diatribe was sanctioned unanimously.

By 1920 Kono was an old man, distinguished by flowing snow-white whiskers. But he had not exhausted his bag of political tricks. He appointed each man present at the demonstration a member of the executive committee of the organization to win the passage of the suffrage bills. This meant that if a petition was filed with the government all 100,000 people who attended the Shiba Park meeting would have the legal right to move on the proper government office in a body to present the petition.

The meeting moved along smoothly enough until a man raced onstage brandishing a sword to attack a speaker. He failed to make it. Ten people on the stage overpowered him before he could reach his target. The man was questioned and it was announced that he was a henchman of the Government Party, which opposed suffrage. The crowd was inflamed and resentful; so the master politicians who were running the demonstration decided the time had come to raise tempers even higher. They brought out Toshio Shiraishi of the Construction Laborers' Federation. Earlier in the day at another meeting four anti-suffrage hoodlums had slashed Shiraishi on the face with daggers. The sight of his heavily bandaged countenance further infuriated the people.

Then came the incident which released the leaders from their pledge to the police. A student demonstrator spotted a man wearing a cap with the badge of Waseda University and the uniform of Tokyo Imperial University. No bona fide student would wear such an incongruous costume, they reasoned; the man must be a police spy. He was seized and stripped and forced to mount to the platform and bow low to the crowd. The cry went up for a march on the home of Prime Minister Kei Hara.

The leaders had wanted that all along. In fact, they had banners ready to lead the marchers. One said, "Carry Out Manhood Suffrage Now"; another, "Force the Resignation of Prime Minister Hara."

Most of the 100,000 frenzied people joined behind the banners in a shuffling serpentine movement. Finally the head of the column reached the gate of the wall that surrounded the residence of the prime minister. A leader yelled, "We came here to pass the resolutions of the meeting to the prime minister. Let us see him."

A small gate opened and a man moved quickly to confront the leaders. It was Matsutaro Shoriki. He spread his arms wide as though to hold back the mob all by himself. Then he shouted back at the leaders, "Not today. Go away."

The demonstrators refused to heed the warning. One stepped forward. Shoriki promptly arrested him and handed him to a policeman standing by. Then Shoriki studied the mob intently to estimate who the prime agitators were. He singled out one man, grabbed him by the arm, and dragged him back through the gate.

The audacious plan worked. The other demonstrators were stunned into inaction. By seizing one of the leaders as casually as if he were uprooting a radish, he broke the spirit of the mob; it sullenly dispersed.

The leaders of the suffrage movement were clever politicians, but so was Prime Minister Kei Hara. On the day the vote for suffrage was to be cast in Parliament, he dissolved both houses and called for new elections. He declared that he was convinced Parliament had enough votes to defeat the measure, but since the suffrage leaders claimed they spoke for the popular will of the nation, he wanted to be fair and hold an election. The sophistry of this proposal was underlined by the fact that, inasmuch as only a privileged few could vote, the

prime minister was in effect going to ask these privileged people if they would abandon their privilege. Inevitably Hara's party won a large majority in the general elections that followed and he strengthened his hold on the government.

Despite the defeat, the suffrage bill was ultimately passed, the people received a greater voice in the government. The nation advanced along the road to a freer, more compassionate society. Then along came the world catastrophe of the depression in the 1930's and the democracy of Japan was doomed as decisively as the Weimar Republic in the West. A military oligarchy, taking advantage of widespread unemployment and economic unrest, seized control of the government and sent the nation down the road that led to Pearl Harbor.

In the meantime, while the clouds were gathering, Shoriki had left the police station and advanced to an even more important position; his personal career became even more vitally entwined with the public destiny of the nation.

The native of Daimon-machi whom a fortuneteller had prophesied would one day be as influential as the chief priest of the Eihei Temple was in his upward climb to succeed beyond the most sanguine expectations of the seer.

CHAPTER III

Through Communism and Earthquake to *Yomiuri*

SHORIKI CONTINUED to gain renown in the police service. One evidence of progress were the assignments with which he was trusted. Another was the way different police officials and agencies wrangled among themselves to get him on their staffs. In 1919, the Koreans, who had been conquered by the Japanese years earlier, suddenly staged their classic nation-wide sitdown strike for independence. Key political leaders demanded that Shoriki be detached from the Metropolitan Police Board and sent with a police contingent to Seoul to meet the emergency. They carried their pressure all the way to the Home Ministry, insisting that Shoriki better than anyone else could do the job. But the Metropolitan Police Board was equally determined to keep Shoriki. The Police Board chief insisted that he could not be spared from Tokyo.

Help to Shoriki in his career came from an unexpected quarter, his mother. A member of the Korean Imperial Family, Kin Gen Shoku, was assassinated on the platform of the Tokyo Station in March of 1921. Shoriki, who was ill with influenza, rose from a sickbed to supervise the search for the assassin.

The search was unsuccessful. Shoriki's condition became worse and his mother came up from Toyama to be with him. Shoriki came through his battle with the fever, but his mother was troubled. She was a superstitious woman. "Son, I feel your

illness was due to the curses put upon you by the criminals who have been caught by you and executed."

Shoriki laughed at this country superstition. But his mother would not rest. Kanemichi Anraku, a distant relation of the family, was a retired chief of the Metropolitan Police Board, who had been regarding Shoriki's career with interest. He had political influence, and at the prompting of Shoriki's mother, he maneuvered to get him another post. He talked with Chief Oka, who had blocked the transfer of Shoriki to Korea.

Under the recommendation of Oka, Shoriki was transferred from active line duty to a staff position. He was promoted to position of Director of the Secretariat of the Metropolitan Police Board.

The appointment was a rare plum, and became a key to important political advancement. As chief of staff for the police, Shoriki dabbled in numerous political secrets. His job was to conduct intimate liaison between the police and the cabinet, parliament and the political parties. He was charged with assembling for the Metropolitan Police Board all political information and data on labor affairs and Korean affairs. He had to keep watch over the Socialist, Communist and anarchist groups currently gaining strength in Japan. He had direct access to the Home Minister and the Chief Cabinet Secretary. At that time the House of Peers was politically all-powerful, much like the British House of Lords of a century earlier in Britain. The Lords had veto powers which could paralyze legislation tended by the Commoners. And the power in the upper house was in the grip of a small coalition of counts and viscounts.

Shortly after Shoriki's appointment, Oka held a dinner party to introduce his protégé to this powerful clique. Political ethics in Japan were hardly subtle. Oka informed the political leaders that "in the future, Mr. Shoriki would have favors done" for them. Each of the politicians in turn exchanged his

wine cup with Shoriki as a mark of friendship. As the evening wore on, tongues were loosened. Shoriki expounded at length on domestic politics and international affairs.

Mizuno, one of the powerful guests, was especially intrigued that a policeman should display a breadth of knowledge greatly beyond his narrow calling. He asked Shoriki, "Will you dine with me at my home tomorrow night?" Shoriki was delighted.

Next night the two men sat in Mizuno's home, discussing a wide range of problems. They talked of Japan's position in the world, of the new labor movement, the new radical political movements, the Korean problem, and the meaning of the changes under way in China, where Dr. Sun Yat-sen was consolidating his power. History was moving fast and serious men had to be thinking. Mizuno wanted to establish beyond doubt that Shoriki thought the way he did. He was satisfied. After hours of discussion, Mizuno wound up, "If you need help in any way in political affairs, please call on me without hesitation."

From a political leader as powerful as Mizuno this was an accolade. A dream in which he had refused to indulge consciously before took shape in Shoriki's heart. It was a dream of a political career with power, excitement, opportunity. The promise of that first evening was fulfilled. Mizuno and Shoriki became close friends. And each helped the other materially, Mizuno giving political favors, Shoriki acting as the Japanese equivalent of an FBI agent against subversive groups within the Empire.

Ever since the Bolshevik Revolution, Leninism had exerted a strong fascination for minority groups in Japan. Seeds from Russia's Red harvest could not, in any event, have failed to blow over into Japan. But the Third International, then busy extending the Communist movement to the Far East, did not

trust to the wind of the spirit alone. In 1921 the Comintern sent a Chinese emissary, equipped with funds, to visit Japan and invite a number of left-wing Socialists to attend the next conference of the Third International in Moscow. They went; they saw; they were converted. In 1923 the Japanese Communist Party (J.K.P) was founded.

Ten million citizens without property were clamoring to be enfranchised, and the Comintern saw opportunities to exploit their campaign. J.K.P. was reinforced by Japanese students educated at the Lenin University in Moscow. A political program with local color was prepared in Tokyo; a central executive committee was appointed and regional committees were set up. "Cells" were planted in factories, in trade-unions and in socialist labor groups. A Communist sheet *Akahata* ("The Red Flag") was mimeographed and secretly circulated among the faithful, who, if its circulation is a guide, did not exceed four hundred. However, hundreds of hot-headed young labor politicians were influenced by these hard-core Communists. The Labor-Farmer Party on the extreme left came under Communist control. From all parts of the country Red activity was reported. The nature of Communist propaganda varied from mild radicalism to full-blooded revolution. Beginners were wooed with innocuous handbills on "The Right to Strike," "An Eight-Hour Day for All," "State Relief for The Unemployed." For those who wanted stronger meat there were "Parliament Without an Emperor," "Confiscate the Property of Emperor and Capitalists," and "Dictatorship of Workers and Farmers."

In the face of this Communist onslaught the government, of conservative-nationalist complexion, took action. The first large-scale raid against the Communists involved police from thirty-four prefectures who broke into the homes of hundreds of people suspected of Communist sympathies and detained for examination in the police stations more than a thousand

persons. The legal weapon against revolutionary agitation, the Peace Preservation Act, was amended to provide that members of any organization aiming at the "alteration of the foundation of the state as laid down in the constitution, might be punished with death, or with life imprisonment or with imprisonment for not less than five years." Of the thousand or more persons detained, 484 were prosecuted; 280 of these were sentenced; 18 were acquitted; 186 were dismissed.

The movement had suffered a resounding blow, but it rallied. More Japanese graduates were sent from Moscow to replace the lost leaders, and some of those at home who had slipped through the police net showed no lack of determination. But the authorities were not asleep. They swooped down upon the universities and arrested over five hundred students suspected of connections with the Communist Party. Tokyo Imperial University headed the list, and almost every seat of higher learning in the capital contributed its quota. Some of the younger professors were questioned and forced to resign their positions. The Red suspects came in large part from the middle and upper classes. One arrested student was the son of a viscount, another the son of a general, two sons of a university president.

The phenomenon of Communist doctrine catching hold in the universities was as characteristic of Japan as of the western world. A number of educators in Tokyo, as elsewhere, were bemused by the motto proclaimed by the young Russian intellectuals of the nineteenth century: "Forward among the masses."

It was perhaps this aspect of Communism, the picture of universities being honeycombed with Marxist philosophy, that most disturbed the Japanese government. The youth of no nation has been more traditionally loyal throughout history to its ancestors; and this sudden perplexing infection of the

young with alien dogmas had the most impressive psychological repercussions on the authorities.

The reprisals against the alienated young and the Communist teachers of these youth were drastic. Those who were suspected of Communist sympathies were immediately hauled into the police station for examination and detained until the police were satisfied that they had nothing more to reveal. The "third degree" was employed, subject to the single restriction that physical marks which might be shown to a judge were to be avoided. In instances where severe measures failed, other methods were tried. Conferences of the faculties with government officials were held to discuss means of directing students' thoughts into safer channels. The difficulty of getting employment after graduation was thought to be one source of discontent leading to Communism, and so employment agencies were established at the universities.

Making full allowance for the fervor of the Communists and the persistency with which they stuck to their cause, their influence was relatively limited. The circumstances which gave the Bolshevik Revolution its golden opportunity in Russia were absent from Japan. The Japanese national character is the product of the family system and is saturated with ideas of loyalty, discipline and responsibility.

Nevertheless, during that fall of 1923, when the Japanese Communist Party was first established, the authorities were frightened. The "Red Menace" loomed large and was of great concern to the police. During that spring pitched battles broke out frequently between right- and left-wing university students. Numerous strikes occurred, including a troublesome streetcar strike that broke out right at the season for viewing cherry blossoms, depriving thousands of Japanese of this annual pleasure. Cherry-blossom viewing is almost a ritual, symbolizing the end of the winter and the promise of the spring-

time. The streetcar strike was led by Inosuke Nakanishi, who twenty-five years later became a Communist Party member of the House of Representatives.

Much of the burden of the counteroffensive against the Reds fell to Shoriki in his official capacity. He directed the attack on the Japanese Socialist League, which had established connections with the Comintern and the Far East Socialist Assembly. The police planted a spy to get the information needed for a raid. The move against the League grew out of an investigation of labor unions. Police uncovered evidence indicating that three Waseda University professors, Ikuo Oyama, Gaku Sano and Tsunao Inomata, were at the core of Marxist activity in Tokyo. Oyama later went into exile in the United States, where he became a librarian at Northwestern University. After World War II he returned to Japan and was awarded the Stalin Peace Prize. Sano ultimately went to jail as a Communist leader but broke with the party some time before his release.

In 1923, the police were eager to crack down on these agitators. Inomata was the weak link. Police found a masseur, Yaichi Yamada, who visited his home regularly, and they enlisted him to spy on Inomata.

Shoriki had a ticklish problem. He realized that a search of the offices of the three professors might turn up damaging evidence against them. But the consequences of a search that failed could be disastrous. The problem was akin to that he faced when he was trying to get evidence against the murderer Shimakura. Even after Yamada, the masseur, posing as a Communist sympathizer, learned that Inomata had incriminating papers in his office, Shoriki was reluctant to move. A fruitless investigation would leave the police open to the charge of violating the independent rights of the university.

However, Yamada made a second report in which he affirmed that compromising documents were hidden at the bottom

of the rice bin in Inomata's home. Careful preparations were made. If papers were found in the rice bin, then the university offices could be searched. But they would have to be searched immediately so that Oyama, Sano and Inomata would have no time to remove the papers.

Documents actually were found in the rice bin, tying the three men to the Communist Party and providing the detailed minutes of party meetings in Tokyo. Other police officers moved immediately into the offices of Oyama, Sano and Inomata, accompanied by university officials. The haul was rich; it included a batch of letters between Japanese Communists and Reds in Moscow, together with a Tokyo Communist Party membership list.

The police cracked down, making wholesale arrests, and Shoriki, a prime instigator, earned the undying hatred of the Reds. For decades the Party bided its time, plotting vengeance on Shoriki; and, as we shall see, after World War II, they were finally able to bring about his downfall.

However, Shoriki's work at this time was not only investigative. His other duties had to do with political liaison. He acted as a lobbyist for the Metropolitan Police Board, explaining to politicians the reasons why the police favored one legislative bill or another. Gradually he acquired so much influence that Mizuno felt free to include him in the most private caucuses held by the top men of power.

Indeed, Shoriki was with politicians almost constantly during his workday. At 11:58 A.M. on September 1, 1923, he was conferring in his office. All of a sudden the world seemed to come to an end. The solid three-story brick building of the Metropolitan Police Board was jolted as though a giant hand from the bowels of the earth was trying to lift it off the ground. Everywhere there was the crash of heavy things falling. People

screamed in fright and pain. Shoriki stood braced against a door frame, as the man with whom he had been talking fled in terror.

Such was the Tokyo earthquake that horrified the world in September, 1923—an earthquake that the Japanese people will never forget. Shoriki was one of millions trapped in the city. When the first shocks were over, he edged to the window and looked out upon frightening devastation. Smoke and flames already were rising all over Tokyo. He realized with a twinge of panic that it was lunchtime, that open charcoal fires were burning in every home, that fire was bound to spread everywhere.

Shoriki rushed toward the city stables to try to save the municipal horses that would be badly needed. He called for a fire truck but none was to be had. All fire equipment had been rushed to fight fires at the residence of the Crown Prince and his entourage. He ordered stable hands to lead the horses quickly across the great boulevard that divides the Imperial Palace grounds from the Metropolitan Police Board. Once in the Palace grounds, the horses would be safe from fire, for the grounds were a wide expanse of park.

Back at headquarters Shoriki found he was the highest-ranking police officer on the scene. He ordered trucks requisitioned and led the work of transporting dead and wounded to areas free of fire.

The magnitude of the catastrophe was vividly revealed by eyewitness reports that appeared in newspapers after the event. One such story was published in the *Yomiuri* (the newspaper that subsequently was purchased by Shoriki when he launched his career as a publisher), excerpts of which are reproduced here. The narrator was a Tokyo bank teller.

The first of September happened to be a holiday for me. And I was enjoying myself at the Tokiwa Theater, in Asakusa. I was enthralled by the magic art of the famous

lady magician, Tenkatsu, and was dead to troubles and a troublous world. It was a little after 11:50 A.M., I think, that we felt an earth shock. The shock was severe. It was followed by another, severer than its predecessors. All of us dwellers of Tokyo are not strangers to earth shocks; we greet them with a smile of recognition usually. But this time the grin did not stay about our faces very long.

I rushed out of the theater with the rest of the people. And as I stepped out of it the earth seemed to heave under our feet. I looked up and I saw the famous Junikai Tower of the Asakusa Amusement Park. It was dead ahead of me and it was no longer a thing of stiff dead brick and timber. It was making a bow like a living person one meets in the morning. It was bending from its waist at about the sixth story. And it was bowing swiftly. It was no longer silent and dumb. For it seemed to find just then a voice. It began like a howl of a tempest and ended in blood-curdling thunder. And right in front of us it came down, the whole upper structure of it, in a sort of triple bow. It seemed to me as if the tower folded itself up three times before it crashed down upon hundreds of houses which hugged its skirt. The small houses which surrounded it went without the least protest. Then immediately, piercing the din and dust of the smash, geysers of flame shot up.

For a time I saw too many things all at once, so that I saw really nothing. I can only recall that my own thought was to make my way back to my home. That idea drove me through choking chaos on all sides, into the open space of the Asakusa Park. And there I saw a sight indeed. Water mains were all broken up. The electric cars were dead on the tracks or thrown off them. I turned to the east and then to the west. From all directions the fire came marching on. The farther side of Shinobazu Pond was a billowing sea of flames and the waters of the pond were blood-red with the reflection.

The picture was so savage that it made me shudder in

spite of the scorching heat. Without manners, without ceremony, the fire leaped all over the city in every conceivable direction. I somehow managed to make my way to a hilltop in Ueno and saw from there the buildings of the Imperial University burst into towering flames. It was from there also that I saw the Nicolai Cathedral of the Russian Church catch fire and burn down in an incredibly short time. The city in the direction of Nihonbashi Bridge and all about Asakusa was completely wrapt in smoke and fire by now. I tried Kanda Bridge, but it was all broken up by the earth shock, and it was impossible to cross it. Therefore I took a long detour. As I was making a roundabout way, the Metropolitan Police building and that of the Department of Home Affairs began to burn. I saw two steampumps out at this point, but they seemed utterly powerless to do anything to fight the fire, as their water supply was gone. Ginza, Maruno-uchi, Kanda, Asakusa—and all the pride-spots of the city—in fact, the entire section covering some eleven wards and portions of Yotsuya and Ushigome besides, had turned into a burned-out wilderness overnight.

People who had made good their escape from the earth shocks and from the sea of flames which swept the city had to fight for their lives in quite another way. I saw thousands of unfortunates standing in line waiting their turn for a cup of water. From the way they looked and acted it was evident that they had not had a drop for hours. The police and Army men were distributing Army bread. Women of the nobility and their daughters reared in silk and in the lap of luxury were fighting their way in the dense crowd to get at one of these Army loaves. In the open spaces at Ueno, Aoyama, Sugamo and in the middle of streets people were sleeping on mats and torn-off weather doors which they had dragged out of their ruined homes. They were too afraid to sleep under roofs, even if houses happened to be standing.

This unvarnished account of an eye-witness was one of dozens collected by news reporters after the event.

The authorities acted swiftly and cool-headedly to deal with the momentous emergency. As the magnitude of the calamity began to dawn on them early in the afternoon of September 1, they placed the city under martial law. The Imperial Guards were called out to keep the city in order and protect lives and property from criminals and scavengers. That same day they ordered the aviation corps stationed in Tokyo to fly over the city to reconnoitre and report on the damage.

Shoriki, as a key police official, was plunged into a role of immense responsibility. For six days he worked with only brief periods of rest. Other police officials worked with equal intensity. Police Chief Yuwasa, his immediate superior, appointed four days after the earthquake, stayed in his office for twenty days without a break, napping at intervals with his head on his desk.

During the chaos, terrible rumors spread about the minority group of Koreans residing in Tokyo who were embittered at Nipponese rule of their country. The rumors were that Koreans were assassinating Japanese in alleyways and were poisoning wells. Shoriki was not deceived by these atrocity stories. He investigated the rumors, found they were false, and when batches of Koreans were arrested by his hot-headed associates, he ordered them freed. However, the rumors persisted. A report spread like wildfire that a group of Koreans armed with rifles was marching on Tokyo from the direction of Yokohama. The Army was called out. The First Division established a sentry line along the Rokugo River. It was not until four days after the earthquake that the fear of a Korean uprising was put to rest and confidence was restored among the Nipponese.

In the meantime, a hundred thousand people had perished in the holocaust.

Despite the earthquake and the inferno of fire, politics went on in Japan. Indeed, on the very night of the Great Earthquake, a new Japanese cabinet headed by Yamamoto was invested at the Imperial Palace. This was to be an event of the utmost importance to Shoriki, although at the time he did not realize it. The Home Minister in the new cabinet was Shimpei Goto, former mayor of Tokyo.

Shoriki was acquainted with Goto in a most casual way professionally and what he knew about Goto he did not like. While he was fighting Communists in Tokyo, Count Goto was doing all he could to bring about an accord with the Communist government of Russia.

His distrust of Goto stemmed from an event that had taken place several years previously when Goto was mayor of Tokyo. There was in China at this time a Russian diplomat by the name of Adolf Joffe. The government of Lenin had sent Joffe to China to come to an arrangement with Sun Yat-sen, the President of China. Joffe already had entered into negotiations with Japanese leftists at a meeting in 1922 at Changchun in Manchuria. The object was to establish a triple alliance among the Russian Bolsheviks and the Japanese and Chinese leftists. Count Goto publicly announced his interest in this *entente*, and through his good offices, a meeting was scheduled in Tokyo for June of 1923.

However, conservative elements in the Japanese government were furious at Goto. They pulled strings, and when Joffe arrived at the port of Kobe, he was refused entrance. But Shoriki, at the insistence of Goto, intervened, overruled his associates and permitted Joffe to debark.

Shroiki acted in a cause for which he had no taste. Unlike Goto, he was completely disenchanted with the Bolsheviks, and

he was neither surprised nor disappointed when nothing came of negotiations with Joffe. However, as Shoriki continued to work with Goto on other assignments, his regard for the maverick politician grew; Goto lost his taste for Reds and became a sound exponent of the national interest. For one thing, because of his experience as former mayor of Tokyo, Goto immediately after the earthquake was named to direct the rehabilitation of the city.

Goto had ambitious plans for the reconstruction of Tokyo. They called for an expenditure of over one billion yen, which at that time was equal to about \$250,000,000 (U.S.). He wanted streets laid out 60 meters wide, lavish parks, power and telephone lines underground, fire-proof buildings and extensive improvements of water mains and drains.

Every top government official took a turn at cutting down his figures. First the parliamentary committee slashed it. Then the cabinet pared it down some more to 702,000,000 yen. Goto finally had to accept 470,000,000 yen. Recently a Tokyo newspaper, reminiscing, declared, "If Goto's plans for Tokyo had been carried out, the city would not have its present traffic problems. Furthermore, Tokyo's damage from bombing would have been limited to one-tenth of what it was because of better protection from bombing."

However, the political opponents of the government were not satisfied with even the severely trimmed budget the government gave Goto. Goto had to work hard for even a portion of the loaf. He used Shoriki to lobby among the counts and viscounts in the legislature at a meeting that lasted until 3 A.M. one night. Shoriki persuaded key figures to support Goto and their votes swung the measure for the government.

If any single thing seemed to assure Shoriki's career in government, that night's work was it. But fate plays funny tricks. On December 27, 1923, just three months after his suc-

cessful carrying out of the Goto assignment, an event occurred which changed Shoriki's future. That morning the Crown Prince of Japan, later to reign as Emperor Hirohito, attended the opening ceremonies of Parliament. On the way in the Imperial automobile, he narrowly missed assassination. A terrorist, Daisuke Nanba, took a shot and broke the glass of the Prince's car. However, Hirohito was unharmed, but the fact that an attempt on his person had been made shocked all Japan.

The bomb-thrower was apprehended on the spot. Investigation revealed that it had been a one-man venture by a young deranged political nihilist and had no political importance. This fact, however, failed to blunt the impact on Japan. The entire cabinet offered its resignation as a matter of course.

Shoriki was dismissed from government service the same day. As chief of the Police Affairs Bureau, the successes and failures of all police were his responsibility. They had failed to prevent the attempted assassination. The brunt of the blame fell on him. His "disciplinary dismissal" was the most severe punishment the government could impose on an official.

Out of courtesy, and according to custom, Shoriki visited each of his political colleagues to say good-by. The first individual he called on was Shimpei Goto. During the brief four months Shoriki had worked for Goto, he had changed his mind completely about the man. He had become one of his most devoted followers.

Goto received Shoriki warmly. "You must be upset at finding yourself suddenly unemployed. You probably will receive offers to join various business firms, but do not be tempted by offers that will be essentially unproductive for you. Here is ten thousand yen. Take a trip abroad and rest."

Shoriki was touched. "My elder brother in my home town has a small business, and I have no immediate financial worries. Thanks for your generous offer, but I cannot accept it."

"That is commendable of you," replied the older man. "But I must warn you, no matter how much your elder brother helps you, do not permit yourself to drift aimlessly. Let me tell you a story. Some years ago, because of scandal, I was forced to lose my position as director of the Health Bureau in the Home Ministry. Furthermore, to protect others, I went to prison from November to May. My mother declared to the family, 'My son is in prison for the sake of others. The family must suffer as if it were also in prison.'

"Throughout that winter my mother would not permit the family to heat the rooms of our home. Neither were any members of the family permitted to wear cotton quilted clothing, despite the winter cold.

"I have some poems my mother wrote at the time. I will give them to you. Let them remind you that in your house, too, each member of the family must live as a masterless one, until you once again have found a place."

Shoriki was overwhelmed with emotion. To receive such a gift, which was so intimately a part of the Goto family, was the highest symbol of friendship. From that day Shoriki put his complete faith in Goto as a man who could be trusted to guide and help him.

Others offered Shoriki financial help, but each was declined with gratitude. A most flattering offer of help came from Kanju Miura, a man who ruled political life from behind the scenes. Miura was a viscount and a member of the privy council. He had no ambitions for political office himself; he wielded power from a position above and aloof from politics. He was a suave operator who knew the price of every man.

Shoriki had come to Miura's attention when he arrested a well-known political boss. Miura was amused. He sent a message to Shoriki praising him for his courage. The day after Shoriki was dismissed, Miura invited him to move into his

home until he found a new job. Shoriki also declined this offer with gratitude. But it was most heartening for him to know he was not without powerful friends.

As a matter of fact, less than four weeks after Shoriki's dismissal, the governmental situation brightened considerably. Crown Prince Hirohito got married; during the festivities an amnesty was granted to political offenders. Shoriki was among those pardoned.

Shoriki's friends pressed him to return to government service. Prospects were good. He was assured the temporary dismissal would not block advancement. He could become a governor or director of the Police Bureau; and, at the right time, he could stand for election to Parliament from Toyama. The final goal would be an Imperial Appointment to the cabinet.

But Goto advised caution. He advised him to study the situation from every angle before coming to a decision. It was during this period of indecision that Shoriki received an unexpected proposal which shaped his life and to an important degree molded the thought of millions of Japanese.

The oldest newspaper in Japan was the *Tokyo Mainichi Shimbun*, owned by a Tokyo political boss, Hiromi Chiba. In Japan a political "boss" is many things. He is called *oyabun*, which may be translated literally "parent function." And perhaps that is the best meaning of his role. Originally the bosses functioned as Robin Hoods to protect the poor from the swaggering two-sworded bullies who were the soldiers of the warlords. To this day the *oyabun* devote much time to helping the poor. They serve as mediators in disputes between tradesmen and even between husbands and wives. This service is free, but New Year gifts are expected each year from those who benefit from the mediation. The *oyabun* also collect taxes for the city,

control gambling, run protection rackets, serve as political bosses in the wards and exact tribute from tradespeople.

In addition to keeping his fingers in these pies, Chiba was in the newspaper business. He owned the *Mainichi*, and he wasn't making a go of it. His talents as a boss did not extend to legitimate business. He had a sale of the *Mainichi* pending, but the buyer was having trouble raising the money.

Chiba suggested to Shoriki that he take over the management of the paper with the understanding that he would buy it later. The idea was a startling and an attractive one to Shoriki. He still had political ambitions, but he did not want to become a government official again, at the mercy of political cross winds. He preferred to become a power behind the throne. Perhaps ownership of a newspaper would be a shortcut to this career.

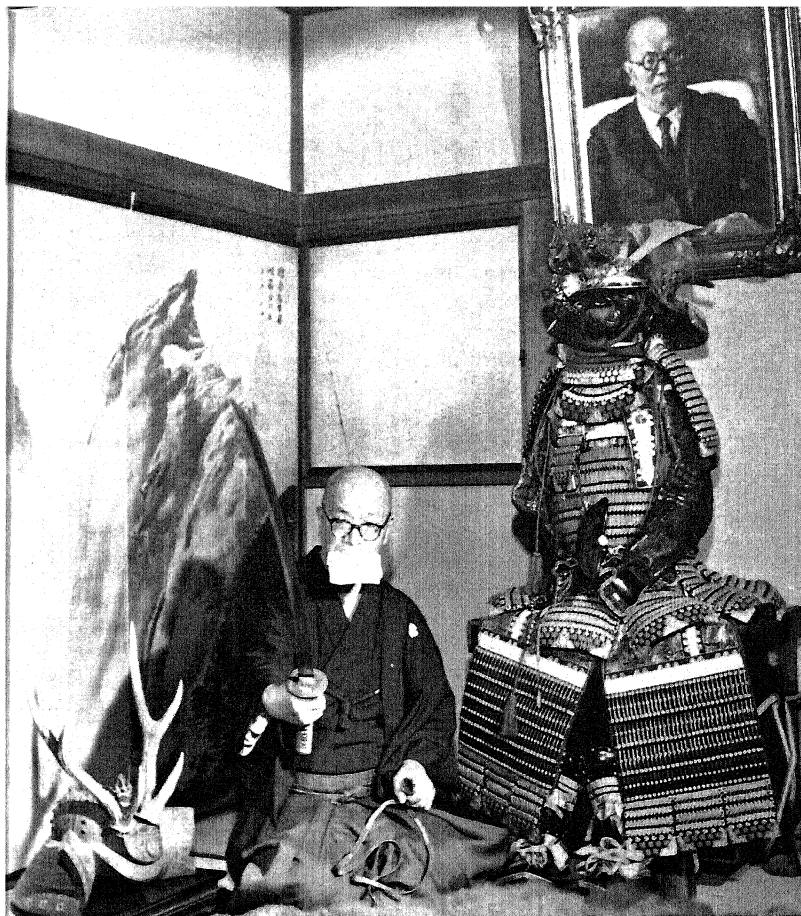
Shoriki initiated a series of discussions. He talked with friends in the business world, and friends who knew something about newspaper publishing. He received this advice from an expert in the field: "If you want to run a newspaper, do not associate yourself with a third-class newspaper like the *Tokyo Mainichi*, which is on the verge of going out of business. Consider a paper like the *Yomiuri*. It is trying to change management. Members of the Industrial Club own shares in *Yomiuri* and want it to succeed. Nothing can be done as long as Chujiro Matsuyama remains president of the newspaper. Circulation has fallen off since the earthquake, but *Yomiuri* still has a good reputation."

Shoriki discovered upon investigation that Matsuyama was ready to sell the paper; that for half a million yen he could buy ownership. He had only ten days in which to raise the initial investment of 100,000 yen (about \$25,000). An Osaka publisher, Hakugan Yoshihiro, also was trying to buy *Yomiuri*.

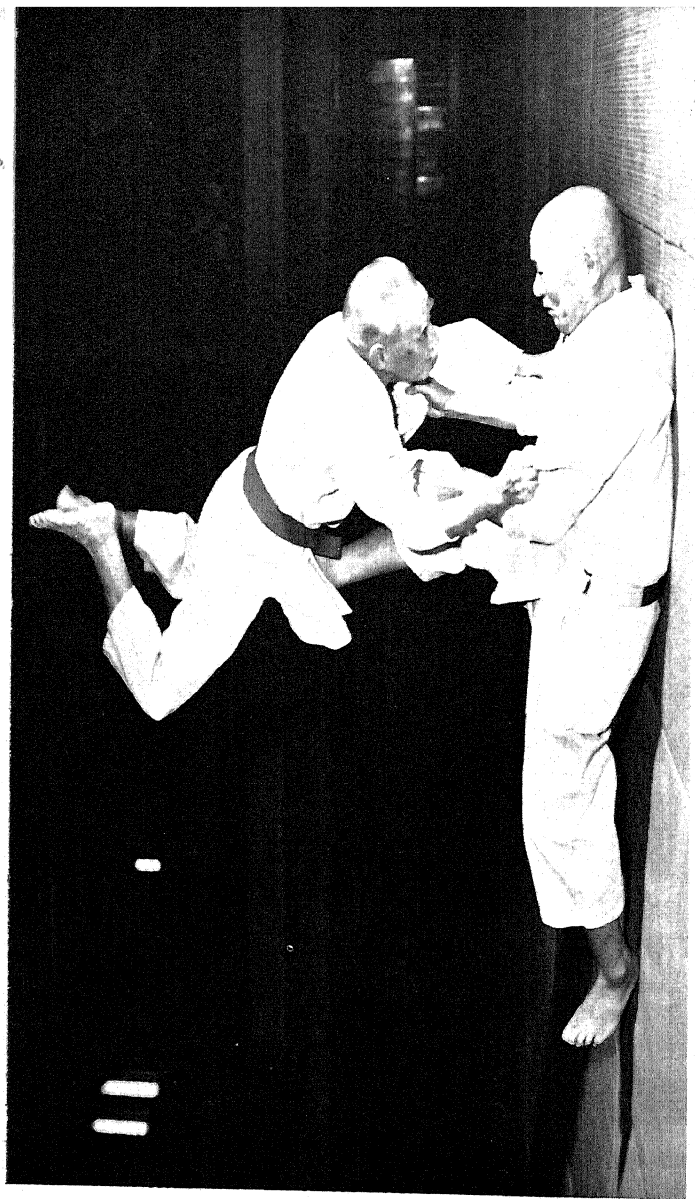
Shoriki had nothing like 100,000 yen personally; nor did his elder brother, a businessman whose capital was tied up in forest and farm lands in Toyama. Shoriki decided to appeal to Shimpei Goto for help. Goto was at his country villa at Nagaoka. Shoriki entrained for Nagaoka and came immediately to the point. Goto dropped his head in a meditative pose characteristic of him and thought for several minutes. Then he said: "I will lend you the money, Shoriki, in a couple of weeks." Shoriki was overjoyed, and somewhat astonished by the speed with which Goto came to this decision.

Goto never told Shoriki how he managed to get hold of such a large sum of money. Shoriki, as a matter of fact, assumed that Goto had served merely as go-between to arrange the loan with Kenichi Fujita, a wealthy industrialist, or someone similar. It was not until after the death of Goto years later that Shoriki learned the truth: Goto had mortgaged his family estate to raise the money for Shoriki. Tears came into Shoriki's eyes at this disclosure. To this day he speaks of Goto as his benefactor in a voice charged with emotion.

Yomiuri had had a spotty career. Founded in 1874, it became a favorite newspaper of the intelligentsia. But the Motonos, a family of industrialists who owned the newspaper, lost interest after a few years, cut expenditures, and the *Yomiuri* declined in influence and circulation. Eventually Chujiro Matsuyama bought out the Motonos. Until 1918, Matsuyama had been economic editor of the *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun*, Japan's biggest newspaper. However, he resigned in a dispute over editorial policy and turned to his friends in business for assistance. He had extensive contacts among the highest financial circles. The great names in Japanese industry, the Mitsui, the Mitsubishi, the Fuji Spinning Company, the Oji Paper Company, formed a syndicate to help him. Altogether, one million yen was raised and Mat-



Examining a treasured Japanese sword, Shoriki holds folded rice paper in his mouth to prevent his breath from contaminating the weapon. Made by a noted swordsmith, Bizen Osafune, the sword was presented to Mr. Shoriki by the late Ryuhei Murayama, founder of the *Asabi Shimbun*, in appreciation of Shoriki's arranging the purchase of the ground on which Tokyo Asahi Shimbun now stands. The Japanese armor (*right*), designated as a national treasure, was presented to Mr. Shoriki by Ginjiro Fujiwara, doyen of Japanese businessmen, who said that the armor was worn by a samurai who never lost a battle and was therefore exactly suited to Shoriki's temperament—as he hates to lose.



Shoriki, who holds the high rank of *nana dan*, or seventh rank, in judo, is practicing with the foremost judo expert in Japan, the legendary Kyuzo Mifune, holder of the highest (tenth) rank. Shoriki is lifting Mifune with a *tomoenage* throw.

suyama, acting for the anonymous association of industrialists, bought *Yomiuri*.

The evening newspaper had a circulation of 130,000 at that time. The subsequent judgment of Shoriki was that there was no reason why, with that circulation, *Yomiuri* could not have made its way financially. But Matsuyama was a spendthrift. He tried to do things on the same scale as the *Asahi*, which had a combined circulation of one million in Tokyo and Osaka. He hired high-priced editorial writers and gave private jinrickshas to political reporters. Within a year he had to go back to the Industrial Club and seek another million yen. The alternative, he said, would be to suspend publication. The million was given to him, but he was told that it would be the last help he could expect.

Even nature seemed to conspire against Matsuyama. He used the second million to build a new building, after selling the old building, a landmark on the Ginza. The new building was a most ambitious project. In the summer of 1923, it was completed. Dedication ceremonies were scheduled for September 1, 1923. But before the ceremonies could take place, the Great Earthquake turned everything into rubble.

The second million was lost. Rehabilitation was beyond hope. Circulation dwindled, and competition from *Asahi* and *Mainichi* grew stronger. Matsuyama pleaded with his backers to give him another half million yen. However, they had troubles of their own. The earthquake had injured their businesses, and they had no time to worry about *Yomiuri*. Still Matsuyama had no intention of giving up his newspaper and handing over the ownership to Shoriki. True, he accepted the 100,000 yen Shoriki was instructed to give him, and he signed the necessary papers to transfer ownership.

But even after accepting the money, Matsuyama was not

through. During the afternoon and evening, before the day of transferal, he conferred with his leading editors and reporters, the key men in the newspaper organization. They were his men; he paid them well. Matsuyama hoped they would rebel against the transfer and that the association of industrialists who had backed him would be forced to reinstate him as manager.

By the middle of the evening, Matsuyama was ready with his scheme. He appeared at Shoriki's home. "I'm sorry, but from tomorrow the paper will cease publication. The employees are opposed to you, and the editors have tendered their resignations." He handed Shoriki the signed resignations of thirteen men, including managing editor, city editor, business manager, circulation manager and two editorial writers.

It was a tense moment, made even more dramatic by the sobbing that could be heard from the next room, where Mrs. Shoriki was confined because of illness. But Matsuyama had misjudged his man. Shoriki had been uneasy until then about moving into the newspaper field, of which he knew so little. But Shoriki, the judo expert of fourth rank and the veteran police officer, knew a great deal about a direct challenge like this.

In an instant he no longer had doubts about managing a newspaper. He was in a fight, and he intended to win. "I accept the resignation of the editors. But even if all the employees strike, I will show you successful management."

There was nothing left for Matsuyama to say. He departed from Shoriki's home.

Shoriki began telephoning friends on other newspapers to recruit help. All night he worked at the task of organizing a staff to put out a newspaper.

One man, however, he wanted to keep. That was Kameo Chiba, the *Yomiuri* city editor, who had sent in his resignation. Chiba was a key man because he was well liked by the

editorial staff. Following his old precept of striking at the heart of a problem, Shoriki felt that if he could persuade Chiba to stay on, his troubles would be over. He called on Chiba at his home at one in the morning. It took him three hours to persuade Chiba to withdraw his resignation, but he finally succeeded.

Shortly before noon Shoriki appeared at the front entrance of *Yomiuri*. As was his habit in moments of crisis, he was alone. He was not an imposing figure; his coat was rumpled and a little soiled; his white shirt bulged out between his trousers and vest. Compared with the suave and polished Matsuyama, he did not look like much.

The first man who recognized him was a reporter, Norio Tanabe, who had known Shoriki as a police official. Tanabe, having heard nothing of the changes in the management of his newspaper, asked Shoriki, "What are you doing here?"

Shoriki astonished the reporter by declaring, "I'm the new publisher of *Yomiuri*, and I've come to pay my respects." The reporter showed him the way to Matsuyama's office.

Matsuyama announced sobering news: "The staff is angry and today's paper cannot be printed."

Shoriki's temper flared. "Call them together. I will speak to them."

He strode into the editorial room. It was in an uproar; nobody was working. He began speaking but nobody heeded him; they continued talking to each other. A woman reporter registered her protest by sitting upright in a chair, holding her knees and giggling. One newsman heckled Shoriki with cat-calls. Another, half drunk, staggered up to the new publisher and said: "Shoriki, this is no job for a policeman. Go home."

Shoriki continued patiently, "Be still and listen."

But nobody would. Shoriki turned and strode back to the president's office, troubled but fighting mad.

He moved quickly to try to quell the rebellion. Once again he turned to the popular Chiba, the man who had agreed only that morning, before dawn, to stay on as city editor. Shoriki again visited Chiba at his home. Since Chiba had already agreed to stay with the paper, there was no difficulty in persuading him to accept a promotion to the position of managing editor. Shoriki returned to his office confident now that he had the problem in hand. He was certain that Chiba had enough popularity among the editorial workers to command their respect and to get them to follow his example.

Shoriki had assessed the importance of Chiba correctly. When notice was posted on the bulletin board that he was the new managing editor, the attitude changed in the editorial room. When Chiba reported to work at his new job, assistant editors crowded around him to make plans and present ideas. By evening the strike was over and copy flowed. At 8 P.M. the first edition rolled off the presses.

Shoriki had taken over the paper, quelled a rebellion, and reorganized his staff so quickly that *Yomiuri* did not miss an edition.

This, then, is how Shoriki acquired a newspaper and launched a career that was to provide drama for millions of Japanese.

CHAPTER IV

Yomiuri: Japan's Number One Newspaper

AS A NEWSPAPER PUBLISHER, Shoriki was no easy man to work for. One of his favorite admonitions to his editorial staff was: "I'm going to work five times as hard as the presidents of the other Tokyo newspapers. Therefore, the least you can do is work twice as hard as the other editors."

Yomiuri men did. They had to. Shoriki was everywhere in the plant. Perhaps his most disturbing habit was to report to work at 8 A.M. No other newspaper executive came near his office until at least 11 A.M. By the time the editors and assistant editors got to work, Shoriki had read all the other newspapers and was brimful of ideas and criticisms.

Shoriki was dead set against waste of time, money or materials. The heart of *Yomiuri's* financial problem was in its circulation. Japanese newspapers depend heavily on circulation rather than advertising revenue to meet expenses. But Shoriki found that 20 per cent of his subscribers never paid their bills. This was true of most other Tokyo newspapers, and the most experienced hands in the business were convinced that strict collections by harsh methods would ruin a newspaper. They accepted nonpayment as a necessary evil.

Not Shoriki. He announced that this was the greatest single cause of waste on his newspaper, and that he would not countenance waste. At that time, independent distributing agencies handled both distribution and collections for all the Tokyo newspapers. Shoriki sent out word that any agency that failed

to make full collections would get no more copies of *Yomiuri*.

This was a bold step. The distributing agencies were accustomed to being pampered by the big newspapers, and here was a small one acting tough. No paper wanted to go to the expense and trouble of building its own distribution system.

But Shoriki, new to the business and dubious about the old ways, decided the distributing agencies were at least as dependent upon the newspapers as the newspapers were upon them. He ordered them to pay up every month.

They did. The story went the rounds of Tokyo editorial offices that the *Yomiuri* collection policy was enforced so rigidly that one distributor, unable to meet a full collection bill, left his bicycle at *Yomiuri* as token payment.

Then there was the matter of working hours for reporters. The great majority had little sense of responsibility. They came and went almost as they pleased. Some even came to work late deliberately so that they could stay late and charge overtime. Shoriki installed a time clock. The reaction was bitter. Shoriki was accused of insulting his reporters. It was considered undignified to make a journalist punch a time clock like a factory worker. But Shoriki was adamant. And the reporters came to work when he thought they should, not when they thought they should.

But still there was waste; there were old concepts, deeply imbedded, to challenge and change. It was accepted that 10 per cent of all newsprint was necessarily lost through tearing on the presses and through misprints. The pressmen did nothing to cut down this loss, because they could sell the "waste" on the side as wrapping paper to fish markets and vegetable stalls.

Masayo Yano, who was business manager of *Yomiuri* when Shoriki tackled the newsprint problem, was a veteran executive, recognized as one of the best. He had written a book on the secret of making money, and it had had a wide sale. So

Shoriki, the ex-policeman, had to move carefully with such an established expert as Yano. At first, he accepted Yano's statement that a 10-per-cent loss of newsprint was a necessary evil. But when Yano was obliged to take sick leave, Shoriki moved in. He supervised the operation of the rotary presses until the small hours of the morning. He found ways to cut 3,000 yen a month from the waste newsprint cost. Yano, presented with the evidence, resigned.

Shoriki offered prizes to employees who devised ways to reduce waste anywhere in his plant.

Working under the pressure of an economy drive was not easy for *Yomiuri* men. Shoriki tried to ease the way by personal contact with his people. He made it a practice to move about from desk to desk during the day, familiarizing himself with his employees and their operations. He frequently worked until midnight and then joined the men of the night shift for a friendly bowl of *soba* (noodles). He bent a kindly ear to the troubles of the humblest.

There was the case, for instance, of twelve copy boys. They quit work one morning and went out to a park to play. Without a copy boy in the editorial room there was chaos. Shoriki learned where the boys had gone and boarded a news truck to go after them.

When the boys saw Shoriki coming they hid behind trees. He saw them and ordered them out. Shoriki asked what was wrong. One replied: "We boys do from thirty minutes to an hour of overtime work each day. It has been the custom for us to be paid five sen extra for overtime. But the new austerity drive has come, and we have been told we no longer will get the five sen. We all are working our way through school, and we need the money to help pay for our tuition."

This was a long speech for a copy boy to address to his company president. By the time the spokesman was finished, all

twelve boys were weeping. Shoriki was affected deeply. "I won't have the five sen discontinued. Come, let us return together." The boys mounted the news truck and rode back to *Yomiuri* with Shoriki. He did better than restore the five sen; he raised the salaries of all the copy boys and ordered that care be taken not to work them overtime because that might interfere with their studies.

Such actions paid dividends to Shoriki in various ways. One of the twelve copy boys eventually rose to be copy-department chief and he turned into one of Shoriki's most trusted men.

Much as the old police officer hated loss through laxity and slipshod methods, he hated loss through dishonesty even more. And dishonesty plagued the Japanese newspaper business at that time. It was considered more or less legitimate for a reporter to take kickbacks from the expense money he used to entertain contacts at geisha houses. Advertising salesmen took the most, because they had the biggest expense accounts. In the circulation departments of all Tokyo newspapers, men juggled figures and held back collection returns. It was commonly rumored that between 10 and 20 per cent of the total budgets for the advertising and circulation departments went into the pockets of shrewd operators. Most publishers were resigned to these losses. It was practice to avoid involvement with the police even in cases of dishonesty that were too flagrant to be overlooked. In such cases the culprit was permitted to resign quietly. However, the old police officer Shoriki refused to go along with custom. He insisted on making the punishment fit the crime.

The first example at *Yomiuri* was an advertising executive who pocketed 3,000 yen and carried it on the books as an uncollectable bill. Shoriki, upon discovering it, filed criminal charges with the Metropolitan Police Board. The sly executive was convicted and served a jail sentence.

Never once, during his campaign to eliminate waste and dishonesty did Shoriki lose sight of what he considered the more important objective. That was to build up *Yomiuri's* circulation so that revenues would increase and influence grow. Shoriki considered his newspaper a steppingstone to political power.

However, he had much to learn about the newspaper business, and he acquired knowledge the hard way. The first lesson he learned was that no newspaper can lure readers unless it responds to the whims of the public rather than to the pet interests of the publisher. What Shoriki inherited was a newspaper with a staid, unsensational journalistic policy. He set about to turn it into a popular, sensational paper with mass circulation.

He had a peculiar talent for judging the wishes of the people; he possessed the common touch. Although he still knew little of the mechanics of newspaperdom, he began to spend more and more time in the editorial room, issuing orders about which stories to play up and which to cut down or drop. Sometimes he ordered headlines changed, and he took a special interest in the work of the picture desk, selecting photographs and deciding the amount of display he wanted for each. The veteran newsmen resented this intrusion by the "amateur" who was their boss. Gradually, however, they came to the reluctant conclusion that his intuition about what the masses wanted to read was better than their expert and trained judgment.

Shoriki featured his campaign for greater circulation by radically changing the contents of the newspaper. For one thing, he played up the household section. All Tokyo papers had routine, sketchy women's sections, but Shoriki expanded his section to include detailed discussions about the changes that were taking place in the 1920's in the way of life for Japanese women and girls. He made his household section, in fact, a

section on modern living for females, helping the newly emancipated Japanese woman to take advantage of the material and scientific advances that were being made so rapidly at the time. Next he instituted a religious column, something no other Tokyo newspaper had tried. He obtained signed articles by the chief abbot of the Buddhists and other religious leaders. These two changes in *Yomiuri* caused a great stir among newspaper people, and were critically acclaimed. But they failed to increase *Yomiuri's* circulation substantially.

Shoriki was still groping for a magic formula. He found it in radio. The year was 1925. Radio was in its infancy. People still used crystal sets. All told, there were only 50,000 receiving sets in Tokyo. But Shoriki was acutely sensitive to the fact that everyone seemed to be talking about radio.

Yomiuri, like other newspapers, found a new source of income from the advertisements of dealers selling radio sets. The advertising manager proposed to Shoriki that a sure way of increasing these ads would be to publish broadcasting news and programs. He also proposed that *Yomiuri* publish the lyrics of the new songs that were becoming overnight hits over the radio.

Shoriki slept on the idea and returned to his office next morning with eyes agleam. He had decided to embark on a major project not, primarily, to get more ads, but to get more circulation. Shoriki propounded his scheme to his staff. He would introduce a radio department with an editor and three reporters. The department would consist of a special two-page insert, on pink paper, in the eight-page *Yomiuri*. It would be devoted to radio news and programs, pictures of radio stars and lyrics of the new songs. The addition of the extra sheet of newsprint would not cause a rise in subscription charges.

There was some misgiving among staff members, but Shoriki overrode all objections. Great secrecy was maintained. It was not until November 24, 1925, that Shoriki called in the heads

of the distributing agencies and told them that next day *Yomiuri* would begin its radio project. The distributors were horrified. One declared it was plain foolishness to increase the size of the paper for such "trash." The others agreed. They did not believe that the price of *Yomiuri* would remain the same for long if an additional sheet was added, and they feared they would lose sales.

Shoriki brushed off these objections impatiently. He had no time for the arguments of people who wanted to let well enough alone. No newspaper-peddlers would derail him in his quest. They had to take it or leave it. They took it.

On November 25, the first complete radio section that Japanese readers ever saw came out in *Yomiuri*. It was an immediate sensation. Advertising revenues leaped ahead. And, more pleasing to Shoriki, so did circulation. Agencies that had objected so strenuously to the idea now began ordering five or ten more copies of *Yomiuri* each day. In six months circulation was up 10,000 copies. And other newspapers had to follow Shoriki's lead. None, however, expanded in size. Each was content to substitute a few columns of radio news and programs for other kinds of copy. A matter of pride was involved. Since *Yomiuri* had gained a reputation for instituting an entire section for radio, no other paper could copy the *Yomiuri* technique completely—not right away, at least.

At first, *Yomiuri* encountered problems. During these pioneer days of radio, it was rather difficult to get enough material to fill the pages daily. But gradually new fields were opened for the radio section. One of the most popular, from the standpoint of boosting circulation, was a column on the technical aspects of radio. *Yomiuri* got the chief engineer of the government broadcasting station to write regularly for radio fans on how to make and operate crystal sets. The column became a smash hit, especially among the teen-age boys of Tokyo.

In the spring of 1926, Shoriki met Michihira Takabe, who was an enthusiast of the game of "go." Go is played on a board about the size of a checkerboard, crisscrossed with lines that form squares. Each player is given a bowl with flat stones, one playing with white stones, the other with black. The stones can be placed on any intersection of the lines. The object of the game is to control as much territory as possible and entrap enemy stones.

Shoriki became friendly with Takabe and became a skilled go player under his instruction. During one game, Takabe made the comment: "Mr. Shoriki, I see that your paper carries some material on go, but it is rather sorry stuff. Why don't you carry something about the game that will take the country by surprise? Your paper's circulation would be bound to increase."

Takabe's magic word, of course, was "circulation." Shoriki wanted to hear more. Takabe explained that there were at present two different schools of strategy for playing go; that each school contended that its champion was superior to the other. But the contention was limited to words. Never had the champions met. "Why don't you promote a contest between the champions under the auspices of *Yomiuri*? Each champion has a tremendous following, and the excitement should provide excellent publicity for the newspaper."

Shoriki, intensely interested, sought out the champions, Honinbo and Karigane, and arranged a purse that lured them into the fold. Once contracts were drawn up, Shoriki launched a publicity campaign. On August 23, 1926, *Yomiuri* published in thick type a public challenge by Karigane and his followers to play Honinbo and his group.

Shoriki had prepared his promotion plan well. The Honinbo school, according to the instructions of the publicity staff, first appeared reluctant. Then, according to a *Yomiuri* editorial, the pressure of public opinion forced the directors of the school to

hold a meeting to decide whether to accept the Karigane challenge. Go lovers, of whom there were hundreds of thousands, were breathless.

Then came the biggest news of all. The directors of the Honinbo school voted to accept the challenge. In essence this was quite true. But what *Yomiuri* failed to disclose was that the vote had been taken before the Karigane challenge ever was issued.

For almost a month *Yomiuri* used its columns to whip up excitement and controversy. There were detailed interviews with leading members of each school and the contestants. There were statements by numerous go experts. Mitsuru Toyama, head of the Black Dragon Society, issued an analysis of the event; so did Ichiro Hatoyama, a leading politician who eventually became prime minister.

The match began on September 27 in a special room on the roof of the *Yomiuri* building. The room was reserved for invited dignitaries. But in Hibiya Park and Ueno Park, nine-foot go boards were set up for the people to see, and famous go experts stood by to explain each move as it was made. The game was flashed to the experts at Hibiya and Ueno by special telephone. Great crowds watched.

A key rule of the match was that each player was limited to a total "waiting" time of sixteen hours in which to consider his moves. The match continued for six days. Each morning *Yomiuri* treated its readers to three full columns of news and comment about the struggle. Leaders in the fields of politics and literature made statements each day for *Yomiuri* on the progress of the play.

Circulation zoomed.

The match ended on the afternoon of October 2. The old master Honinbo won when Karigane quite literally ran out of time to think. He had used up his sixteen hours. Honinbo still

had two hours and ten minutes to spare. He also controlled six more squares than Karigane.

With the conclusion of the match, Shoriki kept readership booming by running a daily column on the game, with advice by masters.

Go, however, could not by itself hold a large mass audience, so Shoriki added additional features. Some were new to Japanese newspapers; others were old stunts given new treatment. There were horse-race predictions, a column on mah-jongg, and a column on fishing. A full page of black-and-white comic cartoons was added to the Sunday edition in order to attract children. In 1930 Shoriki introduced colored comic strips to Japan with a supplement that was published three times each month.

Yomiuri was riding a crest. While hard times cut down the circulation of other dailies, *Yomiuri* continued to attract readers. In 1924, when Shoriki took over, circulation, paid, was about 40,000 daily. It leapt to 123,000 in 1927, to 147,000 in 1928 and up to 220,000 in 1930.

Shoriki's spirit was infectious. Despite the driving pace at which the employees had to work, there was a special pride in being a *Yomiuri* man. They vied with each other for ideas, and Shoriki and *Yomiuri* profited.

The prime example of this during the early years was the stunt of Assistant City Editor Magara. The active volcano on Oshima Island, named Mihara, was a favorite "lovers' leap" for despondent Japanese couples. Hardly a day passed without news of a romantic double suicide in the volcano. Magara, who was chief of the photo department, got an audacious idea. He proposed to Shoriki that he be lowered in a gondola into the crater to take pictures of the inferno into which the lovers were hurling themselves. This was the kind of project Shoriki responded to.

A group of Japanese scientists were accordingly called into consultation. After various experiments, a steel gondola, shaped like a pepper pot and capable of carrying two men, was constructed. This could be lowered into the volcano by a steel wire, fifteen hundred feet in length, from a crane erected above the crater. After several trials the staff photographer and the assistant news editor, who volunteered to make the experiment, decided to wear gas masks similar to those worn in the army, and helmets and outer clothing of asbestos. They also took with them picks in case they met with any obstacles in the funnel of the crater, and carried a telephone connected with their colleagues on the earth's surface.

The diameter of the volcano's crater is eight hundred meters. Nearly two thousand feet below the rim lies the bubbling pool of lava. Owing to the perpetual clouds of steam which pour out of the crater, it is rarely possible to see anything of the interior except when a strong gust of wind clears away the vapors for a few seconds.

When all preparations had been made the two newsmen entered the gondola and encouraged by loud cries of "Banzai!" were swung out by the crane toward the center of the abyss, where the lowering commenced. His first sensation, the assistant editor afterwards declared for publication, was similar to that of descending in the elevator of a very tall skyscraper. A fairly strong wind swept into the crater, clearing away the smoke so that to begin with he could distinctly see the crowd peering down at him from the brink above and the sides of the crater colored red and blue and yellow by the sulphur. Then the gray vapor closed over the gondola and all that he could discern was the glowing red of the lava bed below him.

At about five hundred feet beneath the surface of the earth, the air seemed to clear and he could again observe the sides of the crater where lava and boiling mud bubbled out of deep

fissures. Every five minutes there were loud explosions which sounded like hundreds of enormous machine guns firing at close quarters, echoing and re-echoing around the interior of the crater. During the intervals between these minor eruptions a deathly, uncanny silence reigned in the dim chasm.

At seven hundred feet, the journalists saw the body of the first suicide lying in a terribly mutilated condition on a ledge of rock. An attempt was made to recover the body, but though the crane managed to swing the gondola within a few feet of the ledge it was deemed too risky to land on a promontory which steamed with sulphurous vapors. The descent was accordingly continued in what the newsmen described as the kind of fantastic and terrifying atmosphere suggestive of conceptions of hell. They confessed that while they felt no physical fear, a sensation of the supernatural gripped them all the time. As the gondola neared the lava, the roars of the explosions increased in violence, causing the gondola to shudder and emphasizing the deep silence which followed, while the mist swirled about the two lonely passengers, now obscuring everything, now revealing the ever-increasing glare of the molten rocks which bubbled beneath. Every now and then a pathetic body could be seen lying in some niche, crushed by the fall and discolored by sulphur.

At a depth of 1,250 feet, the observers gave the order to pull up the cage. It was not that the heat was overpowering. It was, of course, unpleasantly hot, but the force of the eruptions was increased as the gondola neared the lava bed, causing it to sway so violently that in the gradually diminishing diameter of the funnel there was ever-growing danger of being dashed against the sides. The news editor felt, moreover, that he had seen all that was possible; the Stromboli record had been broken and photographs could not be taken at a depth of more than six hundred feet.

The descent into the crater lasted half an hour; the ascent took only fifteen minutes. Thus ended one of the boldest experiments in the history of volcanic investigation. The results of the daring invasion were given great prominence in the press and in schools and universities. *Yomiuri* had sensational publicity that went around the world.

However, Shoriki, was concerned with serious matters, apart from promotional stunts. He was anxious for *Yomiuri* to play a substantial role in educating the Japanese to the problems of the rapidly changing world. This meant developing first-rate news coverage for *Yomiuri*, something the paper had not been particularly blessed with under the previous regime.

To provide the proper coverage was not an easy task. *Asahi*, for instance, a newspaper with a combined circulation of over a million in Tokyo and Osaka, had a much more substantial budget than *Yomiuri*. It had news bureaus all over Japan, in Korea, on Taiwan, and special correspondents around the world. *Yomiuri* had no money to match such a network. Yet nothing less than the best would satisfy Shoriki.

A military crisis—the Manchurian Incident of 1931—brought matters to a head with him. After its victory over Russia in the War of 1905, Japan took over Russia's territorial rights in southern Manchuria. Over the years Japan's economic interests and its desire to control coal and iron resources came into sharp conflict with the Chinese in the North, and particularly with the nationalistic dictator Hsueh-liang, who launched a vigorous program of railroad building. Matters reached a climax on the night of September 18, 1931, when a portion of the south-Manchurian railway just outside of Mukden was blown up by a bomb. Charging sabotage by the Chinese, the Japanese Army struck, occupied Mukden and the three northeastern provinces, together with Jehol. Chinese re-

sistance collapsed like a house of cards and the Japanese established an independent Manchuokuo with a capital at Hsinking, the former Changchun.

This blitzkrieg stroke was the first step in Japan's war with China and the first of a series of international military "incidents" that led finally to World War II. The "Incident" naturally caused a sensation among the Japanese people, and the newspapers kept their public utterances in tune with the policies of the Japanese Army. They worked hard at covering the hostilities in Manchuria on a large scale. The *Asabi* and *Mainichi*, the two largest Tokyo dailies, mobilized more than a hundred men from their staffs and sent them to Manchuria. Since aircraft and automobiles were not fast enough to carry back news and pictures, the papers used radiophotos, portable radio transmitters and other scientific news-transmission equipment to fill their pages with items about the conflict. Every day they turned out special news-flash extras.

A two-page extra is a real sensation to Japanese newspapermen. It is one quarter the size of a regular newspaper page and is printed only on one side. It is called *go-gai* and is sold by newsboys who race through the streets ringing small-sized cowbells. In addition to the extras, *Asabi* and *Mainichi* had regular morning and evening editions, which were crammed with spot news and interpretive and explanatory stories from the front in Manchuria.

Shoriki, faced with what appeared to be ruinous competition, grappled with a problem he could not meet with his usual quick decision. He had become gradually convinced that sooner or later *Yomiuri* would have to issue an evening edition in addition to its morning one in order to obtain a bigger share of the market. The Manchurian Incident, with the tremendous onrush of news, provided the opportune moment for such a

step. Yet *Yomiuri* had neither the necessary funds nor the administrative or editorial set-up for an evening edition.

The odds against success in any event were substantial. A number of publishers had tried to expand into the evening field before but had failed and been financially ruined. Beyond that, the publishers who had tried and failed had been able to choose their own time for the venture. They had spent months, some even years, in preparation for the bold challenge. They had developed a staff with great care, meticulously planned mechanical details, won substantial financial support. And still they had failed.

Although Shoriki knew all this, he decided to embark on the gamble with little advance preparation, and with no additional funds for support. There was high drama in the editorial room when Shoriki called together the staff to make his announcement. There was no lack of attention—as there had been only a few years before when he made his first speech to the staff—no catcalls, and no jeers. Every eye was on Shoriki; every ear strained to catch each word.

“Our company is at the crossroads. We have the choice of going on as we have been or of taking the bull by the horns and gambling to turn our paper into a leading national daily, by exploiting the Manchurian Incident. I have made up my mind to stake the future of the paper on the issuance of an evening edition. Success or failure depends on the efforts of every one of you and of myself.”

Staff members were astonished. There had been no hint of advance planning for such a move, scarcely even advance warning. Kojiro Yamazaki, the editor-in-chief, was moved to tears. “Every one of us will do the work of five men.” The staff did not realize that Shoriki had his plan all ready. In arriving at his decision, he had calculated the cost of each necessary step,

he had mapped out staff changes and additions, and he had decided the strategy he would adopt to narrow the advantage his rivals had through the teams of war correspondents they were able to send to Manchuria.

Not knowing of these plans, the *Yomiuri* staff was worried. They feared that this time the boss had called for a "miracle" that was out of reach. And when word of the *Yomiuri* plan spread to rival newspapers, there was derision. The feeling was that at last *Yomiuri*, the upstart, was about to commit economic suicide. "Experts" in the newspaper business passed the word: "No matter how able they may appear over at *Yomiuri*, they really are mere amateurs."

The Manchurian Incident began on September 18, 1931. In a little more than two months, on November 25, the first evening edition of *Yomiuri* was on the streets. Shoriki had gone all-out in his drive for dominance. *Yomiuri* did not have much money to spend, but what there was he spent.

Shoriki knew that he could not match his rivals in news coverage of the front, so he devised another way. A number of other papers outside Tokyo suffered from a common shortage of manpower, and Shoriki decided to co-operate with them. Agreements were made to exchange news and pictures with non-competitive papers in Hokkaido, on Kyushu and in other parts of Japan distant from Tokyo. The *Asahi* and *Mainichi* manpower advantage was reduced, at no cost to *Yomiuri*.

When the Manchurian Incident began, *Yomiuri* was fifth among Tokyo newspapers with a circulation of 230,000. In addition to *Asahi* and *Mainichi* (both with close to 500,000 readers), there was *Hochi* with 400,000 and *Jiji* with 300,000. But Shoriki took advantage of the Incident, while *Hochi* and *Jiji* failed to change to meet the opportunity. In six months *Yomiuri's* circulation increased by 100,000, going up to 350,000.

Shoriki had made his big move. And he had fooled the ex-

perts once again. The experts pontificated that it was foolhardy to try to break into the evening-paper field, dominated by *Asahi* and *Mainichi*. But Shoriki, the amateur, did not fail. Furthermore, he continued to exploit the momentum he had gained during the Manchurian Incident to push right to the top of Tokyo newspapers. *Yomiuri* circulation hit half a million in January of 1933, went to 570,000 in 1934, to 660,000 in 1935, to 750,000 in 1936 and all the way to 880,000 in 1937, becoming the biggest paper in Tokyo. Shoriki's success was a challenge to many a veteran publisher.

The more malicious gossiped that there were undisclosed reasons for Shoriki's success; he must have had secret sources of money to push his newspaper ahead so fast and by such unorthodox means.

There was ample material for rumors about Shoriki. The most obvious was that he had been a police official for twelve years. Was it not likely that he had learned things about people that could be used for blackmail? Many newspaper people, unwilling to give serious consideration to the possibility that an upstart could outdistance them by legitimate means, actually believed that blackmail was the answer! They were convinced he, as a policeman, had learned of so many skeletons hidden in closets that all he had to do was call on his victims for money when it was needed.

But some of the gossip took an even more pernicious turn than this. It centered around a financial *cause célèbre* that purportedly involved Shoriki. This had to do with the purchase by one of his associates of 100,000 shares of stock in a rayon company. The stock had originally belonged to a trading firm that went bankrupt. The Bank of Japan, a debtor, had taken over the shares at considerably less than face value and was holding them as security.

Kenichi Fujita, who had acted as go-between for Goto and

Shoriki in providing money for the purchase of *Yomiuri*, knew about the shares and wanted them, since they had increased considerably in value. Fujita had already obtained some favors from Shoriki, and now he asked him to help him buy these shares from the Bank of Japan.

Shoriki talked with the president of the bank, a friend who said that he would not object to the sale if the finance ministry approved. Through Ichiro Hatoyama, who later became prime minister, Shoriki was introduced to a high official of the finance ministry who declared the ministry would not object to the sale if it was made for an equitable price.

This did not please Fujita at all. He had no intention of paying the current price for the stock. Others who had joined him disagreed. They said that the stock would continue to rise and that they could make an honest profit if they paid the current market price. It also would give them virtual control of the rayon company.

Shoriki, feeling his integrity would be compromised, withdrew from the picture. Fujita dropped out also, angered at being rebuffed by Shoriki. He publicly accused Shoriki of participating in "shady dealings." But the government investigation that followed disproved Fujita's charges. The great rayon "scandal" melted into thin air. Shoriki was found to be absolutely guiltless of any wrongdoing.

On the theory of "where there's smoke, there's fire," however, gossip continued to pass around in Tokyo that Shoriki must be getting tainted money through blackmail or political connivance to be building up *Yomiuri* the way he was. However, the most exacting investigations by friends and opponents into all angles of Shoriki's activities finally laid the rumors to rest. All the money Shoriki obtained was through the blood and sweat of hard work in operating his newspaper.

In seeking new promotional methods for increasing the cir-

culuation of *Yomiuri*, Shoriki worked on the theory that the best way to make money was by giving something away.

Excursion ships to Oshima Island were run by an old friend of his. The steamship company was doing poorly. Tourist travel to Oshima, an overnight sail from Tokyo, had fallen off. During a casual meeting, the steamship executive told Shoriki his troubles. Shoriki pondered for a while and then suggested a plan. He wanted to give free rides to Oshima to 3,000 *Yomiuri* subscribers. The friend, Jinnojo Hayashi, was aghast. "We can carry only three hundred passengers a voyage," he said. "You want us to make ten round trips without a yen in revenue."

Hayashi would not hear of the plan. But Shoriki insisted. "You certainly have an advertising budget. Hand over a year's budget to me. I will carry a full-page advertisement of your Oshima tour in the Sunday edition. There will be ample money left over to feed all 3,000 free guests."

Shoriki continued his argument: "Even people who never thought about visiting Oshima would go if all their expenses, including food, are free. Each person we get will be a good advertisement for future tours." Then came the old Shoriki theme: "Furthermore, most of those invited are not likely to come by themselves. They will pay to bring members of their family along."

Hayashi finally was swayed and agreed. But he had trouble within his own company. His people complained he had been fooled by Shoriki. But Shoriki had judged correctly. The 3,000 free tickets started a boom in travel to Oshima. Black ink replaced red in the steamship company's books. The venture was so successful that it was repeated time and again and became the basis for the steamship company's advertising program year in and year out.

Despite the success of *Yomiuri*, Shoriki was still dissatisfied

with its competitive position with regard to *Asabi* and *Mainichi*. He spent sleepless nights mulling over the problem of how to draw abreast of them. One question he repeatedly asked himself: "What are the strong spots of *Asabi* and *Mainichi* compared with *Yomiuri*?"

He decided that the two big papers were strong in foreign news coverage. They had their own correspondents abroad and they subscribed to the foreign services of American, British and French news agencies and newspapers. But Shoriki felt the two big papers, unchallenged in foreign coverage, presented their material too perfunctorily. He felt that the experts on the two papers had become smug and no longer looked for new and better ways to handle news.

Shoriki decided to get better foreign news coverage and use it more efficiently than his rivals. In 1933 he signed a contract with James R. Young, Tokyo manager for International News Service, to have a large file of news from the United States, Europe and the Far East cabled to *Yomiuri* daily from San Francisco. Then he sent his own correspondents to New York, London, Paris, Berlin and other American and European capitals.

This expansion came just in time to give *Yomiuri* coverage of the big international crises leading to World War II. Mussolini ordered Italian legions into Addis Ababa. Hitler moved into the Ruhr. Japan walked out of the League of Nations. Franco revolted in Spain. Crises came tumbling on top of each other. There was the Sudetenland, the Moscow trials, Munich.

There was other news, too. The King of England abdicated. Quintuplets were born in Canada. The Lindbergh baby was kidnaped. From INS *Yomiuri* received the reports of top newspapermen—H. R. Knickerbocker, Pierre J. Huss, James L. Kilgallen, W. W. Chaplin and others. *Yomiuri*'s own correspondents, spurred on by the exacting demands of Shoriki,

competed fiercely with *Asahi* and *Mainichi* men in China after the Marco Polo Bridge battle touched off the Chinese Incident in 1937.

In its stepped-up drive for success, *Yomiuri* pulled away from all its lesser competitors. *Hochi* and *Jiji* could not keep pace, and *Yomiuri* became the sole challenger to the predominance of *Asahi* and *Mainichi*.

Now Shoriki went after the big papers in earnest. At that time morning papers ran twelve to sixteen pages, but evening papers were only four pages. Shoriki took a look and found that the morning papers were filled with long articles of cultural interest, erudite commentaries on economics, politics, foreign affairs and science, essays and other features that required thoughtful reading. The evening papers, on the other hand, were curt, crisp and skimpy. Shoriki decided this was backwards. He was convinced that a man had more time to read in the evening than in the morning—that he should get a bigger newspaper than he was getting. He doubled the size of his evening paper, making it eight pages, and scored an immediate success. Soon every other Tokyo newspaper had to emulate Shoriki and increase the size of its evening editions.

The restless urge for improvement still drove Shoriki on. As soon as one goal was attained he set a new one for himself, to find means of making his newspaper so distinctive that people would recognize it at a glance. There is room for improvement in every field, if only the practitioner is able to see clearly through the fog of custom to detect weaknesses. The obvious often is the most difficult to see, and the obvious in the newspaper business was staring Shoriki and other publishers in the face every day of the year. The front pages of Tokyo newspapers carried more ads than news. The important domestic and foreign news was on page two. Other newspapers had tried in the past to clear their front pages of ads but always

had failed. The big book-publishing houses and manufacturers of bicycles and other mechanical things for general use were the most important advertisers, and they insisted on front-page display.

Shoriki decided that since his newspaper was merchandise that had to be sold, he would use the front page for news only, no matter what the advertisers said or did. The "experts" on *Yomiuri*, particularly the advertising-department salesmen, threw up their hands in horror. Shoriki refused to heed their pleas. The front page was cleared of ads. Some advertisers canceled. But the readers were happy and circulation increased. Shoriki used that boost in circulation to increase his advertising rates, and thus made up for the loss of the few advertisers who canceled. At first Shoriki's rivals had snickered and opined that this time he really had blundered. But Shoriki, self-confident as ever, declared at a New Year's party: "Other rival companies may be laughing at me, as usual. But I say they will imitate *Yomiuri* within a year." And they did. *Hochi* and *Jiji* changed first. Finally even *Asahi* made its front page a news page.

Rival newspapers had precious little opportunity to laugh at Shoriki now. He was hurting them. With great persuasion he literally stole their sales agencies, which meant that he stole the organizations which do the door-to-door job of selling newspapers.

Then in 1937, a key rival competitor—the sales manager of *Asahi*—made a chance remark that set Shoriki off on a new campaign. Shoriki dined with him one evening and was surprised to hear him say: "*Mainichi* claims it has a circulation of 800,000, but they do not have that much at all. In fact, we have a greater circulation than they."

At that time, Shoriki knew that *Yomiuri* had a paid circulation of 880,000 daily, although most newspapermen in

Tokyo thought he was a quarter of a million under that. Immediately after hearing the revealing words from the *Asahi* sales manager, Shoriki began a campaign to force all newspapers to submit to impartial investigation so that true circulation figures could be revealed to all, and particularly to advertisers who paid rates based on circulation. The other papers refused to go along with Shoriki, which he took as undeniable evidence that they were padding their circulation claims. It was not until 1942 that an accurate audit of circulation was made. The Army and Government Information Bureau had to know accurate circulation figures in order to ration newsprint equitably. The war had brought a newsprint shortage and it was decided that the ration would be based on previous circulation figures. But that time the audit showed *Yomiuri* well out in front in Tokyo with 1,560,000 combined morning and evening circulation. *Mainichi* was next with 1,420,000 and *Asahi* third with 1,280,000.

Shoriki through ingenuity and toughness and driving energy had lifted *Yomiuri* by the bootstraps into the position of leading newspaper in Tokyo.

CHAPTER V

Babe Ruth Comes to Japan

SHORIKI WAS AN ARDENT ADMIRER of the United States, and was responsible for promoting greater understanding between Americans and Japanese. If he had had his way, there never would have been a war between the two nations. Shoriki was a leading exponent of friendship with the West, a personal friend of William Randolph Hearst and other prominent Americans, the kind of man around whom the new postwar Japan is being built. Because of Shoriki's influence and policies, he was a target of the militarists, the patriotic societies and the other extreme fanatics of the Tojo ilk who desperately drove Japan into a suicidal war.

One of the ways in which Shoriki strove to increase the bonds of friendship between Americans and Japanese was his introduction of professional baseball into Japan. Baseball had been first introduced into Japan in 1889 by an American engineer who was working on a government project in Tokyo. In his spare time he taught some of the laborers to play the game. Visiting American professors did likewise for their pupils, and it was not long before several of the colleges had pick-up teams. Games were played against the crews of American ships docked in Japanese ports and against teams made up of American residents.

Then in 1905, the Waseda University nine made a trip to California to play a game against Stanford University. It was the first time the Japanese used spikes. When they arrived in

Palo Alto, it was discovered that the spikes had all been put on backward. All the cobblers in town had to be rounded up to make the necessary changes before the game could be played.

Over the following years there were sporadic contests between American and Japanese amateur nines. But it was not until Shoriki himself became actively interested in baseball that the game actually was put on a professional footing in Japan. Shoriki brought the big-league stars of America over to Tokyo and organized professional leagues in Japan.

It came about in this manner. In 1929, Ringi Ikeda, an editorial writer, suggested to Shoriki that it would be a promotional coup if he could get Babe Ruth, the Sultan of Swat, to give an exhibition in Tokyo. Shoriki at that time was not a baseball fan. He preferred more traditional Japanese sports like judo and fencing. He hardly knew who Babe Ruth was. It had to be explained to him that he had hit home runs, sixty in one season, and that he was a hero to Japanese baseball fans.

Shoriki made a quick judgment. "You're right," he said. "Let's invite Ruth. Send a cable to him right away and bring me the answer."

This was too swift even for Ringi Ikeda. He had to explain that Shoriki could not send a telegram directly to Ruth; that it had to go to Miller Huggins, the manager of the New York Yankees. Ikeda discussed how much money it would take and other difficulties that were in the way. Shoriki refused to budge. "Send the cable to the right person," he said, "but send the cable." Ikeda cabled Ruth, who replied that he already was booked to make a motion picture during the off season and could not visit Japan that year.

Shoriki took the project to heart. He was going to get Babe Ruth to Japan, come what may. First he hired the coach of the Waseda University baseball team as head of his sports department, with the special assignment of arranging for Babe

Ruth to tour Japan. He got the Foreign Office behind the scheme, and the Japanese consul-general in New York entered into negotiations with the Americans.

Since Ruth was still too busy to make the trip with a supporting cast of Yankees, Shoriki decided that it would be better to have an all-star team than one of the regular Big League clubs. He wanted a name star at every position.

The first all-star team arrived in October of 1931. The team included Lou Gehrig and Lefty O'Doul, Lefty Grove and Mickey Cochrane, Larry French and Muddy Ruel, Frankie Frisch and Rabbit Maranville, Al Simmons and Willie Kamm. Umpire Beans Reardon was brought along.

The team played seventeen games in nine cities. Everywhere there were capacity crowds. Japanese lined the streets to catch a glimpse of the Americans. The games were played against university teams, commercial league clubs and an all-star Japanese outfit. The Americans romped through seventeen easy victories, but that did not bother the Japanese fans or players. The Japanese attitude was that much could be learned from the Americans about how to play baseball.

Yomiuri circulation went way up. So did *Yomiuri* prestige. Everybody made more money than had been hoped for.

Successful as the 1931 tour was, Shoriki still wanted Babe Ruth. Lefty O'Doul acted as liaison and made two trips to Japan during the negotiations with Ruth. Lefty was at the top of his game during those years. In 1929 he led the National League with a .398 average for Philadelphia and in 1932 he batted .368 for Brooklyn, again winning the batting championship.

O'Doul had a good deal of trouble with Babe Ruth about the trip and actually had to enlist the aid of Mrs. Ruth to persuade him finally to play in Japan.

The Babe Ruth team arrived at Yokohama on the *Empress*

of *Japan* on November 2, 1934. The dock was jammed with eager Japanese baseball fans. In Tokyo the team was paraded down the Ginza in open cars, Ruth riding in the first. That was a mistake. The fans crowded so thickly around his automobile that the whole cavalcade was halted. The newspapers said more than a million people crowded onto the Ginza that day to see Babe Ruth.

Ruth reacted magnificently and won the hearts of the Japanese. He had played to tremendous crowds in America, but never did he play before as many as the 100,000 who pushed and shoved their way into Meiji Stadium in Tokyo. Ruth did everything right. One full nine-inning game was played in a drenching rain. But Ruth said that as long as the fans would sit in the stands in the downpour to see him, the least he could do was play it out.

Ruth played first base that day and Gehrig was in left field. During the first inning, a fan climbed out of the stands and handed Ruth his umbrella. The game was halted briefly while Ruth and the fan exchanged courteous bows, Ruth clowning it a bit. Through the rest of the game, Ruth stood at first base holding his umbrella.

The rest of the players took their cue from Ruth and went up into the stands to ask other Japanese to lend them umbrellas. They got them. And one fan even gave Gehrig a pair of rubber boots. Gehrig took off his spikes and played the rest of the game in boots.

The only ones who did not get into the act were the pitcher, Earl Whitehill, and the catcher, Moe Berg. It just wasn't feasible to hold an umbrella while pitching or catching.

After the sixteenth and final game, Ruth called the full team out to home plate and made a brief speech of thanks to the Japanese fans. The Japanese never forgot Ruth. In 1947, after World War II, they designated April 27 as Babe Ruth

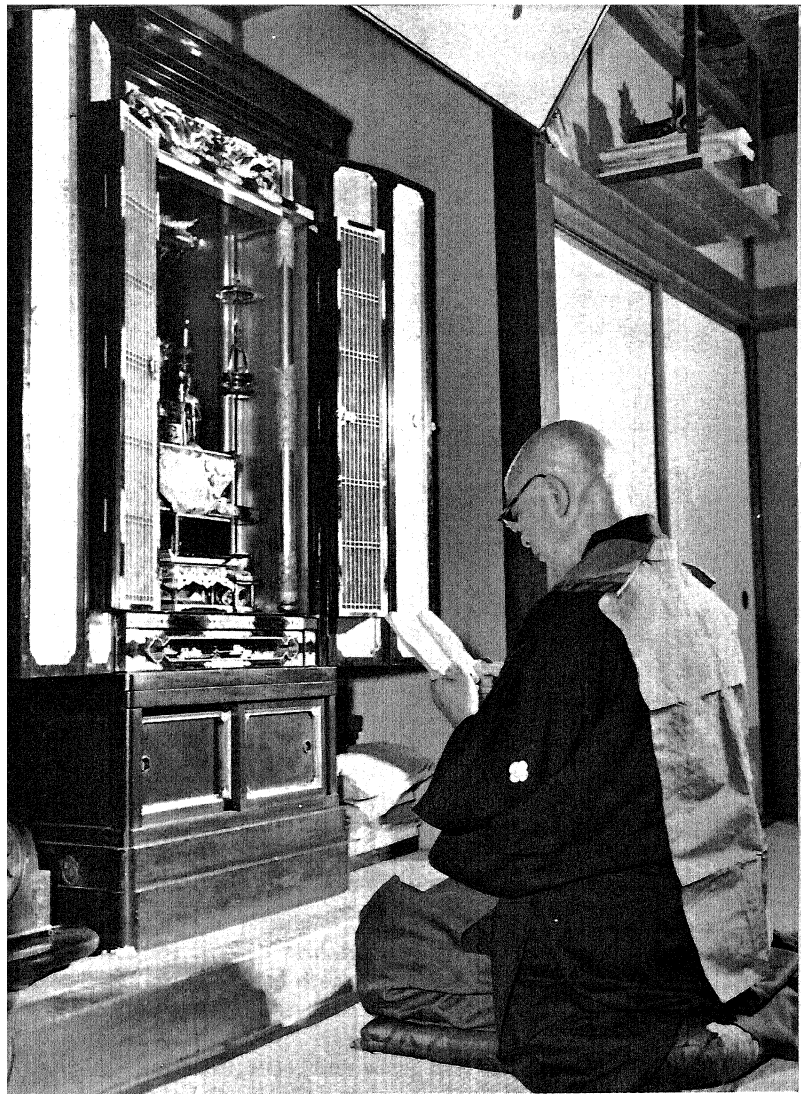
Day in professional baseball. And a Babe Ruth plaque adorns the main entrance of Koshien Stadium in Osaka, Japan's biggest baseball park.

The tour was memorable for many reasons, and the players who made it still are remembered by Japanese fans. And the Japanese developed their own stars. During Ruth's tour in 1934, the Americans at first had a picnic with the Japanese teams. They won the first game 17 to 1, and the one run the Japanese got was a gift. However, the All-Stars suddenly ran into an eighteen-year-old pitcher named Eiji Sawamura. The Americans had beaten the boy twice, and badly. But the third game against him was different. Lou Gehrig had to hit a home run in the seventh inning to give the All-Stars a 1-0 victory. And Sawamura struck out Babe Ruth three times. The eighteen-year-old pitcher went on to become the outstanding star of Japanese professional baseball.

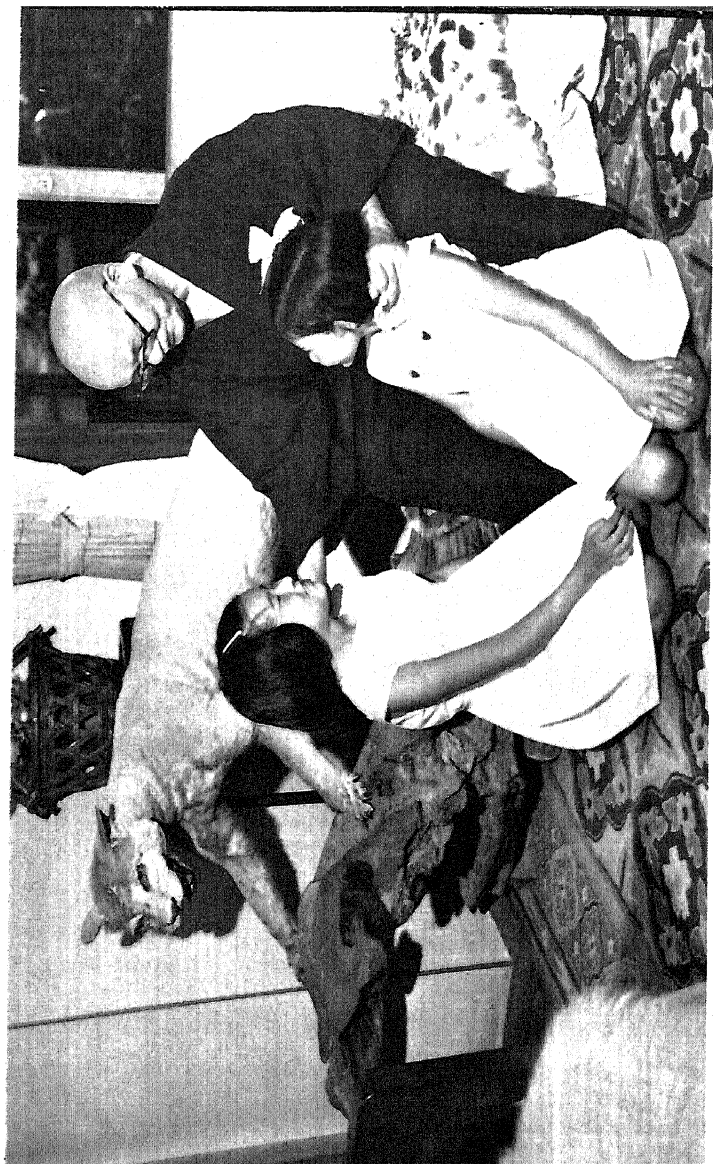
There were as yet no organized professional leagues in Japan when Sawamura struck out Babe Ruth. However, Shoriki laid plans to make pro baseball an institution in Japan. He formed the Great Japan Tokyo Baseball Club, made leading political and industrial figures of the day officers in the club and sent scouts all over Japan and Manchuria to find topnotch players. They signed the very best talent they could find and were astonished to find that Shoriki was not too pleased.

"If the Great Japan Tokyo Baseball Club brings up all the good players, there will be none left for other teams in a league." This was the first time his scouts or club officials had heard that he was thinking of a league of professional teams. But Shoriki pointed out the obvious to them. Exhibitions are all right occasionally, but there have to be competition and rivalry to sustain interest.

Shoriki talked over his plans with his friend Lefty O'Doul. O'Doul choked on the name of the pioneer club. "The Great



Shoriki, a very devout Buddhist of the Shinshu sect, prays every morning before the shrine in his home. Here he is reading a sutra and wearing a purple *kesa*, or surplice. This *kesa*, of the highest rank that laymen are permitted to wear, was given to Shoriki for his efforts on behalf of Buddhism.



Mr. Shoriki with his grandchildren in the living room of his home in Zushi. The mountain lion, a gift from William Randolph Hearst, was caught on Mr. Hearst's ranch.

Japan Tokyo Baseball Club is such a long name, it will be difficult to say or write." O'Doul suggested Shoriki call the club the "Tokyo Giants." That became the name, although down through the years the popular name for the club has been the "*Yomiuri* Giants," to which the publicity-minded Shoriki had no objections at all.

By 1935 Shoriki had a ball team with nobody to play. He sent it to the United States for a 110-game barnstorming trip which was a sensation in the Japanese press, if not in America. The Giants won seventy-five of their games, played with United States minor-league teams, and *Yomiuri* published a play-by-play account of every game. At home Shoriki was busy organizing a league. He got one railroad company to form a second Tokyo team, the Tokyo Senators, and two other railroads in the Osaka area each to form a team, the Osaka Tigers and the Hankyu club. Newspapers organized two teams in Nagoya and another in Tokyo.

Within a year Japan had seven professional baseball clubs and was ready for league play. Later an eighth team, the Eagles, was organized and Japan had a proper eight-club league. The league caught the fancy of the public and every game attracted huge crowds. It became so entrenched in popular fancy that not even World War II could kill it off immediately. It was not until October, 1944, after the teams gathered in Tokyo for a final series of games that professional baseball was suspended "for the duration."

Shoriki was playing with dangerous emotions when he entered the baseball field, however. Young hot-blooded "patriots," self-appointed defenders of the Japanese way of life, were on the loose. They missed nothing that appeared to them to be subversive.

In November, 1934, three young men of the "War God Society" visited Shoriki. The spokesman read Shoriki a letter of

"accusation." It charged that Shoriki had "despoiled the sanctuary" of the stadium built as a memorial to the Emperor Meiji when he promoted a baseball game there between Japanese and the American All-star teams. The presence of foreigners on the sacred ground, the three youths charged, was a defilement. They also charged that the Hearst organization, with which Shoriki had close relations through International News Service, was anti-Japanese. After the dramatic gesture of warning, one youth surrendered to the police and the two others were arrested, along with other members of the "War God Society."

Three months later, on a cold February morning, Shoriki arrived for work early, as usual. As he stepped toward the gate of the *Yomiuri* building, he was stabbed viciously from behind. He shouted with surprise and pain and turned in time to see a man racing away, carrying a bloodied Japanese sword.

Blood gushed from the gaping wound in Shoriki's neck. As the street was deserted, Shoriki tried to make his way alone toward the *Yomiuri* dispensary. The foreman of the print shop saw him and rushed to his aid. Once in the dispensary, Shoriki lost consciousness and was not revived for another five hours. He was kept in the hospital for fifty days and spent an additional month recuperating at a hot-spring rest resort.

The Japanese police did capture Shoriki's assailant. It has always been fairly certain that fanatics were behind this attempt to silence one of the United States' greatest friends in the Orient, an admirer and spokesman for the American way of life. The attempted assassination took place six years before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and was a sinister portent of things to come.

CHAPTER VI

The Road to War

BEFORE WE CONTINUE THE SHORIKI STORY, particularly with Shoriki's experiences during World War II, it will be useful to devote space to a discussion of Japan's history and the events leading up to the conflict which played such a decisive part in Shoriki's career.

The Japanese do not use the term "Japan" to designate their native land. Instead, they call it Nippon or, in poetry especially, Yamato. Yamato has been immortalized in this fashion by an eighteenth-century poet:

If one should ask you
What is the heart
Of Island Yamato—
It is the mountain cherry blossom
Which exhales its perfume in the morning sun.

Throughout history the people have not lost their love for poetry, for romance, though the life of the teeming millions has been a hard one and the facts of economics and geography would have sobered a less-courageous folk. Only 17 per cent of the islands' soil is arable. A large proportion of the rice annually consumed has to be imported. Japan has few mineral resources and is deficient in iron, coal and oil deposits, essential to large-scale manufacturing. Added to these deficiencies is the fact that Japan has been subjected to recurring earthquakes, typhoons and tidal waves. But disaster and want have never

prevented the Japanese people from making an annual visit to a grove of cherry trees in blossom; misfortune has not kept them from writing exquisite poetry about the beauties of the chrysanthemums, the trailing wisteria and the blue lakes.

For centuries the hardships and realities of daily living were lightened by the ever-present sense of the aesthetic, the ceremonious. The rough, blunt samurai, or warrior class, were as painstaking in their rules for drinking teas as for fighting. To be an "a-teaist" was as unforgivable in Japan as to be an atheist in Dublin.

However, behind the cherry blossoms and the ceremonial etiquette there have been grim, bloody power struggles which finally doomed the nation to utter tragedy. The history of modern Japan has been the contest of the military with liberal, democratic forces for control of the nation's destiny.

This struggle can be understood only with reference to Japan's social history. Over the centuries, through the Middle Ages, the Japanese people were divided into two groups, the free and the non-free. The highest members of the free group were the heads of the great clans, all of whom had important rank at court. The lesser nobles were not eligible to occupy the state's highest offices but devoted their talents to the professions, the arts, or warfare. The lowest of the free people were the peasants, small landholders and members of certain guilds, who paid taxes in grain and labor. The guildsmen followed such occupations as smith, armorer and lacquer-worker. Among the non-free people were public and private slaves. The public slaves worked on the land, from which they received a food ration, or were engaged in such menial tasks as scavenging and grave-digging. The private slaves belonged to the households of wealthy nobles and could be sold or given away. At this time the slaves comprised one-tenth to one-fifth of the total population.

At various times during Japan's early history, a virtual military dictatorship was established, with supreme power given to an officer called the shogun, or generalissimo. The title was usually bestowed upon some deserving soldier, and, in the twelfth century, only for the duration of a national crisis. But upon one of Japan's greatest statesmen, Yoritomo, the title was conferred for life, and to him also was given the right to name his successor. Yoritomo established a form of government, the *bakufu* (army headquarters), which existed for almost seven hundred years. Henceforth the shogun as military commander took over the control of justice, law and finance. He appointed constables and land stewards over every province to prevent rebellion. Thus the shogun became the real ruler of Japan. Although he continued to pay the utmost respect to the emperor and governed at a discreet distance from the imperial court, the principal power in Nippon belonged to him and not to the emperor. This was the state of affairs down to 1867.

In 1260 Kublai Khan came to the throne of China. Hearing reports about the mythical wealth of Nippon, the Great Khan decided to extend his rule to Japan. He made extensive plans for an invasion, gathering over 100,000 men in 3,500 ships. The stoical Japanese prepared to meet a danger fully as great as that faced by Elizabethan England when the Spanish Armada sailed northward. But, as befell the Spanish Armada, nature came to the aid of Japan. A tempest dispersed the ships. The fleet was scattered and thousands of men perished or were cast on Japanese soil to be captured by the natives as slaves. Yet so great was the danger that the Japanese never forgot it, and it is said that even in recent times the Japanese mother would ask the crying child, "Do you think the Mogu are coming?"

The thirteenth century in Japan belongs to what is called the Hojo period, noted for its literature, art and social customs. Official recognition was given the *Bushido*, the unwritten code

of chivalry and honor as practiced by the samurai (warrior nobility). The *Bushido* stressed courage, fortitude, composure, benevolence, politeness and loyalty. It also approved the custom of self-immolation known as seppuku (popularly known as *hara-kiri*). Seppuku was not merely suicide but a ceremonial by which the warrior could expiate crimes, escape disgrace and prove his loyalty.

The outstanding characteristic of Japanese history up to modern times was the country's isolation and sleepiness. For centuries the kingdom continued along a path of little change. The same royal house ruled—as it still does; the country remained free from foreign attack except when the Mongols twice unsuccessfully attempted to conquer it, and generation after generation kept much the same social pattern.

But Japan was destined to have its complacent culture shaken by the coming of the foreigner. About 1542 three Portuguese sailors were driven off their course while sailing south from Macao to Siam and came to one of the southern Japanese islands. It was not long before others visited the islands and began trading. The great Jesuit missionary, Francis Xavier, hearing about Japan after he had sailed from Lisbon in 1541, went there and started to convert the inhabitants. After Xavier's death the work he inaugurated was carried on by his successors. Within thirty years of Xavier's departure, Japanese converts to Christianity numbered around 150,000.

Over the centuries the people lived in one of two extremes in society. The majority lived in squalor and misery as a result of numerous civil wars, but the noble class whiled away its time following complex rituals for eating, drinking, dressing and fighting. It was an age in which the militarists, not the emperor, controlled the empire. The head of a family was a daimyo, who gathered about him the samurai. A soldier who

had no master became a *ronin*, or knight errant who fought for himself.

One of the great Japanese soldiers and statesmen of the sixteenth century was Hideyoshi. He put down brigandage, encouraged the arts, stimulated trade with China and built splendid edifices in Kyoto. The dictator, himself of humble origin, rose to the top and was quite willing to employ commoners in his government if they possessed the requisite ability. Hideyoshi persecuted the Jesuits and their converts.

Suspicion on the part of the Japanese rulers that Christianity was merely a cloak for political usurpation, the bigotry shown by certain Christians when they had the upper hand in various communities, and economic exploitation on the part of unscrupulous Portugese merchants all combined to cause the Japanese to banish the Christians from their country. Christianity was formally disallowed by an edict in 1614 and all foreign teachers were ordered deported. In the words of the edict: "For the future, let none, so long as the Sun Illuminates the world, presume to sail to Japan, not even in the quality of ambassadors, and this declaration is never to be revoked, on pain of death." Except for a small, closely watched Dutch post at Nagasaki, the island was closed to intercourse with the West.

For more than two hundred years the shoguns, like the Manchu emperors of China, endeavored to remain isolated from the rest of the world. Finally, however, on July 7, 1853, a squadron comprising two steam frigates and two sloops of war steamed into the bay near the city of Yedo, later named Tokyo. The fleet's commander, Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry, had been sent by the United States government to induce the Japanese rulers to conclude a treaty whereby trading relations between the two nations might be opened. Perry

was instructed to be tactful, but in all likelihood he would have used force if it had been necessary. The shogun and his advisers were well aware that the empire's defenses were weak and that the American warships carried armament which could not be ignored. Perry tactfully sailed away to China after a short call, leaving the Japanese officials to wrangle over their predicament, but when the commodore returned in February, 1854, with even greater forces, there was no doubt as to the course of procedure. On March 31, 1854, Japan agreed to the Treaty of Kanagawa, the first formal treaty with any Western country. By its terms shipwrecked sailors were guaranteed hospitable treatment, foreign vessels were allowed to stop for provisions and two ports were opened to American ships. It was not long before Great Britain, Russia and Holland had obtained similar privileges.

For fifteen years following the signing of the Treaty of Kanagawa, confusion among Japan's leaders caused endless friction. The Tokugawa shogunate was associated with the signing of the treaty with Perry, and this was used by anti-foreign forces to overthrow the shogunate system and restore the throne's supreme authority. In September, 1866, one shogun died and was succeeded by a shogun named Keiki. Six months later, the Emperor died and was succeeded by the boy, Mutsuhito, afterward to be known as Meiji Tenno. The feudal chiefs now urged the new shogun to restore the administration to the emperor so that the kingdom might be united to meet its common dangers. Keiki resigned his power to the Emperor. With the transfer of power back to the throne a new era opened for Japan.

The rise of liberalism was seeded in the Meiji restoration when Japan, after January, 1868, upon the coming of Admiral Perry, established contact with the Western world and withdrew from centuries of isolation. The very word Meiji means

"enlightened government." Meiji Tenno (the Emperor) ruled until 1912, and with his reign are associated epoch-making events.

Emerging from medieval feudalism, Japan became rapidly industrialized in the best occidental tradition. Her labor market was large and workmen could always be found to work at a low wage, enabling the Japanese manufacturer to undersell his competitors in other markets. The government aided industrialization by subsidizing railroads and steamship lines. Big business specialized in textiles. Where prior to 1870 there were no cotton mills, by 1897 over 750,000 spindles had been set up, and this figure increased by 1914 to nearly 2,500,000.

Hand in glove with industrial efflorescence were other advances. Railways, telegraphs, lighthouses and dockyards were constructed, a postal system was organized, a mint was established to coin new money, a bimetallic system of currency and a system of national banks were instituted. American advisers were consulted regarding national education, and state universities were founded in several parts of the country. Foreign experts were brought in to teach the people about medicine, engineering and agriculture.

One of the features of the Meiji restoration was the political reconstruction of the empire. This began with the creation of an Upper House in 1875. Three years later an edict set forth the formation of elective assemblies for cities and prefectures. In 1881 an imperial decree announced that a national parliamentary government would be inaugurated within ten years' time. Six months later a party led by Prince Ito set forth to study the world's various governmental systems. Ito was particularly impressed by the German plan developed by Bismarck.

The mission returned in 1883 and set to work framing the new constitution. It provided for a Diet, divided into the House of Peers and the House of Representatives. The latter body was

made elective, but property qualifications at first limited the electorate to a small number. While the cabinet is independent of the Diet, the latter wields a modicum of power in financial matters because it can in peace times hold up an unpopular budget by refusing to vote supplies. In the event of such action, the government is forced to stay within the limits of the budget of the previous financial year.

On February 11, 1889, the constitution was promulgated, marking the apparent adoption of certain Western political ideas and a partial severance with the ideology of the past. The constitution stressed the position and powers of the emperor. In its articles it stated that "the Emperor is sacred and inviolable . . . is the head of the empire, combining in himself the rights of sovereignty, and exercises them according to the provisions of the present constitution . . . has supreme command of the Army and Navy . . . declares war, makes peace and concludes treaties" . . . and alone initiates amendments to the constitution.

Despite the vigorous attempts of the Japanese people to put their political and economic house in order, nature remained cruel to Japan. Her teeming millions are crowded into an area no larger than the state of California. They remain vulnerable to continual fires, typhoons, volcanic eruptions. A number of earthquakes developed into national catastrophes. The earthquake of 1888, for instance, ravaged an area of 130 square miles in thirty minutes. The earthquake of 1891 destroyed almost a hundred thousand houses and took thirty thousand lives. The convulsions of September, 1923, killed more than 150,000 people and destroyed property worth \$3,000,000.

The army, recruited largely from the peasantry, worshipped its military leaders, who fought unrelentingly with the political liberals, averring that the only solution for Japan's land

poverty was national expansion into the fertile territory of China, the Netherlands East Indies, and the Philippines.

One factor that gave the generals overweening political power was the Japanese constitution. It had been framed in 1883 to give the premier a position analogous to Bismarck's in Germany. The cabinet included nine ministers, each controlling a state department, and it was made responsible to the emperor alone. The army and navy alone could appoint their respective ministers; and since no statesman could form a cabinet without a war minister, and the army could overthrow any cabinet simply by withdrawing him, final control of policies rested in the hands of the military group.

Exploiting the misery of the masses, the military carried on an intensive campaign to unhorse the liberals during the 1920's and 1930's. Forty-six per cent of national expenditures went to the army and navy. Military training began at six for boys with goose-stepping and soldierly songs. By twelve, boys were given rifles and uniforms with brass buttons and were sent out on maneuvers. At fifteen they were winding up their high school track meets with brisk bayonet drills. And their sisters were taught first aid and the art of breathing in gas masks.

Military fanatics carried out their power struggle by resorting to assassination of politicians who opposed them. In 1930, Prime Minister Hamaguchi, who was pledged to a policy of disarmament, economic retrenchment and conciliation with China, was mortally wounded by a young fanatic. Prime Minister Inykai and the former minister of finance, Baron Dan, representatives of the liberal forces, were shot. In 1935 the terror was climaxed by a large-scale rebellion against the civil government. On February 26, during a light snowfall, fifteen young army officers led 1,400 soldiers out of a Tokyo barracks and seized the Metropolitan Police Headquarters. They broke into the residence of Korekiyo Takahashi, minister of finance,

who had opposed army demands for greater appropriations, and killed him. They also murdered Keeper of the Privy Seal Saito and Inspector General of Military Education Watanabe.

Prime Minister Keisuke Okada escaped being killed only because of a ruse. When the assassins broke into his home in the middle of the night, he was hurriedly awakened from sleep and his place in bed was taken by his brother-in-law. The prime minister was hid in a near-by storeroom under bed quilts. The intruders pumped bullets into the figure in the bed and left, unaware that they had murdered the wrong man.

For three days the terrorists held Tokyo in their grip, and then they surrendered in the face of aroused public opinion. The leaders were brought to trail and executed. But the military fanatics, although they lost this round of the struggle, were undeterred from their campaign.

The depression which engulfed Japan along with Western nations in 1930 heightened the power of the military fanatics. The problems which the nation faced did not permit of an easy solution. The population was growing rapidly and it would take increased industrialization at home and increased commerce abroad to take care of unemployment. But Japan was lacking in resources and her home market was limited. Whereas in 1929 Japan's export and import trade had been worth more than four billion yen, by 1931 it had fallen to two billion yen. Unemployment, wage cuts, strikes, rural misery, and a growing acceptance of Marxist beliefs characterized the crisis. The militarists chose a policy not of reform and reconstruction but of foreign conquest.

Japan's imperialism, while belated, was only in the tradition of the West. Indeed, the imperialistic intrigues of Europe set the stage for Japan's own expansion, provided the seed, the *raison d'être* for her own aggressiveness. The Japanese militarists of the 1930's were made possible only by the Far Eastern

maneuvers of Britain, France and Russia in the 1890's, and only in that light can they be understood.

England had been the first to develop a substantial stake in the Far East. The British taxpayer was called on to construct huge naval strongholds at Hong Kong and Singapore at a cost of hundreds of millions of pounds. The British flag waved over Burma, the Malay Peninsula, British North Borneo, British New Guinea and numerous smaller islands of strategic importance. Nine million Britishers had established permanent homes in Australia and New Zealand. Hundreds of millions of English pounds were invested in tea and rubber plantations, gold and tin mines, oil wells, rice fields and spices. From British Malaya came 40 per cent of the world's rubber and tin, 11 per cent of its copra and 9 per cent of its tungsten. And south-eastern Asia paid British and other Western shareholders large dividends.

British economic interests were even more strongly involved in China. It is estimated that in 1900 the total British investments in China amounted to about \$260,300,000. In 1930 these investments stood at over a billion dollars. In 1902 British money represented 33 per cent of the total foreign investment in China; in 1930 it stood at 37 per cent. British investments centered principally in the prosperous Shanghai area and the Yangtze valley.

Great Britain was interested in protecting these investments as much as possible and favored on the whole little change in the status quo. During the thirties, the British Government was conciliatory to the point of appeasement. It made no effort to slow down Japanese expansion so long as this was confined to Manchuria and northern China.

France also played a dramatic role in eastern Asia. Her possessions centered about French Indo-China, an area which contained about 21,000,000 people in 1931. Indo-China is im-

mensely rich in mineral and agricultural resources. France also used Indo-China as a springboard to advance its interests in southern China. The French secured a leasehold at Kwangchow and concessions at certain treaty ports. To protect their investments in eastern Asia as well as possessions in the Pacific, they established a naval base on the east coast. French investments in China in 1930 were almost two hundred million dollars.

The Dutch had also extended substantially into an area thousands of miles from home. The Netherlands East Indies had a population of more than 70,000,000 and extended east and west for a distance longer than the continental United States. They are sixty times the size of Holland itself.

The possession of the Indies has had a striking effect upon Holland and her economy. Millions in profits have gone to the governing country. As a result, the Dutch have ruled the Indies from an economic rather than a social standpoint. This does not mean that they have not been concerned with such colonial problems as hygiene, education and the general well-being of the natives. But their principal aim has been to govern the islands so as to exploit their economic resources as efficiently as possible.

Modern, industrialized Japan lacked those mineral and agricultural resources that brought so much wealth to the investors in the Netherlands East Indies. It is little wonder that Japan was tempted to use her army and navy to obtain hegemony over an area extending from Manchuria to Java.

Prior to World War I, Germany won important concessions in the Shantung peninsula and elsewhere in China, besides gaining control of the Caroline and Marshall Islands in the South Seas. Germany's defeat destroyed its imperialist position in eastern Asia, but the postwar years saw German-Chinese relations become friendly. German officers were sent to train China's national army. This political friendship was reflected

in the growth of German trade in China. In return for tungsten, antimony, cotton, wool, Germany exported to China dyes, munitions, iron manufactures and machinery. Before the opening of the Sino-Japanese struggle in 1937, Germany had taken the place of Great Britain as the third most important nation in China's trade.

There were mitigating reasons for Japan's expansionist program, as we have seen. The mainland was unable to provide some of the most essential food commodities. Japan did not produce sugar in sufficient quantity and almost the entire domestic consumption had to be obtained from Formosa. Up until recently the nation's food imports have been considerably in excess of exports. Japanese agriculture was wholly dependent upon fertilizers, but the mainland had no deposits of phosphate rock or potash. In 1936 as much as 30 per cent of all commercial fertilizers were imported either from the colonies or foreign countries, of which roughly one half came from Manchuria.

Although the production of fabrics had long been the principal industry of Japan, all raw materials for the clothing, apart from silk and rayon, had to be imported. Japan herself produced no cotton and grew no wool. The soil is not well adapted to cotton production and wool production is naturally restricted by the lack of extensive grazing areas.

And so Japan used forceful means to acquire the sources for raw materials. She embarked on a program of war.

The steps by which Japan launched her historic policy of expansion commenced in 1894, sixty-three years ago, when she entered a war with China. The issue concerned Korea, and although the outside world looked for a Chinese victory because of overwhelmingly superior numbers, the new, well-trained Japanese army and navy inflicted a swift and utter defeat upon China. By the terms of the Treaty of Shimonoseki, China ceded

the Liaotung peninsula and the island of Formosa to Japan, opened a number of cities in China to Japanese trade, and payed a huge war indemnity. That victory marked the beginning in modern times of Japanese expansion on the Asiatic continent and the rise of the military clique in Japan.

The nation was by now on the way to recognition as a first-class power, a reputation accentuated in 1900 during the Boxer Rebellion, when Japanese soldiers, in conjunction with Western military forces, performed heroic feats at the relief of the Peking legations. In January, 1902, Japan scored a diplomatic triumph by an alliance with Great Britain. Both parties looked upon such an alliance as a threat to Russian expansion, while the prestige it gave the Japanese in European eyes was considerable. If either party became involved in a war, the other would use its influence to prevent other nations from attacking its ally. If a third power entered the fray, Japan or Great Britain, as the case might be, would come to the assistance of its ally.

With the diplomatic horizon cleared and the army and navy growing in size and efficiency, Nippon entered into its next conflict with quiet confidence. This time the war was directed against Russia. Soon after Russia, Germany and France had forced Japan to hand back the Liaotung peninsula to China, the Russians had negotiated with the imperial government of China for the lease of Dairen and Port Arthur as well as the right to build a railroad across Manchuria to connect with the Trans-Siberian line. Japan had not let this incident go unnoticed and was only biding her time to challenge the strength of Czarist Russia. This rivalry of imperialistic ambitions brought on war early in 1904. Japan was conceded only the slimmest chance to defeat a nation which appeared to be almost impregnable. But to the world's surprise, Russia proved herself almost unbelievably corrupt and incompetent. Her poor showing was in part the result of the universal unpopularity of the struggle among

the Russian people, who staged an unsuccessful rebellion at home shortly afterwards. A disastrous naval defeat sealed Russia's hopes. When President Theodore Roosevelt, at the request of Tokyo, offered to negotiate peace terms on June 9, 1905, both combatants agreed.

By the Treaty of Portsmouth, Japan acquired the southern half of the island of Sakhalin, the leaseholds to the Liaotung peninsula and Port Arthur, and various Russian railway and mining rights in southern Manchuria. Japan's paramount position in Korea was also conceded, paving the way to annexation of that peninsula in 1910. Nippon was fully accepted as a first-class power.

Holding an important position in Far Eastern affairs, Japan had merely to bide her time before embarking on further expansion. Korea was next in line with Japanese aims and was annexed to the empire in August, 1910. Korea's old name of Chosen, "Land of the Morning Freshness," was officially adopted. When World War I broke out in 1914, Japan told Germany to take all warships out of the Far East and to turn over the Kiaochow territory to Japan "with a view to the eventual restoration of the same to China." When Germany did not reply to this request, the Japanese government declared war on Germany and seized the territory.

Then, on January 18, 1915, the president of China was presented with terms which startled the world, disclosing the far-reaching aims of Japan on the Asiatic continent. China acceded to the demands, since she lacked the physical means to protest. She signed a treaty that among other things confirmed Japan's newly won position in Shantung province and extended her railway and territorial rights in south Manchuria to the end of the century.

In the period following the Versailles Treaty in Europe, Japan's position in the Far East was secure. She controlled in

one way or another Shantung, Manchuria, southern Mongolia and the German islands north of the equator, besides those territories and concessions she had wrested from China and Russia prior to the war. By this time the power of Japan had increased to such proportions that the United States and the British Dominions in the Pacific area were frankly alarmed. Various acts were passed discriminating against Japanese ownership of land in several of the American states. In 1921 Great Britain allowed her treaty with Japan to terminate without renewal.

Great Britain and the United States drew together to restrain Japan, especially in naval power, and the United States called the Washington Conference in 1921. The conference was attended by delegates from Great Britain, France, Italy, Holland, Portugal, China, Belgium, Japan and the United States. The purpose of the conference was to decide upon problems affecting the entire Pacific area. The three leading naval powers, Great Britain, the United States and Japan, consented to reduce the tonnage of their capital ships so as to achieve a respective ratio of 5-5-3. While this agreement made official the inferiority of the Japanese fleet to those of the other two powers, it recognized the position of the Japanese navy as the third most powerful in the world. By the Four-Power Treaty, the United States, Great Britain, France and Japan agreed to respect one another's rights in relation to their insular possessions and insular dominions in the region of the Pacific Ocean.

From 1922 to 1931 the spotlight switched largely from foreign to domestic issues in Japan. Liberal politicians rose to power. In March, 1925, the Manhood Suffrage Bill was passed, granting the franchise with few exceptions to every male above twenty-five. By this bill the number enfranchised jumped from

three to twelve million. This change forced Diet members to spend large sums in electioneering and made them more dependent on capitalist support. Consequently, it strengthened the capitalists' control over the Minseito and the Seiyukai (political parties). At the same time it made possible the rise of labor and left-wing parties, which began to win Diet seats.

In the economic sphere, Japan forged ahead rapidly. Thousands of factories were built, and the manufacturers undersold foreign competitors in the world market, owing in part to the low standard of wages prevailing in Japan and to the modern machine techniques, which Japanese industrialists were swift to adopt. In the field of textiles, especially, Japan captured one market after another. Commerce and industry were controlled by a few great concerns in whose hands the greater part of the country's wealth was concentrated. The two greatest financial powers were the houses of Mitsui and Mitsubishi. The Mitsui interests, for example, controlled banks, trust companies, industrial plants, shipping lines, mines, power companies, paper plants.

Japanese economic prosperity, however, was more apparent than real. It depended upon the maintenance of a large volume of exports, the sale of which gave funds to buy raw materials and foodstuffs abroad. For Japan now had a population of 88,000,000 living on an area smaller than the state of California, of which only one fifth could be cultivated.

In building up her military might, Japan skillfully husbanded whatever resources she possessed. Her program centered on the chemical, metallurgical and related industries. Plans called for expanded production of wood pulp, salt and coal. To carry out the program, hydroelectric power production was materially increased; additional iron and steel plants were constructed; the capacity for machinery and machine tool pro-

duction was greatly expanded; new aluminum and magnesium industries were created; and the building of synthetic oil plants was begun on a substantial scale.

This great industrial-expansion program naturally required increased quantities of coal. Accordingly, the plan called for expanding coal production within Japan itself by more than a third. Even so, it was recognized that the war program would so increase coal consumption as to necessitate a material increase in the proportion imported.

From 1930, existing colonial possessions were nurtured as sources of war materials. In Formosa the new developments were centered chiefly on increasing production of sugar and rice. On the industrial side, two power dams were constructed for the purpose of aluminum production. Crude-oil production was developed.

In Korea rice production was substantially increased. Mineral production was greatly expanded in a number of lines. Large deposits of magnesite were discovered in Korea and some deposits of molybdenum and zinc. Production of these was expanded.

The Manchurian Incident, leading to the setting up of the puppet state of Manchukuo (already alluded to), was the first major step toward eventual war with America. The incident did not appease the appetite of the military and it was disappointing in its results.

The army had hoped that Manchukuo would prove economically profitable, and they poured vast sums of money into their new investment. However, the hoped-for immigration by Japanese settlers did not come up to expectations. New industries in Manchukuo competed with industries in Japan. The problem of maintaining law and order remained acute; so-called "bandits" (often Chinese patriots) made life so miserable for the authorities that the Japanese army had to create

“protected villages”—surrounded by high walls into which the population of the countryside was herded. Meanwhile the Japanese peasant at home had to work longer to help pay for the economic fiasco in Manchukuo.

Between 1933 and 1936 there was comparative peace between Japan and China. The Japanese were trying to consolidate their position in the north, while the Chinese national government, under the leadership of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, was attempting to cope with internal problems.

However, Japan's economic difficulties became increasingly serious, emboldening the military to further moves. Agricultural rents rose sharply, while living costs among the industrial workers also mounted. The workers were agitating against their landlords and employers. Japanese capitalists also were alarmed by the foreign trade situation. In 1937, Japan faced the prospect of having to export gold to pay for a billion-yen adverse balance brought about by the heavy increase in imports from abroad and a loss of exports resulting from the mounting costs of production and an increasing world hostility toward Japanese policies.

In the summer of 1937, war with China broke out anew and the Japanese army extended its conquests. Shanghai was attacked by land, sea and air. Despite a stubborn resistance for which the Japanese had not bargained, the Chinese finally lost the city and had to begin retreating inland. The Japanese advance up the Yangtze valley went rapidly, and Nanking, the capital, was captured. The Chinese armies were also forced to retreat in the north and the Japanese set up a provisional government at Peiping. The Chinese, instead of surrendering after the fall of Nanking, established a new capital farther up the Yangtze. In October, 1938, this city fell to Japanese forces. In the same month the Nipponese captured Canton, whence military supplies had been shipped to the Chinese armies. Canton

fell easily, because the Chinese thought that the enemy would not attack so close to Hong Kong. However, British prestige had hit a new low a month before, with the Munich appeasement settlement, and so the Japanese boldly set foot in Canton. The Chinese, despite their forced withdrawal from the coast, moved their capital still further inland to Chungking on the upper Yangtze and continued the war against the extended Japanese lines.

With the renewal of hostilities in China, the military forces in Japan became virtual masters of the country's political and economic structure. Heady with prestige, they proclaimed a "New Order in Eastern Asia." Its objectives were the destruction of the Chiang Kai-shek regime in China, the expulsion of Western interests in eastern Asia, and the establishment of a self-sufficient economy through the formation of a Japan-Manchukuo-China closed-door bloc.

It was the pursual of this policy that led to eventual war with the United States. Events in Europe made it inevitable that the military would cast the die. Hitler went to war with France and England and overran all of western Europe. After the fall of France in the spring of 1940, a Japanese diplomat candidly declared, "We cannot miss the present opportunity or we shall be blamed by posterity." Raw materials, such as oil and iron, were becoming difficult for Japan to procure as a result of the European conflict; and the rise of anti-Japanese sentiment made America an uncertain source for raw materials. By controlling Indo-China, the Netherlands East Indies, and perhaps British Malaya, Japan's fears on the score would be largely removed, and she could deal with the obstinate Chinese at her leisure.

The net result of this thinking was Pearl Harbor and the undertaking of the greatest military gamble in Japan's history.

CHAPTER VII

Newspaperman at War

WITH *Yomiuri* flourishing, Shoriki set three tasks for himself. He would repay the industrialists who first financed him. He would erect a new building for his newspaper. He would build a memorial to his chief benefactor, Shimpei Goto, who had passed away not long after Shoriki had bought the newspaper.

In a way strange to foreigners but quite understandable to Japanese, the first task was the most difficult. The original backers did not want their money returned. They wanted neither cash nor shares of *Yomiuri* stock. One benefactor was persuaded to accept reluctantly the principal of the loan without the interest. Another agreed to accept the principal only with the clear understanding that it would be used to build a stone lantern before the tomb of his ancestors, and would not be used in his business. This was the finest point of honor of all.

In the end Shoriki took care of his honor, too, in a most Japanese kind of way. It was unthinkable for him to keep for *Yomiuri* or himself the money which his early benefactors refused to accept. Therefore he put it all together in a lump sum, added another 100,000 yen and donated it to the Buddha's Eyes Association of the Honganji Temple in Tokyo, a religious association, as an offering of gratitude.

There was enough money, too, for Shoriki to begin plans for a new building to house *Yomiuri*. Japanese newspaper publishers use their buildings as promotional assets. Each publisher strives to make his plant a semi-public building with halls for

exhibits of art and science, and theaters for concerts, puppet shows and lectures.

The old three-story building erected in 1926 by *Yomiuri* was far from adequate. It was an architectural monstrosity; each year, as *Yomiuri* grew, new rooms and new wings were tacked onto the original building in such a way that it became a rabbit warren, dark, dank and overcrowded.

Shoriki made great plans for his new building. It was to be the finest newspaper plant in Tokyo. He ordered a five-day celebration to open the building after it was completed. The celebration began on November 8, 1939. In typical Shoriki style, there was nothing but the best for the celebration. The Prime Minister appeared. So did literally hundreds of other dignitaries, all anxious to let the powerful Shoriki know that they rejoiced with him in his success.

The final task was the one closest to the heart of Shoriki. Proper homage must be paid the memory of Shimpei Goto, who had meant so much to the life and thought of Shoriki, who had helped with counsel when needed, encouragement when needed and money when needed. Shoriki thought long before deciding what would be a proper memorial for Goto. He would not be satisfied with the usual statue or stone lantern before a tomb. He wanted something that would be seen and known and used by great numbers of people. In all things Shoriki sought mass participation. Recalling Goto's life-long enthusiasm for public education, Shoriki decided that he would build a library and museum at Goto's birthplace, Mizusawa, and donate them to the people of the town.

This community center was built in 1941 for 150,000 yen. Shoriki donated another 50,000 yen to a fund to maintain the center for the perpetual use of the townspeople. In dedicating it, he declared, "I am presenting this to the community to express the gratitude I owe to the late Count Goto, who gave me

invaluable assistance when I started to manage the *Yomiuri Shimbun* in 1924.”

The son of Goto was more detailed in his talk to the guests. “While my father was alive, he trusted Mr. Shoriki deeply and consulted him for advice on numerous matters. When my father died in Kyoto, Mr. Shoriki was greatly upset. He determined to build something that he hoped would keep my father’s memory alive on this earth forever. A statue or the publication of a biography is often dedicated to a person whom people want to remember after death. But Mr. Shoriki designed this project of a Community Center in the town of Mizusawa—the town my father loved best. I am sure my father will be most pleased with this memorable offering as he now looks down on us from heaven.”

As the ceremony ended Shoriki gave each guest a crepe-paper wrapper on which were printed the words Goto once had written as advice to the Boy Scouts of Japan. The words were:

1. Try not to cause trouble for others.
2. Take good care of others.
3. Never ask anything in return.

In the meantime, Shoriki had further plans for the enlargement of *Yomiuri*. Despite the great advances *Yomiuri* had made in Tokyo, it still was considered only the third paper in the nation. *Asahi* and *Mainichi* were predominant in influence and power. They had bigger budgets, more money available to finance the kind of spectacular newspaper stunts that brought readers. Shoriki and his associates had been able to forge ahead by substituting ideas and energy for money, but they still needed the money.

It was costing more and more to cover the war in China and Manchuria. In addition, war was threatened in Europe, and that would cost heavily. Cable tolls from Europe to Japan were so

expensive that they alone could throw the economy of a newspaper out of kilter.

Asabi and *Mainichi* had a fundamental advantage over *Yomiuri*. Each had a separate operation in Osaka. In fact, each had been based originally in Osaka and had expanded into Tokyo. Osaka was the financial and industrial center of Japan, as it had been for several hundred years. It had reached a population of a million people at a time when Tokyo was still a fishing village. The first rice exchange was established in Osaka and the first Japanese stock exchange was set up there. Various Tokyo publishers at one time or another had tried to expand their newspaper business to Osaka, but they had been unsuccessful in maintaining a two-city operation.

But Shoriki was forced to make the attempt. The reason was obvious. As a one-city newspaper, the Tokyo *Yomiuri* was forced to shoulder the full cost of covering war in China and the threatened war in Europe. As two-city newspapers, *Asabi* and *Mainichi* were able to cut the cost two ways, Osaka paying half, Tokyo half.

Shoriki's plans were made most carefully and secretly. *Asabi* and *Mainichi* had the financial means to block *Yomiuri* in Osaka if the word leaked out prematurely. Through devious means, acting through agents, Shoriki bought a large tract of land directly across the street from the Osaka Railroad Station, a choice location for a newspaper plant. For six months *Yomiuri* experts worked on expansion plans.

But then the government stepped in and destroyed the whole scheme. In September, 1939, with war declared by England and France against Germany and combat threatening to spread to Asia, the government decreed that no new newspaper could be published in Japan. The decree was a stunning blow to Shoriki, depriving him of the most logical means of meeting a problem

that was becoming more acute each day. He had to find another way. He decided that if he could not start a new paper, he would buy an old one.

Caution was required. Shoriki could not merely ride down to Osaka and buy out a newspaper. He could not even let it be known he was interested. He needed an intermediary. That was not difficult. An ink manufacturer, Chujiro Yamamoto, bought stock in an Osaka newspaper and sold it to Shoriki, who found himself owner of 70 per cent of the Osaka *Jiji Shimbun*. It was a respected newspaper, but not a flourishing one. Shoriki planned to make it flourish.

But once again the government stepped in. It was early 1942, just after Pearl Harbor, and Japan was waging the greatest struggle of its history. It had challenged the United States of America to war, and despite initial successes, the leaders of the Empire realized that great sacrifices were required from every Japanese. Most of all Japan had to be frugal with its use of raw materials. As part of the austerity program, it was decreed that as far as possible there would be but one newspaper to each prefecture. The Osaka *Jiji*, which Shoriki had just bought, was ordered merged with the *Yukan Osaka* under the name of *Osaka Shimbun*. However, the Osaka *Mainichi* and *Asahi* were permitted to operate independently as before, too powerful to be touched by the government.

Hisakichi Maeda, who was president of the *Yukan Osaka*, was appointed president of the new *Osaka Shimbun*. Shoriki became chairman of the board. Through outright purchase, merger and co-operative agreement, Shoriki ultimately extended his influence into many parts of Japan. *Yomiuri* men were sent out to take over the main editorial and business positions in newspapers in Nagasaki and Fukuoka on Kyushu, in Otaru on Hokkaido, in Shimane prefecture and in Shizuoka south of

Tokyo. Shoriki bought all the local newspapers on the island of Sakhalin and sent a staff up from Tokyo to run a single newspaper for the whole island.

By 1942 the newspapers Shoriki controlled and operated had a combined circulation of 2,300,000 daily, about 900,000 less than either *Asahi* or *Mainichi* but enough to give Shoriki the money he needed to compete respectably with his rivals in covering the wars in Europe and Asia.

The story of Shoriki's life provides a startling insight into the bitter struggle of the democratic forces in Japan to keep the fanatical militarists from plunging the country into fascism and finally into aggressive war with America. Not only were a significant group of the Japanese people not united behind the imperialist adventures in China, but leading newspapers and other channels of democratic thought stubbornly fought the attempt of the militarists to impose their system of thought control. When the Tojo clique finally plunged Japan into war with the United States, stunned Japanese democrats valiantly resisted the attempts of the Army to suppress them.

In the months leading up to Pearl Harbor, the militarists particularly singled out the newspapers for persecution. The two Japanese news agencies were suddenly forced to combine under the new name of Domei News Agency. More startling than that was the fact that, in the space of months, forced mergers cut down the number of newspapers in Japan from 1,200 to a mere 104. A newspaper association was formed as a quasi-self-control agency, and it soon became apparent that the goal of the government was a single state agency to operate all the remaining 104 newspapers in the country.

A government questionnaire was circulated among newspaper publishers on September 17, 1941. The questions were so pointed that there was near panic among many newspapermen. The government wanted to know whether the newspapermen

thought it would be a good idea to consolidate all newspapers in Japan into a national news combine. It asked whether it was feasible to cut down to one newspaper in each prefecture and one in each large city.

One question was whether it would be preferable to control newspapers through a newspaper association or directly through the government. The question of whether or not control was advisable was not asked. The government already had a large measure of control through the system of allocating newsprint. One worried newsman read the questions and remarked, "The government is not asking us to make a life or death decision. Death already has been decided for us. The government just wants to know whether we would prefer to die by poison or the dagger."

The main opposition to the government plan came from the big newspapers and from columnists, editorial writers and intellectuals who believed in the freedom of the press. Owners of small newspapers, hard-pressed by rising costs and newsprint shortages, saw salvation in the government plan. The forced mergers would give them a set ratio of a fixed gross income, since the government proposed to freeze circulation figures and advertising rates. In effect the government offered security to the unsuccessful.

There were bitter quarrels among the newspaper owners themselves. Junji Yamada of *Mainichi* pointed his finger at the owners of the smaller papers and said: "It is a most shameful act to sell your freedom to the bureaucrats just for the interest of your own company."

There were bribe attempts. Shoriki was told that he could be president of the Newspaper Control Company which would run Japanese newspapers for the government. It was attractive bait. Such a post would permit Shoriki to renew his old dream of political power. It also would give him unchallenged power

over *Asabi* and *Mainichi*, against whom he had waged unremitting warfare since 1924. But the bait could not camouflage the fact that if the company was established by the government, Shoriki, too, would lose control of his own newspaper.

He rejected the offer. *Asabi* and *Mainichi* publishers were offered similar inducements, but they, too, refused to yield. Shoriki, Yamada and Taketora Ogata of *Asabi* met with their chief advisers and solemnly pledged that they would not give up the fight against the government control plan. The pledges were accepted in good faith, each publisher being satisfied that neither of the others would make a "separate peace" with the government.

Intellectuals rallied to the support of the three newspapers. An eighty-year-old writer of national reputation, Soho Tokutomi, made a special trip to Tokyo to meet with Shoriki, Ogata and Yamada to tell them: "Japan's journalism is at the point of life or death. There is no value in a newspaper that has lost its independence. Everything depends upon the decision of the three companies. If you fail to take joint action, some ambitious men will rejoice to see the death of true journalism."

The government fought back. The chief spokesman told the three newspaper leaders, "I am determined to carry out the plan even at the risk of my position or my life." These were strong words, for few Japanese would back away from an issue once the pledge was made to risk life itself. But Shoriki came back with equally strong words. He said: "I respect your courage in saying you will risk your life for this plan. But *Yomiuri* is my life. Naturally, I will risk my all to prevent the realization of your plan."

The exchange of such challenges stunned the company. There was utter silence for several minutes. Then the meeting adjourned quietly.

Outwardly the three newspapers maintained their inde-

pendence. Just two weeks before the Japanese navy attacked Pearl Harbor, the government agreed to forget its plan to organize a single government company to control all newspapers in Japan. It is doubtful that the officials who negotiated with the newspaper publishers were privy to the secret that the Japanese Imperial Fleet already was sailing east to Hawaii. It is almost certain the publishers did not know. But it is equally certain that the government negotiators must have been under tremendous pressure from above to get a workable agreement with the three giants of the Japanese newspaper world.

For whoever in the government knew the secret that war was imminent knew also that the government was going to need all the co-operation it could get from the newspapers of Japan. Unfortunately, the plan that was finally worked out for the Big Three provided the government with substantial influence, if not with direct control. There was no single government company in direct charge of newspapers, but government officials received representation in the Newspaper Association of Publishers. Government permission was required to publish newspapers.

The army led the way in approving the plan. The army knew there was little time left in which to end the confusion and resentment in the newspaper world. The cabinet accepted the plan after the army approved it.

When war finally broke out, *Yomiuri* found itself well equipped to give full coverage to the events that were set off like a chain reaction after the bombing of Pearl Harbor. And history-making events they were!

Any complacency that existed in America or England was considerably reduced after Pearl Harbor by Japan's initial successes in the Pacific. Following the attack at Pearl Harbor, Japanese attacks were made against the Malay Peninsula, the Philippines, Hong Kong and the three American naval bases

of Guam, Wake and Midway. The defense of Singapore was made more difficult by the loss of two British battleships destroyed by Japanese bombing planes. Almost at will and without fear of naval attack, Japanese troops could now be landed from transports along the Malayan coast.

Heavy fighting followed the landing of Japanese forces in the Philippines. For three weeks the American army of General MacArthur was able to hold the enemy before Manila. When this city fell, further American resistance was confined to a small area in the Bataan peninsula and on the heavily fortified island of Corregidor. After stubborn resistance a small detachment of American marines was overwhelmed on Wake Island; Guam also was lost and the British colony of Hong Kong surrendered.

Immediately the Japanese arc of operations expanded; the real prize was the Malay Peninsula and the Netherlands East Indies. Landings were made in British North Borneo. Other points of attack in the East Indies were harbors along the eastern coast of Borneo and points on the island of Celebes. Japanese contingents landed on New Guinea and other near-by islands. From these islands the Japanese could now make plans to attack Australia. Meanwhile British imperial forces were being forced back in Malaya. At the same time a Japanese army driving west from Thailand was menacing the vital Burma Road. To offset these numerous Japanese successes, the Western allies during the first months of the war had only one outstanding success—the sinking of a number of vessels of a Japanese convoy in the Macassar Strait.

On the whole the Japanese continued their relentless, ubiquitous advance. They closed in on Java, the most valuable island in the Netherlands East Indies. A small naval flotilla comprised of Dutch, American and British units tried to destroy Japanese naval concentrations, but the Allied force was insufficient, and

in a great battle the Japanese wiped out practically all opposition. Without fear of naval interference, the Japanese now landed large bodies of men on the beaches of Java and pressed into the interior. The Dutch, assisted by a few contingents of Australian and American soldiers, fought valiantly. But outnumbered and without adequate air power, the resistance quickly crumpled.

While the Japanese were carrying out their conquest of Java, they had also initiated a drive against the British colony of Burma, terminus of the Burma Road. A successful campaign would close this vital artery to China and interfere with supplies being sent by Great Britain and the United States to the forces of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. Japanese forces converged on Burma in mid-January from Thailand and the Malay Peninsula. Rangoon, the capital, was captured early in March. The Japanese then launched an offensive toward the north in order to secure Lashio, at the southern end of the Burma Road. Chinese troops reinforced the British army, but the Japanese could not be halted. Lashio fell and the Chinese forces were pushed out of Burma. The Japanese also gained some territory in China along the Burma Road. A few thousand British troops managed to escape into India. Burma joined the long list of Japanese conquests.

The fall of Singapore, the conquest of the Netherlands East Indies, and the end of American resistance in the Philippines placed India and Australia in jeopardy. The Andaman Islands were captured, giving Japan air bases near enough to bomb Calcutta and the strategic British island of Ceylon.

In the Philippines, in the meantime, General Douglas MacArthur had carried out stubborn defensive tactics against Japanese forces much superior to his own. Gradually American opposition was worn down. Food and medical supplies were depleted. The remnants of the army on Bataan surrendered, and

some 40,000 American and Philippine troops were captured. Corregidor fortress still held out with its satellite island forts in Manila Bay, but it too was stormed and the garrison was forced to capitulate.

During the battle of Bataan, the American government transferred General MacArthur to Australia to assume full command in this area. Large numbers of American troops and quantities of equipment were convoyed across the Pacific to bolster Australian defenses. The positions in the Bay of Bengal and the Indian Ocean, as well as the defenses of Australia, were materially improved by two important naval victories of American naval task forces. One savage encounter between Japanese and American fleets took place in the Coral Sea. This engagement destroyed fifteen Japanese ships and damaged twenty more. The United States lost the aircraft carrier *Lexington*, a destroyer and a tanker.

The second important naval encounter occurred in early June when United States forces, mainly aircraft, intercepted large Japanese fleet concentrations apparently sent to capture the strategic base of the Midway Islands. A severe defeat was suffered by the Japanese. Four aircraft carriers were sunk, two large cruisers were disposed of and several battleships were badly damaged. American losses were negligible.

In another area of the struggle the British captured the island of Madagascar, a potential naval base for the Japanese in the Indian Ocean. American flyers, led by General James Doolittle, bombed Tokyo. The Allies from bases in Australia launched air attacks on Japanese bases in the Dutch East Indies, especially Timor, and on the island of New Guinea.

The Japanese attack on Midway was part of a larger engagement aimed at attaining still greater strength in the Pacific. It had been preceded by the bombing of Dutch Harbor in

Alaska. Following this, the Japanese occupied two small islands at the end of the Aleutian chain, off Alaska.

Furthermore, checked in the mid-Pacific at Midway and unable to advance any closer to Australia, Japanese forces turned their attention to their first target, China. Japanese troops opened an offensive in south China designed primarily to secure possession of the main railroad lines. Possession and control of these lines would give Japan an all-land network of communications extending from north China to Singapore. Troops and supplies could be moved along this route without fear of attack from American warships. The Japanese captured the disputed railroad lines and pushed westward into the heart of China, making it increasingly difficult for the Americans to send supplies to Chiang Kai-shek.

Shoriki plunged with his customary vigor into coverage of the war as it unfolded on its numerous fronts. *Yomiuri* set up news bureaus throughout Manchuria, in Peking, Tientsin, Shanghai, Nankin, Canton, Hankow and on Formosa. There were also bureaus in Berlin and other European capitals. Early Japanese advances in the Pacific brought further expansion of this network. Offices were established in Manila, Hongkong, Bangkok, Singapore, Ambong, Rangoon, Surabaya and other occupied cities.

The military maintained strict supervision over reporters and photographers at the front, and with *Yomiuri* and the other big papers sending hundreds of men to set up offices in occupied areas, the Army issued further orders: the big newspaper companies would use their staffs to publish newspapers for the troops in the occupied areas. On January 1, 1943, *Yomiuri* began publishing the Japanese-language *Burma Shimbun* in Rangoon and six weeks later launched the English-language weekly

Greater Asia in the same city. In May, 1943, *Yomiuri* started publishing a Malay-language newspaper in Ambong and in April, 1944, published a Japanese-language newspaper as well.

Shoriki was proud of his men overseas. He sent some of his best to take care of both the editorial and business operations abroad. He took particular pride in the fact that the men in Rangoon were subjected to severe bombing every day but worked bravely to the bitter end of the war with what little they had left in materials.

But the incident that always brought tears to his eyes was the torpedo attack on a transport carrying *Yomiuri* men to set up shop in Ambong. Eighteen of them, led by Masao Murakami, were aboard the ship when it was attacked by an American submarine off the Celebes. Of these only four survived. It was the largest single loss any Japanese newspaper suffered during the war.

There were troubles with the military at home, too. It was no secret that despite a government ban on listening to news broadcasts from the Allied Powers, almost all newspapers monitored the enemy news reports regularly. *Yomiuri*, *Asahi* and *Mainichi* even gave copies of the monitored reports to the Cabinet Information Board to help keep the government informed of what the enemy was saying.

On a hot night in July, 1943, a squad of military police raided the *Yomiuri* building, rushed to the seventh floor and arrested a young reporter on charges of monitoring enemy radio reports. The arrest was made in the *Yomiuri* radio room. Next day the foreign editor, Yukitoshi Tanaka, was arrested, and the day after that his assistant, Yuichi Kobayashi, was hauled off to jail. The charge was that *Yomiuri* had monitored the foreign broadcasts without permission. This was quite true, because the whole operation was so open and so well known to the government that *Yomiuri* never bothered to get permission.

Shoriki went to the Military Police headquarters to try to free his men. There he was told that he himself was next on the list for arrest. "However, if you resign from your present post, the case will be settled with no questions asked and your men released immediately."

Shoriki, of course, refused to resign. He was questioned most of one day and then released. Tanaka, Kobayashi and the monitoring reporter were freed several days later.

Many people might have wanted to get Shoriki into trouble. There were the government officials who lost their fight to bring all newspapers under the control of one government agency. Shoriki was a stern, difficult taskmaster and one of his own employees might have carried tales to the Military Police. There were reports that a letter or telephone call from a *Yomiuri* employee started all the trouble.

However, it was not necessary to go that far to find a plausible reason. Through a good part of the war, Shoriki was in a running fight with the Japanese military and the German Embassy over one of his editorial writers, Tomin Suzuki.

This Suzuki was destined to play an intimate role in Shoriki's life during the war and immediately afterward. Suzuki was a handsome man with fine, delicate features. He had studied in Germany for eight years and returned to Japan with a German wife and a beautiful daughter. As an expert on Germany, he was hired to write editorials for *Yomiuri*.

Shoriki found no fault with his editorials, but soon officials of the army were complaining to Shoriki that Suzuki was writing anti-Nazi articles for other magazines. Shoriki replied in so many words: "My policy is that as long as a man works hard and diligently for *Yomiuri*, I do not care what kind of ideology he has."

Shoriki also objected in principle to army interference in his company. However, the militarists persisted; they urged Shoriki

to fire Suzuki, arguing that Japan and Nazi Germany were close allies, and it was unfitting for a patriotic newspaper like *Yomiuri* to keep on its payroll a man who was working against Germany. Shoriki retorted, "I cannot expel him since he does not write such stories for *Yomiuri*."

Suzuki claimed that the military police were hounding him in an effort to get his consent to have his German wife enter the Russian Embassy as a tutor so that she could spy on the Embassy for the Japanese army. Suzuki said he refused and that the military police were antagonistic to him thereafter.

After the Japanese army failed to persuade Shoriki to discharge his editorial writer, the German Embassy took up the effort. Ambassador Eugen Ott invited Shoriki to lunch, during which he showed Shoriki a map of Europe and spent an hour explaining to the publisher how the Nazi legions were sweeping inevitably across the continent, crushing all opposition. Against that background, Ambassador Ott got down to the point.

"You have a fellow by the name of Suzuki who is absolutely impudent. He writes for various magazines, making slanderous remarks about my government. He also has done the same in speeches. At a time when relations between Japan and Germany were never so intimate, it is disturbing to find that *Yomiuri* should have a person like Suzuki writing editorials. We would like him discharged."

Shoriki again resisted the pressure. "Mr. Suzuki works very earnestly for *Yomiuri* and I find no fault with him. I am very sorry but I cannot comply with your wishes."

To be on the safe side, however, Shoriki instructed his managing editor to be more careful in the future to avoid offense to either the Japanese army or the German Embassy. To Suzuki himself the publisher said nothing.

The Suzuki problem came to a head in July, 1944. Taketora

Ogata of *Asahi* was appointed chief of the Cabinet Information Board and immediately eased restrictions on the press. At *Yomiuri*, an assistant managing editor, Shoji Yasuda, suggested to Suzuki that he write an editorial suggesting that Japan make direct contact with Red China and try to join forces with the Communists to wipe out Chiang Kai-shek.

Suzuki wrote the editorial which was entitled "The Three Principles of Foreign Minister Shigemitsu." There was trouble. Yasuda was called before the Army information officials and taken to task sharply. But Suzuki was in more trouble. He was being investigated additionally as a suspected agitator for a People's Front movement against the military. The public prosecutor told Suzuki that if he quit *Yomiuri* and retired quietly to the country, there would be no indictment. Shoriki gave Suzuki "sick leave," which meant that he was to remain on full salary until the war ended, although he would write nothing more for the paper.

After the war was over, Suzuki showed his gratitude to Shoriki in an amazing fashion. He turned on his benefactor viciously, calling him a war criminal and an enemy of the people. Shoriki was stunned. He had protected Suzuki, withstood pressure from Japanese and German to keep him on the payroll. Any ordinary Japanese would have been eternally grateful. But Suzuki was not an ordinary Japanese. He had changed much in eight years in Germany. He had embraced the philosophy of the left so thoroughly that after the war he stood for election to the Parliament as a candidate of the Communist Party.

But not all the instincts of a Japanese were stamped out of Suzuki. In 1954 he still was able to admit in a press interview:

I caused Mr. Shoriki considerable embarrassment, not only because of the People's Front Incident but as a result of my lectures at the Army Officers' Club. On numerous occasions my editorial writing also annoyed him to a certain extent.

My editorial on destroying the Chungking regime by making contact with Red China was written with the understanding that if the Army agreed to the idea, I would leave for China to make personal contact with Mao Tse-tung. Because of this editorial, Mr. Shoriki was upbraided by the Military Police. From the Army, the Military Police and the German Embassy came repeated requests that I be discharged, but Mr. Shoriki did not budge an inch and maintained his position unflinchingly.

To the very last his position was that anything pertaining to his company would be handled personally by him. He said he would not take orders from outside. I am deeply moved by Mr. Shoriki's magnificent attitude of refusing to submit to pressure and protecting the prestige of the newspaper to the bitter end.

Under the circumstances prevailing at that time, I do not believe there was another newspaper president who would have done what Mr. Shoriki did. In this respect I am, even today, very grateful to Mr. Shoriki and deeply touched by his kindness.

That much sense of gratitude, of orthodox Japanese obligation, remained in Suzuki although during the American occupation, as a disciplined Communist under orders from Moscow, he tried to wrest control of *Yomiuri* from Shoriki and turn it into a tool for Soviet propaganda.

As the early tide of victory receded and the American forces began rolling the Nipponese back toward the shores of Japan, people in every walk of life commenced making plans for dire emergencies. Newspaper publishers and editors, armed with more information than most Japanese, devised emergency plans earlier than others. In the middle of July, 1944, it was clear to the leading Tokyo publishers that, barring a miracle, their city was in for direct attack.

The island of Saipan was attacked in June and captured by

American soldiers and marines. Informed Japanese realized that the new long-range American bombers could reach Tokyo from Saipan. Most newsmen privately felt that when Saipan was lost the war was lost.

In that spirit of gloom, the presidents of *Yomiuri*, *Asahi* and *Mainichi* met in Tokyo in mid-July. They formed what they called a mutual-assistance pact. It was a simple agreement. If American bombs destroyed the printing plant of any of the three newspapers, the other two would take over the mechanical job of printing the bombed-out paper.

Each paper, on its own, began a search for safe quarters. The search was intensified after the first B-29 raid on Tokyo in November, 1944, a good four months after the emergency agreement was reached.

Mainichi moved its printing machinery to the suburbs, out of the regular line of fire of the B-29's. *Asahi* built an underground printshop in the hills behind Yokohama. Shoriki found a site right in Tokyo, a deep, rocky ravine through which ran the tracks of the inter-urban railway to the northwest. Shoriki at first had difficulty getting a permit to burrow into the side of the ravine, but in the process of arguing with the government, he sold the idea so thoroughly that the Cabinet Information Board asked him please to make room for it also.

Work was actually begun on the underground printshop. A Hokkaido contractor, who constructed underground factories for the Nakajima Aircraft Company, undertook the work and imported workmen from Hokkaido to hurry it along.

But then disaster struck *Yomiuri*. It was the night of May 25, 1945. Great formations of B-29's from Saipan and Guam and Tinian hit the Boso Peninsula in the middle of the evening and headed straight for Tokyo. They flew over the heart of Tokyo, right above the Ginza, which is Tokyo's main business street. One Japanese newspaper described the raid this way:

"Sizzling noise, like waterfalls, was the sound of the incendiary bombs flying down toward earth. From everywhere rose ominous columns of fire. Red flames and reddened smoke shot straight up into the air. It was carpet bombing."

Men fought the flames as best they could, with buckets and with hoses that leaked, more often than not. Then came the second wave of B-29's, the plane the Japanese knew so well that they nicknamed it the "B-san," or "Mr. B." The main *Yomiuri* building suffered a direct hit from a cluster of fire-bombs.

The top floor of the *Yomiuri* building is the employees' dining room. It was immediately enveloped in a great mass of flames. Another bomb crashed into the oil-storage room in the basement and set off an explosion that rocked the building with shattering force. Flames from the oil lashed upwards through the first and second floors in a matter of minutes and suffocating black smoke filled the building. Two young men trapped on the sixth floor finally escaped by sliding down a "rope" they fashioned from curtains and pieces of hose.

Shoriki was called from his home. The flames were still high and hot in both *Yomiuri* buildings when he arrived. Looking across the canal that ran in front of the main *Yomiuri* building, he could see the sprawling *Asabi* plant, untouched by the night raiders. Further away from the main office stood the *Mainichi*, also unscathed. For a moment Shoriki felt that it was the height of misfortune that both his buildings were burned out while the single plants of each of his rivals were unharmed.

But there was little time to spend being rueful. There was much work to do. He knew *Asabi* and *Mainichi* would publish his paper, as agreed. But he had to find a place for his editorial staff to work; he had to see what could be done to salvage the costly equipment that was burned out that night. In wartime

Japan, replacement of printing presses and other equipment was out of the question.

The biggest blow to Shoriki was the damage to his printing presses. He was inordinately proud of those presses, the most modern in Japan. He had planned to put them safely in the underground plant still under construction. That dream was blasted on the night of May 25. When the flames subsided enough to permit inspection, Shoriki learned that only two of his precious presses could be restored with relative speed. All the others required work that would take months.

It was no easy matter to get anything done in Japan in the spring of 1945. Defeat was in the air. The very Palace of the Emperor was burned to the ground. Frenzy and despair were the order of the day, and in that atmosphere many foolish things were done. Army and navy officers followed orders that had been issued months or even years before, orders that had been forgotten by everyone except the men who carried them out like automatons for lack of anything else to do.

One such order had been issued by the navy to the Tokyo Machinery Company. The order was to turn out for navy use all the printing presses the company could produce. It had been issued long ago, during the days of Japanese successes, when printing presses were needed to roll out the word which the Japanese hoped would help persuade the conquered peoples to bow to the rule of the Emperor. As long as the order was not canceled, the Tokyo Machinery Company had no course but to manufacture printing presses for the navy. And nobody in the navy had time in the dark days of defeat to think about such a trifle as canceling an order for printing presses. Nobody seemed to care, either, that the presses were overcrowding underground warehouses at naval bases in Yokosuka, Kure, Sasebo, Maizuru and elsewhere.

The navy order forbade the company to manufacture presses for commercial use. Shoriki visited the president of the machinery company, who rose from a sick bed to listen to Shoriki's pleas. Finally the president, a very old man who had the courage of age, said: "I understand. If the navy finds out I am spending time on commercial business, they will reprimand me for this, probably; but, in view of the circumstances, I shall see to it that your rotary presses are repaired."

He issued the necessary orders to his men to work secretly, behind the backs of the navy inspectors, and to rush the repairs on the two *Yomiuri* presses. The necessary secrecy and the frequent interruptions of work because of air raids slowed down the effort, however, and when the war ended in August the presses still were not ready.

The problem of finding office space was met more easily. Shoriki, now president of the Buddha's Eye Enlightenment Society, was well known to Buddhist leaders. It was fairly simple for him to arrange to get office space for his editorial staff in the big Tsukiji Honganji Temple. *Yomiuri* was being edited in the temple when the war ended.

The end of the war brought new problems to *Yomiuri*. The first was a startling notification from *Asabi* and *Mainichi*. They told Shoriki that their agreement to publish his paper in case his plant was destroyed was an agreement valid only during the time of hostilities. Now that the war was over, they said, they were not obligated to help him any longer. They undertook to publish *Yomiuri* until the end of August, but no longer. Shoriki could only plead with his competitors. His presses would not be ready by the end of August, so without help he could not publish his newspaper during a period of Japan's greatest crisis, during which the conqueror would announce to the people the way they must live in the future.

In desperation Shoriki swallowed his pride and went begging to *Asahi*. He pleaded and argued. He asked for sympathy and used logic. At last the *Asahi* management agreed to continue publishing *Yomiuri* for an extra month, until the end of September.

That left the race in the hands of the Tokyo Machinery Company, and it came through. On September 15, the two repaired presses were moved into the *Yomiuri* annex building, which was less badly damaged than the main office. On that day Shoriki gave thanks that during the war he had been able to resist the temptation to accept an offer of five million yen cash to sell his annex building.

CHAPTER VIII

Strike at *Yomiuri* and Shoriki's Imprisonment

IN THE BROAD PERSPECTIVE, the occupation of Japan was remarkable for its order, for its lack of conflict between victor and vanquished or between the rival elements in the Japanese population.

But it took some time for the broad perspective to make itself apparent. In the beginning there was chaos among the Japanese. General Douglas MacArthur knew that he had the power to take care of anything that might develop and, secure in that power, he stood aloof as much as possible from the struggles among opposing Japanese groups.

For the Japanese there was no such sense of power. There was nothing but every aspect of chaos. The Emperor remained, but almost every other traditional prop to law and order and the proper Japanese way was destroyed, weakened, or so confused that it could not be effective.

The ravage of the war was sufficient to transform Japan fundamentally. Almost two million Nipponese lost their lives during the war, more than six hundred thousand of them in Japan itself, as a result of air bombardment. After the war more than six million soldiers and civilians who had been abroad were disgorged into Japan, providing that many more people to feed. Forty per cent of the nation's urban area was ruined and almost three million buildings were entirely leveled. Hiroshima

was wiped out by the atom bomb. One hundred thousand citizens were destroyed in the holocaust. Under the continual air raids, the population of Tokyo shrank from seven to three million souls. Osaka, Japan's second largest city, was whittled down to one-third of its prewar population; Nagoya and Kobe lost more than half of their populations.

But the destruction of Japan's cities, while serious enough, was not as tragic as the collapse of the economy at the end of the war. The same tragic story is found in virtually every graph showing industrial production of any sort. Industrial production as a whole had more than doubled between 1930 and 1941, but in 1946 it sank to less than a third of the 1930 total and a mere seventh of the 1941 figure. In terms of monthly production, the picture was even worse. The production of coal, Japan's largest source of power, had fallen by November, 1945, to one-eighth of the monthly average of 1940. Pig-iron production in that same month was only about one-twentieth of what it had been in 1937. Less than a tenth as many electric motors and truck chassis were being made at the beginning of 1946 as in 1939 and 1941. Machine production, which is indispensable to the livelihood of modern Japan, had come virtually to a halt and the nation had been thrown back on agriculture as its sole support.

The disappearance of the Japanese merchant marine, largely in the year 1944, was in reality the death warrant for Japanese industry. Month by month as that fateful year unfolded, the toll of Japanese ships had mounted, as American submarines roamed the waters of the Pacific in increasing numbers, and American planes began to scour the seas and mine the harbors of the Far East. By January, 1945, virtually the whole of the once great Japanese merchant fleet had sunk beneath the waves. Oil, rubber, ores, coal and cotton ceased to flow into Japan and stockpiles began to shrink rapidly. Japanese industry was living

on borrowed time, and by the summer of 1945 that time was running out. Years before, the wartime conversion of industry to military production had put an end to Japan's normal export trade. Now her imports too had stopped, and the tremendous foreign trade on which modern Japan had been living was at an end.

With industrial production virtually at a standstill and the cities of Japan in large part destroyed, the wealth of the nation was reduced for the most part to the agricultural land and its products. The Japanese peasant found himself in possession of a far greater proportion of the national wealth than ever before, although he was producing no more food. During the first few years after the surrender, he was actually producing less than before the war, because there were no longer any imported fertilizers, and the production of chemical fertilizers in Japan had fallen as low as all other industrial production. But the city dwellers were producing almost nothing, and with foreign trade at an end, they depended all the more urgently on the food the Japanese farmer grew.

The peasant found he could reap greater profits than ever before in his life simply by selling a part of his produce through illicit channels. Money was fast losing its value, and so he often accumulated fancy kimonos and family heirlooms from the desperate city folk in payment for his food. The relative prosperity of the peasants was merely a sign of the disastrous collapse of living standards in the city.

Worst of all, so far as the urban centers were concerned, was the search for food. The government ration at a reasonable price often amounted to less than a thousand calories a day and was never enough to sustain life adequately. Virtually all city people were forced to resort to the black market for some of the food they needed, but few could afford to purchase enough from this source because of the prohibitive prices demanded.

Those who could find a scrap of land to cultivate attempted to grow some of their own food, planting rows of vegetables between the foundations of their former homes or hacking out fields on the precipitous slopes of near-by hills. Office workers appropriated the margins of the road in front of their homes to raise a few vegetables. Thousands of others took exhausting weekly trips by train to remote rural areas to trade clothes and household furnishings for a rucksack full of sweet potatoes.

The drastic fall in production inevitably resulted in a runaway inflation. The army, in anticipation of the blow it knew would fall and anxious to placate the disgruntled public, hastily liquidated its holdings, permitting the vast store of goods it owned to pass into private hands and thence to the black market. As money rapidly depreciated in value, the postal savings and bank deposits which millions of frugal Japanese had laboriously amassed became virtually worthless paper. The man who had lived comfortably before the war on a salary of a hundred yen a month came in time to receive ten thousand or even twenty thousand yen, but still could not support his family on it.

One complicating factor of the postwar confusion was the presence in Japan of hundreds of thousands of Chinese and Koreans who refused to recognize the authority of the Japanese government and thereby helped to nullify attempts to stifle the black market and regulate trade. The Chinese, in particular, who were largely merchants of long residence in Japan, showed their customary business acumen by taking advantage of their position as victors to ignore government restrictions on native traders, with the result that they quickly won ownership of a significant portion of the retail trade of the city.

There were other annoyances the Japanese suffered when the war came to an inglorious end. The impossibility of maintaining cleanliness during the latter stages of the fighting and in the postwar years was injurious to morale, for the Japanese

value perfection in physical detail as much as in ethical codes. Soap all but disappeared; bath houses were closed for lack of fuel; and the Japanese went dirty for the first time in history. Clothing disappeared from stores; men and women became shabbier; suits more threadbare and soiled. As the cities burned, the women's beautiful kimonos burned with them. During the war many women changed from kimonos to the ugly *momppei* trousers which peasant women wear in the fields.

Courtesy fell victim to the war as much in Japan as in the other participant nations, but in Japan, where etiquette is a major part of morality, the results were more serious. People fighting over a toehold on a streetcar or scrambling for food for their families became oblivious to the niceties of life.

Nevertheless, under the duress of adversity, many of the best qualities of the Japanese people came to the fore and helped them to survive these years of shame and anguish with surprising dignity and even self-respect. They stoically accepted the catastrophes that had overtaken them and displayed an amazing capacity for cold realism. Wasting little time or emotional energy on mourning what might have been, they quietly accepted the finality of defeat and resigned themselves to occupation as the expected and unavoidable consequence of surrender. History had dealt them a new and very different hand, and they concentrated their attention entirely upon it and its possibilities without a glance back into the far more promising hand they had just lost.

In frankly and quietly accepting responsibility for starting the war, the Japanese contrasted sharply with the German nation. Most Germans after their defeat tended to place the blame on somebody else, arguing that they personally were never in sympathy with Nazi ideas. While the average German seemed to have retained throughout Hitler's regime an uneasy feeling that Nazi doctrines might not be right and apparently emerged

from the war with a guilt complex which made him both resentful and somewhat intractable, the ordinary Japanese believed wholeheartedly and naïvely in the propaganda he was fed, but avoided any guilt complex after the war by frankly admitting his former folly. All that he had been taught in school, all that he had read in the newspapers, made it seem that Japan was right and the rest of the world unfair and deceitful. Under the circumstances, who could have believed otherwise? But now the situation had changed, and he had discovered how mistaken he had been before. Naturally he must change his attitude and admit his former errors, but there was no reason for shame or resentment. Instead, he should do his best to profit from the new situation to discover all his past errors and correct them.

This attitude on the part of the Japanese was one of the reasons for the unexpected co-operativeness they showed the American occupation authorities. The result, among other things, was a strange fraternization between American battle veterans, who had had a bitter hatred of the Japanese they had just been fighting, and Japanese civilians who had lost loved ones and all their possessions in American air raids.

From the moment General MacArthur set foot in Japan, he was plagued by a series of problems that impaired the effectiveness of the occupation. Chief among them was the very complexity of the undertaking. Even with the aid of all of America's allies, it would have been quite impossible to bring to Japan enough men with the requisite technical skills and linguistic competence to govern the eighty million people of Japan at both the national and local levels. Any such attempt would have quickly ended in chaos. America's only choice was to utilize the Japanese machinery of government, reserving for itself the much more restricted task of policy direction.

The chief American goals for drawing Japan's fangs and rehabilitating her as a peaceful member of society were de-

militarization, democratization, and the maintenance of a reasonable degree of economic well-being.

The task of demilitarization was the easiest one of all. The existing army and navy were totally destroyed. Arsenals and factories engaged in producing military weapons were shut down. Naval bases were destroyed, and Kure, near Hiroshima, where the world's two largest battleships had been built, was turned into a junk heap of monumental proportions. More than two million officers and men in Japan were demobilized in the opening months of the occupation, after which, in December, 1945, the Army and Navy Ministries were transformed into the First and Second Demobilization Ministries. By the following June even these last vestiges of the central organs of the Japanese army and navy were abolished.

A corollary to destroying the military was the reduction of the economic base of Japanese military power. The occupation undertook an ambitious program of industrial limitation. It eliminated Japan's entire aircraft industry as well as such industries as synthetic rubber and synthetic oil, which were justified only by wartime conditions. Atomic research was halted and certain small industries were banned—for instance, the production of bearings, which were important for military as well as civilian uses. The occupation went still further by putting drastic limits on major industries, such as steel, chemicals and machine tools, which, while necessary for a peacetime economy, had in past years been devoted in large part to direct military purposes. In setting levels for Japanese industry, the Americans chose as a yardstick the per capita civilian consumption during the years 1930–34, when Japanese industry was still suffering from the depression and the great shift to heavy industry had not yet taken place. The occupation made plans to reduce to these levels all industrial facilities of any great military significance.

Hand in glove with the curbing of Japan's military power has been the reduction of the concentration of her economic wealth. Before the war, big business was concentrated largely in the hands of a few very wealthy families and their loyal business executives. The occupation authorities proceeded to place restrictions on the financial activities of these families—known as the zaibatsu families—together with the great holding companies, and some 1,200 of the subsidiary companies. Subsequently purge measures forced the members of the zaibatsu families and the leading executives of their concerns to sever connections with business enterprises in which they had been active and also barred them from all public posts. The central holding companies were dissolved, and their securities as well as those held directly by the zaibatsu families were taken into custody by the government in preparation for their sale to a broader group of "more desirable" owners.

The remaining assets of the zaibatsu families were frozen, and a heavy capital levy drastically reduced these and all other private concentrations of capital. Starting at 25 per cent for individual holdings over 100,000 yen, it ascended to 90 per cent on holdings in excess of 15,000,000 yen. With the value of the yen dropping rapidly in the early postwar years from around thirty cents to a mere fraction of a cent, this meant the great reduction of even modest accumulations of money and the virtual confiscation of all fortunes. Moreover, steeply graduated income taxes and inheritance taxes were adopted to prevent in the future the accumulation of similar concentrations of wealth. So long as these laws remain in force, it seems improbable that either the zaibatsu families or any other individuals or groups can again amass fortunes at all comparable to those of the zaibatsu in prewar days.

The dissolution of the holding companies, along with the family fortunes behind them, brought to an end the great Japa-

nese combines by eliminating their central organs, and laws have been passed to prevent their re-creation. The occupation authorities, however, decided to go beyond this and to break up corporations which could be considered excessive concentrations of economic power and therefore hindrances to the development of a freely competitive economy. In other words, the occupation embarked upon an anti-monopoly program comparable to but much more thoroughgoing than similar operations in the United States. But after an imposing start, the occupation authorities scaled down the program in the face of the apparent inability of the Japanese economy to recuperate even without further major surgical operations. By the summer of 1949 the list of 325 corporations originally slated for possible dissolution had been reduced to a mere 19.

One of the problems that confronted the occupation authorities in redistributing the balance of Japanese wealth was pointed up in the reselling of former zaibatsu assets to new owners. It proved to be no easy task to discover worthy candidates. Few Japanese had the capital to invest in this way, and those who did were usually black marketeers who would have made even less desirable owners than the old zaibatsu families.

The struggles among the Japanese during the first year after defeat took many forms. General MacArthur opened the doors of the prisons that held men convicted of political offenses. Among these were 276 men who had been members of the old Japanese Communist Party. Some, like the leader Kyuichi Tokuda, had been in prison as long as eighteen years. Some had decided while in prison that Communism was wrong, and they joined ranks to help form a Social Democratic Party to fight Communism.

The first fall and winter of the occupation was a time of hunger and cold and fear and confusion for the Japanese. Every night a few of the homeless died of pneumonia in the

cavernous concrete passageways of the subway station at Ueno Park, the passageways that sheltered thousands each night. The death certificates written for the bodies hauled from the caverns each morning almost invariably cited "pneumonia" as the cause of death. The contributing factors of malnutrition and exposure were not listed.

Everywhere in Tokyo and the other bombed cities the people foraged. They looked for twigs to burn, pieces of galvanized iron to form the roof of a lean-to shelter against a wall, string, rope, wood, nails—anything that would make it possible for them to keep a little more dry, a little more warm, a little less vulnerable to the weather.

"Democracy" became a popular phrase that meant all things to all men. The most ready to use it were the Communists. Until August 15 the rest of the people had been taught to look upon "democracy" as a word used by enemies to camouflage all sorts of evil designs against Japan.

In their misery the people sought scapegoats. They had been promised victory and glory but had to taste the ashes of defeat. Who had misled them? Who had failed them? Generals and admirals and politicians became most unpopular. They were the ones who had given false counsel to the Emperor and had led Japan into humiliation and utter misery. However, this was not a lasting resentment. In 1955, a Tokyo editor reflected the increasing wave of skepticism toward the intentions of the United States when he wrote:

The Occupation Forces entered Japan with the aim of destroying from the very core the former social and legislative order, while the Communists and Socialists, capitalizing on the situation, tried to completely wreck all existing authority in Japan. . . . The Japanese people, prior to the end of the war, were fully aware that Japan was defeated. Because of continuous air raids and unstable living conditions, antip-

athy toward the government and militarists mounted slowly to the breaking point. When the war ended, the discontentment exploded all at once.

The Occupation Forces entered triumphantly with the motto of peace, freedom and democracy. But was this the real thing or was this just a bold front for a cover-up? The truth is that freedom and democracy were used as a front, while, on the other hand, the true aim was to satisfy a lust for revenge that was burning deep in their hearts against the Japanese. It was their aim to weaken Japan in order to eliminate any threat it might pose in the future and to completely destroy every vestige of existing power so that Japan could not become, once again, a strong competitor against the outside world.

To many it definitely seemed that way. The Japanese learned early that General MacArthur was under orders from Washington to let the Japanese people determine for themselves the kind of leaders they wanted and that he was instructed to stand aloof from civil strife unless it threatened the security of his own forces.

The Japanese developed some novel ways of trying to shape their own destiny. In particular, labor's methods of striking against employers were novel. Japanese workers had little experience or tradition in trade-union methods and their leaders let their imaginations run riot. There were "production control" strikes in which Struggle Committees took over management. There was a streetcar strike in which the motormen and conductors operated full schedules but refused to collect fares. Some movie houses were operated on a free basis by strikers. An intense sense of obligation to the public during those hard times made union leaders reluctant to halt production or services during a strike.

There were a rash of serious strikes in Japan during the first

year of the occupation, and perhaps greatest of all was the strike at *Yomiuri*. Unquestionably this labor dispute developed into the most serious crisis of Shoriki's career.

The strike started innocuously enough. Two men were transferred to jobs they did not like on August 6, 1945, less than two weeks before the war ended. While the war continued there was nothing they could do but seethe with resentment. After defeat and the breakdown of traditional authority, there was much they could do. There was ferment on every newspaper. The employees of *Asahi*, for instance, forced the entire management to resign.

At *Yomiuri* the two disgruntled sub-editors began agitating against the men who had transferred them, the editor-in-chief and the managing editor. The disgruntled men wanted the two editors "to admit responsibility for plunging Japan into war" and to resign. There was much demagogic appeal in the charge. It was becoming something of a national pastime to point the finger of guilt at men "responsible" for the war. The Communists used the postwar period of discontent to crawl out of the woodwork and to try to overthrow Japanese capitalism by branding all enemies of the Soviet as war criminals.

The agitation at *Yomiuri*, as elsewhere, had its effect. On September 13 a petition signed by forty-five men from the editorial department was presented to Shoriki. There were five demands. The first was a general demand for the "democratization" of *Yomiuri*. The second would give editorial-department workers top priority for promotions. The third called upon Shoriki to "clarify responsibility for giving the public misinformation during the war." The third point also included the demand that the editor-in-chief and managing editor be discharged. An over-all change in personnel was the fourth demand, and, finally, the petitioners asked for better treatment of workers and an expansion of welfare facilities.

This last demand irked Shoriki. He had donated a million and a half yen worth of *Yomiuri* shares to a Shoriki Welfare Society in 1943, cutting his holdings in the newspaper almost in half. He was proud of the welfare society and of the benefits his newspaper afforded its employees. In the Japanese tradition, wages were low, but employees got such things as food for half price, free medical and dental service, family allowances, easy loans without interest, and big discounts on almost everything they had to buy.

Shoriki hid his displeasure, however, and said that he had no objection to anything that was asked except the demand that his two most important editors be fired. That, he said, he would not do. The petitioners appeared satisfied. But the times were catching up with Shoriki and *Yomiuri*. It became the fashion to form labor unions quickly, almost overnight, under the leadership of disciplined Communists exploiting the great emotional wave among the workers.

At this juncture, Tomin Suzuki, the Communist whom Shoriki had protected from the Japanese military, returned from the country. Immediately he assumed leadership of the workers in their dispute. Under Suzuki the workers' demands were rephrased in harmony with the Communist line. In final form, as presented to Shoriki, there were three. The workers demanded the right to form a "democratic study group," to "promote a democratic revolution" in *Yomiuri*, and to organize a consumers' union.

To Shoriki the new demands appeared more ominous than the old, and he balked. He was particularly disturbed by the idea behind the plan to set up a "democratic study group." He said, "You are all free to study and do research work, of course, but such matters can best be handled by the *Yomiuri* Research Department on a group basis."

Rumors spread that on October 24 the *Yomiuri* workers

would stage a mass meeting. Shoriki tried to forestall that. He called in all the editors on the afternoon of October 20 and said: "You are free to study democracy on a personal and individual basis, but there is no need to organize a committee for that purpose. If you insist on forming this group I want you all to resign. I will not stand for any monkey business by some indiscreet workers who are plotting something under the cloak of democracy. This company belongs to Shoriki. You cannot do as you please."

In the past such words would have cowed the workers. But this time they stood up to Shoriki. They denounced him for his statement and said he showed an "improper attitude." They said a newspaper was a public institution, not a private concern, and thus unwittingly recalled to Shoriki the battle he had waged in wartime against government control of all newspapers as national institutions. Then the editors asked permission to hold a mass rally on October 23 for the avowed purpose of forming a labor union. This Shoriki did not refuse and the meeting was organized.

Workers from all departments of the newspaper crowded into the editorial room on the afternoon of the 23rd to organize their union. Suzuki presided over the rally. Shoriki was advised that he would be unwelcome even as an observer. It was an unruly meeting. A worker from the rival *Asahi* walked into the meeting and announced that all the directors and top editors of *Asahi* had resigned. Joy was unbounded. On that afternoon, in the sticky heat of the crowded editorial room of *Yomiuri*, there was near hysteria. The *Yomiuri* workers treated the *Asahi* man as one who had brought tidings of tremendous victory. In this atmosphere the *Yomiuri* people passed their own resolution demanding that Shoriki, all his directors and all heads of departments assume responsibility for helping the war effort and resign without delay. Suzuki and a group of workers presented

the resolution to Shoriki and demanded a "yes" or "no" answer within twenty-four hours.

Shoriki turned on Suzuki, whom he had so recently protected from imprisonment and perhaps death. Shoriki had accurately grasped the significance of the dispute and the stakes involved. "This is a strike fomented by Communism," he told Suzuki. "If *Yomiuri* and other newspapers are destroyed, it won't be long before the nation goes. I'm going to fight to the last."

Shoriki suggested negotiation, but the men would have none. To Shoriki there seemed only two alternatives. One would be to turn over his newspaper to the strikers without a struggle. The other would be to fight the strike as best he could by methods of which he knew nothing. Always before, Japanese employers had the power of the police and, if necessary, the army behind them. Shoriki knew he was stepping into the unknown when he decided to fight the strike on his own. He said just that to Americans who visited him at the time.

Twenty-four hours after the demand for his resignation was received, Shoriki gave his reply. He called Suzuki and five other ringleaders and told them: "I have no intention of retiring now as demanded in your resolution. Upon completion of the reconstruction of the main *Yomiuri* building, I shall give this matter of retiring due consideration. Any person responsible for stirring up this latest commotion should bear the consequences."

Then Shoriki demanded that Suzuki and the other ringleaders resign from *Yomiuri*. The men shouted defiance and vowed to fight to the bitter end. They rushed from Shoriki's office to the editorial room and physically ousted the editor-in-chief from his chair. Suzuki took over control of *Yomiuri* by the simple formality of sitting in the vacated editor's chair.

Quickly Suzuki was named chairman of the Struggle Com-

mittee, which was all-powerful in the newspaper. The Struggle Committee lost no time. It took over in the afternoon of October 24. The *Yomiuri* that it distributed on the morning of the 25th was sensationally different. Most Japanese newspapers were held to a single sheet by the newsprint shortage at that time, but Suzuki and his men made the most of the two pages available to them. There was only one subject covered. That was *Yomiuri* itself. The Struggle Committee described itself and its aims. It labeled Shoriki a war criminal and demanded his arrest by MacArthur. The directors were all called war criminals, too. Readers were asked to make it known that they, too, thought Shoriki and his directors were heavily burdened with war guilt.

Physically there was a strange situation at *Yomiuri*. Shoriki went to his office on the third floor every day. He took care of the business policy of *Yomiuri*. Like other "production control" strikers in Japan, the Struggle Committee tried to stay within legal bounds by avoiding any attempt to set a long-range or permanent policy for the newspaper. But Shoriki was a semi-prisoner in his own building. He was permitted to go to his office on sufferance. He was not permitted to enter the editorial room or any other department of his newspaper.

Shoriki and, to a lesser degree, Suzuki were caught in a confusing contradiction between the very old and the very new. There was nothing more modern than the base of their struggle. It was the kind of struggle which, with variations, flared in many countries during the era that came to be known as the Cold War. But throughout it all Shoriki displayed a peculiar sense of obligation. He could not forget that, in the Japanese tradition, the owner of a company must provide a livelihood for his employees.

Therefore, despite the strike at his newspaper, Shoriki actually signed pay checks each month for all his employees, in-

cluding the Struggle Committee men, including even Suzuki. He seemed genuinely surprised when asked by American observers in the occupation government why he continued to pay the men who had wrested control of his newspaper from him. With a simple sentence he revealed how unthinkable it would be for a Japanese employer, in the light of the ancient Japanese code, to use starvation as a weapon in a labor dispute. "Why," he said, "they are still *Yomiuri* men and how could they eat and feed their families if *Yomiuri* failed to pay them?"

Despite Shoriki's solicitude, there was no reluctance on the part of Suzuki and his Struggle Committee to use Shoriki's newspaper day after day to attack Shoriki. The workers were whipped up by mass rallies in the *Yomiuri* building, rallies at which left-wing political leaders and union men from *Asahi* and *Mainichi* made stirring speeches. Suzuki had been more successful than any other left-wing leader. He had seized control of a great metropolitan newspaper and was running it in the name of the workers. The whole left-wing movement adopted the *Yomiuri* struggle as its special cause.

Shoriki played for time. He did not believe Suzuki could maintain unity of the workers in the struggle. But he misjudged the power the Struggle Committee had to enforce its rule. It became clear that *Yomiuri* was the great test case, the great effort the Communist Party was making to start things rolling toward Communist control of Japanese social and economic life. Shoriki saw himself cast in the role of champion of private rights and free enterprise in Japan.

Three members of the Struggle Committee became alarmed by the growth of Communist influence. They were worried by the direct hand the leader of the Communist Party, Kyuichi Tokuda, took in the strike, and by the activities of lesser functionaries in the Party. The three members of the Struggle Committee persisted in their demand for negotiations. Other mem-

bers of the Committee came around to support this position, convinced Suzuki would settle for nothing less than complete and permanent control of the newspaper, and that they did not want.

As soon as Suzuki realized he could not prevail in the Committee against the plan for negotiations, he stalked out of the Committee meeting and called a mass rally of the workers. Suzuki held a peculiar position among the employees. He was their strike leader, but he also was their editor, their boss. It took him little time to win from these workers a vote in favor of a resolution against negotiating with Shoriki.

The struggle intensified. Shoriki was threatened with violence. He was warned to resign or be shot. There were counter-threats. Ultra-nationalist groups offered to invade the *Yomiuri* building and throw out the Struggle Committee. As the nature of the struggle became more clear, friends of Shoriki rallied to his support. Ichiro Hatoyama, then president of the Liberal Party and later prime minister of Japan, offered to mediate. So did others. Shoriki opposed the use of force against the strikers and, finally, on November 11, took the case to court.

He asked indictments against Suzuki and others on charges of illegal entry and occupation of the *Yomiuri* building and unlawful interference in the execution of his duties as president of the company. In that period of confusion, when the legal authorities did not know the meaning or intent of the directives being run off wholesale on the mimeograph machines of the American occupation, the legal officials refused to return an indictment. They just were not clear in their own minds whether or not seizure of the *Yomiuri* building and assumption of its powers to publish constituted a violation or affirmation of democratic principles as promulgated by General MacArthur. In fact, they were not at all certain of this thing the Americans called democracy.

The role of Tokuda, Secretary-General of the Communist Party, has been given its most revealing explanation by Tomin Suzuki himself. "We felt it was no use merely to form a labor union and gain the right to bargain collectively. The only way to achieve a basic settlement, we felt, was to divide the company stock among the workers. Thus the main point in our plan was to force Shoriki to give up his stock."

Tokuda assumed an open role in the dispute in mid-November when he was one of the three men the Struggle Committee named to a special mediation committee on which three management nominees also served. Six members of the Struggle Committee tried to block the nomination of Tokuda but Suzuki and one supporter forced approval of the Communist leader.

Another of the three labor nominees to the committee also was a Communist. He was Katsumi Kikunami, an *Asabi* writer who later became a Communist Party official. The third labor nominee was a Socialist, Mosaburo Suzuki.

In the meantime, Shoriki became beset with serious personal troubles. On the morning of December 3, 1945, he went to the suburbs of Tokyo to see a printer whom he wanted to publish a pamphlet answering the charges which were being made against him in his own newspaper.

Thus most of the people of Tokyo learned before Shoriki that he had been named a war criminal suspect by the American Occupation Authorities. Extras were on the streets hours before Shoriki returned to the city. However, the crowded events of the occupation brought forth extras as a matter of routine; so Shoriki paid little attention to the jingling of the *go gai* cowbells as he rode back to the *Yomiuri* office. It was not until he entered his building that he learned that he had been ordered to surrender as a war criminal suspect. He read the news on a wall bulletin board at *Yomiuri*. The order from MacArthur's headquarters gave Shoriki nine days to do what

he could to clean up his affairs. He was to report to Sugamo prison at 8 A.M. on the morning of December 12.

Shoriki immediately proceeded to his office. The directors and chief editors were in emergency conference. They rose misty-eyed as Shoriki entered. They were frightened. Their leader was being taken away from them in the midst of the newspaper crisis.

One remarked: "This is a terrible thing that has happened, Shoriki. What do you plan to do?"

Shoriki, who never lost his sense of drama, even when he himself was involved, shrugged. "It cannot be helped. I shall fight with all my power until the time comes for my entrance into Sugamo Prison. If this matter with the Struggle Committee is not settled by then, I shall leave the rest to you. But whatever you do, do not relinquish management rights to this newspaper. If that should happen, it would be better for us to cease publication altogether."

Shoriki glanced at a flower vase in his office. It was decorated with a sketch of a warrior of olden times, Shikanosuke Yamanaka. Shoriki was particularly fond of this vase because it reminded him of the declaration for which the warrior was best remembered: "Come what may, I shall handle this situation."

While there was consternation among the directors, there was jubilation among the leaders of the Struggle Committee. On December 5, two days after the announcement that Shoriki was to go to prison, the arbitration standing committee held its first meeting. Shoriki demanded that both sides present their briefs immediately. The labor group said its case was not yet ready. It was clear the labor group wanted to delay until Shoriki physically was out of the way.

After incessant bickering, serious deliberations began on December 10, two days before Shoriki was to be committed to

the Sugamo jail. Shoriki made a long and impassioned plea. He denied any war guilt, and pointed out the controls exercised by the military during the war.

He also defended his record in labor relations. "At one time," he pointed out, "I was the sole stockholder of *Yomiuri Shimbun*. I had 70,000 shares worth seven million yen. But in 1942 I donated 20,000 shares to the employees' welfare foundation and also distributed 15,000 to employees working more than ten years for the company as compensation for their service."

The meeting adjourned for lunch and resumed in the afternoon. Outside the windows of the room ran a broad ledge. Even before the hearing got underway, the ledge was jammed with workers from various Tokyo newspapers, men who shouted threats and imprecations at Shoriki.

The Communist Party Secretary-General Tokuda was the chief spokesman for the labor side. His party had just published its long-range objective of developing a "communistic community" in Japan and its six intermediary objectives, which were to (1) conduct a "democratic revolution by peaceful and democratic means," (2) expel war criminals and oppressors of human rights, (3) abolish the emperor system, (4) reform the system of land ownership, (5) destroy monopolistic capital, and (6) stabilize and elevate the people's standard of living.

It was not surprising that many Japanese mistakenly believed that MacArthur and the Communist Party stood for the same thing in Japan at that time. Except for the question of the Emperor, the wording of the six Communist slogans closely paralleled the wording of stated objectives of the occupation. There was vast difference in the meaning, but the Communists plagiarized American phrases about democracy to mask their real intentions.

Tokuda was an orator with a talent for whipping up the

emotions of a crowd. He launched into a personal attack on Shoriki as an "exploiter of the people," and recommended that the employees of *Yomiuri* take over the management of the newspaper lock, stock and barrel through a Management Control Committee.

Shoriki hurried from the hearing room to his office to meet with his directors. "The day after tomorrow, I am going to Sugamo Prison. As things look now, I doubt very much that we will reach a decision on the labor dispute by then. The true intentions of the Communist Party are very clear. If the opposing party has no intention of conceding, I will not compromise even if we have to shut down the company. Our last resort is to cease publication."

At this point, a messenger arrived from the Municipal Building with word that the labor group wanted another meeting with Shoriki right away. It was a surprising message, but Shoriki declined it. "It's no use going," he said. "The way they are operating, there are no negotiations, merely threats."

A short time later, however, Shoriki received a telephone call from one of the men he had named to the management side of the committee. The committeeman said it looked to him as though labor was ready to reach a settlement. It was then eleven o'clock at night.

Tokuda awaited Shoriki at the Municipal Building. "I will withdraw my proposal in regard to management control," he announced. "In its place I am proposing that we form an advisory council. We shall select the same number of men from both sides to act as members. All important matters shall be studied by this group." Shoriki agreed to this proposal, but insisted that the joint council would have advisory powers only and would have no voice in determining policy. He also insisted that the management retain control of administration and of personnel assignments.

The talks continued on through the night and finally, at 8 A.M. on the morning of December 11, just twenty-four hours before Shoriki was to enter Sugamo Prison, an agreement was signed. It provided that Shoriki was to resign as president and dispose of all his shares in excess of 30 per cent of the total stock in *Yomiuri*. A respected writer and literary critic, Tsunego Baba, was to become president. He was Shoriki's nominee. Consultation between management and employees on company policy was provided. Shoriki would continue to hold power to appoint the chairman of the Shoriki Welfare Foundation. Collective bargaining was agreed to. *Yomiuri* would publish nothing about the strike settlement unless it was approved by both labor and management.

There was much to be done in the final twenty-four hours before prison. Most important of all was to persuade Baba to assume the presidency. Baba was a liberal writer, so well considered that the labor group raised no objection to his nomination by Shoriki.

But as a man of letters without experience in administration or business, there was doubt that he would want to step into the post as president of a newspaper. Shoriki sent word of the nomination to Baba shortly after noon. Baba replied that he would have to talk with Shoriki before making a decision. He went out to the Shoriki home in Zushi, by the sea, two hours from Tokyo.

It was a meeting filled with emotion. Baba realized fully well that this final evening should have been one for Shoriki to spend alone with his family. But the issues at stake seemed to both men too great to permit this. The two men talked at length and took supper together. Shoriki told Baba much about the strike, the settlement, the men involved. They talked about the threat of Communism in Japan. They exchanged ideas about just what the American brand of democracy meant

to Japan. At the conclusion of the discussion, Baba said: "Though I am not competent, I will take the position." Thus it was agreed.

At 7 A.M. next morning, Shoriki had a farewell breakfast with his family and then boarded a train for Tokyo. A police inspector accompanied him. At the station Shoriki was met by his close friend, Mitsumasa Kobayashi, the managing director of *Yomiuri*, who said: "I am going to Sugamo to receive your orders." Shoriki replied ruefully: "I am already in prison, so make your own decisions."

A number of the war-crimes suspects had been ordered to report to Sugamo Prison that day, and the Foreign Office set up an admittance booth before the prison to check in men as they surrendered.

As Shoriki approached, he saw two young women standing in this temporary liaison office. Drawing closer, he recognized one of his reception girls and a telephone operator from *Yomiuri*. They were there as delegates from the women employees of the newspaper to bid him farewell. Each girl had a large silk cushion under her arm. The women employees had paid for this farewell gift by taking up a collection. "We hope the cushions will make the prison cell more comfortable for Mr. Shoriki." This was too much for him. Having come through his struggle with the Communist-led labor group, having seen himself labeled a dictator and oppressor every day in the columns of his own newspaper, Shoriki was overwhelmed. For the first time in his long period of travail he gave way to tears.

Like a number of his countrymen, Shoriki was imprisoned on an extremely vague, blanket charge. Since he was the publisher of an influential newspaper that had been used as a propaganda channel for the Japanese government at war, he was labeled a major war-crimes suspect. The fact that he had bitterly opposed the militarists and fought against government

ensorship until the final moment when the war silenced all opposition did not seem to carry any weight with his accusers.

In prison, Shoriki determined to make the best possible use of his time. He would study. He took only a handful of books into the prison with him. One was an English-Japanese dictionary. The rest were works on Zen Buddhism, which he had been too busy to study for the past forty years.

During the first three months, Shoriki was held in solitary confinement. Then he was moved to a ward with seven other men. Two he had known before, the rest were young men from the military service. The two men Shoriki knew were Kozo Ota, a former minister of education, and Kunihiko Okura, owner of a paper firm and head of the Okura Research Institute of Spiritual Culture.

Over-all, Shoriki was held in prison twenty-one months. During that time he was interrogated just twice. Each time he was asked about his activities when he was a high official on the Metropolitan Police Board, about his relations with the Japanese military and with the Nazi German authorities in Tokyo and about the source of the funds he used to operate *Yomiuri*. Other American investigators studied records, examined back issues of *Yomiuri*, questioned people who knew Shoriki or had worked for him. The same general process was followed in the investigation of all the other men held for possible trial as war-crimes suspects.

In solitary confinement, Shoriki sat before his cell window five hours each day in meditation, recapturing the spirit he had known as a youth when he had studied Zen under the priest Daitetsu. Later, when he was moved to the ward, Shoriki increased his daily period of silent meditation to eight hours. Ota, his cell mate, later described these days of meditation. "Shoriki folded his cushion and used it as his desk. He sat before it from morning until evening."

The American military police guards were concerned about this strange man who sat all day, every day, with hardly a word. Such religious meditation was something outside their experience. They asked Ota to explain. Ota explained to them about the Japanese practice of religious meditation in the fashion of the Buddha, and the guards respected Shoriki's right to meditate without interference.

The worst part of the imprisonment came on the mornings when men were executed. In the ward the sound of marching boots could be heard clearly. It was almost always at the break of day. The men in the ward would be awakened by the sound of the boots. They lay on their pallets silent, listening.

Questions crossed their minds. Who was being hanged? And more important to the prisoners, why was he being hanged? The prisoners did not know the law under which they were held. They did not know the workings of the minds of their captors. They did not know whether in the past they, too, might have done something which under the new form of things would be judged reason for death. All they knew was that their country had been vanquished and for some reason the victors thought they were men who had to be punished.

That was the awesome part of this imprisonment. The prisoners could not even occupy their minds with thoughts of defense, for they knew not what they had to defend against.

The only relief from the tension came from small, humorous things. Shoriki provided such an irritation many a night. He snored. Okura was bothered particularly by the snoring. Once he tried to awaken Shoriki by banging his wooden clog against a board near Shoriki's pillow. Everyone in the ward was awakened, except Shoriki, who went right on snoring.

Shoriki was committed to Sugamo Prison on December 12, 1945. He was released, along with almost all the other suspects, on September 1, 1947. He was never tried. He

was never really accused of anything. He merely was held twenty-one months on suspicion. There were Americans, then and now, who believe Shoriki's imprisonment without charge or trial was a black page in the record of the occupation.

CHAPTER IX

Victory Over Communism

IT SEEMED TO SHORIKI as he entered prison that everything had been arranged. There was ample money for his family to live on comfortably. The challenge to his authority over his own newspaper had been frustrated.

However, Shoriki was mistaken in these assumptions. For the Shoriki family there was income, yes, but in postwar Japan it took a great deal of money to live comfortably. There was great competition for food. During one weekend in the spring of 1946, more than 400,000 inhabitants of Tokyo went out into the countryside to "forage" for food; that, to the Japanese, meant a search for a farmer who would sell. Some farmers wouldn't. They preferred to hoard rice for speculation, figuring that times would get worse before they got better and that rice prices would go up.

In this situation the Shoriki family suffered for a time. But bread cast upon the waters brings its return. Years before, Shoriki had bought a plot of land as the proposed site of a new building for *Yomiuri*. Later he found land he thought better suited. For some years he had held the original land unused. During those years land prices skyrocketed. They were at their height when a hotelman, Keizo Tsuchiya, approached Shoriki with a proposition to buy his land. Shoriki offered it to him at the original price, not the inflated price. Tsuchiya thought this nonsense and told Shoriki so. Shoriki replied, "I

am not a broker of land. I do not need to make money by such a transaction."

Tsuchiya bought the land and built on it the Daiichi Hotel, which turned out to be a very successful enterprise. He felt indebted to Shoriki and sought a way to meet his obligation. The opportunity came when Shoriki was imprisoned. The United States army had taken over the Daiichi Hotel as a billet for colonels and high-ranking civilians. During the time of the national food shortage, the United States Army billets had large stocks of food, shipped from the United States. As the enforcement of controls loosened, Tsuchiya was able from time to time to take food from his own kitchens and send it down to the Shoriki family in Zushi. These occasional gifts of food did much to tide over the family during the days of general hunger in Japan.

As to Shoriki's second assumption, that labor strife at *Yomiuri* was at an end, in this too he was mistaken. The labor peace at *Yomiuri* was short-lived. The seeds of trouble were sown in the December agreement and blossomed in June. Under the agreement, two of the main leaders of the Struggle Committee attained positions of overweening power. Tomin Suzuki became managing editor and city editor. As managing editor he determined over-all policy for the newsroom. As city editor he decided what stories would be covered and how they would be written. One of his chief colleagues in the labor dispute, Santoku Muto, became director of the business department. The strike leaders had a virtual strangle hold on the newspapers.

Baba fought a losing battle for months. Suzuki held sway over the editors in every department. The position of managing editor gave him prestige, authority and an air of respectability. Writers slanted copy to his liking. There was no doubt about what he liked, either. Every morning at eleven o'clock there

was an editorial conference at which Suzuki held forth, laying down the program for the day, the kind of stories he wanted developed, the kind of copy handling he desired.

Alone in his office on the fifth floor, Baba wrote his editorials. They were fighting, anti-Communist editorials. Baba, as a gentle man, and a nonviolent man, burned with desire to warn his people against the danger of a violent revolution, which, he was convinced, would lead to an even more violent dictatorship.

And there was danger of revolution in the spring of 1946. The high level of Communist Party influence came on May 1, when half a million Japanese staged a mass rally in the great plaza that was the front yard of the Imperial Palace. Tokuda, Sanzo Nozaka and the other Communist Party chieftains were featured speakers.

At the end of the rally the great crowd divided into sections to form parades that spread out into the city in five different directions. The parades moved at a jog trot. Organizers ran alongside the paraders like drill sergeants, shouting instructions through little megaphones. They led the marchers in Japanese Communist songs. The awesome thing about these parades, however, was not the vast number of people, nor the songs or chants or hanged effigies of Prime Minister Yoshida and other selected "enemies of the people." The frightening thing was the complete discipline.

The Communists were not ready to challenge the American occupation. They were determined their marchers would do nothing to force American counteraction. They controlled the demonstration magnificently; control was so complete that 500,000 demonstrators marched through the streets of Tokyo without seriously disturbing normal traffic. Policemen stood at every main intersection. At regular intervals they blew whistles to signify it was time to let traffic cross through. The organizers

jog-trotting outside the line of march shouted orders. The jog-trotting stopped. The whole line of march came to a halt, expertly divided into block-long segments so that cross streets were cleared for traffic. The parade remained at a halt each time until the police signaled that it could continue.

Baba realized full well what control in the hands of Communists would mean to Japan. He wrote impassioned editorials, trying to enlighten the people. But his hands were tied. What he wrote on the fifth floor often failed to get by the Suzuki-controlled desk on the third floor. Baba was president of *Yomiuri*, but Suzuki ran the newspaper. Time after time editorials that Baba wrote were killed.

By springtime of 1946 there was little difference editorially between *Yomiuri* and the official Communist Party newspaper *Red Flag*. Complaints began to come in through circulation agents and readers. They were shocked by the new tone of *Yomiuri*, pro-Communist, pro-Russian. Circulation agents reported a sharp drop in sales. One reported a 60-per cent decline in his district. These complaints were an unexpected blessing to Baba. They drove a wedge between Suzuki and the business manager, Muto. That wedge was to become an important part in the struggle that was ahead, for Muto became increasingly disaffected from the union.

There was no question about the Communist policy of Suzuki's *Yomiuri*. It was established early. Perhaps the clearest declaration came when the Communist Sanzo Nozaka returned to Japan from China. Nozaka was an old-line party member, the main theoretician of the party. He fled Japan in the late 1920's during the round-up which landed Tokuda and most other leaders in prison. For some years he was in Moscow, and then he moved to Yen-an to work with Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Communists, who were to take control in 1949. Nozaka was in Yen-an when World War II was ended. By agreement

with the Russians, Nozaka was returned to Japan, through Korea, secretly by train. Japanese Communists were quick to draw the parallel between his secret train trip from the 38th parallel of Korea to the port of Pusan, and the World War I journey of Lenin across Germany in a sealed train.

Yomiuri hailed the return of Nozaka from sixteen years of exile. It declared editorially that Nozaka was the leader who would create for the Japanese people a Democratic People's Republic.

These Communist maneuvers at *Yomiuri*, indeed, the Communists' cynical manipulation of the Japanese labor movement, finally alarmed General MacArthur's headquarters. The Americans were caught in a dilemma. It was basic policy, wholeheartedly approved by MacArthur, that free labor unions were necessary as a bulwark against a restoration of the totalitarian rule of the past. But now there was danger that a new form of totalitarian rule would be imposed by an abuse of the freedom to organize unions. In the name of the unions the Communist leadership was moving to seize control of the press of Japan.

Brigadier-General Kenneth R. Dyke, chief of the Civil Information and Education Section and an outspoken believer in the value of labor unions in Japan, issued a stern warning. "Freedom of the press," he said, "is having men designated by publishers decide the editorial policy. It is no more right for the Japanese Government, or for the Supreme Command, except in broad policy, than for any other group to dictate editorial policy. . . . The creation of labor unions is essential, but if an individual is out of sympathy with the editorial policy of a newspaper, he has the perfect right to resign and go somewhere else."

This was necessary assurance to the publishers. The idea of "freedom of the press" had been fuzzed up in many Japanese

minds to the point where all left-wingers and many others believed it meant freedom for any newspaper reporter, writer or editor to use his employer's newspaper to propagate his own ideas.

With such assurances from the occupation, Baba fought strenuously to regain control of the newspaper. On June 13, 1946, Baba told the *Yomiuri* directors he would resign unless they backed him against Suzuki. One or the other must go, he said. The directors supported Baba. He fired Suzuki and five other editors. But Suzuki refused to relinquish his office. Suzuki was stung into shouting to a union rally that he would win out in his fight with Baba "even though *Yomiuri* is wrecked."

He asked for a strike vote. It was passed by acclamation. But by this time, June 14, Suzuki's union had only about 25 per cent of the *Yomiuri* working force. The remainder opposed him on principle, felt loyalty to the company, or were just plain frightened that the union excesses would force *Yomiuri* to go out of business. Delegates from this majority group asked the American occupation press chief, Major Daniel Imboden, whether they were privileged to ask the police to protect them on their jobs. Imboden told them not to waste time talking with him, but to get the police.

There followed days of violence, with Suzuki and his followers fighting the guards set around *Yomiuri* to keep them out. One day they got in by breaking down a rear door that was locked but unguarded. Another day the Suzuki faction broke into the building by breaking windows. Once in the editorial room, Suzuki made a rabble-rousing speech. He declared that the strike had gone beyond the issue of freedom of the press. "This is not only a matter of the right of editing," he declared, "but also of living."

Suzuki sensed, and indeed all Japan sensed, that the future social system of the country would be effected to a degree, at

least, by the outcome of the *Yomiuri* battle. Rival factions mounted trucks to shout their slogans in the streets of Tokyo, through loudspeakers and megaphones. Before the *Yomiuri* building, guarded by police, the rival groups hurled insults and charges at each other.

The battle came to a head on June 21. That day the police guard was increased to two hundred. Each policeman carried a club and was ready to use it. One hundred and fifty Communists massed in the middle of the afternoon and charged the police lines. Heads were cracked by police billyclubs; fists flew; men on both sides were punched and kicked and scratched. But the strikers were able to drive a wedge through the police and enter the building. The police went in right after them and arrested fifty-six, including four of the men dismissed with Suzuki. All but these four were released after a few hours in jail. The four were held for investigation on charges of illegal entry.

Baba seemed on the verge of victory. Wanting to insure it, he spoke to the workers in the plant by way of the loudspeaker system in the building. Unless the strike was settled by June 27, he declared, there would be no alternative but to dissolve *Yomiuri*.

The majority of employees went into immediate action and organized a counter-strike group which they called "The Committee to Rebuild *Yomiuri*." With four leaders in jail and with a majority of the workers organized against them, the strikers capitulated. Baba apparently had won a clear victory.

But this one was more short-lived than Shoriki's December triumph.

Yomiuri was caught in a philosophic conflict within MacArthur's headquarters. There were a number of such conflicts. In a sense, democracy itself is the product of a conflict of interests within generally accepted limitations. The problem in Japan

was that there were no generally accepted limitations. Some of the basic objectives of the occupation seemed to cancel out the others. Some officials were told to restore the economic health of Japan. The easiest way would have been to put the established industrial and financial giants to work. But other officials were told to break up the excessive concentrations of economic power in the hands of a few, in effect to fragmentize Japanese industry. In the long run the two aims were not necessarily conflicting, but in the short run it was difficult to work toward both objectives.

Another basic conflict within the occupation grew out of the *Yomiuri* strike. In the process of implementing its press code, which made owners responsible for the policies of their newspapers, the occupation sided with Baba against the strikers. To Theodore Cohen, MacArthur's labor adviser, who was assigned the task of developing a strong labor-union movement, this seemed retrogressive. Cohen felt that labor unions had to be protected and nurtured as a bulwark of Japanese democracy. Therefore, Cohen, curious to know just what had happened at *Yomiuri*, called Baba to his office at the Labor Division just three days after the strike apparently was settled. Cohen wanted to establish if the dismissals at *Yomiuri* had violated the new trade-union law promulgated by the occupation.

In the office Baba found Katsumi Kikunami, then chairman of the Japan Federation of Newspaper Labor Unions and later a high official in the Communist Party. Suzuki and the five other men dismissed by Baba were also present. The four who had been arrested were in handcuffs. Kikunami acted as interpreter. He explained to Baba that Cohen had declared: "A labor union has the right to protect its members from discharge. Under the trade-union law it is illegal for employers to bring pressure on workers."

In the context of the *Yomiuri* struggle, this seemingly innocuous statement had a serious import. Baba was not at all certain that Cohen was interpreted correctly by Kikunami, but he did leave the meeting with the clear impression that he had been instructed to reinstate the six men he had discharged, and to drop legal action against the four men arrested. Later Cohen denied that he had intended to say that the dismissals were illegal, but by that time the strike was on again. The union demanded reinstatement of the six editors.

Baba ignored the demands. And about 600 employees resumed the strike. A substantial number were printers and typesetters, who barricaded themselves inside the print shop. *Yomiuri* was unable to publish for four days.

But Santoku Muto, the business manager and once a colleague of Suzuki on the Struggle Committee, had broken with the Communists. He emerged as leader of a back-to-work movement. He assembled the anti-strike elements in the auditorium of the *Yomiuri* annex, several blocks from the main building in which the print shop was barricaded and held by strikers. Organizing a storming party, he led them into the main building. It struck with co-ordination at several points and drove out the strikers.

Next day *Yomiuri* resumed publication. In a long editorial, Baba wrote, "The *Yomiuri* is one of the important targets of the left who wish to take over Japan. The *Yomiuri*, in a sense, is the point which will decide the fate of Japan. Should the *Yomiuri* fall into their hands, all other papers will be in danger and Japan herself would face the crisis of Bolshevization."

The anti-strike elements formed a new *Yomiuri* Labor Union, which refused to affiliate with Kikunami's federation. But still the struggle persisted. Over the next several weeks, there were threats and efforts at legal harassment of *Yomiuri*. Then "sympathy" action by other unions cut off electric power

to *Yomiuri*, and for a few days the Union of National Railways Workers refused to handle copies of *Yomiuri*.

Finally, as a climax, the federation threatened to call a general strike to shut down not only *Yomiuri*, but all the newspapers in Tokyo. But the dare fizzled. One by one local unions backed away from the strike plan. A number of locals withdrew from the Kikunami federation. The first concerted effort of the Communists to seize power in Japan failed.

CHAPTER X

Looking to Tomorrow

IT WAS A NEW JAPAN into which Shoriki emerged in 1947. He had read about it. In prison he had been permitted to study Japanese newspapers, and the English-language *Nippon Times* had been provided him as an aid in studying the language of the Americans.

But the hunger which had been so much a part of the life of Japan in December of 1945 was all but gone. The very city of Tokyo had a new look. Buildings that had been burned into skeletons in 1945 were rebuilt. The streets, which had been quiet and almost free of traffic in 1945, were crowded now with trucks and jeeps and taxis and private automobiles. It was extremely difficult to find traces of the war damage, so diligently had the Japanese people worked to restore their city.

There was a different atmosphere, too, between American and Japanese. Where there had been mutual suspicion in 1945, there was understanding and sympathy now. Six months before Shoriki was freed from prison, MacArthur himself had declared Japan was ready for a peace treaty, and urged that one be signed promptly. In 1945 the policy of the United States was to let Japan take care of its own troubles. The victor accepted little responsibility if any for the feeding, clothing and welfare of the Japanese people. By 1947 all that had changed. Large shipments of food were pouring into Japan from America. Substantial amounts of money, half a billion dollars a year, were being spent to help Japanese rehabilitation.

Things were quite different personally for Shoriki. Although he was freed from prison, he still was on the purge list. That meant he could not hold public office and could not return to an active role on his newspaper. The purgees were forbidden to do anything to try to influence Japanese opinion.

Shoriki retired to his home in Zushi to rest and get his bearings. There Baba visited him. Shoriki expressed his deep appreciation of the way Baba had served as custodian of *Yomiuri*. He pointed out that since the purge still barred him from an active part in the management of the newspaper, he still needed a custodian for the newspaper and knew of no one as well qualified as Baba. Baba agreed to remain.

There was something remarkable in the regard these two men had for each other. It would be difficult to find two people of more contrasting personality. Shoriki was the vigorous man of action; Baba was the gentle man of contemplation who dreaded an act that would hurt the sensibilities of another. Shoriki enjoyed a good fight, even felt a touch of glory when he was able to overcome a worthy opponent. Each triumph of his life, from his victory over the high school judo champion Kojima, has remained for Shoriki a live and pleasant memory forever. The memories of Baba were of a different sort, the memory of a well-turned phrase, a well-developed thesis, the beauty of a mountainside in spring, the pleasure of the Victor Herbert operetta he saw in his youth during a visit to New York. The main bond between them was a fierce patriotism and a mutual respect for the accomplishments and abilities of the other. The patriotism of Shoriki, a flaming love of country, was obvious in everything he did.

For his own part, Shoriki had to cast about for something he could do within the limits of his purge. He could have remained in quiet seclusion in Zushi, living on his continuing income from *Yomiuri*. But Shoriki was not such a man. He

had to act; he had to dream; and he had to turn his dreams into reality. He was kept busy giving advice to businessmen who sought him out. This was a flattering role, but an inactive one that did not satisfy him.

His first venture was to organize a League of Artists and Entertainers. Traditionally artists and entertainers in Japan had been at the mercy of shrewd business agents and managers, who took the lion's share of the profits. Shoriki helped establish a union that protected the interests of the entertainers.

His second venture was a horse-race track. He raised all the money needed in just six days, and the track, situated between Tokyo and Yokohama, became a popular success. The province of Chiba Prefecture, adjoining Tokyo, was having trouble developing a motorcycle racing course. The governor was impressed with Shoriki's success with the race track, so he enlisted Shoriki's help in the development. This project worked well too.

But horse racing and motorcycle racing were pale fare for Shoriki. He had to use them as time-killers, but his dreams and his sights were much higher. He had heard that in America the people were enthusiastic over television, but he had never seen television. He had heard about it years before from Japanese who had witnessed test telecasts in America and Britain. That was all.

But lack of personal knowledge never deterred Shoriki. As in so many other of his undertakings, there were seemingly insurmountable obstacles. Perhaps the biggest of all was the fact that the Japanese government never had permitted private, commercial radio broadcasting. All the radio stations in Japan were part of a government monopoly. Even Tokyo, third-largest city in the world, had but a single broadcasting station.

But there were other obstacles, too. The television equipment had to be purchased abroad, and the prospects of getting

permission from the government to use foreign exchange for such a project were slim. There were no private television receiving sets in Japan, and without listeners a commercial network such as Shoriki envisioned could get no advertisers.

Shoriki tackled the problems with his customary audacity. Beginning in 1948, he went to work to break the government monopoly on radio broadcasting. He interested the three great newspapers, *Asahi*, *Mainichi* and *Yomiuri*, in the idea of pooling their strength to win permission to establish a commercial radio station in Tokyo. Shoriki wanted a precedent for commercial television. The project succeeded and commercial radio broadcasting began in Japan.

Shoriki also brought three American television experts to Japan to make a survey and advise him on just what would be needed to establish a television network. The advice was staggering. It would take a minimum of two billion yen. Never before had Shoriki had to raise anything like that much money; but he had raised money whenever he needed it, so he set to work. He started on the three big newspapers, hoping to get their pledges so that others would follow more easily. Each agreed to buy ten million yen worth of stock. At that time ten million yen was worth \$27,777 at the official rate of exchange. It took courage for the newspapers to invest money in television when there were no television sets in Japan.

Once the newspapers had invested their money, others followed quickly. The six leading paper-manufacturing companies bought stock. So did the top three steel producers, two major breweries, two movie producers and a number of banks. Overall, Shoriki sold 800,000,000-yen worth of stock, enough for him to use as the basis for a request for a billion-yen loan from the banks.

In the meantime, in August, 1951, Shoriki was de-purged and freed to live normally in his country.

On October 2, 1951, he applied for a government license to set up a television station in Tokyo. He planned to make the station the core of the nationwide network he envisioned. Between December, 1951, and May, 1952, the Radio Regulatory Commission held a number of public hearings on the application of Shoriki, of the government radio network and of two other private groups. On July 31 Shoriki got his license, the first issued in Japan. The government radio network failed to get one. The official reason for Shoriki's success was that he was the only one who had done the necessary preparatory work and the only one ready to go ahead right away.

However, the license was granted only after a vigorous struggle. The Ministry of Communications had wanted to hold television rights as a government monopoly. The hearings were heated. Many government officials threatened to resign. The Ministry of Communications spokesman ridiculed the Shoriki plan, declared he could not succeed because no advertisers would spend money for television broadcasts in a country where there were no receivers by which people could see and hear his advertising. Shoriki replied that the government monopoly could not possibly pay its way because it would have to depend on fees from television-receiver-set owners, and there were none. Government television, he declared, would merely add tax burdens to the people. Shoriki's arguments prevailed.

Plans were made during the summer for the Tokyo station, and on September 22, 1952, ground was broken. Physically the plant was ready by the end of April, 1953. All the equipment except the transmitter was installed and ready by mid-August. Shoriki hoped to begin telecasts before the end of the month, but there was a hitch in America. It had taken longer than anticipated to build the new-model transmitter Shoriki had ordered from the Radio Corporation of America. Shoriki was

overjoyed, and very much impressed, however, when RCA said that not only was the transmitter completed but, because of the delays and because of his plans to start operation in August, the heavy equipment would be sent to him by air.

Shoriki was well aware that everywhere in the world, even in America, the television industry had lost heavily in its first years. His study showed that in America the television broadcasters did not begin to make money until 1950. In England, he learned, losses were enormous, with income meeting only about half the operating costs, and in France things were worse.

By the time Shoriki began his television programs there were several thousand receiving sets in Japan, not nearly enough to attract any advertisers. To meet the problem Shoriki thought in terms of viewers, not sets. He knew that receiving sets were far too costly to be sold in any large number. But he also knew that there were millions of Japanese who would view television if they could. Shoriki remembered the thousands who had crowded around the special boards he had ordered set up to display the progress of the world championship go contest he had sponsored. He remembered the crowds that every day stood before the *Yomiuri* and *Asabi* buildings to listen to the play-by-play reports of professional and college baseball games. The way seemed clear.

He would buy television receiving sets for the people. His sets were put up in parks, in railroad stations, on busy street corners, in suburban market places. Wherever people gathered in large numbers, it seemed, there was a Shoriki TV set. At one time he had 130 sets operating in public places in Tokyo. And he showed the people what they liked to see—baseball, sumo wrestling, even debates in the Parliament.

Shoriki claimed that 8,000 people crowded around a TV set in a public square to see one baseball game. They must have suffered stiff necks, for Shoriki had his sets put high

above the heads of the crowd. He wanted everyone to see. Careful counts were made of crowds, and on the basis of these Shoriki set his advertising rates.

TV fever hit Tokyo hard. The proprietors of bars, teahouses and restaurants found they had to have TV to hold their customers. Advertisers became interested quickly. Shoriki had figured he would have to operate in the red for the first year. Actually, he began to make a profit at the end of six months.

Shoriki worked hard to give the people popular programs, just as all through his business life he had stressed the importance of giving the people what they liked. One of his first moves was to make a deal with the six big motion-picture producers. He wanted to co-operate with them, not to fight with them. So an agreement was reached that each week he would have the right to televise a new picture from each company. He acquired sole rights to televise baseball games and boxing matches from Korakuen Stadium, where the professional baseball teams play.

And he never forgot the old adage of his newspaper days—that it paid to let the public know your plant. Guides were hired to conduct visitors through the modern studios, and visitors were encouraged to watch the programs as they were being televised.

The studio itself was ultra-modern in design, but behind it Shoriki arranged for a classical Japanese garden. In the middle of the garden he had a modern teahouse constructed, with glass walls through which visitors could look out on a charming lily pond. It was in this teahouse that Shoriki did much of his business.

The real showpiece that Shoriki unveiled, however, was the antenna tower, 80 meters high. Shoriki was so proud of that tower that he had an elevator installed in it and invited the public to ride to the top, free, any day and every day. "I want

my tower to be as much of a landmark in Tokyo as the shrines and temples. I want every tourist to Tokyo, from anywhere in Japan, to feel he must go to the top of my tower before he really has seen Tokyo."

In April, 1955, Shoriki celebrated his seventieth birthday. He could look back on many triumphs. Television was his latest. The fight against Communism within *Yomiuri* was of historic significance. His success in building *Yomiuri* into one of Japan's important newspapers was a constant source of satisfaction to him. In reminiscing, he talked about the world-championship go match and the promotion of Babe Ruth in Japan. The past was well taken care of. Even the old ambition to invade Osaka was realized. Two years before Shoriki reached his seventieth birthday, *Yomiuri* had moved into the second city of Japan.

But to Shoriki the past was to remember, the future to live. In February, two months before he was seventy, he was elected to Parliament as an independent from the district of his family home, in the Etchu country. The prophecy of the old country fortuneteller, so long ago, now had tangible reality. Shoriki indeed had attained a political position as great as that of the chief priest of the Eihei Temple.

He promised several things to the voters. He promised to devote himself toward helping the government find means of increasing industrial production, developing the wealth of the country and enhancing the welfare of all subjects of the Emperor. And he promised the use of atomic power for the happiness of the people. To Shoriki the power of the atom was the most challenging prospect of all. Japan must have atomic power for its industry, he declared, and he, Shoriki, would work vigorously in the Parliament to obtain it.

In the same month that he was elected, Shoriki began another ambitious personal project. He presided at the ceremonies at the start of construction of a modern new building for

Yomiuri. (He had resumed control of the newspaper upon being de-purged from the list of war criminals.) They were colorful ceremonies. Priests in rich robes chanted blessings for the building. Salt was thrown to purify the ground. Speeches were made, expressing hope for the safety of the workers, hope for the success of the project, and hope for the long life and happiness of Shoriki. The building was to cost two and a half billion yen. There would be three floors underground, nine above ground. It would have a department store, a theater to seat 1,200 people and two floors for permanent trade-fair exhibits of both Japanese and foreign manufacturers. It was the kind of project close to the heart of Shoriki, for, as he expressed it, the Yomiuri Hall would be a convenience for the people and at the same time would bring profit to his newspaper.

Shoriki has remained intensely interested in the newspaper side of his enterprises. In April, 1955, the month of his seventieth birthday, he branched out into the English-language-newspaper field in Tokyo, buying the English-language *Japan News*, which had been founded during the early days of the occupation as the British Commonwealth Forces' counterpart to the American *Stars and Stripes*.

But more and more he has turned to his newest enthusiasm, Atoms for Peace. He helped create the Japan Atoms-for-Peace Council in April and the next month he invited John J. Hopkins, president of General Dynamics Corporation, to Japan to talk about the development of atomic power for Japanese industry. The conferences made Shoriki more enthusiastic than ever, and in October he was co-sponsor with the United States Information Agency of an "Atoms for Peace" exhibit that drew 360,000 people to see the wonders of the coming age. Confident as ever, Shoriki declared, "I will see atomic power electricity generation started in Japan in five years."

Shoriki was given his chance to make the prediction come true. On December 16, 1955, the Japanese Parliament voted to create an Atomic Energy Commission directly answerable to the cabinet. Shoriki was made a member of the cabinet of his old friend, Prime Minister Ichiro Hatoyama, as minister without portfolio and director of the Hokkaido Development Board. On January 1, 1956, he received his cabinet portfolio. He became the first Atomic Energy Commissioner of Japan, a job that demanded a man with the kind of constructive imagination Shoriki had demonstrated throughout his productive life.

And so the Shoriki story is by no means over. The final chapter has yet to be written before this stout, resilient statesman-publisher, who combines the best characteristics of the old and the new Japan, lays down his burdens and calls it a day.

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