

PSYCHOLOGY

Psychology in Japan

The re-orientation and re-education of the Japanese is a psychological problem. They have not ceased their psychological warfare with the surrender.

By MARJORIE VAN DE WATER

► HALF A MILLION women will soon be welcoming returning sons or husbands who might have been mourning their dead except for the expert use of the world's mightiest weapon.

It wasn't the atomic bomb. It wasn't the rocket plane or jet propulsion. It wasn't radar.

Those were all extremely important in defeating the enemy. So were the flame throwers and bombs and bazookas, the parachute attacks and all the other modern devices of war.

But you can defeat an enemy without bringing about his surrender. Surrender is a state of mind. What made the Japanese sign on the dotted line with their army intact? What enabled the United States to "invade" Japan's mainland, welcomed by banquets served by a bowing, saluting enemy, instead of the desperate fighting of a cornered, fanatical foe?

The answer is believed by some U. S. officials to be in a weapon that is neither new nor secret, but which has never before been employed on so effective a scale for such an important goal. It is psychological warfare.

In a sense, of course, all warfare is psychological, because no matter how devastating is the destructive force of military measures they can never achieve their objective until the enemy reaches the point where he is willing to surrender.

Guns Are Silent

The guns are silent now. But the psychological problems remain. The Japanese are now engaged in an active campaign of psychological warfare against us which is not in any way robbed of its dangers by a cloak of ingratiating friendliness. And we will have our own psychological problems in the occupation of Japan. Certainly if we hope to bring about a complete re-education and re-orientation of the Japanese people, we face the greatest psychological problem yet encountered.

The present peace is easily lost if vigilance is relaxed and efforts lag, because the polite smile of the conquered natural-

ly hides a deep smoldering resentment which can be fanned into a widespread outbreak of violence against the conquerors and against authority in general.

Success in meeting the problem of how to produce in Japan a spirit of surrender points the way to an effective attack on the job of maintaining the peace.

On the basis of an intimate and accurate knowledge of the minds and behavior of the Japanese people and how they would act in response to action taken by this country, a psychological campaign was mapped out and then followed through to a dramatic conclusion.

A small group within the U. S. Navy, housed in improvised quarters in part of a converted garage, planned the psychological tactics. For the first time in history all the events in a campaign, diplomatic and also military, were dictated by the considerations of psychological warfare.

The goal was surrender without invasion. The priceless booty that was at stake—and that was brought home in triumph—was an officially estimated saving of half a million American lives.

Here are some of the highlights of the knowledge of Japanese psychology and current events that formed the sound basis for the psychological campaign.

1. The Japanese, as a people, are completely helpless without authority, without the presence of someone in command to tell them what to do. If they are fighting, they will continue fighting until they are told to stop. If they are faced with sudden unexpected disaster, they are unable to act even to save their own lives without specific direction.

2. A Japanese man cannot act for himself. Two men cannot come to a decision. Always it takes at least three Japanese to arrive at an important action. It is the fixed habit of Japanese thinking to work in council. For this reason, Japanese action is slow—it takes time to get men together, to discuss the issue, to reach agreement. But they can come to an agreement if ordered to do so.

3. The Japanese would never surrender, man by man, unit by unit, regiment by regiment as the Italians and later the Germans did. Surrender, for Japan, had to come from the top. Com-

paratively few Japanese soldiers were taken prisoner. Not one officer of the rank of general raised the white flag. Never did an organized group of Japanese soldiers lay down arms and give themselves up.

4. Japanese leaders knew they were defeated at the beginning of this year. An island nation cannot hope to win a war without a fleet. When the Japanese lost their fleet, they lost the war. It did not matter that they had a large Army undefeated. It didn't matter that they had men in China and Manchuria. It didn't matter that Japanese soldiers were strongly entrenched in rock caves in hundreds of tiny islands scattered over the Pacific. Without means of holding these forces together, supplying them, and communicating with them, Japan was lost and the leaders knew it.

5. The Japanese people were completely uninformed about their desperate plight. Even though the Emperor knew that further battle was useless and worse than useless—that each new day of war was taking fresh and profitless toll of Japanese life and property, he could not face his people with a proposal of surrender while they had no suspicion of their defeat.

6. Not only were the Japanese people ignorant of the fate of their fleet and their own helplessness, but they were ignorant of the power of the Allies. Scientific news did not reach them through the fog of "thought control." The atomic bomb must have been the first intimation many of the public had that scientists even hoped to split the atom.

7. Japanese leaders, faced with certain defeat, would be anxious—eager—to find some way to get out of the war. They would welcome any suggestion of how to make surrender seem reasonable to the Japanese people.

8. But the Japanese people are not plain-spoken, they are not direct. To bring about the surrender it would be necessary to speak their language figuratively as well as literally.

In an army of fanatical fighters such as the Japanese, trained from earliest childhood to revere the Emperor as God and to regard death in his service as a great honor and personal surrender as unspeakable disgrace, the difference between certain defeat and the laying down of arms may be very great indeed.

It was brought about by a carefully

planned program of psychological warfare based on thorough knowledge of Japanese character, history, and ways of thinking. Capt. Ellis M. Zacharias, of the U. S. Navy, and the small group that helped him plan this psychological campaign took it for granted that the Japanese leaders are realistic people. They knew that they faced defeat. But they were on the spot; they could see no way to get out of a war which meant only a daily mounting toll.

Capt. Zacharias knew that the objective of his psychological campaign must be to solve this problem for the Japanese. Surrender would have to come from the top, because it is a fixed habit of Japanese minds to be unable to act without orders from above. The Emperor himself must be the one dealt with.

Step by Step

This he did, step by step. As principal tool, he used a series of radio broadcasts in which he spoke in Japanese and also in English. His voice was well known in Japan, for he had been for many years in Japan as attache in the U. S. embassy. But the broadcasts were only one tool. They were backed by military events, carefully planned for psychological effect.

First, Capt. Zacharias reasoned, an emperor who wanted to get his people out of a war must know what leaders would be acceptable to the enemy to negotiate the peace. And so the first broadcast by Capt. Zacharias was filled with names.

They were not suggested as negotiators. In the first place, you don't speak so directly when talking to the Japanese. In the second place, "face" would not permit the Emperor to use or trust men forced on him by the enemy.

And so the wording of the broadcast was like this:

"I have always acted as a friend of the Japanese people and have done everything in my power to prevent the catastrophe which has already begun to envelop your homeland. Those among you who know me personally, and there are many in the highest places, will confirm this fact.

"Admiral Yonai will recall our many conversations after his return from Russia as a language officer. Admiral Nomura Kichisaburo will remember my frank discussions, both in Japan when Admiral Nagano often attended, and on his way to Washington to his last official assignment.

"Mr. Kurusu will know my regret in the loss of his son who as a young boy I often patted on the head. General Matsumoto, Washizu, Teramoto and Hirota

will remember my frequent advice. Likewise Mr. Debuchi, Wakatsugi, Horinouchi and the staff of late Ambassador Saito. Your Premier Admiral Baron Suzuki may remember our meeting when he was chief of the Naval General Staff. My impression of him was fully confirmed by his recent sympathetic statement regarding our loss in the death of Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

"And finally their Imperial Highnesses Prince and Princess Takamatsu will recall, when, as their aide-de-camp, I accompanied them during their tour of two months in the U. S. in 1931."

The Japanese reply to this broadcast was equally indirect, but equally pointed. They did not go on the air with any statement about these men. But the Domei news agency immediately came out with the news announcement that Prince Takamatsu was appointed to represent the Emperor at official functions and Admiral Yonai had been appointed to a position of increased authority in the Japanese government. What better indication could we want that Japan was ready to talk terms—and our terms. That was in May, 1945.

What other help would the Emperor need to get him out of the war? Obviously, his people would have to be informed of Japan's military defeat. They knew nothing of this; the truth had been kept from them. This little mission of popular education was thoroughly taken

care of by the U. S. Navy and Air Forces in attacks on the Japanese mainland—attacks timed to back up the broadcasts.

The Emperor would need reassurance that "unconditional surrender" would not mean the crushing or annihilation of the Japanese people—a fate worse for them than death in battle. This reassurance was given in the very first broadcast in an official statement by the President of the United States, reiterated over and over again in later broadcasts.

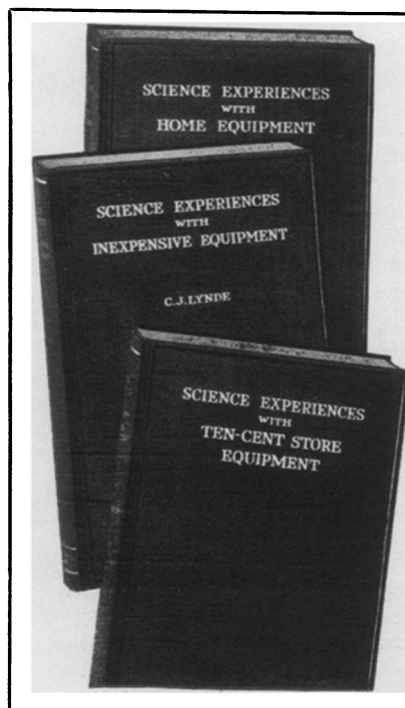
"It means providing for the return of soldiers and sailors to their families, their farms, their jobs. . . . Unconditional surrender does not mean the extermination or enslavement of the Japanese people."

Blame the military leaders, the Emperor was advised—always with subtle indirection. Get rid of them. They are responsible for the catastrophe that has overtaken Japan. They are failures and incapable of leading Japan.

Names and words of patriotic Japanese were mentioned in the broadcasts—men who had advised against Japan's pathway into war. Tell the people about these men, was the suggestion implied.

The Japanese are realistic, the broadcasts stressed. A patriotic Japanese leader is willing to face facts, to acknowledge past mistakes and about-face to pursue a wiser course to save Japan.

The broadcasts provided the Emperor with the means he needed for face-saving before his people. The outcome of



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modern wars is determined, Capt. Zacharias told him, not by the bravery of the fighters or the people but by superior "war potential" which means superior industry for making the tools of war. To acknowledge defeat and surrender is patriotic and dignified—to go on fighting when all is lost would indicate lack of bravery and "shallow emotionalism."

Finally, since the Japanese are a historically minded people, and need to have their actions justified by past precedent, Capt. Zacharias provided the Emperor with chapter and verse from Japanese history in which one patriotic leader of the people surrendered honorably to another in order to save his clan from destruction. By surrender, Satsuma was saved to become the most prosperous province of Japan.

Capt. Zacharias also read in full a letter written in 1895 by Admiral Ito to the Chinese Admiral Ting, a personal friend, whom he advised to surrender for the best good of his people.

On July 21, 1945, Broadcast Number 12 went on the air. All that remained was to assure the Japanese that the United States offered unconditional surrender as a humanitarian gesture, that they might assume that it would be the United States who would enforce the formula and insure the peace, that the Atlantic Charter and the Cairo Declaration would apply.

On July 24, Dr. Inouye officially answered that Japan would surrender.

Twelve broadcasts—180 minutes on the

air helped to save half a million American lives.

Now the Japanese guns are silent, but the Japs have not surrendered their weapons of psychological warfare.

The occupation forces entered Japan on an entirely different footing from that in Germany. In Japan, they were received with military bands playing and with radio and press blaring Japanese propaganda.

American correspondents were "received" in Japan by Japanese officials and "taken" to view what the Japanese most want them to see. But first they were put up in the best suite of the best hotel, in rooms reserved for General MacArthur.

Each day brought fresh tear-jerking stories of the "mysterious" effects of the atomic bomb. Japanese "scientists" are said to have investigated the strange deaths of people who went into the area weeks later and then suddenly died as though cursed. It is obvious what the Japanese would like to have stressed in the reports of American correspondents.

Missionaries Invited

Missionaries are being invited to return to Japan but Americans will be suspicious of the Japanese motives in this. Baseball players will probably be urged to visit Japan for remunerative exhibition games soon after the World Series.

The Japanese have done an excellent job of anticipating just what would be ordered by the occupation government and rushing to order these measures themselves.

Freedom of the press and freedom of assembly are to be restored, reports from Japan indicate. A general election is planned. Fraternalization between Americans and Japanese is forbidden.

It is anticipated that there will be a wholesale "abolishing" of vicious institutions merely through changing the names to something new with a democratic sound. The Student Mobilization Bureau under the name Physical Education Bureau is no less jingoistic.

But the occupation government may be expected to see through all such ruses. And all these attempts to outdo the conquerors in revising their ways may be turned to good account if we keep alert to the implications.

In Japan there are many individuals, many groups, which are violently opposed to militarism and to the present dictatorial regime. These people are our friends. They need our help. Some have actually been in prison for 15 years. It is only necessary to see that they are now permitted to do what they want to do to

rebuild Japan and the tremendous job of re-education and re-orientation will be taken care of for us.

Most important for Japan is a truly free press. And our interpretation of what constitutes a free press may be quite different from the ideas of the Japanese cabinet. The Japanese are a literate people. They read eagerly and widely if they have the opportunity.

Of major importance also is freedom of science. There should be international exchange of scientific information and thought (except the atomic bomb). Japanese scientists, like other scientists the world over, want to have the respect of their colleagues in other nations. The free criticism, or even the anticipation of criticism, from world-renowned scientists will serve to take the racist myths, the thought control, the fantasy and the just plain baloney out of Japanese science and education.

Education, psychologists know, cannot be distributed like vitamin pills which the Japanese might be forced to swallow for their own good. In order to learn it is necessary to want to know. And so education must be a voluntary activity. It can be supervised, but it cannot be effectively enforced. Fortunately, there are in Japan many sound individuals who will welcome the opportunity to teach without being hampered by Japanese militarists. It is only necessary to encourage and support their activity. They may be expected to cooperate with the Americans if permitted to do so.

In the development of a democracy or even the seeds of a democracy, the opinions, the wishes, the judgment of the people are of vital importance. Public opinion polls, based on sound scientific principles of a fair sampling of all groups—age, economic standing, religion, sex and education—will very likely be put into use and wisely interpreted to guide the occupation government and control the Japanese officials. Americans, with their knowledge of the importance of



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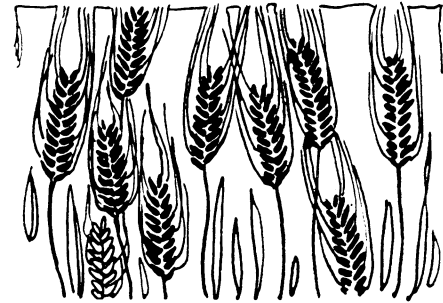
techniques of polling, are not likely to be fooled by "planted" polls with loaded questions, biased sampling or intimidated interviewees. They will beware also of the results of street-corner, amateur sampling of public opinions or judgments based only on the expressions of those who speak English or who volunteer to speak for the whole population.

One danger in thinking about the people of a foreign country, especially one so far away and culturally different from our own nation, is that of assuming that all the people are alike. This is easily

avoided by those who know the Japanese, and those who know psychology.

In Japan, as in any large country, the individual citizens include the good and the bad, the educated and the ignorant, the stupid and the intelligent. They have been regimented for many years, it is true, but our hope of eventual re-orientation and successful occupation lies in a recognition that individuals differ. Some of the Japanese will always be our enemies no matter how much "education" they receive. Others, perhaps, have always been our friends.

Science News Letter, October 13, 1945



Two Acres Per Head

► JAPAN is a nation of tiny, hand-worked farms. We read, with the kind of pity that verges on contempt, that their average size is less than three acres each, and that each one has to support the family that tills it, pay an extortionate rent, and send a surplus of rice or millet to supply urban areas, or perhaps raise mulberry leaves to feed to the silkworms. We think of the broader acres of the American farmer, and tend to feel a bit smug about our better fortune.

But have we the right to feel this way? Has anyone on earth the right to feel spacious and uncrowded, when it comes to food-producing land? Ward Shepard, in his new book, *Food or Famine*, brings us up short with some decidedly arresting facts. According to an estimate of the Soil Conservation Service, he says, there are approximately four billion acres of cultivable and pasture lands on this planet. The world's population is about two billion persons. That divides out to an average of two acres of food-producing land per person. Here in our own country, there are rather less than two acres of plowland per person, not taking pastures and rangelands into account. So we aren't too far a leap ahead of the Japanese peasant: the precariousness of his source of living is simply dramatized by the fact that he is actually domiciled on his scrap of soil.

Moreover, Mr. Shepard warns, we are wasting our patrimony at an alarming rate, despite all our fine talk about conservation during the past two or three decades. Soil erosion, from over-cultivated farms, over-grazed rangelands and over-cut forests, has rendered about a fourth of our once useable soil areas



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