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Images of the enemy : emotional techniques employed and sources used by three Japanese newspapers to portray selected events related to World War II

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Images of the enemy: Emotional techniques employed and
sources used by three Japanese newspapers to portray
selected events related to World War II

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by

Hiroto Fukuda

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Signatures have been redacted for privacy

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I. INTRODUCTION

On the morning of December 7, 1941, 350 Japanese aircraft attacked the U.S. naval base at Pearl Harbor, without a declaration of war. On the following day, an outraged U.S. government declared war against Japan. Hostilities between the two countries lasted for nearly four years, until the Japanese government unconditionally surrendered on August 14, 1945.

For the Japanese, the war has held a special meaning for the past five decades. The rise of fascism and militarism in Japan before and during the war and their consequences are still a nightmare or dream-like reality. The tremendous human sacrifices to the war are unforgettable. Feelings of regret and remorse are reflected in the fact that most Japanese people support Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution, which eternally prohibits the nation from engaging in any military conflict. Moreover, the "sneak" attack on Pearl Harbor particularly stands as a reminder to the people that Japan initiated the conflict and, therefore, must accept full war responsibility.

For many older Japanese, war guilt has not been easy to accept--not because they dispute what happened at Pearl Harbor, but because they were the victims of incessant pre-war propaganda that portrayed government and military policy as fully justified in the face of external threats and

domestic needs. The Japanese press, under the absolute control of the ruling powers, constantly reinforced the logic of economic and military expansion. As a result, the public, with no other sources to turn to, came generally to accept the justice and necessity of the Japanese cause in southeast Asia and the Pacific. In this sense, the Japanese mass media were also instrumental in transforming this acceptance into enthusiastic support for the national mobilization and war effort.

Before and during World War II, the Japanese media were rigidly controlled by the government and military leaders. All news content in the media was forced to adhere to government policy. Access of news reporters to information sources was restricted only to government and military handouts and official news agency reports. Strict press regulations and well-organized pre- and post-publication censorship systems were created. These regulations were gradually extended to the extra-legal range, and violators were seriously punished. As a result, the Japanese media, especially the newspapers, became an effective tool of the official propaganda machine, calling for "national unity" to accomplish the goals inherent in "The Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere."

For example, Asahi Shinbun, then the largest daily, wrote in its evening edition on December 8, 1941: "With respect to the Imperial Decree of war declaration [against

the United States and Great Britain], the spirit is trembling with a great excitement. This is the time when all of us devote our lives to the Imperial nation."¹ Not surprisingly, all other newspapers followed in the same manner. Lafe Allen, in 1947, reported that government controls over the Japanese press during the war were so successful that "A sameness marked the appearance of all newspapers and little opportunity for even the simplest expression for a free press existed."²

As Allen observed, the official controls brought about the total uniformity of Japanese press coverage. The enemies were portrayed as an aggregate of "evil" and "inhuman" people, with weak morals, morale, and materials, who "ill-treated" the Asian people in their colonies and "plundered" abundant natural resources. Therefore, to accomplish the "independence and peace" of Asians, these enemies had to be removed from the whole of Asia. Only the "virtue of the Japanese spirit" could save the "Asian fellows" by its "strong" leadership. And, of course, the ultimate victory of such "superior spirit" was described as "inevitable."

Overall, it has been accepted by scholars that while domestic Japanese war propaganda was effective during World War II, it did not achieve the same levels of saturation, sophistication or malevolence as did that of the Nazis under Joseph Goebbels. The reasons for this have yet to be

defined fully, but two factors are doubtless the lack of experience in the realm of propaganda and the unique traditions and culture of the Japanese people.

In fact, Japanese war propaganda has been much less studied than the efforts of Germany, Great Britain and the United States, and rarely has it been empirically tested. Therefore, it can be assumed that both quantitative and qualitative analysis of Japanese propaganda not only would contribute to the overall understanding of such wartime techniques, but would also help understand some of the changes in the mass media in Japan after 1945.

The main objective of this study is to identify through quantitative analysis the content trends of three Japanese national newspapers that had a significant role in domestic propaganda, with regard to four crucial events from 1937 to 1945. The following six points are specifically studied:

(1) techniques employed in news stories to arouse the public's mind with emotional stimuli; (2) slant of headlines and stories; (3) number and variety of information sources cited in news stories; (4) attitudes reflected by stories toward the enemies and the Axis allies; (5) number of strong negative words or statements; and (6) categories of any propaganda emphases employed by the writers of news stories.

In addition to the quantitative study, qualitative analysis will be used to illustrate through example the propaganda techniques that were employed in these three

Japanese newspapers to whip up and sustain public support for the war effort even after the U.S. air raids on the Japanese home land, when the inevitability of defeat became increasingly apparent to the public.

ENDNOTES

1. Asahi Shinbun, evening ed., 8 December 1941, 1.
2. Lafe F. Allen, "Effect of Allied Occupation on the Press of Japan," Journalism Quarterly 24 (December 1947): 324.

II. JAPAN AND THE PACIFIC CONFLICT, 1931-1945

After the Meiji Restoration in 1868, Japan had sought a dramatic modernization by following European culture, especially that of Germany, Great Britain, and France. Since the nation had adhered to a national policy of isolation for over three hundred years, it was much behind the modern development of the Western countries, and the more the Japanese gained the knowledge about those far wealthier powers, the more they felt a fear that those great powers would take over the small country. Once they had themselves modernized, they began to extend their power and control over the vast underdeveloped regions of China and Korea, which had a large population and abundant natural resources.

Successive victories in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) and Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) contributed significantly to the misconception that the country was protected by "Divine Wind," which later became the name of the suicide attack by air fighters, "Kamikaze." In fact, these victories were almost certainly caused more by inner conflicts in China and Russia than by the superiority of the Japanese military power. But the government did not provide detailed information of the actual situations because it preferred to allow to flourish its imperialistic ideology within the nation. Also, the defeat of Germany by Britain,

France, and the United States in World War I made a great impression on the Japanese people's mind, namely that the modernized, industrialized powers of the West might conquer the whole world--including Japan.

There were at least four inner strains in Japan after World War I that kept the wish for territorial expansion alive: (1) tremendous population growth; (2) lack of natural resources necessary to expand the development of new industries; (3) increase of domestic labor costs; and (4) limitation of the Japanese exports to foreign countries caused by the worldwide depression of the 1930s.¹ Since the development of industries depended heavily on imports of raw materials, especially oil, from foreign countries, and on exports of products to those countries, the depression brought about a serious economic crisis in the nation.² To overcome such difficult conditions, the government, which was already dominated by the army and navy representatives, decided to invade China by way of Manchuria in 1931, to create its own colony under the Japanese regime. This was a beginning of the effort to extend the realm of Japan's Empire through military, as well as economic imperialism.

On September 18, 1931, the Manchurian railway near Mukden was blown up, and the Japanese army used this incident as a pretext for seizing all of Manchuria.* The Kwantung Army quickly--and without orders from Tokyo--swept through Manchuria, driving the Chinese all the way back to

their homeland. For the Japanese, Manchuria was a vast, undeveloped region containing abundant natural resources which could assist the future development of the homeland. The Manchurian development drive involved opening mines and starting iron and steel industries once Japan had separated Manchuria from China's influence.

The next plan of the Kwantung Army was to establish a new political regime in Manchuria with the last emperor of the Ch'ing dynasty, Henry Pu-yi, as its figurehead. Despite its initial opposition to the plan, Tokyo finally approved in the face of widespread and growing nationalism and expansionism among the public opinion. Fearing that too much suppression on such emotions would cause both militaristic and civilian anti-government movements and destroy the whole political system, the government established Manchukuo, Japan's first colony, on March 1, 1932.

The next serious incident occurred at the night of July 7, 1937, just outside of Peking when some Chinese soldiers fired on a company of Japanese soldiers on the Marco Polo Bridge. After a brief exchange of fire, a Japanese soldier was missing. The commander of the troops advanced on a Chinese fort and demanded to search it for their missing

* In the cases of the events that occurred in China, the Chinese time and dates are used.

comrade. When the Chinese commander refused, the Japanese started shelling the fort. Thus, what began as an accident escalated into a major conflict between the Chinese and Japanese military. As a result, both countries entered a state of war.

When the Japanese government demanded an apology and offered terms of peace, General Chiang Kai-shek, ruler of China, insisted instead that invaders withdraw from the whole of China. Tokyo was outraged by his reaction and sent military divisions to North China, under the pretext of protecting "true peace based on international justice."³ The Japanese army swiftly occupied Peking and Tientsin, winning a rapid series of battles in northern China. Japan simultaneously extended the fighting from Peking in North China to Shanghai in Central China and decided to get rid of Chiang and replace him with a more accommodating leader. For this purpose, Tokyo planned the capture of Nanking.

By this time, the Japanese government had already entered a state of war readiness, having established an Imperial Headquarters as the highest authority on strategic matters in the expanded conflict. However, the government did not officially declare war against China because it feared that such a declaration would activate America's Neutrality Act and result in a suspension of trade. Since Japan relied on American exports for much of the basic raw materials for its war effort, including scrap iron and

petroleum, discord with America would cause serious trouble for Japan's progress in China. The basic presumption of the Kono cabinet was that America would not pay much attention to Japan's invasion of China as long as the direct relationship between the two countries was peaceful.⁴

The presumption was wrong. The U.S. government, from the beginning of Japan's invasion of Manchuria, had assumed that Tokyo intended ultimately to colonize China.⁵ Strong negative attitudes toward Japan were increasingly growing within the United States. Economic sanctions against Japan were seriously considered, but postponed in the face of growing concern over the European situation.⁶ However, Washington's passivity toward Japan changed dramatically after Japan's assault on a U.S. gunboat in the Yangtze River.

On December 11, 1937, three Japanese fighter planes attacked the U.S. gunboat Panay and three nearby Chinese tankers.⁷ The Panay was sunk. Two Americans on the Panay and a considerable number of the Chinese crewmen aboard the tankers were killed.

The next day, President Franklin D. Roosevelt expressed his "shock and concern." Although the Japanese Foreign Minister immediately offered apologies, with the acceptance of full responsibility for the incident, it raised the spectre in Washington that the Japanese invasion and

occupation of China would turn out to be a major threat against America.

This impression was reinforced by the fact that, in Central China, Japanese reinforcements had been arriving, since August 1937, to launch an attack to capture Nanking, the capital of China. By December 7, Chiang Kai-shek had evacuated the capital and established a temporary capital in Hankow. The Japanese began to attack Nanking on December 9. After repelling hard counterattacks from the Chinese, Japanese troops rushed into the city and sealed the main gates, blocking all avenues of escape. Thousands of Chinese soldiers and citizens tried to escape, but were killed, or drowned in the Yangtze River, or captured. On December 12, the day after the Panay incident, Nanking was captured.

While Japan was extending its reign over China, widespread aggression was continuing in Europe. Adolf Hitler's Germany invaded Poland in September, 1939, leading to a declaration of war against Germany by Britain and France. Germany's military success continued, and France finally fell in June, 1940.

Initially, many Japanese leaders had resisted forming any strong alliance with Germany because they feared that it would create enemies for Tokyo in London and Washington.⁸ Navy representatives were particularly opposed to this idea, recognizing that the superiority of sea power of the Allies to that of Germany and Italy. As a result of this

confusion, Prime Minister Konoe Fumimaro resigned in January, 1939, to be replaced by more hawkish leaders.

Germany's easy victories made Japan assume that the Axis Powers would conquer all Europe. In addition, the collapse of Paris orphaned French Indochina and the Dutch East Indies, the richest colonies in Southeast Asia. At the same time, Germany's land successes in Europe sapped British power in the Far East by causing London to order its fleet from Singapore back to the defense of the homeland. This power vacuum seemed a perfect opportunity for Japan to expand its territory on the grounds that, if those areas, which had oil, rubber, nickel, and other important resources necessary for wartime, were not grabbed quickly, they would be seized either by the United States or even Germany.

When Konoe Fumimaro was chosen to serve as prime minister for the second time in July 1940, the government positively embraced the idea of the Tripartite Pact as a part of a three-stage policy to secure Southeast Asia from outsiders.⁹ First, the Tokyo-Berlin-Rome Axis should be strengthened. This was to be followed by nonaggression pact with the Soviet Union. Finally, positive actions should be taken to annex the Asian colonies of England, France, and Holland within a new, Japanese-led order. Step one, the Tripartite Act, was signed on September 27, 1940.¹⁰ The Russo-Japanese Neutrality Pact was concluded on April 14,

1941.* This effectively allowed Tokyo and Russia to turn their attentions to other concerns.

The military alliance of Japan with Germany and Italy shocked the U.S. government, and for the first time, the United States began to contemplate the possibility of war with Tokyo. This was manifested by the creation of economic sanctions against Japan and the beginning of serious planning for the possible use of U.S. armed forces in the Pacific area.¹¹

The Japanese government did not intend to risk war with the United States, despite Tokyo's alliance with the Axis powers. Japan was still struggling to secure China and was not prepared to fight with America, which possessed the strongest navy in the world. However, in spite of Tokyo's desire to avoid a conflict with the United States, negotiations between the two countries stagnated. U.S. Secretary of State Cordell Hull demanded Japan's withdrawal from the Tripartite Alliance. If Japan refused this demand, he said, there was no place for further negotiation. Japan stood at a crucial turning point.¹²

When Germany's attack on the Soviet Union in June, 1941, resulted in early initial gains, Japan finally made up its mind. Assuming that the European war would soon end

* The dates of the signing of the Tripartite Act and the Russo-Japanese Neutrality Pact refer to Berlin and Moscow dates, respectively.

with Germany's victory, the Japanese army advanced swiftly through the Chinese countryside. Responding to this invasion, the U.S. government banned the export of oil to Japan and froze all its assets in America. Since Japan was heavily dependent on imported oil from the U.S., the Konoe government had to make a decision--either surrender or obtain oil by taking the Dutch East Indies, an act that would mean war. Because of the pressure to establish a deadline for making the decision, Konoe resigned in October.

His successor as prime minister was former War Minister Tōjō Hideki. He continued efforts to restore U.S.-Japan relationships, but the situation was already beyond his control. On November 26, 1941, the U.S. government sent Tokyo a ten-point note demanding that Tokyo leave the Tripartite Pact, support only Chiang's authority in China, and withdraw all its troops from the whole of China and Indochina.*¹³ In Tokyo, the government interpreted these demands as a virtual declaration of war. From this moment, it hastily began to prepare for a Pacific War, beginning with a pre-emptive strike.

On December 7, 1941, the U.S. naval base at Pearl Harbor was attacked without a declaration of war. The damage inflicted by the Japanese force on the U.S. Pacific

* For all the dates of the U.S. governmental actions and the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Washington time and dates are used.

Fleet was tremendous: Five battleships, three destroyers, one minelayer, and one aircraft carrier were sunk; two other battleships, four cruisers, and smaller ships were severely damaged. Almost 200 airplanes were shot down or destroyed before they took off. A total of 2,403 Americans died in the attack. On the other hand, Japan lost only 29 planes and 55 pilots.¹⁴

On the afternoon of December 8, President Roosevelt asked a special joint session of the House and Senate for an immediate declaration of war against Japan. For its part, the Japanese government declared that it had acted in self-defense and appealed for the liberation of Asia, without comment on its violation of the provisions of the Hague Convention of 1907.¹⁵ Hostilities between the two countries began, with Japan now fully committed to fulfilling its dream of expanding its realm to Southeast Asia.

During the early period of the war, the Japanese advance was largely successful. From December 1941 to May 1942, their armies occupied Hong Kong (December 25), Rabaul (January 23), Sumatra (February 15), Singapore (February 15), Java (March 5), Rangoon (March 8), and the Philippines (May 27).^{*} Also, Borneo, Celebes, Burma and the Andamans fell under control of the army. The Imperial Air Force

* For all the dates of the capture of the Eastern and Southern Asian islands, the spot dates are used.

raided Ceylon and Port Darwin, Australia, and the Japanese navy gained successive victories in the Java Straits and the Indian Ocean.

In those occupied Southeast Asian regions, the Japanese army persuaded the leaders of local governments to cooperate with it by promising that the rights of native leaders would be protected under Japanese leadership. This action was important for the army to gain support from the natives, although there was no intention but to create pro-Japanese governments that would be subjugated to the Japanese regime.

Flushed with these successive victories, the navy proposed invasions of Hawaii and Australia, but these plans were blocked by the strong opposition of the army. This revealed, for the first time, disagreements between the army and navy in their strategies.¹⁶ The army's long-range plan was to build up the various battle fronts, to strengthen the occupation of conquered territories, to increase levels of military production, and to wait for the fall of Britain and the weakening of America's determination in the Pacific. On the other hand, the navy urged a more aggressive policy of conquering the entire area from the Pacific to the Indian Ocean--that is, dividing the world between Japan and Germany. Since the navy also recognized that the United States had a significant edge in industrial power, it favored pressing ahead quickly. Tokyo realized as early as

1942 that the longer the war lasted, the greater the possibility that Japan would be defeated.

The navy carried the day and the Japanese government approved the attack of Midway Island, in an attempt to bring the U.S. navy into a crucial early battle while the advantage of the Pacific area was in the hands of the Japanese.

The Japanese advanced on Midway with the most formidable battle ever assembled up to that time. Admiral Yamamoto not only believed that the Americans were at least 1,200 miles away, but that they had no idea that a surprise attack was about to be launched. Unfortunately for the Japanese, the Americans had cracked the Japanese naval code and knew precisely what to expect. As a result, the United States not only had its fleet in position, but also caught the Japanese advance naval force completely by surprise on June 4, 1942.* By the time Admiral Yamamoto's main force fleet arrived to engage the enemy, the U.S. fleet had destroyed four Japanese aircraft carriers and all the airplanes based on them and had withdrawn out of reach.¹⁷ The result was an overwhelming defeat, not only for Japan, but also for the influence of the Japanese naval high command. For the next three years, Tokyo suffered a string of successive defeats until surrender in 1945.

* The date of the Battle of Midway refers to the spot time.

The situation created by the defeat at Midway was compounded two months later when the United States struck at Guadalcanal in the Solomon Islands. Although the heavily outnumbered Japanese forces held out for six months, they inevitably had to withdraw in February 1943. This second major setback was followed two months later by the death of Admiral Yamamoto Isoroku, who was not only commander-in-chief of the combined fleet, but who had been a symbol of navy strength from the beginning of the war.

Not only did the military situation grow steadily worse for Japan, so did the economic situation. By autumn of 1943, total tonnage of shipping had fallen to one million tons--or one third of the minimum required to sustain the war effort.¹⁸ The production of aircraft dramatically increased, but the quality was poor because of a lack of raw materials. In addition, heavy losses of elite pilots at the Battle of Midway and poor training of inexperienced replacement pilots resulted in equally heavy losses of those new airplanes. At the same time, the United States increased its production of ships and aircraft. Although the Japanese government had anticipated this, no one had realized the full extent of America's industrial superiority.

The tide had now turned completely against Japan. A devastating blow occurred in June 1944, when 65,000 Japanese soldiers--42 percent of its total garrison--died in an

attempt to retreat from Burma during the monsoons. A month later, the island of Saipan fell and in October 1944, the U.S. launched its successful offensive to retake the Philippines.¹⁹ After the fall of Guam, Japanese civilians got their first taste of war in an air raid on Tokyo on November 1, 1944.* Hitherto unaware of the reality of war, the Japanese people now became acutely aware that it was possible for the U.S. air force to attack their homeland directly.

With a growing fear of defeat, the government organized Kamikaze dive bomber units piloted by young men who pledged to stay with their planes until it hit their targets. But it was too little and too late. In March 1945, after nearly two months of fighting, Iwo Jima fell to the enemy; Manila had already fallen in February, followed by Rangoon in May. Meanwhile, U.S. troops completed the capture of Okinawa in June 1945, making it much easier for B-29 bombers to attack the Japanese homeland.

The Japanese government now found itself being urged to make a major decision--either surrender or continue the war. During the preceding seven months, about 757,000 Japanese, including soldiers and civilians, had died.²⁰ Production of iron and steel was one third of the yearly target, and this

* Tokyo time and dates are used for all the events that occurred within Japan's homeland.

figure was expected to drop to zero by the following April because of the shortage of aluminum. Stocks of petroleum were running out and vessels of the navy were mixing soybean oil with the heavy oil they used. Hitler's Germany had already surrendered on May 7. The Soviet Union was sending forces to the Far East and was expected to be in the position to launch an invasion of Manchuria by September. Most importantly, there was no hope of winning the war.

On July 26, the Allied leaders at Potsdam issued a declaration, calling for the immediate surrender of the Japanese armed forces.*²¹ The government ignored the declaration. Shortly thereafter, on August 6, the U.S. air force dropped an atomic bomb on Hiroshima, followed three days later by a similar attack on Nagasaki. An estimated 140,000 persons perished in the two attacks. Confronted by this devastating loss of life, as well as a declaration of war against Japan by the Soviet Union, Prime Minister Suzuki Kantarō proposed acceptance of the Potsdam Declaration.²² But the army and navy were strongly opposed to the word "unconditional," insisting that the acceptance of the declaration be postponed until they would gain some victories in battles and improve the condition of surrender. Through these confused debates, Suzuki finally decided to

* The dates of the events occurring in Europe refer to the European time.

ask Emperor Hirohito for a final conclusion. The Emperor's decision was to end the war as soon as possible. On the afternoon of August 15, Japanese radio broadcast the Emperor's statement that Japan had accepted the unconditional surrender. That was the moment when the long-sought dream ended and a new period of reality started.

Before and during the Pacific War, the Japanese government successfully controlled the press as an effective instrument for its propagation. The coverage of domestic newspapers was filled with flashy victory stories, and no detailed information about defeats in the battles was provided. The Japanese people were kept ignorant of reality and educated to blindly support the war effort with patriotism and national enthusiasm. The military success in early stages of the war was mainly attributed to this nation-wide public support.

In the following chapter, the Japanese press, especially its relationship with the government, will be discussed in detail. The main questions are: How, historically, did the government perceive the role of the press in society? How did the government control the press? What kinds of censorship regulations were created by the government? How did the press respond to such state controls? And what were the primary techniques it used for war propaganda? In addition to these points, some

implications about press performance will be included in the chapter.

ENDNOTES

1. Herbert Feis, The Road to Pearl Harbor (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1950), 3.
2. Japan's oil production was only 10% of the total consumption at this period, and the rest was dependent on imports from other countries. About eighty percent of all imports were from the United States. See Hyōe Murakami, Japan--The Years of Trial, 1919-52 (New York: Kōdansha International, 1982), 86.
3. Hyōe Murakami, Japan--The Years of Trial, 1919-52, 71. The pretext of this invasion was related to the concept of "The Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere," which stated that the goals of Japanese military actions in China were "to secure stability in the Greater East Asian area and to create the new order on a basis of wealth and happiness for all." See also David Bergamini, Japan's Imperial Conspiracy (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1971), 995.
4. Hyōe Murakami, Japan--The Years of Trial, 1919-52, 70.
5. Joseph W. Ballantine, "Mukden to Pearl Harbor," Foreign Affairs (July 1949): 654.
6. Herbert Feis, The Road to Pearl Harbor, 8-12.
7. For the descriptions of the Panay incident and the battle of Nanking, see David Bergamini, Japan's Imperial Conspiracy, 24-34.
8. Hyōe Murakami, Japan--The Years of Trial, 1919-52, 73-4.
9. Ibid., p. 76.
10. The text of the pact is printed in Foreign Relations, Japan (1931-1941), vol. 2, 165-6.
11. Herbert Feis, The Road to Pearl Harbor, 123.
12. Hyōe Murakami, Japan--The Years of Trial, 1919-52, 83.
13. The text of the Hull Note is printed in Foreign Relations, Japan (1931-1941), vol. 2, 768-70.

14. The estimate of damage on the U.S. fleet slightly differs among historians. This number is based on Bergamini's description in Japan's Imperial Conspiracy, 847.
15. Japan ratified the provisions of the Hague Convention on the commencement of hostilities in 1911. The first article of the convention states: "The contracting parties accept that hostilities should not be opened unless there has been an explicit prior announcement in the form of a reasoned declaration of war or a final ultimatum which includes conditions." Saburo Ienaga, The Pacific War: World War II and the Japanese, 1931-1945 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 136.
16. Hyoe Murakami, Japan--The Years of Trial, 1919-52, 113.
17. For the detailed description of the battle, see David Bergamini, Japan's Imperial Conspiracy, 924-32.
18. Hyoe Murakami, Japan--The Years of Trial, 1919-52, 140.
19. After the fall of Saipan, Prime Minister Tojo resigned, and Koiso Kuniaki was chosen as a successor by the Emperor, in June, 1944.
20. David Bergamini, Japan's Imperial Conspiracy, 1030.
21. Ibid., p. 80. The declaration states: "We call upon the government of Japan to proclaim the unconditional surrender of all Japanese armed forces....The alternative for Japan is prompt and utter destruction."
22. Suzuki Kantaro succeeded Koiso as prime minister in April, 1945, shortly after the U.S. task force landed Okinawa.

III. EMERGENCE OF THE JAPANESE PRESS, 1868-1945

In western history texts, modern Japan is dated from the arrival of Commodore Perry in Edo Bay in 1853 and the subsequent treaty of Kanagawa that opened two ports, permitted trade under regulations, and led to improved treatment of American castaways. In fact, the modernization that followed was, to a large extent, a superimposition of western values over a culture whose roots dated back at least 1,200 years and whose origins were imbued in a social organization that emphasized the virtue of the clan chief and, subsequently, the emperor. The system was, above all, hierarchical, with absolute power residing with the imperial clan leader, who, in turn, derived his power from a divine entity.¹

Within this centuries-old structure, the concept of newspapers was almost totally alien. Even more far-fetched were the notions of freedom of speech and the press. On the contrary, the prerogatives of feudal war lords were a far more dominant influence.

It was only during the later Tokugawa period in the mid-1800s that the emergence of merchant and middle classes in the cities created an interest among the literate in news and information. Even so, no newspapers existed, partly because the rulers preferred it that way and partly because there was no such tradition. In fact, the first modern

daily newspaper appeared only in 1870--180 years after Publick Occurrences was first published in the American colonies.

Perhaps the most important event in the evolution of newspapers in Japan was the military uprising against the Tokugawa regime and its replacement in 1868 by the Meiji Emperor, who established a political system that sought to modernize the political, economic and cultural systems of the country. This movement, operating under the slogan "enlightenment and civilization," brought about a communication revolution with the introduction and proliferation of printed periodicals that rapidly attracted a public audience eager for information, especially about the outside world.

Fifteen months after the Meiji government was established, the Press Publication Ordinance was issued that freed newspapers from the Tokugawa government's system of prior censorship, under which no one could publish a newspaper without official permission. Under the new regime, publishers were required only to submit two copies of each issue of their papers to the government immediately upon publication. If anything in the paper was deemed harmful to the state--such as "irresponsible attacks" on the government or something disturbing public morals--then the publication could be put out of business. There was,

however, no clear statement of punishments for writers, editors or publishers under this law.²

In introducing the new publication law, the government encouraged and promoted newspapers intended for a general audience. This effort was not so much based on any philosophical endorsement of freedom of the press as it was the government's belief that it needed vehicles in which to propagate its own policies in order to create a public movement toward "national unity."

It was in this environment that general-circulation, modern newspapers gained a foothold and even flourished in Japan, beginning in 1870 with Yokohama Mainichi Shinbun, which was founded by a wealthy merchant through an intermediary of the government. Six more newspapers were founded in the next two years. All were published in major cities and most were "patronage papers" that prospered from government support. Since the term "patronage" indicated power and prestige, and therefore, suggested that a paper was "accurate and dependable," the publishers and editors utilized such a position to expand circulations and to attract advertisers. In exchange, they embraced the government's plans and policies and propagated its points of view about the need to modernize the nation.³

However, this intimate relationship between the government and the press did not last long. Beginning in January 1874, the Popular Rights Movement spread over the

nation, calling for the creation of a popularly elected assembly. Many newspapers supported this idea and began to criticize the government for its centralized monarchy. The drastic change in newspaper coverage stimulated the public's interest in the issue, and the Japanese people became more willing to pay attention to newspaper reports.

This new nation-wide movement divided newspapers into two groups: One was the progressive papers that discarded the prestige of "patronage paper" and supported the movement for popular rights. The other was those that kept conservative attitudes and followed government policies.⁴ The majority of papers belonged to the former group.

Embarrassed by the harsh words used in the articles of anti-state newspapers, the government issued the new Press Ordinance (June 28, 1875) and the revised Publication Ordinance (September 3, 1875), both of which were more specific and tougher than earlier regulations. The Press Ordinance contained clear statements regarding penalties and administrative procedure for preventing publication. For example, Article 13 provided that "Anyone advocating a revolution against the government or the subversion of the state, or who attempts to stir up rebellion is liable to imprisonment for not less than one year and not more than three...."⁵ Likewise, the revised Publication Ordinance introduced detailed punishments and more strict inspection of manuscripts, as well as forms of post-censorship.

By the end of 1876, more than 60 journalists had been arrested for violations of the new laws. By 1880, over 300 had been fined or jailed, most of whom were charged with libel or slander.⁶ In the early 1880s, when the Popular Rights Movement reached its peak, 144 issues of periodicals were suspended. Because of such a strict enforcement of censorship laws by the government, this period is known as the "reign of terror" in Japanese journalism history.

In 1889, the government issued the Great Japan Imperial (Meiji) Constitution, which opened with the statement that "The Empire of Japan shall be reigned over and governed by a line of Emperors unbroken for ages eternal."⁷ This constitution stated that "Japanese subjects shall, within the limits of law, enjoy the liberty of speech, writing, publication, public meetings and association."⁸ However, this concept of "liberty" was based on the prior press and publication regulations, and the press performance was always subject to government censorship. As one scholar mentioned: "Phrases such as 'within the limits of law' illustrate that the new rule by law did not absolutely guarantee civil rights."⁹ This treatment of the press by the government in the Meiji constitution remained in effect until the creation of the new Press Law of 1909.

Experiencing such strict, but ambiguous regulations, the Japanese press struggled to identify its role in the changing society. In the 1890s, it evolved from its role as

"party press" and gradually shifted its emphasis from political reports to general news. At the same time, the press had to reconstruct its financial structure from a non-commercial to a commercial basis. All newspaper organizations, except a few "patronage papers," needed to survive by increasing their circulation and attracting advertisers.

The next phase saw these papers fighting against political abuse or conducting campaigns for the improvement of living conditions and the solution of social problems--the press crusade. The main theme of this "campaign-journalism" was to criticize the government by carrying exposés, especially those concerning scandals involving high officials. Since these thoroughly investigated, sensational newspapers also sold at a low price (as did the "penny press" in the United States), they greatly appealed to the interest of the lower classes. As a result, the "campaign" papers successfully increased their circulation.

Moreover, two great conflicts, the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), contributed to the development of newspaper business by providing stimulating news reports. The government applied rigid press censorship on all news items connected with the military. However, those large papers that could afford to send their own war correspondents and resources to battle fields assumed greater prominence with their special reports

and extra editions than other papers. Even so, these "factual" reports were generally manipulated by military commanders and tended to exaggerate heroic actions of Japanese soldiers. The intensity of sensationalism, combined with official censorship, whipped public opinion into a warlike mood and suppressed a handful of anti-war activists.¹⁰

After the Russo-Japanese War, the development of commercialism in the newspaper business heightened the competition among papers in the marketplace. The stronger, well-financed papers began to purchase weak competitors and acquire their circulations and advertising bases. This pattern made them stronger and more able to compete with the other strong papers left in the market. Also, drastic changes in the structure of newspaper organizations appeared, and writers and editors were more systematically organized by new management systems. As a result, the concept of the newspaper business changed from a business concerned with "dissemination of original ideas" by a thought group to an "information business" controlled by a well-organized corporation.¹¹

Along with this movement, the press began to protest against the government's political and economic controls over the newspaper business. This opposition was triggered on May 6, 1909, when the government issued the revised Press Law and enforced repressive aspects of earlier laws and

regulations. It gave the Home Minister the power to prohibit the sale and distribution of periodicals and to seize them in cases where they disturbed public peace and morals.¹² There was no way for the press legally to fight against the Minister's completely unchecked censorship power. Moreover, punishments of "irresponsible" writers and editors were strengthened. This Press Law continued to be the basis of press regulations until the end of World War II in 1945.

When the new Press Law was unanimously passed by the Diet in 1909, the newspaper industry harshly criticized the government, calling for the protection of individual rights and freedom of speech. At that time, many journalists argued that the development of democratic political and economic systems in Japan was being disturbed by the monarchy of the ruling clique which had dominated the top offices since the Meiji Restoration.

As a result, some newspapers decided to conduct campaigns for overthrowing the ruling clique and creating democratic party-politics.¹³ Although these campaigns gained much support from the public and successfully forced some cabinets to dissolve, the ruling clique maintained its power until the appearance of the first party government in 1918. This government was soon dominated by the police and military and continued to maintain a strong grip over the

press during the "time of national crisis" in the 1920s and 1930s.

Even so, the periodical press grew tremendously in size and quality between 1920 and 1932. The number of newspapers and magazines registered under the Press Law of 1909 rose from 3,123 to 11,118 during this period.¹⁴ A handful of daily newspapers evolved into national opinion leaders, creating a growing and better-educated middle-class readership. Ownership patterns changed as corporate operations were promoted, and major press organizations acquired greater professionalism and prestige.

In terms of press policies, the government employed some powerful legal and extra-legal weapons to regulate press activities.¹⁵ First, it could suspend publication of journals for procedural violations, such as failure to report the intent to publish a specific story. Secondly, it had the power to ban the circulation of specific editions violating censorship standards. Both of these devices were already established by the Press Law of 1909. Thirdly, it created an informal post-publication warning system for books and magazines to prevent objectionable comments in future articles. At the same time, it allowed a publisher still to sell his paper after deleting objectionable material. In this way he avoided the full financial injury of a ban on circulation.

Most importantly, the government created the pre-publication system of control over newspapers because there was no effective way of preventing newspapers from circulating copies of "offensive" articles after publication. This system, called a "consultation approach," included four types of orders that could be given to a publisher when any "improper" statements or topics were found: (1) embargoes, which prohibited publishers from writing about certain specifically forbidden topics; (2) warnings; (3) deletions of entire passages; and (4) the dismemberment and restitution of seized publications.¹⁶ Furthermore, there were three forms of pre-publication warnings: instructions, in which a violation would result in a ban on circulation if anything was published on a specific subject related to public order; admonitions, in which a violation would probably bring a ban on circulation, depending on the social situation and the nature of the article; consultations, in which case publication would not be punished, but a moral appeal was made not to report the event.¹⁷ These warnings were frequently used for newspaper coverage that was not based on official press releases. The result of these warnings was to help convert the press into an agent of national unity, at the expense of any criticism or commentary on government policies.

In addition to these legal and extra-legal devices, the government issued the Peace Preservation Law on May 12,

1925. The main purpose of this law was to suppress growing radical movements of socialists, communists, and anarchists. For example, Article 1 stated that "Anyone who has organized an association with the objective of altering the national unity or the form of government or denying the system of private property....shall be liable to imprisonment with or without hard labor for a term not exceeding ten years."¹⁸ At the same time, this regulation created another obstacle for press freedom because it made actions by advocates of an outlawed ideology subject to criminal punishments. The fact that the standard of ideological motive was set by this law meant that police and justice officials were entering a new area of "thought control" by the government.

In the 1930s, the nation experienced several incidents that brought about the rapid growth of militarism and fascism in the political world and resulted in even closer scrutiny of the press. In May 1932, military extremist officers killed Prime Minister Inukai Tsuyoshi because they did not think his government had been aggressive enough toward the overthrow of China. This assassination ended the party-government system that had lasted for 14 years and that had represented a kind of high-water mark in the evolution of the Japanese press. Unfortunately for the nation--and newspapers--the result was to play into the hands of the more aggressive military leaders, who now assumed a much greater political role. Their grip over the

government and the nation was strengthened in February 1936 when military units assassinated the last remaining prominent civilian government officials--also on the grounds that they had been dragging their feet with regard to the Sino-Japanese War in particular and "The Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" in general.¹⁹

Under these repressive conditions, the Japanese press changed its role from a "leader of liberal movements" to an instrument for the governmental propagation of national unity. Before the Manchurian incident in 1931, the press often criticized the growing militarism within the government and urged a peaceful foreign policy. But, with the ascension of military influence in the government came increased attacks on the press from bureaucrats, aggressive politicians, and public pressure groups, as well as the military. Statements criticizing military actions or expenditures disappeared from press coverage, because such stories might result in disadvantages for diplomatic negotiations or disturb the promotion of absolute harmony and unity as a necessary step in solving vexatious external problems.²⁰ The government and military rigidly controlled the press as an effective medium for mobilizing the public mind toward national unity. Also, the new medium of radio broadcasting, which was monopolized by centralized NHK (Nippon Hōsō Kyōkai, Japan Broadcasting Association), was subject to official prior censorship controls.²¹

Some studies related to banning orders against the press during this period illustrate how pre-publication censorship was strengthened.²² For example, the Home Minister issued a banning order 238 times between 1929 and 1935. The "consultation," which was the weakest of the three types of warnings, disappeared after 1933, and the "instruction," which was the most severe, dramatically increased from 1932 onwards. This shows that the government became more sensitive about press coverage after the Manchurian incident of late 1931. Other statistics show that prohibitions of sales and distribution because of alleged violations of public peace and morals peaked between 1932 and 1933. Prohibitions of magazines, foreign publications, and leftist legal publications followed the same pattern. The number of prosecutions in court shows a different pattern, but it gradually increased from 1931 to 1935 (360 in 1931, 454 in 1933, and 478 in 1935). Thus, throughout the decade of the 1930s, the Japanese government strengthened its censorship systems--both pre-and post-publication--in its effort to create and maintain total public support for its aggressive foreign policies.

As tensions escalated between Japan and China, the United States, and Great Britain, Tokyo launched yet another effort to reorganize and regulate press structures and institutions to insure its full cooperation in case of war. This involved four specific areas of control: (1) the

creation of a united, centralized news agency; (2) the establishment of information institutions within the government; (3) the consolidation of the newspaper business; and (4) the press coverage under such controls.

Since the Manchurian incident in 1931, the government had suffered from the harsh criticism from the outside world. Because Japanese leaders did not want to be involved in conflicts with any countries except China, they tried to keep peaceful relationships by resolving diplomatic tensions. However, a lack of coordination in official information output among government institutions and the military caused difficulties in those diplomatic negotiations. Government leaders realized that it was urgent to create a centralized state news agency which would provide consistent official information and propaganda for foreign countries.²³

There were two major wire service agencies at that time: the Dentsū Agency, which had a tie-up with the United Press, and the Rengō Agency, which depended on the Associated Press and Reuters. These two agencies responded differently to the government proposition of unification. Rengō, a financially weak non-profit company whose employees worked without pay, agreed with the proposition, offering its facilities free of charge. On the other hand, Dentsū, a profit-making company, opposed the amalgamation, fearing

that a state agency would dominate and control the flow of information.

The Foreign and Communications Ministers finally authorized creation of the United News Agency (Dōmei) in November 1935 without Dentsū's participation. The state agency was mainly financed by NHK (Japan Broadcasting Association), which monopolized the domestic broadcasting system. In December 1935, the Communication Ministry decreed new regulations requiring a ministry permit to transmit or receive international broadcasts or telegrams. This was an action against Dentsū, because permits were granted exclusively to the United News Agency, terminating Dentsū's services. On May 31, 1936, Dentsū finally agreed to surrender its news dispatch operations to the United News Agency.

Thus, an agent of state policy was established, as the government had desired. It was designed to disseminate information in accord with official views. Its ultimate goal was to win the "thought war" against AP, UP, Reuters, Tass, and other wire services and to acquire a dominant position in Asia.²⁴ The operations of the United News Agency were under direct control of the Cabinet Information Committee that was established on July 1, 1936, as a centralized information bureau within the government. The main objectives were to manage all information regarding the work of individual offices, to deal with official

announcements of foreign and domestic information, to supervise censorship of publications, and to plan propaganda programs for government publicity.²⁵ This committee was headed by the chief cabinet secretary, with membership from the Army, Navy, Home, Foreign, and Communications Ministries. It also directly controlled the United News Agency so that the agency could manipulate the public's understanding of the outside world in accord with the government's view.

After the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese conflict, this committee was expanded to the Cabinet Information Division on September 25, 1937, indicating the government's increasing determination to centralize and reorganize its censorship agencies. In addition to doubling the number of regular staff, the new division also appointed special advisors for various fields of the mass media. These advisors gave ideas for the planning of effective propaganda programs and standardizing wartime ideology. Moreover, the establishment of the new division was related to the government's intention of whipping up national enthusiasm for the China war.

About six months later, on April 1, 1938, the government issued the National Mobilization Law to stir up and maintain the National Spiritual Mobilization Movement among the public. To promote this, the Cabinet Information Division pressed journalists to play a more positive role in

the war effort. This was embodied in a manifesto called "Guidance for Newspapers." According to this, writers and editors were admonished not to present too optimistic a picture of current affairs, to consider the impact of news upon Japanese soldiers, civilians, and foreign nations, and to shape public opinion favorable to the state. Specifically, it stated: No quick diplomatic solution should be suggested; German and Italian policies should receive favorable comments; Communism, which was the source of world disorder, should be attacked.²⁶ Although these were "unofficial" standards without legal basis, the new division strictly enforced them against any journalists, with harsh punishments such as imprisonment, suspension, and fines.

On December 6, 1940, the government converted the Cabinet Information Division to the Cabinet Information Bureau, a super agency whose scope and size were dramatically increased. It included the work of information divisions of the Army, Navy, Foreign, and Home Ministries, employing over 600 people from those ministries. The main purpose was to unify the censorship apparatus under the cabinet's direct supervision for achieving total control of mass media and other forms of public expression. There were five divisions in the bureau: (1) planning and investigation; (2) information (newspapers, magazines, books, and broadcasting); (3) overseas propaganda; (4) censorship; and (5) domestic propaganda and culture.²⁷

The Cabinet Information Bureau was the ultimate form of the government information institution which unified all works for the total control of information. It was better-organized and more legally supported than earlier institutions. All communication systems were under the supervision of the bureau, and censorship regulations were strictly enforced. Under such conditions, press activities were greatly limited in news-gathering, reporting, and distribution.

The press was now unable to survive without the services of the Cabinet Information Bureau, the United News Agency, and other centralized agencies. In addition, the growing national enthusiasm among the public for Japanese expansion made it difficult for any newspaper or editor to fight for freedom of expression. It would be fair to say that, by early 1941, the press had become a part of the government's propaganda machine. Because of this, the attack on Pearl Harbor and declaration of war by the United States had little impact on press coverage or attitudes: the journalists simply did as they were told or risked imprisonment. Beyond this, there was still work to be done by the government on the resources consumed by newspapers and other publications. These were severely regulated by the Newspaper Business Decree of December 13, 1941. The main objectives were to curtail competition in the market and to conserve scarce materials.²⁸ In fact, this decree

granted government the authority to interfere with the entire management system of the newspaper business.

This regulation organized newspapers into four groups:²⁹ (1) three "majors," which were nation-wide papers published in Tokyo and Ōsaka; (2) four "block papers," which served in metropolitan regions; (3) 16 specialized papers, concerned with economy, electronics, transportation, farming, fishing, printing, etc.; and (4) 45 local papers, which were published only in each prefecture.

First of all, the three leading dailies, the Mainichi/Nichi-Nichi chain, the Asahi, and the Yomiuri, were left in Tokyo as nation-wide newspapers. But five other big papers were forced either to sell out to the three giants or else to close their offices. For example, Hōchi Shinbun, one of the majors, was acquired by Yomiuri Shinbun, and the merged paper was named Yomiuri-Hōchi Shinbun. Kokumin Shinbun and Miyako Shinbun, which had long been opinion leaders known for their original thoughts and ideas, were closed after an attempted merger of the two papers failed. Instead, new Tokyo Shinbun was established as a "block paper." Shin-Aichi Shinbun and Nagoya Shinbun were merged into Chūbu-Nihon Shinbun, which was also admitted as a "block paper" by the government.

Consequently, in addition to the three majors, the government allowed four papers, Chūbu-Nihon Shinbun, Nishi-Nihon Shinbun, Tokyo Shinbun, and Ōsaka Shinbun, as "block

papers" in metropolitan cities. Thirdly, specialized, industrial papers were consolidated into 16 papers--one for each field, except the economy. Two of these were allowed, one published in Tokyo and the other in Ōsaka 150 miles to the south. Finally, local newspapers were consolidated under the slogan "one paper for one prefecture." This policy, established since 1937, was rapidly achieved in 1942. As a result, even well-financed, influential local papers were forced to cease publication. The total number of daily newspapers declined from 848 in 1939 to just 60 in 1942.²⁸

Although a certain amount of newspaper consolidation had been occurring before the war, by far the greatest impact on press size and performance from 1940 onwards was effected by the military-dominated government. A one-party state emerged and was codified in August, 1940 by the Imperial Rule Assistance Association. The effect of the creation of this single national party was to eliminate many local newspapers that had retained affiliation with (and some financial support from) the various political parties. Because the new law essentially eliminated party rivalries, it also created a uniformity of content in almost all Japanese newspapers.³¹ This, in turn, provided the government with a pretext for decreeing that each area should only be served by just one newspaper.

Punitive measures against newspapers and journalists were by 1941 so strong that there was no effective and safe way to oppose the consolidation of the press and the uniformity of thinking that was being demanded by the government. If a newspaper organization opposed the consolidation directives, police could confiscate the publication by force, no matter the legality of their actions. In addition, there was no impartial avenue of appeal open to persons victimized by the police.

To make matters even easier for the government, a shortage of newsprint contributed further to the weakening of any independent voices within the press. In 1936, Japanese newspapers had consumed nearly 700 million pounds of newsprint--of which 139 million was imported. From 1939 onwards, paper imports dramatically decreased, dropping to zero after the beginning of the Pacific War in 1941. By 1945, newsprint consumption had dropped to about 160 million pounds--or 23 percent of the 1936 total.³²

The control and distribution of newsprint was in the hands of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, which provided another means by which a newspaper could be brought into line if it strayed in its support for the regime and the war. But, given all of the other controls, the impact of the shortage of newsprint was less political than it was practical. The size and frequency of newspapers were greatly affected by the paper shortage. For example, in

1937 major daily newspapers generally published 20-page papers for both morning and evening editions. The number of pages for each edition dropped to 16 in 1938, then to 12 in 1939 and to six in 1941 (with just two pages for evening editions). By 1942, the average size for all newspapers was four pages. Two years later, all newspapers were forced to abolish evening editions and could publish only two-page morning editions.³³

The war also had a serious impact on advertising and content. Space for advertisements dramatically decreased from the mid-1930s when about 30 percent of available space was sold. After the beginning of the Pacific War, advertising lineage dropped to 20 percent and then to just 10 percent from 1944 until the end of the war.³⁴ At the same time, non-war related news suffered the same fate, according to content analyses. Particularly affected were entertainment, women's stories, cartoons, and weather reports.³⁵

Human interest stories, crime news and domestic disaster reports were replaced by food-related information covering such topics as distribution, nutrition and gardening methods.³⁶ Space devoted to foreign news that was not war-related was limited, too, not only by lack of space, but also by the difficulty of gathering the information. Most foreign news during the war was transmitted through the United News Agency, which got its information by monitoring

other wire services. Only the giant papers could send their own correspondents to foreign countries. Even so, the locations of these correspondents were severely restricted because of the world-wide crisis. A study of the foreign dispatches during the war showed the following:³⁷

| | | | |
|-----------|-------|--------------|-------|
| Berlin | 26.6% | Buenos Aires | 8.2% |
| Lisbon | 20.6% | Shanghai | 3.7% |
| Stockholm | 12.0% | Moscow | 2.6% |
| Zurich | 8.8% | Other | 17.5% |

A handful of Japanese writers did oppose the state and its war aims in spite of the strict controls over the press. Some of the more noteworthy opponents of the regime were Kiryū Yūyū, Masaki Hiroshi, Kikutake Rokko, Nakano Seigō and Shinmyō Takeo.³⁸ The targets of their criticisms ranged from individual politicians to the entire military and the fanaticism of the public. None of them were allowed to write for long. In extreme cases, some of these opponents killed themselves after being denounced as "traitors" to the nation. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that few other journalists risked any public opposition to the government during the war.

Most journalists simply did their jobs the best they could under the watchful eye of two press associations that were established with the cooperation of the government and the press to manage or control the press during the national war crisis. The first was the Newspaper League, which was created by representatives of major, regional, and local

newspapers on May 28, 1941. Its stated objective was to serve "as a self-governing control group of the newspaper business." Its goals were "to plan the progress and development of the industry, and thereby to fulfill its stated mission."³⁹ While this implied a fairly broad degree of self-regulation, the fact was that the Newspaper League's main purpose was to serve as the state's primary agent to control expression, reform newspaper editing and management, and assist in newsprint rationing.

Five months later, in February 1942, the Newspaper League was converted to a more powerful association. The new Newspaper Association, whose membership was appointed by the government, was also invested by the government with sweeping powers. It had sole authority to control management, content, consolidations, cooperative sales, and distribution of newsprint and other raw materials. It could also legally seize issues of publications that it judged to be critical of the government or its press regulations.⁴⁰ Although the Newspaper Association had some of the outward trappings of self-regulation, there was no doubt whatsoever that its purpose was to insure that the official position vis-a-vis the press was enforced. Not surprisingly, in view of Japanese tradition and the authoritarian control being exercised by the government, no formal association or group of any kind was formed during this period to fight for freedom of expression.

As a result of these repressive regulations, the Japanese press lost all its freedom during wartime and, while it remained in private hands, its policies and content were completely subjugated by the government.

Given the absolute authority of the Newspaper Association and the absence of opposition, it was more to control its own government and military officials that the cabinet also implemented policies severely restricting who could talk to journalists. Most information that the press could obtain was provided by three main sources: For government announcements, news was mostly to come through the Cabinet Information Bureau; for war news, only the High Command had permission to speak; and for foreign and local domestic news, the United News Agency had total control.

Although it is widely understood that truth is the first casualty in war, regardless of country, the Japanese press appears to have been at least as great victim of government controls as was its counterpart in Nazi Germany. Perhaps more so, because the concepts of democracy and freedom of expression simply had never gained a foothold in Japan before 1945. No such thing could even be contemplated by the feudal leaders. Even the Meiji Restoration in 1868 saw little movement by the government toward freedom. On the contrary, the government controlled the press by means of both legal and extra-legal censorship. As a result, when the expansionist government of the 1930s implemented a

series of restrictions on the press, there was no sense of outrage that comes from a well-established tradition or heritage. In a sense, the Japanese press had always suffered from a nightmare of a "reign of terror." On the other hand, the press had often "voluntarily" cooperated with the government in order to insure that newspapers prospered.

In this study, however, the focus will not be on government controls per se, but on how they and other factors may have affected the content of the press over four specific events from December 1937 to August 1945. Three nation-wide newspapers ("majors") were chosen: Asahi Shinbun, Yomiuri Shinbun (Yomiuri-Hōchi Shinbun from August 1942), and Mainichi Shinbun. The main focuses are: emotional techniques employed in the stories; slant of the stories and headlines; the number and variety of information sources; overall attitudes toward the enemy and the Axis; the number of strong negative words or statements; overall propaganda emphases.

ENDNOTES

1. See, for example, William L. Langer, ed., An Encyclopedia of World History (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1952), 887-93; and Thomas A. Bailey, Diplomatic History of the American People, 6th ed. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1958), 308-14.
2. Richard H. Mitchell, Censorship in Imperial Japan (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1983), 24.
3. Yoshimi Uchikawa and Naoyuki Arai, ed., Nippon No Jānarizumu (The Journalism of Japan) (Tokyo: Yūkikaku Co., 1983), 8.
4. Ibid., p. 9.
5. Walter W. McLaren, ed., Japanese Government Documents, with transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan (Washington: University Publications of America, Inc., 1979), vol. 2, 542.
6. Richard H. Mitchell, 52.
7. George M. Beckmann, The Making of the Meiji Constitution: The Oligarches and the Constitutional Development of Japan, 1868-1891 (Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 1957), 151.
8. Ibid., p. 151.
9. Richard H. Mitchell, 104.
10. Yoshimi Uchikawa and Naoyuki Arai, 45.
11. Ibid., p. 52.
12. Richard H. Mitchell, 143.
13. Yoshimi Uchikawa and Naoyuki Arai, 52-9.
14. Gregory J. Kasza, The State and the Mass Media in Japan, 1918-1945 (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1988), 28.
15. Ibid., pp. 30-1.

16. Jay Rubin, Injurious to Public Morals: Writers and the Meiji State (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1984), 28.
17. Gregory J. Kasza, 31.
18. Richard H. Mitchell, 196-7.
19. "The Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" was a main ideology for Japan's "justice" for its participation in the war. The logic of this ideology was that only Japan could help the Eastern Asian countries which had suffered from the exploitation of the Western powers to accomplish the Eastern Asians' "liberty, peace, and independence." However, the bottom line was that Japan should have influences on (or control) the development of politics, economics, and cultures of those "Asian fellows." The press consistently supported this idea and persuaded the public to understand its justification.
20. Richard H. Mitchell, 277.
21. Radio broadcasting in Japan started around the Tokyo area from 1925, and it became a nation-wide network in the 1930's. NHK (Nippon Hōsō Kyōkai, Japan Broadcasting Association), a semiofficial institution partly supported by the government, mostly dominated radio broadcasts. All content of programs was subject to official prior censorship.
22. Richard H. Mitchell, 267-71.
23. Yoshimi Uchikawa and Naoyuki Arai, 65-6.
24. Gregory J. Kasza, 157.
25. Yoshimi Uchikawa and Naoyuki Arai, 69-70.
26. Richard H. Mitchell, 89.
27. Yoshio Miyamoto, Senji-Ka No Shinbun, Hōsō (The press and Broadcasting during Wartime) (Tokyo: Ningen No Kagaku Sha, 1984), 89. The author was one of the directors of the Cabinet Information Committee (1936) and the Cabinet Information Bureau (1940).
28. Richard H. Mitchell, 188.
29. Yoshio Miyamoto, 122-31.

30. Ibid., p. 131. The total number of non-daily newspapers also declined from 5,016 in 1939 to about 40 in December, 1942.
31. Richard H. Mitchell, 190-3.
32. Yoshimi Uchikawa and Naoyuki Arai, 78.
33. Yoshio Miyamoto, 136-45.
34. Yoshimi Uchikawa and Naoyuki Arai, 81-2.
35. Ibid., p. 82.
36. Ibid., p. 82.
37. Ibid., p. 84. Foreign dispatches from Buenos Aires ended in November 1943, because of the rupture of diplomatic relations between Argentina and Japan.
38. Ibid., pp. 86-7.
39. Gregory J. Kasza, 211. See also Yoshio Miyamoto, 96.
40. Ibid., p. 216.

IV. PROPAGANDA AND PRESS CONTROLS, 1914-1945

After World War I, the role of propaganda in psychological warfare drew much attention from scholars and politicians. A general belief in the great persuasive power of mass communication emerged, and the media were considered as an effective, even sinister, means to shape and sway public opinion.

Harold Lasswell defined propaganda, in 1927, as follows: "The control of opinion by significant symbols, or to speak more concretely and less accurately, by stories, rumors, reports, pictures and other forms of social communication."¹ Also, he wrote: "A newer and subtler instrument must weld thousands and even millions of human beings into one amalgamated mass of hate and will and hope....The name of this new hammer and anvil of social solidarities is propaganda."² Thus, propaganda was identified as a powerful weapon to shape, modify, or influence public opinion and to lead human actions desired by the communicator.

Dozens of other definitions of propaganda have been offered, but not all need to be repeated in order to get the main points. For our purposes, two of them will suffice. The first is from the Institute for Propaganda Analysis, which, in 1937, defined propaganda as "expression of opinion or action by individuals or groups deliberately designed to

influence opinions or actions of other individuals or groups to predetermined ends."³ Also, during this period of international tension, Frederic Bartlett formulated his definition of propaganda as being "an attempt to influence opinion and conduct--especially social opinion and conduct--in such a manner that the persons who adopt the opinions and behavior indicated do so without themselves making any definite search for reasons."⁴

In addition to these definitions, some notations of the intent or purpose of propaganda have been pointed out. For example, Kimball Young considered propaganda as "the more or less deliberately planned and systematic use of symbols, chiefly through suggestion and related psychological techniques, with a view first to alerting and controlling opinions, ideas, and values, and ultimately to changing overt actions along predetermined lines....The essential psychological element in propaganda is suggestion."⁵

Leonard Doob, in 1935, differentiated between intentional and unintentional propaganda as follows: "Intentional propaganda is a systematic attempt by an interested individual (or individuals) to control the attitudes of groups of individuals through the use of suggestion and, and consequently, to control their actions; unintentional propaganda is the control of the attitudes, and consequently, the actions of groups of individuals through the use of suggestion."⁶

Such functions of propaganda, intentional or unintentional, may be strengthened by the use of emotional stimuli. For Francis Wilson, propaganda is "a body of systematic psychological techniques for acquiring control over opinions and the actions of its objects," including two sides of effects: Positively, it is "a system of appeals to the emotional responses which will favor a supported policy"; negatively, it "seeks action or seeks to restrain action by using appeals to emotional slants."⁷ Edgar Henderson stated, in his definition, that "Propaganda is any anti-rational process consisting of pressure-techniques deliberately used to induce the propagandee to commit himself before he can think the matter over freely, to such attitudes, opinions, or acts as the propagandist desires of him."⁸

Such emotional appeals are commonly used by propagandists effectively to influence or manipulate the public's mind. Erwin Fellows characterized those techniques as "emotional" and "rational." The former refers to an appeal to basic motives or drives, while "rational" indicates "the use of recognized logical principles and (in most contexts) the use of scientific evidence."⁹

Typical of such emotional techniques is the "fear-approach." By the use of fearful stimuli in verbal and visual communications, the communicator may arouse fear in the public's mind, which becomes a main drive to motivate

them for the desired attitudes, opinions, or actions. Michael Balfour mentioned that such stimuli can be effective to mobilize people because they are gripped by fear for themselves, their families, and their possessions, especially in wartime.¹⁰ However, Harold Hays questioned the effectiveness of the "fear-approach," claiming that "the greater the degree of fear-arousal in a message, the less is its effectiveness as a modifying agent," because such a message is likely to be perceived as less credible by the audience.¹¹

With regard to government's control over the media in wartime, previous studies have shown that there are three main strategies: (1) to establish a centralized "press intelligence" organization within the government, which supervises the media activities; (2) to introduce official or voluntary censorship; and (3) to choke the channels of communication with government sponsored or approved materials, leaving little chance for rumor or allegedly disloyal reports. This latter strategy includes the restriction of the accessibility of the media to sources of information, which might indicate how tightly the government controls the media. For example, Donald Shaw and Stephen Brauer's study of the relationship between government and press reports shows that there is a correlation between increasing stress on the government and society and increasing restraints on the press. That is, the more the

government and society face the stress in a crisis situation, the more restraints the press experiences.¹² This result is consistent with the finding of a study by John Stevens that reports that the legal and extra-legal controls over the news-gathering activities of the American press during World War I paralleled the American fortunes of war. Thus, the gloomier the situations the nation experienced, the stronger the controls over the press.¹³

Dick Fitzpatrick suggested, in his study of the volume of U.S. government press releases, that the number of press releases issued in 1945 increased by 11% compared to that of 1937, dropping by 15% in 1947. Also, the 1945 total annual appropriations of all government agencies for press releases increased sixfold over those of 1937.¹⁴ Although the study does not provide statistics during the period from 1938 to 1944, these increased numbers of press releases illustrate how the U.S. government tried to control the content and possibly also access to government by the American media in the crisis situation.

The capacity of mass communication to reach the widespread masses facilitates the effects of propaganda messages. Such effects are likely to occur especially in wartime, because war is the most serious case of national crisis. Citizens must be inspired to maximize their love of the home land, their hatred of the enemy, and their commitment to the war effort to insure victory. During

World War I and, to a lesser extent, World War II, propaganda became the principal means for motivating them to do so.

The concepts and techniques of propaganda differ according to political and economic systems. For example, propaganda carried by democratic countries during World War II was much different from that of totalitarian countries. Eyvind Bratt differentiated between the characteristics of propaganda and the role of the press during the war in terms of democratic and totalitarian systems.¹⁵ In the former, the press was treated as a separate political entity that stood on its own feet and was expected to initiate political programs by itself. The government, making due allowance for conflicting interests within the society, would rather urge the press to engage in voluntary censorship than impose official restrictions. During World War II, generally, the U.S. press was willing to cooperate with the government by not revealing information that might benefit the enemy, such as troop movements. In this environment, propaganda was conducted under the official and unofficial guidelines set by the government and the press itself.

On the other hand, in totalitarian countries, the press was expected to give the government its most loyal and efficient support in shaping public opinion. Therefore, the government was able to handle the news as it saw fit. Violations of official standards and instructions were

strictly punished by suspension, imprisonment, or fines. As a result, the press was always associated with the government's propaganda operations and became an official instrument for propagation. According to Bratt, this was a characteristic of the propaganda machine of Germany, Italy, and Japan during the war.

The following sections will discuss the characteristics of propaganda employed in democratic and totalitarian systems during World War II.

War Propaganda of the Allies: U.S. and Great Britain

Generally, the main strategy of the Allies during World War II was to attempt to convey a true impression of their basic policy intentions, with only a minimum reliance on the opposite technique of resorting to the so-called big-lie.¹⁶ Social historian Daniel Lerner's studies of Allied war-time propaganda led him to conclude that it "faithfully reflected the policy intentions of its political leadership." As a result, he wrote, "it can appropriately be designated, despite frequent inaccuracies and occasional untruths, as a strategy of truth."¹⁷

The propaganda employed by the United States during the war was mainly based on the belief that fascism was a menace to world peace and had to be destroyed completely. This belief led to an approach based on the concepts of credibility and truthfulness, which were thought to be

essential in determining persuasiveness and credence of reports. Thus, the American government, while imposing censorship restrictions on the press and causing it other forms of inconvenience, never deliberately imposed any kind of restraints that systematically prevented the truth from being told. Nor did it purposefully plant stories and resort to big-lie tactics with the press.

On the other hand, some critics have held that United States propaganda was not always based on facts or truths during World War II. For example, Frederick Irion has pointed out that the government, through its Office of War Information (OWI), tended to use facts "to substantiate opinions arrived at by some method not involving facts." Irion concluded that if the OWI "had relied either on factual materials on which the people could have based their opinions or on interpretative data, the informational policy of the government would have been a failure."¹⁸ Bruce Smith argues that the goals of war information programs employed by the U.S. government from 1941 to 1945 were to stimulate the will to win among the home population, to persuade neutral countries to support the Allied position, and to demoralize the enemy.¹⁹

Therefore, in terms of the home front, the main tactic of propaganda was to stimulate the people's desire to be strong, to feel morally justified, and to feel intelligent. The logic behind this is as follows: "If the enemy....is

telling our public fifty times a week that his armies are stronger than our own, and if we do not make adequate reply, we may stand a good chance of being beaten, even though our armies are really the stronger."²⁰

With regard to military censorship, two main objectives have been, historically, accepted by military officials in democracies: (1) to insure the prompt release to the public of the maximum information available; and (2) to prevent the disclosure of information which would assist the enemy.²¹

During World War II, however, an American emphasis on increasing soldiers' morale and support from the home front was added to these objectives. As Cedric Larson wrote in 1941, "Our military authorities know that a well-equipped 'arsenal of ideas' with which to supply weapons of psychological warfare is as important as an adequate force of dive bombers and tanks...."²²

These U.S. propaganda techniques and controls were most associated with the operation of the Office of War Information, a bureau that was in charge of official propaganda programs. The OWI conducted more than fifty campaigns during the war, for such things as food restrictions, fat salvage, victory gardens, prevention of forest fires, recruitment for the armed forces, and promotion of the absolute war effort. The foreign propaganda programs were conducted by the OWI's overseas branch, the Foreign Information Service, mainly through the

radio transmissions over "The Voice of America."²³ Thus, the U.S. propaganda machine was well-organized through cooperation among the government, military, and the media. As Raymond Nixon anticipated before the war: "Any new controls over the public opinion in the next war....will be super-imposed upon the most drastic censorship that the last war [World War I] produced and upon the most efficient public relations program that the skilled publicity men in the Army can devise."²⁴

Likewise, propaganda programs and censorship system were well-managed in Great Britain. Media activities were overseen by the News Department of the Foreign Office, whose main function was not only to supply news but also to "educate the different organs of publicity along the lines of the foreign policy pursued by the government."²⁵ Since the government especially focused on the potential of radio broadcasting as a propaganda instrument, British radio coverage became "a constant flow of reports from the government department's tantamount to 'gentle propaganda' in favor of things as they are."²⁶

Also, the government strengthened the Defense of the Realm Act that had been first issued during World War I. Censorship under this law was supposed to suppress only factual data that might benefit the enemy, but it also granted legal power to curtail freedom of the press if an extreme expression against the government were found in the

media coverage. According to Eyvind Bratt, British censorship was based on a closer relationship between the media and the government than that of the United States.²⁷

Under these conditions, Allied propaganda was spread over the world in a generally successful attempt to persuade both allies and neutrals of the justice of their cause and the inevitability of victory. These efforts were accompanied by concerted attempts to demoralize the enemy. Though it greatly varied in content and forms of communications, some examples of Allied propaganda techniques are mentioned here.

Of particular interest to this thesis is the propaganda used to denigrate the enemy's strength, moral character, and aims. For example, the United States and British press paid great attention during World War II to alleged Japanese atrocities in occupied territories. The Bataan "death march" was described in detail, as was the forced use of prisoners of war to build the Burma railway. Other stories that were covered in detail involved overcrowding and starvation in POW camps, the beheading of prisoners, mass executions, and rape of civilian women by Japanese soldiers.

While most of these stories were based on fact, Vernon McKenzie claims that at least some of them were made up by reporters.²⁸ Atrocity stories generally were common to both the Allied and Axis sides during World War II, but, as

Phillip Knightly observed, "neither side reported its own atrocities."²⁹

Allied propaganda about the Japanese people was occasionally even more sweeping and ill-founded. Some British and American propagandists encouraged the view that the Japanese were "'apes in uniform,' lacking sufficient intelligence to master mechanized warfare, unable to learn to pilot planes because they had been strapped to their mother's backs as babies and had thus lost their sense of balance."³⁰ Racially, the Japanese were described as "yellow" or even "yellow monkeys" by some American newspapers and magazines. It was not just because of headline constraints that the word "Japanese" was inevitably shortened to "Jap."

Since one of the primary purposes of this thesis is to examine treatment by the Japanese press of their enemies during wartime, suffice it to say for now that the Japanese counterpart to "yellow monkey" was "brutal demon" to characterize Americans. As a matter of fact, this kind of negative wording was less frequently used by the Allies than it was by the Axis powers, of which Germany was by far the most aggressive in using "black propaganda" (attacks aimed at portraying the enemy in as bad a light as possible).

Axis Propaganda: Germany and Japan under Totalitarianism

Immediately after the outbreak of World War II in Europe in September 1939, the Institute for Propaganda Analysis stated that "Germany is beating the Allies badly in 'the war of words.' So marked, in fact, has been the alleged superiority of the German propaganda machine that London newspapers...were bitterly denouncing their Ministry of Information."³¹

This superiority of German propaganda to that of the Allies at the beginning of the war can be attributed to three factors. First was Germany's past experience in propaganda, not only during World War I, but also during the Nazi rise to power. These efforts were aided immensely by a series of early victories on the battlefields of Europe. Second was the absolute control that the government had established over German radio and newspapers from 1933 onwards. Not only did the Nazis take over the press, but they also controlled all other forms of communication. As Michael McGuire wrote: "In the Third Reich journalism, literature, drama, painting, sculpture, architecture, and music all were regulated for use as assertive media to put the Nazi's message in the public eye and mind."³² Third was the skill of both Adolf Hitler and Joseph Goebbels, who served as head of the Ministry of Propaganda and Enlightenment. Both men were skilled and experienced professionals when it came to the "war of words."

According to Daniel Lerner, Nazi propaganda during World War II was set in a context of overall falsehood, because while the Germans actually "intended to rule Europe, they pretended that they wanted only to save Europe from the Bolshevik menace."³³ Based on this "false" context, the Nazis conducted propaganda campaigns which were systematic misrepresentations of their overall policy--a strategy of the big-lie. The totalitarian (or dictatorship) system of Germany facilitated such campaigns to persuade Europe to accept a hegemony ruled by the "superior German race."

Although Hitler set the tone with his emotional speeches, it was Goebbels who was primarily responsible for Germany's propaganda successes. Described as a "fiery and persuasive orator" who was ignorant of foreign affairs, Goebbels dedicated his efforts toward advancing the cause of his Fuehrer through every means possible.³⁴ He was convinced that all propaganda media must operate according to strictly defined ideological guidelines, and his Ministry possessed the power and the will to exercise almost total control over all media outlets in Nazi Germany and occupied territories.

Goebbels also tailored his appeals to the uneducated masses, as opposed to intellectuals, whom he regarded as hopeless. The second key to his success was based on his conviction that propaganda should appeal to the emotions, not to reason, and that it should concentrate on repeating a

few simple themes.³⁵ More than any single person during World War II, it was Goebbels who was able to divorce himself from truth in favor of hammering against the enemy with "black" or "gray" propaganda.³⁶

In summary, German propaganda was effective, not only on the home front, but also in other areas of Europe, for five reasons. First, the nation's totalitarian system under Hitler allowed total control of the state; second, Hitler's manipulation of images and persuasive techniques; third, a well-organized propaganda institution and its strict controls over the media; fourth, Goebbels' skill in propaganda techniques and his authority over the Ministry of Propaganda and Enlightenment; and, finally, the suppression of ideological opponents in Germany by means of the death penalty and the concentration camp system. Such manners were imitated by the other members of the Axis, but both Italy and Japan "lacked the skill which at times has been exhibited by the Germans."³⁷

Because the main characteristics of Japanese propaganda for the home front during World War II were described in Chapter 3, only a few more studies useful for the understanding of the other Japanese wartime media and foreign propaganda are added here.

As in the case of the press, Japanese state censorship shaped radio and film-making. Most of the films and radio programs created during the war had the usual wartime

propaganda themes, such as "national polity," the justice of Japan's "The Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere," and the "spiritual virtue and strong morale" of the Japanese. The Home Ministry prescribed that films have "healthy entertainment value, with themes showing persons ready to serve patriotically."³⁸ Anthony Rhodes wrote: "No doubt all this reinforced patriotic ideals and maintained the image of the Allies as nefarious villains."³⁹ However, it also has been pointed out that the techniques used in audio-visual communications of domestic propaganda were not as effective as those of Germany. For example, William Murphy concluded that Japan failed to exploit the full potential of documentary films as a propaganda weapon, stating that "Japan's wartime films lacked real information and made little effort toward a documentary style. Not photographing the attack on Pearl Harbor in greater detail was a singular tactical error."⁴⁰

The reform of the education system was another means for controlling the public's view of the world. Military ideals were specifically emphasized in the lectures of every school. Books on the divinity of the emperor and the duty of the citizen to devote everything became compulsory reading, and history books were revised and mixed with a course on ethics and morals. The fields of navigation, aviation, horsemanship, and mechanics took the most priority.⁴¹

With regard to Japanese foreign propoganda, short-wave radio broadcasting played the main role. In each of the Eastern Asian occupied areas, Japanese forces installed a short-wave broadcasting system, embracing the entire "Co-Prosperity Sphere." It provided "uninterrupted flow of propoganda about Japan's plans for Asian welfare, together with denigration of the 'Anglo-Saxon tyrants'."⁴² For the Allied soldiers, there was a 15-minute long daily radio program, hosted by a Japanese American woman called "Tokyo Rose," who tried to be as sentimental as she could about the U.S. to exacerbate the G.I.s' natural disposition to become homesick, while serving thousands of miles away from their loved ones. Also, a prisoner-of-war broadcast was conducted to publicize Japan's humanity in treating prisoners of the POW camps.⁴³

Other forms of communication, such as posters, leaflets, lectures on native local leaders, and local newspapers and radio stations, were used in the occupied areas in the same manner. Charles Lomas' empirical research within the occupied Asian areas from 1944 to 1945 describes some characteristics of the Japanese propoganda.⁴⁴ His report shows that emotional stories markedly increased as Japan lost power. He also found that the basic thrust of Japanese propoganda changed during that one-year period. Also, two main themes emerged during this time: (1) Local communities throughout Asia were happily building a new

economic and social structure under Japanese guidance; and (2) local leaders were enthusiastically cooperating with Japan to bring about the victory of "all Asians."

Overall, Japanese propagandists proved to be less skillful than their German counterparts. Lomas identified three shortcomings that adversely influenced Japanese efforts as propagandists. First, the Japanese did not make effective use of all of the available means of persuasion, particularly radio and films. Second, they were never able to square their version of the "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" with a political reality that had become evident even before Pearl Harbor. Finally, at least some Japanese citizens discredited the propagandists because they knew some of the "facts" reported were untrue, especially at the final stages of the war. In other words, a long tradition of family honor made it possible for some Japanese to hold propagandists in disgrace because they were known to be circulating untruths.⁴⁵

Another scholar, Anthony Rhodes, who also concluded that Japanese propaganda efforts had not worked effectively enough, identified his own three reasons for this. First, the structure of fascism in Japan was not as organized or thorough as it had been in Europe, making it much more difficult for Tokyo to control the media as completely as Berlin had done. Second, an underlying disagreement between government leaders and military headquarters about war aims

caused conflicting directives to be issued which, in turn, made it difficult for propagandists to hammer on a few simple themes. Finally, during the last stages of the war, Japan could not counter the reality of pending defeat and the blitz of Allied propaganda that was being spread over the occupied areas and the home front.⁴⁶

Given this background of the rise of fascism and militarism in Europe and the Far East, it is valuable to attempt to understand to what degree there was uniformity and to what degree Germany and Japan operated independently of each other in their techniques of propaganda and press controls. Did they learn from one another in such areas as newspaper reporting, media control and government censorship? Or did each evolve according to its own traditions and cultures? Much is already known about Nazi Germany, but Japan's emergence as an aggressive force still poses questions. This study seeks to better understand the role of the Japanese newspaper press during wartime and to compare it to an earlier event that, while aggressive in nature, did not portend a global conflict.

ENDNOTES

1. Harold D. Lasswell, Propaganda Technique in the World War (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1927), 9.
2. Ibid., pp. 220-1.
3. The Institute for Propaganda Analysis, Propaganda Analysis 1 (October 1937): 1.
4. Frederic C. Bartlett, Political Propaganda (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940), 5-6.
5. Kimball Young, Social Psychology (New York: Crofts, 1944), 505-7.
6. Leonard D. Doob, Propaganda: Its Psychology and Technique (New York: Henry Holt, 1935), 89.
7. Francis G. Wilson, Theory of Public Opinion (Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1962), 160.
8. Edgar H. Henderson, "Toward a Definition of Propaganda," Journal of Social Psychology 18 (August 1943): 83. Also, Melvin DeFleur and Sandra Ball-Rokeach summarize the powerful role of the mass media in propaganda and the processes through which its message is delivered to audience as follows: (1) powerful stimuli are uniformly brought to the attention of the individual members of the mass, and (2) these stimuli tap inner urges, emotions, or other processes over which the individual had little voluntary control, so (3) the members of the mass could be swayed and influenced by those stimuli in possession of the media, especially with the use of emotional appeals. See Melvin L. DeFleur and Sandra J. Ball-Rokeach, Theories of Mass Communication, 3rd ed. (New York: David McKay, 1975), 159.
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18. Frederick C. Irion, Public Opinion and Propaganda (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1952), 433.
19. Bruce L. Smith, "Scientific and Semi-Scientific Literature on War Information and Censorship," Journalism Quarterly 20 (March 1943): 8.
20. Ibid., p. 9.
21. Michael Singletary, "Attitudes of Military Censors and Other Officers," Journalism Quarterly 54 (Winter 1977): 727.
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23. Charles Hulten mentioned that the audience of "The Voice of America" that the OWI always had in mind was "the one who is under a blanket in a darkened room, with a fearful ear cocked for the Gestapo." See Charles M. Hulten, "How the OWI Operates Its Overseas Propaganda Machine," Journalism Quarterly 19 (December 1942): 353. Also, according to Emery and Emery, two-thirds of the budget of the OWI was spent for "The Voice of America." Michael Emery and Edwin Emery, The Press and America: An Interpretive History of the Mass Media, 6th ed. (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1988), 400.

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28. Vernon McKenzie, "Atrocities in World War II--What We Can Believe," Journalism Quarterly 19 (September 1942): 268-72.
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39. Ibid., p. 252.

40. William Murphy, "World War II Propaganda Films," in Propaganda--The Art of Persuasion: World War II, ed. Anthony Rhodes and Victor Margolin (New York: Chelsea House, 1976), vol. 2, 296.

41. Anthony Rhodes and Victor Margolin, Propaganda--The Art of Persuasion: World War II, vol. 2, 248.

42. Ibid., p. 254.

43. Ibid., p. 256.

44. Charles W. Lomas, "The Rhetoric of Japanese War Propaganda," The Quarterly Journal of Speech 35 (February 1949): 30-5. This study deals with basic propaganda emphases in Domei (the United News Agency) English transmissions which spread through all means of communication in the Asian occupied areas.

45. Ibid., p. 35.

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V. HYPOTHESES

Considering the discussions and findings of previous studies, this research focuses on how three major Tokyo newspapers covered four events over an eight year period, from December 1937 to August 1945. The main assumption is that the more unfavorable the military situation becomes, the more restrictions the press will experience, and, therefore, the more biased and emotional the news coverage will become. From this point of view, the following five general hypotheses were set:

(1) During the initial period of the war, when Japan's invasion of China resulted in a series of military victories, there was a general confidence about the outcome. Therefore, there will be relatively few restrictions on the press; that is, stories will tend to be more factual and unbiased, with many sources from many locations.

(2) During the second period of the war, after Japan declared war against the United States and the other Allied powers, there was less confidence about the outcome among the Japanese public because of the superior military power of the new enemies. In this situation, there will be more press restrictions, resulting in the use of fewer sources and fewer foreign wire service stories. At the same time, the tone of stories related to the war will become more emotional and biased.

(3) During the third period of the war, Japan experienced its first major military defeat, but the outcome of the war was not yet clear. In this situation, there will be a greater degree of press restrictions than ever before, resulting in the use of fewer sources and fewer foreign wire service stories. At the same time, the tone of war stories will become even more emotional and biased.

(4) During the final days of the war, when Japan experienced heavy military and civilian losses because of air raids on the homeland, the Japanese public became painfully aware that they were losing the war. In this desperate situation, government press restrictions will be the most severe and the tone of news stories will become the most emotional and biased of any of the four periods.

(5) While the three major newspapers had traditionally presented different points of view in important ways, these distinctions will become less pronounced as Japan becomes progressively more embroiled in military combat. Thus, by the fall of Nanking in December 1937, official restrictions on the Japanese press will be so well-established that news coverage by these three newspapers will be uniform in content and uncritical in tone through all four periods.

These general hypotheses are tested by means of the following seven specific subhypotheses:

(A) "Emotional" stories will increase in the Japanese press coverage from 1937 to 1945; that is, "emotional" stories

will be least frequently found in 1937, increase over time, and be most frequently found in 1945.

(B) "Slanted" stories and headlines will follow the same pattern as "emotional" stories; that is, they will least frequently appear in 1937, increase over time, and most frequently appear in 1945.

(C) The total number of sources cited in news stories will follow a reverse pattern: that is, it will be the highest in 1937, decrease over time, and be the lowest in 1945.

(D) The variety of sources will also decrease from 1937 to 1945. Specifically, the number of Japanese government and military sources will increase through the four periods, while foreign and "other Japanese" sources will decrease.

(E) The specificity of sources will decrease from 1937 to 1945. That is, the number of sources attributed by name and specific title will decrease through the four periods, while the number of sources without name, but identified only by general title will increase.

(F) Attitudes expressed toward the enemy (the United States, Great Britain, Russia, and China) will become increasingly critical from 1937 to 1945. At the same time, press statements about the Axis (Germany, Italy, and Japan) will remain essentially positive throughout the period.

(G) The number of negative words or statements employed against the enemy will increase from 1937 to 1945.

VI. METHODOLOGY

The primary research method employed in this study is content analysis. In addition, qualitative assessments have been employed in an attempt to address some of the criticisms of a strictly numerical approach. As will be seen, each method has its strengths and weaknesses. By bringing both to bear on the topic, it is hoped that the overall effect will be greater understanding of the topic and its conclusions.

Content analysis, in qualitative terms, has been around for centuries. But the application of statistical methods to the study of content is a relatively recent research development. One of the pioneers in the field, Bernard Berelson, defined content analysis in 1952 as "a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication."¹ Since "the classification into a single set of categories taken at different times provides a concise description of content trends, in terms of relative frequencies of occurrence," content analysis can be useful in providing data "which can be correlated with corresponding changes on the part of the communicator or the audience."²

Another scholar, Guido Stempel III, has defined in more detail what is meant by the words objective, systematic and quantitative. To be "objective," he writes, the categories

must be defined so precisely that "different researchers can apply them to the same content and get the same result." The term "systematic" denotes that a set of procedures is applied in the same way to all the content analyzed, that categories are set up so that all relevant content is analyzed, and that the analyses are designed to secure data relevant to a research question. "Quantitative" means "the recording of numerical values or the frequencies with which the various types of content occur."³

Although quantitative analysis is one of the most valuable methods to describe trends in mass communication content, some scholars have been disturbed by what they see as a tendency for researchers to rely on "mere frequencies" while overlooking the "real meaning" that is implicit in the content.⁴ While the use of content analysis is now firmly established as a major research tool, there are still many scholars who would argue that far too much significance is placed on numerical values that are, in the final analysis, based on qualitative (subjective) judgments that are required of the researcher in the data gathering phase of the research.

On the other hand, Berelson argues that the qualitative scholar is, consciously or otherwise, employing quantitative techniques in his or her research. He has identified seven arguments to underline his point: First, much qualitative analysis is quasi-quantitative; second, qualitative analysis

is often based upon the presence or absence of particular content; third, it is done on a small or incomplete sample; fourth, it usually contains a higher ratio of non-content statements than quantitative analysis; fifth, it is relatively less concerned with the content as such than with content as a "reflection" of "deeper" phenomena; sixth, it employs less formalized categorization than quantitative analysis; and, finally, it utilizes more complex themes than quantitative analysis.⁵

Considering these discussions, this study used both techniques. Quantitative analysis will provide some empirical data to describe content trends of the three Japanese newspapers from 1937 to 1945. Qualitative assessments will help to analyze a "reflection of deeper phenomena," such as story themes, variety (name and title) of information sources used, and specific wording. This application of the two methods should be useful to an understanding of the characteristics of Japanese propaganda before and during World War II.

Sample and Sampling Method

Three nation-wide, Japanese-language daily newspapers, Asahi Shinbun, Yomiuri Shinbun, and Mainichi Shinbun, were selected as the subject of this content analysis. During the Pacific War, only these papers were authorized by the government as nation-wide newspapers, which were called

"majors." These newspapers were the most influential in shaping public opinion, just as they are prominent newspapers today. Because the main objective of this study was to describe Japanese propaganda techniques employed by domestic newspapers for the Japanese people, the three papers were most appropriate to be examined.

The study sample included all stories appearing on the front page of the three newspapers. Since it was obviously not possible to examine the front-page content of each paper for every day over an eight-year period, it was decided to concentrate on coverage of events that represented different stages in the development of the war and, thus, different problems for the propagandists who were controlling the print media in Japan.

The first was the fall of Nanking (China) on December 12, 1937, when Japanese troops routed the Chinese armies and effectively established control over a large portion of the nation that had been an enemy for six years.⁶ The second event was the air attack on Pearl Harbor of December 7, 1941, when Japan scored an equally decisive victory over the United States navy.

These two military successes were matched by two decisive defeats. The first was the Battle of Midway on June 4, 1942, when the Japanese navy suffered devastating losses. This is considered by most historians as the beginning of the end for Tokyo. The final event was Japan's

unconditional surrender on August 14, 1945, when the Pacific War was officially ended on board the USS Missouri.

For convenience, these events may be identified in tables as the years when they occurred: 1937 for the fall of Nanking, 1941 for the Pearl Harbor attack, 1942 for the Battle of Midway, and 1945 for Japan's surrender. It should be also noted that, in Tokyo time, these four events each occurred one day later than in U.S. time. Since it would seem alien to most readers of this thesis to be reminded that Pearl Harbor occurred on December 8, western dates were used in the text, though Tokyo time was used in selecting the issues of newspapers for study.

Because of the number of stories and the time required to analyze these reports from all three newspapers, the study of each of the four events was narrowed to five dates--two before and three after each event. It was also decided that a wider range of issues and impressions could be captured if the dates selected were not consecutive. In other words, it was felt that reports a day apart were not as likely to reflect shifts in attitudes as would coverage over a wider time frame. Thus, the dates were chosen over a 9-day period. In the cases of Nanking, Pearl Harbor and Midway, the dates were: three days before the event, the day before the event, the day after the event, three days after the event and five days after the event.

Thus, using Tokyo time, the issues selected appeared on:

Fall of Nanking: December 10, 12, 14, 16 and 18, 1937.
 Pearl Harbor: December 5, 7, 9, 11 and 13, 1941.
 Battle of Midway: June 2, 4, 6, 8 and 10, 1942.

Only in the case of Japan's unconditional surrender was the selection different. Since this study did not focus on the coverage "after" the war, five days before the surrender were chosen: August 6, 8, 10, 12 and 14, 1945. As a result, the total number of front pages examined was 60: 20 from each of the three newspapers, or 15 for each of the four events (see Table 1).

The unit of analysis was every story on the front page of each issue. The average number of stories on the front page of each issue was 10.7 (11.3 for Asahi Shinbun, 9.9 for Yomiuri Shinbun, 11.0 for Mainichi Shinbun). The total number of stories was 644 (226 for Asahi, 198 for Yomiuri, and 220 for Mainichi, see Table 2).

Table 1. Number of front pages selected from three papers according to four events from 1937 to 1945

| Newspaper | Year | | | | Total |
|-----------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| | 1937 | 1941 | 1942 | 1945 | |
| Asahi | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 20 |
| Yomiuri | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 20 |
| Mainichi | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 20 |
| Total | $\overline{15}$ | $\overline{15}$ | $\overline{15}$ | $\overline{15}$ | $\overline{60}$ |

Table 2. Total and average number of stories selected from three newspapers

| Newspaper | Year | | | | Total | Average ^a |
|-----------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|----------------------|
| | 1937 | 1941 | 1942 | 1945 | | |
| Asahi | 63 | 59 | 46 | 58 | 226 | 11.3 |
| Yomiuri | 47 | 58 | 38 | 55 | 198 | 9.9 |
| Mainichi | 43 | 58 | 43 | 76 | 220 | 11.0 |
| Total | <u>153</u> | <u>175</u> | <u>127</u> | <u>189</u> | <u>644</u> | <u>10.7</u> |

^a The average number of stories on the front page of each issue.

Theoretical and Operational Definitions of Variables

Kind of Story

The four categories into which the stories were differentiated were as follows: domestic and war-related; domestic and not related to war; foreign and war-related; and foreign and not related to war. The terms "domestic" and "foreign" refer to the location of the event reported in the story.

For example, air raids on any cities in Japan were considered as "domestic/war-related." The domestic, political and economic news that was not specifically related to the war was categorized into the group of "domestic/non-war." Any stories that reported war-related events which occurred outside Japan's territory (the occupied areas were not considered as Japan's territory) were categorized as "foreign/war-related." All information

about foreign countries that was not related to the war was "foreign/non-war."

Writer of Story

This variable shows who wrote the story (or provided the main content of the story). It included the following seven categories: staff of the newspaper; Japanese wire service (the United News Agency, called "Dōmei"); the United Press; the Associated Press; Reuters (Britain); Agence Francaise; and other or uncertain authorship.

After 1936, all foreign news entering Japan was transmitted through the United News Agency, a centralized official news agency. In this sense, the Japanese press had no way to get information carried by other wire services from 1936 to 1945. However, the United News Agency usually obtained foreign information by monitoring other wire services, and it indicated which wire service was monitored, as "According to Reuters...." Because, in such cases, it can be assumed that the main content of the story was written by other wire services, the indicated wire service was considered as the "writer of the story." If there was no identification of other wire services, and only the name of "Dōmei" was indicated, the story was considered as a "Japanese wire service" story.

It should be also mentioned that many stories were written by staff of the newspapers without by-lines. This

is an aspect of Japanese newspaper culture that remains today. As distinguished from other countries' press, Japanese newspapers generally do not carry by-lines with their stories. Therefore, unsigned stories were considered to be written by the staff of the papers, except the cases in which it was clearly known that the story was written by non-staff members. In such cases, the story was categorized as "other or uncertain authorship."

Number of Sources

This part shows how many sources were cited in the story by the writer. First, the total number of sources used was counted, then divided into three variables: the number of sources identified by name and specific title; the number of sources not identified by name, but by a specific title; the number of sources not identified by name and a specific title, but only by a general title.

Since one of the main strategies of government controls over the press is to restrict the information sources available to the press, it can be assumed that the number and variety of sources cited in the stories illustrate how tightly the government controlled the press performance in wartime; that is, the fewer sources the stories carried, the more tightly the government controlled the press. Likewise, if the number of sources only with a general title increased, it can be assumed that the press had more

difficulty gaining access to individual specific sources not authorized by the government.

Variety of Sources

The sources cited in the stories were divided into four variables: the Japanese government; the Japanese military, such as the High Command, navy, army, or air force; other Japanese, such as the Imperial Palace, industry, religion, education, etc.; and foreign sources. These variables show what kinds of sources were most likely to be used.

For example, if the Japanese government or military sources were most frequently used, the official censorship would be more strict. On the other hand, if the number of foreign sources increased, it would mean that the newspapers were able to manage their information with relatively fewer official restraints.

Overall Category of Story

This variable was set to describe how the proportion of basic propaganda emphases changed from 1937 to 1945. Twelve categories were created based on the eight categories used by Charles Lomas' study of Japanese war propaganda in the East Asian occupied areas from 1944 to 1945.⁷ Those categories included: (1) war news; (2) strength of Japanese material, morale, or morality; (3) Japanese solidarity with "The Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" and its

progress; (4) strength of the Axis Powers; (5) domestic news (non-war, political and economic issues); (6) foreign news (non-war, political and economic issues); (7) weakness or wickedness of U.S. material, morale, or morality; (8) weakness or wickedness of British material, morale, or morality; (9) weakness or wickedness of the enemy (collectively); (10) fear stories (atrocities, war crimes, etc.); (11) miscellaneous (war-related); and (12) miscellaneous (not related to the war).

"War news" was any description of the war situation at any battle field, no matter whether it dealt with the Japanese military action or not. For example, the story about the battle between Germany and Russia was classified as "war news," as were the stories about conflicts between the U.S. and Japanese army at the South East Asian islands.

The focus of this category was not on whether the report was truthful or not, but on how the war event was described. For example, when the report objectively described a battle between the Chinese and Japanese military, it was categorized as "war news." However, if the story emphasized or exaggerated the strength of the Japanese through the use of emotional words, it was classified under the "strength of the Japanese material, morale, or morality." Similarly, a war report was considered as the "strength of the Axis powers," when it emphasized the

strength of Germany or Italy or their progress rather than objectively described the war situation.

The third category, "Japanese solidarity with 'The Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere' and its progress," dealt with the stories which focused on the ideological theme, the justification of Japan's war effort, and the cooperation among the "Asian fellows" under Japanese leadership.

The "domestic news" and "foreign news" were the stories that intended to inform the Japanese public of domestic and foreign political or economic issue, which were not directly related to the war.

The seventh, eighth, and ninth categories dealt with stories about the "weakness or wickedness" of the United States, Great Britain, or the enemy (collectively). For example, if a story sought to persuade the Japanese public to believe that the United States was a "wicked" nation which attempted to conquer the world, regardless of its "weak" material, morale or morality, and that Japan's "justice," therefore, had to be accomplished to "save the world," it was considered as critical of the "weakness or wickedness of the U.S. material, morale, or morality." Likewise, the stories with similar kinds of statements about Great Britain were categorized as critical of the "weakness or wickedness of the British material, morale, or morality." The negative stories about Japan's other enemies, such as

Russia, China, Australia, etc., were put into the group of "weakness or wickedness of the enemy (collectively)."

"Fear stories" referred to reports arousing fear of the enemy in the Japanese public's mind, whether or not those stories had factual bases. Atrocities and war crimes committed by the enemy were typical examples of such stories. Also, any stories with deceptive or exaggerated comments on the "inhumanity" or "cruelty" of the enemy were included in this category.

Finally, the stories that did not fit the categories mentioned above were categorized as "miscellaneous," either war-related or not related to the war. These included both domestic and foreign reports.

Although many stories contained several propaganda emphases, every story was exclusively classified into a given category based on its most distinctive emphasis. For example, as one of typical techniques in war propaganda, the "strength" of the Japanese soldiers was frequently emphasized by exaggerating the "weakness" of the enemy. In such cases, the story was identified as either the "strength of the Japanese" or "weakness or wickedness" of the enemy, according to the primary impression indicated.

Slant of Headline

Whether the headline (including sub-headlines) carried a slant or not was determined according to the following two

categories: slanted, including both pro-Japanese and anti-enemy; unslanted or neutral.

Other criteria used in establishing the slant of a headline were identical to those described in the next variable.

Slant of Story

This variable was to determine whether the overall story carried any slant, either toward Japanese military strength or domestic and foreign policies or against the enemy's military power or policies. In this case, "slant" means that the story had some sort of distortion, deception, or exaggeration of the information.

The following five categories were created for this variable: slanted toward Japan or the Axis; slanted against the enemy; unslanted or neutral about Japan or the Axis; unslanted or neutral about the enemy; and cannot tell or other.

Since it was very difficult to verify the truthfulness of reports, what the story said was basically considered as "factual," except for cases in which the descriptions of events were obviously distorted (for example, the Battle of the Coral Sea in 1942 was reported as a "great victory" for Japan by the Japanese newspapers, though the battle ended in a draw). Therefore, the distinction between "slanted" and "unslanted or neutral" was mainly made based on the primary

impression given by the wording used in the story. That is, if the story presented any subjectivity that might cause the audience to have mis-perceptions of reality, whether the overall content had a factual basis or not, it was considered to be "slanted."

For example, when the story objectively described U.S. policy toward Japan, without any intention to disgrace the enemy, it was categorized as "unslanted or neutral." On the other hand, if the story not only explained U.S. policy toward Japan, but also attempted to justify Tokyo's position by criticizing the enemy's policy with unreasonable negative comments, it was considered "slanted." Likewise, if the story objectively or accurately reported a Japanese defeat or victory only with reasonable comments, it was considered "unslanted or neutral," while "slanted" included stories that exaggerated the "strength" of the Japanese or the "weakness" of the enemy.

When the distinction between "slanted" or "unslanted" was not clearly determined, the story was classified as "cannot tell or other," which also included any stories about neutral countries.

Emotional Technique

This variable shows to what extent the story would emotionally appeal to the Japanese public's mind. The following four categories were set based on the different

degrees of probable emotional impact: highly rational; somewhat rational; somewhat emotional; highly emotional.

According to the typology of Erwin Fellows, the term "emotional" is taken to "indicate an appeal to basic motives or drives." On the other hand, "rational" includes "the use of recognized logical principles in arriving at conclusions and (in most contexts) the use of scientific evidence."⁸

However, in this study, "emotional" refers to a story designed to arouse or appeal to people's emotional feelings, while "rational" was considered as a story designed to inform or persuade people by representing the reasonable observation or attitude of the reporter. In this sense, a "rational" story is not necessarily one that contains scientific or verified evidence.

Number of Strong Negative Words or Statements

The number of strong negative words in each story was counted because such words would significantly affect the Japanese people's perceptions of and attitudes against the enemy. In this case, the negative words used in headlines were also included.

When a specific statement presented a strongly negative attitude against the enemy, even though it contained no specific negative words, it was counted as one negative word.

Direction of Attitude

The last variable dealt with the overall attitudes of the stories toward the seven main protagonists that comprised the Axis (Germany, Italy, and Japan) and the enemy (the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and China).

The direction of attitudes of each story was indicated by three categories: "anti-," "pro-," and "neutral." All the directions of attitudes toward more than one country presented by the story were also determined. For example, when a story indicated the anti-attitude against the United States and Britain and the pro-attitude toward Japan, it was considered to contain three directions: "anti-" for the United States and Britain and "pro-" for Japan.

In addition to the direction of attitude toward the individual country, the difference between the attitudes toward the "enemy" and toward "the Axis" was also examined in this study.

Coding

Each story in the sample was coded by the researcher, based on the variables mentioned above. A three-page coding sheet was created for this content analysis (see Appendix B). In advance of the research, two graduate students (including the researcher) and one undergraduate student

coded ten stories to check the reliability of the coding sheet.

The result of this intercoder reliability check was as follows: An 86.4 percent agreement was obtained between Coder A (the researcher) and Coder B (the other graduate); Between Coder A and Coder C (the undergraduate), the agreement was 81.6%; The agreement between Coder B and Coder C was 79.2%. Overall, the total percentage of agreement among the three coders came to be 76.4%.⁹

Data Analysis Technique

In this study, two main statistical techniques were used to analyze the data obtained. First, chi square test was used to determine whether the observed differences of frequencies among variables were statistically significant.

Second, the analysis of variance (ANOVA) with Scheffe test was used to determine if the observed differences of group means were statistically significant. The mean differences of the following three variables among the four time periods and among the three newspapers were examined by means of this technique: degree of emotions; total number of sources; and number of strong negative words or statements.

For all the hypothesis-testing, .05 significance level was used.

ENDNOTES

1. Bernard Berelson, Content Analysis in Communication Research (New York: The Free Press, 1952), 18.
2. Ibid., p. 29.
3. Guido H. Stempel III, "Content Analysis," in Research Methods in Mass Communication, ed. Guido H. Stempel III and Bruce H. Westley (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1989), 125-126.
4. Ibid., p. 126.
5. Bernard Berelson, Content Analysis in Communication Research, 116-127.
6. Tokyo did not declare war against China even after the Japanese army advanced to Central China (see Chapter 2). However, the Japanese government had already considered its relationship with China as a state of war after the incident at Marco Polo Bridge in August 1937.
7. Charles W. Lomas, "The Rhetoric of Japanese War Propaganda," The Quarterly Journal of Speech 35 (February 1949): 32. The eight categories created by Lomas were: (1) war news; (2) Japanese strength; (3) Japanese solidarity with "Greater East Asia"; (4) "Greater East Asia" progress and prosperity; (5) Axis strength and solidarity; (6) United Nations material or moral weakness; (7) United Nations wickedness; and (8) miscellaneous and unslanted material.
8. Erwin W. Fellows, "Propaganda and Communication: A Study in Definitions," Journalism Quarterly 34 (Fall 1957): 435.
9. For this reliability test, Holsti's formula was used:

$$\text{Reliability} = \frac{3M}{N_1 + N_2 + N_3}$$

where M is the number of agreements among the three coders and N1, N2, and N3 are the total number of coding decisions made by each of the coders. See Ole R. Holsti, Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing, 1969), 167-194.

VII. QUANTITATIVE RESULTS

Subhypothesis-Testing

The data obtained through the coding procedure described in the previous chapter show that stories dealing with foreign events related to war appeared most frequently in the three Japanese newspapers from 1937 to 1945 (Table 3). Of all 644 stories examined, 379 or 58.9 percent were "foreign/war-related." Yomiuri used slightly more "foreign/war" stories than the other two papers, while Asahi showed the highest rate in the use of "foreign/non-war" stories. There was little difference among the other two categories, "domestic/war-related" and "domestic/non-war." Also, the result of a chi square test indicates that there was no significant difference in the kind of stories covered by the three papers. This result may reflect the uniformity in the coverage of Japanese domestic newspapers from 1937 to 1945.

When the relationship between the kind of stories and the time variable was considered, however, the proportion of the four kinds of stories significantly changed from 1937 to 1945 (Table 4). "Domestic/war-related" stories dramatically increased at the final stage--Japan's surrender in 1945--because of the marked increase of air raids on Japan's homeland. Since domestic news at this period was dominated by information related to the U.S. air raids, "domestic/non-

Table 3. Kind of stories covered by three Japanese newspapers

| Kind | Newspaper | | | | | | Total (%) | |
|----------------------|-----------|-------|-------------|-------|--------------|-------|-----------|-------|
| | Asahi (%) | | Yomiuri (%) | | Mainichi (%) | | | |
| Domestic/ war | 31 | 13.7 | 25 | 12.6 | 29 | 13.2 | 85 | 13.2 |
| Domestic/ non-war | 31 | 13.7 | 29 | 14.6 | 30 | 13.6 | 90 | 14.0 |
| Foreign/ war | 127 | 56.2 | 122 | 61.7 | 130 | 59.1 | 379 | 58.9 |
| Foreign/ non-war | 37 | 16.4 | 22 | 11.1 | 31 | 14.1 | 220 | 34.2 |
| Total | 226 | 100.0 | 198 | 100.0 | 220 | 100.0 | 644 | 100.0 |

$\chi^2 = 2.811$, p N.S., df = 6.

Table 4. Kind of stories from 1937 to 1945

| Kind | Year | | | | | | | | Total (%) | |
|----------------------|----------|-------|----------|-------|----------|-------|----------|-------|-----------|-------|
| | 1937 (%) | | 1941 (%) | | 1942 (%) | | 1945 (%) | | | |
| Domestic/ war | 5 | 3.3 | 11 | 6.3 | 5 | 3.9 | 64 | 33.9 | 85 | 13.2 |
| Domestic/ non-war | 14 | 9.1 | 24 | 13.7 | 28 | 22.1 | 24 | 12.7 | 90 | 14.0 |
| Foreign/ war | 115 | 75.2 | 121 | 69.1 | 84 | 66.1 | 59 | 31.2 | 379 | 58.9 |
| Foreign/ non-war | 19 | 12.4 | 19 | 10.9 | 10 | 7.9 | 42 | 22.2 | 90 | 14.0 |
| Total | 153 | 100.0 | 175 | 100.0 | 127 | 100.0 | 188 | 100.0 | 644 | 100.0 |

$\chi^2 = 145.667$, p < .001, df = 9.

war" stories decreased by 9.4% from 1942 to 1945. Also, "foreign/war-related" stories decreased in 1945. On the other hand, "foreign/non-war" stories increased from 7.9 %

in 1942 to 22.2 % in 1945, probably because Japan's concern for its diplomatic negotiations with the Allied countries increased after the Potsdam Declaration in July, 1945.

With regard to the writer of the stories, there were also some similarities among the three papers (Table 5). Nearly 70% of the stories of all the newspapers were written by their own staff. More than 24% of the stories were written by the United News Agency (Dōmei), a centralized official news agency. This means that 93.6 % of the stories were managed by Japanese writers. Asahi was twice as likely to use stories written by foreign wire services (9.8%) than the others (4.5% for Mainichi and 4.5% for Yomiuri). The trends of Yomiuri and Mainichi regarding the writers of stories were almost identical. Overall, the result of a

Table 5. Number of stories written by various writers

| Writer | A | | Newspaper | | M | | Total | |
|-----------------------------|-----|-------|-----------|-------|-----|-------|-------|-------|
| | | (%) | Y | (%) | | (%) | | (%) |
| Staff | 157 | 69.5 | 138 | 69.7 | 152 | 69.1 | 447 | 69.4 |
| Dōmei | 47 | 20.8 | 51 | 25.8 | 58 | 26.4 | 156 | 24.2 |
| Other wires ^a | 22 | 9.7 | 9 | 4.5 | 10 | 4.5 | 41 | 6.4 |
| Total | 226 | 100.0 | 198 | 100.0 | 220 | 100.0 | 644 | 100.0 |

$\chi^2 = 7.914$, p N.S., df = 4.

^a "Other wires" includes: United Press, Associated Press, Reuters, Agence Francaise, and other/uncertain authorship.

chi square test suggests that there was no significant difference in the writer of stories among the three papers.

Of the foreign wire services, Reuters (Great Britain) was most frequently used by the Japanese newspapers (5.3% by Asahi and 1.5% by Yomiuri), despite the fact that the wire service was owned by the British enemy. Also, four stories written by the Associated Press of the United States were carried by Asahi (1.8% of the total in the paper). Mainichi was more dependent on the Agence Francaise (3.6% of the total in the paper), such as Abas (France) and Tass (the Soviet Union). This difference was probably caused by the various connections with foreign wire services before the beginning of Sino-Japanese hostilities in 1937.

Table 6 illustrates how the proportion of stories written by the various writers changed from 1937 to 1945. The result of a chi square test suggests that there was a significant change in the writer of stories through the four periods. The total percentage of stories written by Japanese writers (the newspapers' own staff or Dōmei) continued to be over 90% through the four periods. This suggests that the state was constantly able to control Japanese press performance from 1937 to 1945.

The most distinct change occurred in 1942, during the Battle of Midway, when staff writer stories exceeded 80% of the total. Also, stories written by foreign wire services increased at this period. On the other hand, Japanese wire

Table 6. Number of stories written by various writers from 1937 to 1945

| Writer | Year | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|----------|-------|----------|-------|----------|-------|----------|-------|-----------|-------|
| | 1937 (%) | | 1941 (%) | | 1942 (%) | | 1945 (%) | | Total (%) | |
| Staff | 97 | 63.4 | 119 | 68.0 | 102 | 80.3 | 129 | 68.3 | 447 | 69.4 |
| Dōmei | 49 | 32.0 | 44 | 25.1 | 15 | 11.8 | 48 | 25.4 | 156 | 24.2 |
| Other wires ^a | 7 | 4.6 | 12 | 6.9 | 10 | 7.9 | 12 | 6.3 | 41 | 6.4 |
| Total | 153 | 100.0 | 175 | 100.0 | 127 | 100.0 | 189 | 100.0 | 644 | 100.0 |

$\chi^2 = 16.441, p < .02, df = 6.$

^a "Other wires" includes: UP, AP, Reuters, Agence Francaise, and other/uncertain authorship.

service stories were most frequently used in 1937, during the fall of Nanking, when foreign wire services were least frequently used. There was almost no difference in the authorship of stories written during Pearl Harbor in 1941 and surrender in 1945. The Japanese newspapers probably had difficulty obtaining information directly from foreign wire services throughout the four periods, even though they continued to monitor the transmissions of those wire services.

Emotional Techniques

Emotional techniques employed in the stories illustrate how emotionally the stories appealed to the Japanese public.

When the scores of emotional techniques are calculated on a scale of 1.0 (highly rational) to 4.0 (highly

emotional), the result of one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) with a Scheffe test suggests that there was no significant difference in the mean scores of the three papers (Table 7). All three newspapers ranked between 1.92 and 2.00, which means that they all were judged as relatively "rational," as opposed to "emotional."

The change of the proportion of "emotional" and "rational" stories from 1937 to 1945 is described in Table 8. According to the data, 71.4% of the stories were categorized as "rational." That is, "rational" stories

Table 7. Mean Score of emotional techniques employed by three newspapers with ANOVA table

| Newspaper | Total stories | Total score | Mean score ^a |
|-----------|---------------|-------------|-------------------------|
| Asahi | 226 | 453 | 2.00 |
| Yomiuri | 198 | 395 | 1.99 |
| Mainichi | 220 | 422 | 1.92 |
| Total | 644 | 1,270 | 1.97 |

| Source | df | S.S. ^b | M.S. ^c | F ratio | F prob. |
|----------------|-----|-------------------|-------------------|---------|---------|
| Between groups | 2 | .9791 | .4895 | .4751 | .6221 |
| Within groups | 641 | 660.5178 | 1.0304 | | |
| Total | 643 | 661.4969 | | | |

^a "Mean score" was calculated by: Highly rational = 1, somewhat rational = 2, somewhat emotional = 3, highly emotional = 4.

^b "S.S." refers to "sum of squares."

^c "M.S." refers to "mean squares."

Table 8. Number of emotional and rational stories

| Story | Year | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|------------------|------|------------------|------|------------------|------|------------------|------|------------------|------|
| | 1937 (%) | | 1941 (%) | | 1942 (%) | | 1945 (%) | | Total (%) | |
| Emotional | 35 | 22.9 | 39 | 22.3 | 48 | 37.8 | 62 | 32.8 | 184 | 28.6 |
| Rational | 118 | 77.1 | 136 | 77.6 | 79 | 62.2 | 127 | 67.2 | 460 | 71.4 |
| Total | <u>153 100.0</u> | | <u>175 100.0</u> | | <u>127 100.0</u> | | <u>189 100.0</u> | | <u>644 100.0</u> | |

$$\chi^2 = 12.751, p < .01, df = 3.$$

appeared 2.5 times more frequently than did "emotional" stories (28.6%). The result of a chi square test shows that there was a significant difference among the observed frequencies of emotional techniques. The most distinctive change occurred in 1942, the Battle of Midway, when the percentage of "emotional" stories increased to 37.8%, while the percentage of "rational" stories dropped to 62.2%. Although the percentage of "emotional" stories slightly declined at the final stage, the result may suggest that "emotional" stories were more likely to be used when Japan experienced military losses than when the military situation was favorable to Japan. Therefore, Subhypothesis A was partly supported in this analysis.

Table 9 describes the change in the number of "emotional" and "rational" stories in more detail. Of all the stories, 42.1% were "highly rational," while 29.3% were

categorized as "somewhat rational." Only 10.7 % of stories fell into the "highly emotional" category.

During the first two stages, more than 77% of the stories were "highly" or "somewhat rational." The percentage dropped to about 65% in 1942 and 1945. This probably occurred for two reasons. First, Japan had not entered into a state of war with any foreign countries except China in 1937. Second, it can be assumed that the first two issues before the Pearl Harbor attack in 1941 were likely to be "rational," carrying relatively objective reports about diplomatic negotiations, mainly with the United States.

Table 9. Emotional techniques employed in stories from 1937 to 1945

| Emotion | Year | | | | | | | | Total (%) | |
|--------------------|----------|-------|----------|-------|----------|-------|----------|-------|-----------|-------|
| | 1937 (%) | | 1941 (%) | | 1942 (%) | | 1945 (%) | | | |
| Highly rational | 69 | 45.1 | 87 | 49.7 | 33 | 26.0 | 82 | 43.4 | 271 | 42.1 |
| Somewhat rational | 49 | 32.0 | 49 | 28.0 | 46 | 36.2 | 45 | 23.8 | 189 | 29.3 |
| Somewhat emotional | 25 | 16.4 | 23 | 13.1 | 26 | 20.5 | 41 | 21.7 | 115 | 17.9 |
| Highly emotional | 10 | 6.5 | 16 | 9.2 | 22 | 17.3 | 21 | 11.1 | 69 | 10.7 |
| Total | 153 | 100.0 | 175 | 100.0 | 127 | 100.0 | 189 | 100.0 | 644 | 100.0 |

$$\chi^2 = 27.672, p < .05, df = 9.$$

Interestingly, the percentage of "highly rational" stories dramatically decreased to 26.0% in 1942, while the other categories, "somewhat rational," "somewhat emotional," and "highly emotional," all increased by about 8% over 1941. From this result, it can be concluded that the newspapers carried "emotional" stories most frequently around the overwhelming defeat at the Battle of Midway. The same kind of trend was also found in 1945 with Japan's unconditional surrender, even though the degree of "emotional" appeals decreased, compared to that of 1942.

Such a trend of emotional appeals is also shown in the four-point scores (Table 10). The results of one-way ANOVA with a Scheffe test indicate that the mean score of emotions significantly increased in 1942 (2.29) from that of 1937 (1.84) and 1941 (1.82), although no significant difference was found between 1942 and 1945 (2.01) nor between 1937, 1941, and 1945. This result does not statistically support Subhypothesis A, which assumed that "emotional" stories would be more frequently covered by the Japanese newspapers at "defeat" stages rather than at "victory" stages, even though the result of chi square indicates a significant difference among the four periods, and the observed trend was also in the same direction of the hypothesis.

Table 10. Scores of emotional techniques from 1937 to 1945 with ANOVA table and Scheffe test

| Year | Total stories | Total score | Mean score ^a |
|-------|---------------|-------------|-------------------------|
| 1937 | 153 | 282 | 1.84 |
| 1941 | 175 | 318 | 1.82 |
| 1942 | 127 | 291 | 2.29 |
| 1945 | 189 | 379 | 2.01 |
| Total | 644 | 1,270 | 1.97 |

| Source | df | S.S. ^b | M.S. ^c | F ratio | F prob. |
|----------------|-----|-------------------|-------------------|---------|---------|
| Between groups | 3 | 19.8978 | 6.6326 | 6.6161 | .0002 |
| Within groups | 640 | 641.5990 | 1.0025 | | |
| Total | 643 | 661.4969 | | | |

| Mean | Year | 1941 | 1937 | 1945 | 1942 |
|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| 1.82 | 1941 | | | | |
| 1.84 | 1937 | | | | |
| 2.01 | 1945 | | | | |
| 2.29 | 1942 | * | * | | |

^a "Mean score" was calculated by: Highly rational = 1, somewhat rational = 2, somewhat emotional = 3, highly emotional = 4.

^b "S.S." refers to "sum of squares."

^c "M.S." refers to "mean squares."

Slant of Stories and Headlines

The proportion of "slanted" and "unslanted" stories tells how objectively (or subjectively) the three Japanese newspapers presented their news reports.

In percentage terms, Asahi used more "slanted" stories than the other two papers, while Mainichi was most likely to

Table 11. Slant of stories used by three newspapers

| Slant | Newspaper | | | | | | Total (%) | |
|----------------------------|-----------|-------|-------|-------|-----|-------|-----------|-------|
| | A (%) | Y (%) | M (%) | | | | | |
| Slanted toward Japan/Axis | 78 | 34.5 | 53 | 26.8 | 64 | 29.1 | 195 | 30.3 |
| Slanted against enemy | 14 | 6.2 | 22 | 11.1 | 15 | 6.8 | 51 | 7.9 |
| Unslanted about Japan/Axis | 60 | 26.6 | 64 | 32.3 | 63 | 28.6 | 187 | 29.0 |
| Unslanted about enemy | 55 | 24.3 | 41 | 20.7 | 56 | 25.5 | 152 | 23.6 |
| Other | 19 | 8.4 | 18 | 9.1 | 22 | 10.0 | 59 | 9.2 |
| Total | 226 | 100.0 | 198 | 100.0 | 220 | 100.0 | 644 | 100.0 |

$\chi^2 = 8.595$, p N.S., df = 8.

use "unslanted" stories (Table 11). However, a chi square test indicates that the frequencies of slanted stories carried by the three papers were not significantly different. This result may provide the statistical evidence for uniformity of the stories and news management employed by the three papers.

With regard to the overall slant of stories, the result of a chi square test suggests that there was no significant difference among the frequencies of slant from 1937 to 1945 (Table 12). Therefore, Subhypothesis B was rejected. However, the percentage of "slanted" stories increased to 49.6% at the third stage, the Battle of Midway, and dropped to 39.7% at the fourth stage. Also, the percentage of "unslanted" stories was the highest (59.4%) at the second

Table 12. Number of slanted and unslanted stories

| Slant | Year | | | | Total (%) |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| | 1937 (%) | 1941 (%) | 1942 (%) | 1945 (%) | |
| Slanted | 53 34.6 | 55 31.4 | 63 49.6 | 75 39.7 | 246 38.2 |
| Unslanted | 84 54.9 | 104 59.4 | 53 41.7 | 98 51.8 | 339 52.6 |
| Other | 16 10.5 | 16 9.2 | 11 8.7 | 16 8.5 | 59 9.2 |
| Total | 153 100.0 | 175 100.0 | 127 100.0 | 189 100.0 | 644 100.0 |

$\chi^2 = 12.043$, p N.S., $df = 6$.

stage, the attack on Pearl Harbor. These trends were consistent with the emotional techniques discussed in the previous section.

Table 13 shows a more detailed classification of slant of the stories. Of these, the percentage of "slanted" stories toward Japan or the Axis decreased from 31.4% in 1937 to 24.0% in 1941 and increased to 40.2% in 1942, when Japan experienced devastating losses at the Battle of Midway. Then, it decreased, again, to 28.6% in 1945. On the other hand, the percentage of "slanted" stories against the enemy increased from 3.3% to 11.1% through the four periods. The distinctive change in "unslanted" stories also occurred in 1942, when the percentage of "unslanted/enemy" stories dramatically decreased. These trends showing that news stories were most likely to be "slanted" either toward Japan or against the enemy in 1942 may partly support Subhypothesis B, which assumed that slanted stories would

Table 13. Number of stories slanted toward Japan or Axis and against enemy

| Slant | Year | | | | | | | | Total (%) | |
|---------------------|----------|-------|----------|-------|----------|-------|----------|-------|-----------|-------|
| | 1937 (%) | | 1941 (%) | | 1942 (%) | | 1945 (%) | | | |
| Slanted/ Axis | 48 | 31.4 | 42 | 24.0 | 51 | 40.2 | 54 | 28.6 | 195 | 30.3 |
| Slanted/ enemy | 5 | 3.3 | 13 | 7.4 | 12 | 9.4 | 21 | 11.1 | 51 | 7.9 |
| Unslanted/ Axis | 51 | 33.3 | 57 | 32.6 | 43 | 33.8 | 36 | 19.0 | 187 | 29.0 |
| Unslanted/ enemy | 3 | 21.6 | 47 | 26.9 | 10 | 7.9 | 62 | 32.8 | 152 | 23.6 |
| Other | 16 | 10.4 | 16 | 9.1 | 11 | 8.7 | 16 | 8.5 | 59 | 9.2 |
| Total | 153 | 100.0 | 175 | 100.0 | 127 | 100.0 | 189 | 100.0 | 644 | 100.0 |

$\chi^2 = 44.451, p < .001, df = 12.$

more frequently appear at the "defeated" stages than at the "victory" stages. However, the significant difference indicated by a chi square test was observed only in 1942, not among the other three periods.

Unlike the categorization of slant of stories, headlines were divided into two groups: "slanted" or "unslanted."

Table 14 and 15 illustrate the degree of slanted headlines that each newspaper used. There was, again, no significant difference among the three papers. Yomiuri used 36.9% "slanted" headlines, followed by Asahi (35.0%) and Mainichi (33.2%). Although Asahi most frequently conveyed a slant in its stories, its use of "slanted" headlines was

Table 14. Slanted and unslanted headlines used by three newspapers

| Headline | Newspaper | | | | | | Total (%) | |
|-----------|------------|--------------|------------|--------------|------------|--------------|------------|--------------|
| | A (%) | | Y (%) | | M (%) | | | |
| Slanted | 79 | 35.0 | 73 | 36.9 | 73 | 33.2 | 225 | 34.9 |
| Unslanted | 147 | 65.0 | 125 | 63.1 | 147 | 66.8 | 419 | 65.1 |
| Total | <u>226</u> | <u>100.0</u> | <u>198</u> | <u>100.0</u> | <u>220</u> | <u>100.0</u> | <u>644</u> | <u>100.0</u> |

$\chi^2 = 0.623$, p N.S., df = 2.

Table 15. Slanted and unslanted headlines used from 1937 to 1945

| Headline | Year | | | | | | | | Total (%) | |
|-----------|------------|--------------|------------|--------------|------------|--------------|------------|--------------|------------|--------------|
| | 1937 (%) | | 1941 (%) | | 1942 (%) | | 1945 (%) | | | |
| Slanted | 47 | 30.7 | 59 | 33.7 | 57 | 44.9 | 62 | 32.8 | 225 | 34.9 |
| Unslanted | 106 | 69.3 | 116 | 66.3 | 70 | 55.1 | 127 | 67.2 | 419 | 65.1 |
| Total | <u>153</u> | <u>100.0</u> | <u>175</u> | <u>100.0</u> | <u>127</u> | <u>100.0</u> | <u>189</u> | <u>100.0</u> | <u>644</u> | <u>100.0</u> |

$\chi^2 = 7.216$, p N.S., df = 3.

relatively moderate. The lowest rate of Mainichi in the use of "slanted" headlines was consistent with its low rate of the use of "slanted" stories.

According to the data shown in Table 15, the percentage of "slanted" headlines increased to 44.9% in 1942. This trend reflects the use of "slanted" stories by the three papers. However, there was little difference among the other three periods. The result of a chi square test

suggests that the frequencies of "slanted" and "unslanted" headlines through the four periods were not significantly different. Therefore, in terms of slant of headlines, Subhypothesis B was rejected.

Overall, the proportion of "slanted" and "unslanted" stories and headlines did not significantly change through the four periods. A significant difference was observed in slant of stories only when the stories were classified into five categories. Although both "slanted" stories and headlines increased in 1942, they decreased in 1945, when the greatest slanting was expected. Since it was assumed that both "slanted" stories and headlines would increase through the four periods, Subhypothesis B, overall, was not supported in this analysis.

With regard to the relationships between the degree of emotions and slant of stories and headlines, it was found that the more slant the Japanese newspapers conveyed in their stories and headlines, the higher the degree of emotions the writers expressed. For example, the result of one-way ANOVA with a Scheffe test suggests that there was a significant mean difference in the degree of emotions among three groups, "slanted" stories, "unslanted," and "other" (Table 16); that is, the degree of emotions observed in "slanted" stories was significantly higher than in both "unslanted" stories and "other." Likewise, there was a significant difference in the degree of emotions between the

Table 16. Scores of emotional techniques by slant of story with ANOVA table and Scheffe test

| Story | Total stories | Mean score ^a |
|-----------|---------------|-------------------------|
| Slanted | 246 | 3.02 |
| Unslanted | 339 | 1.31 |
| Other | <u>59</u> | <u>1.42</u> |
| Total | 644 | 1.92 |

| Source | df | S.S. ^b | M.S. ^c | F ratio | F prob. |
|----------------|-----|-------------------|-------------------|----------|---------|
| Between groups | 2 | 434.6773 | 217.3386 | 614.2064 | .0000 |
| Within groups | 641 | 226.8196 | .3539 | | |
| Total | 643 | 661.4969 | | | |

| Mean | Group | Unslanted | Other | Slanted |
|------|-----------|-----------|-------|---------|
| 1.31 | Unslanted | | | |
| 1.42 | Other | | | |
| 3.02 | Slanted | * | * | |

a "Mean score" was calculated by: Highly rational = 1, somewhat rational = 2, somewhat emotional = 3, highly emotional = 4.

b "S.S." refers to "sum of squares."

c "M.S." refers to "mean squares."

means of "slanted" and "unslanted" headlines (Table 17). These results may suggest that emotional appeals of the stories were closely related to the use of slant in the stories and headlines of the three newspapers.

Table 17. Scores of emotional techniques by slant of headline with ANOVA table^a

| Headline | Total stories | Mean score ^b |
|-----------|---------------|-------------------------|
| Slanted | 225 | 2.88 |
| Unslanted | 419 | 1.49 |
| Total | <u>644</u> | <u>2.18</u> |

| Source | df | S.S. ^c | M.S. ^d | F ratio | F prob. |
|----------------|-----|-------------------|-------------------|----------|---------|
| Between groups | 1 | 282.3035 | 282.3035 | 477.9590 | .0000 |
| Within groups | 642 | 379.1934 | .5906 | | |
| Total | 643 | 661.4969 | | | |

^a No range tests were performed with fewer than three non-empty groups.

^b "Mean score" was calculated by: Highly rational = 1, somewhat rational = 2, somewhat emotional = 3, highly emotional = 4.

^c "S.S." refers to "sum of squares."

^d "M.S." refers to "mean squares."

Sources of Information

In this section, the following three points are discussed: (1) the total number of information sources cited in the stories; (2) the variety of sources used, such as Japanese government, Japanese military, other Japanese, and foreign sources; and (3) the specificity of sources, such as sources with name and specific title, those identified by specific title without name, and those identified only by general title (i.e., government spokesman).

Overall, 509 sources were cited in the stories of the three papers (Table 18). The number of sources used by each newspaper was 188 for Asahi, 158 for Yomiuri, and 163 for Mainichi. The average number of sources per story was .83 for Asahi, .80 for Yomiuri, and .74 for Mainichi. The result of one-way ANOVA with a Scheffe test shows that there was no significant difference in the means of the total number of sources used by the three newspapers. This suggests that the three newspapers followed the same trends in their individual use of sources in news stories.

Table 18. Total and average number of sources cited in stories by three newspapers with ANOVA table

| Newspaper | Total stories | Total sources ^a | Average sources |
|-----------|---------------|----------------------------|-----------------|
| Asahi | 226 | 188 | .83 |
| Yomiuri | 198 | 158 | .80 |
| Mainichi | 220 | 163 | .74 |
| Total | <u>644</u> | <u>509</u> | <u>.79</u> |

| Source | df | S.S. ^b | M.S. ^c | F ratio | F prob. |
|----------------|-----|-------------------|-------------------|---------|---------|
| Between groups | 2 | .9387 | .4693 | .5336 | .5867 |
| Within groups | 641 | 563.7616 | .8795 | | |
| Total | 643 | 564.7003 | | | |

^a "Total sources" were determined by counting all sources mentioned in all stories.

^b "S.S." refers to "sum of squares."

^c "M.S." refers to "mean squares."

Table 19. Sources cited in stories per category

| N of sources | A | | Newspaper | | M | | Total | |
|--------------|-----|-------|-----------|-------|-----|-------|-------|-------|
| | | (%) | Y | (%) | | (%) | | (%) |
| 0 | 100 | 44.2 | 92 | 46.5 | 95 | 43.2 | 287 | 44.6 |
| 1 | 87 | 38.5 | 73 | 36.9 | 97 | 44.1 | 257 | 39.9 |
| 2 | 26 | 11.5 | 21 | 10.6 | 21 | 9.5 | 68 | 10.5 |
| 3 | 5 | 2.2 | 7 | 3.5 | 5 | 2.2 | 17 | 2.6 |
| 4 | 6 | 2.7 | 3 | 1.5 | 1 | .5 | 10 | 1.6 |
| 5 | 2 | .9 | 2 | 1.0 | 1 | .5 | 5 | .8 |
| Total | 226 | 100.0 | 198 | 100.0 | 220 | 100.0 | 644 | 100.0 |

Of the 644 stories studied, 287 (44.6%) appeared without any sources being cited by name or title (Table 19). Another 257, or 39.9%, were single-source stories. This means that 84.5% of all of the stories studied cited one or no sources. There were 68 stories containing two sources (10.5%), while only 32, or 5.0%, cited three or more sources.

Table 20 shows the frequencies and percentage of sources used from 1937 to 1945. Single-source stories were most frequently covered in 1942 (46.5%), while there was little difference among the other three periods, ranging from 36.0% to 39.7%. The amount of stories with more than two sources increased from 5.2% in 1937 to 20.6% in 1941; then, for the next two periods, they decreased to 17.3% and to 18.0%, respectively. This result indicates that fewer

Table 20. Number of sources used in stories from 1937 to 1945

| Source | Year | | | | | | | | Total (%) | |
|--------|----------|-------|----------|-------|----------|-------|----------|-------|-----------|-------|
| | 1937 (%) | | 1941 (%) | | 1942 (%) | | 1945 (%) | | | |
| 0 | 85 | 55.6 | 76 | 43.4 | 46 | 36.2 | 80 | 42.3 | 287 | 44.6 |
| 1 | 60 | 39.2 | 63 | 36.0 | 59 | 46.5 | 75 | 39.7 | 257 | 39.9 |
| 2 | 5 | 3.3 | 23 | 13.1 | 15 | 11.8 | 25 | 13.2 | 68 | 10.5 |
| 3 | 2 | 1.3 | 5 | 2.9 | 5 | 3.9 | 5 | 2.7 | 17 | 2.6 |
| 4 | 1 | .6 | 5 | 2.9 | - | - | 4 | 2.1 | 10 | 1.6 |
| 5 | - | - | 3 | 1.7 | 2 | 1.6 | - | - | 5 | .8 |
| Total | 153 | 100.0 | 175 | 100.0 | 127 | 100.0 | 189 | 100.0 | 644 | 100.0 |

sources were cited in stories appearing in 1937 than in comparable stories during the other three periods.

This trend is more clearly illustrated in Table 21. The average number of sources increased at the second stage, the Pearl Harbor attack in 1941, and held steady during the Midway period. A slight drop occurred between 1942 and 1945. The result of one-way ANOVA with a Scheffe test suggests that a significant mean difference was observed among the four periods. However, such a difference appeared only in 1937, and no significant difference was found among the other three periods. Therefore, Subhypothesis C, which assumed that the total number of sources cited in the stories would decrease as Japan experienced military losses, was not supported in this analysis.

With regard to the number of stories without sources of information, a chi square test indicates a significant

Table 21. Average number of sources used from 1937 to 1945 with ANOVA table and Scheffe test

| Year | Total stories | Total sources | Average sources | | |
|-------|---------------|---------------|-----------------|--|--|
| 1937 | 153 | 80 | .52 | | |
| 1941 | 175 | 159 | .91 | | |
| 1942 | 127 | 114 | .90 | | |
| 1945 | 189 | 156 | .83 | | |
| Total | <u>644</u> | <u>509</u> | <u>.79</u> | | |

| Source | df | S.S. ^a | M.S. ^b | F ratio | F prob. |
|----------------|-----|-------------------|-------------------|---------|---------|
| Between groups | 3 | 15.0858 | 5.0286 | 5.8556 | .0006 |
| Within groups | 640 | 549.6145 | .8588 | | |
| Total | 643 | 564.7003 | | | |

| Mean | Year | 1937 | 1945 | 1942 | 1941 |
|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| .52 | 1937 | | | | |
| .83 | 1945 | * | | | |
| .90 | 1942 | * | | | |
| .91 | 1941 | * | | | |

^a "S.S." refers to "sum of squares."

^b "M.S." refers to "mean squares."

difference through the four periods (Table 22). Of the 287 stories without sources (44.6% of the total), the highest percentage was recorded in 1937 (55.6%). The percentage dropped to 43.4% in 1941 and to 36.2% in 1942, but increased to 42.3% in 1945. This result suggests that Japanese newspapers were least likely to cover stories with no sources around the defeat at the Battle of Midway. This may

Table 22. Number and percentage of stories without sources from 1937 to 1945

| Story | Year | | | | | | | | Total (%) | |
|-------------|----------|-------|----------|-------|----------|-------|----------|-------|-----------|-------|
| | 1937 (%) | | 1941 (%) | | 1942 (%) | | 1945 (%) | | | |
| No source | 85 | 55.6 | 76 | 43.4 | 46 | 36.2 | 80 | 42.3 | 287 | 44.6 |
| With source | 68 | 44.4 | 99 | 56.6 | 81 | 63.8 | 109 | 57.7 | 357 | 55.4 |
| Total | 153 | 100.0 | 175 | 100.0 | 127 | 100.0 | 189 | 100.0 | 644 | 100.0 |

$$\chi^2 = 11.517, p < .01, df = 3.$$

Table 23. Stories naming no sources from 1937 to 1945

| Year | A (%) | | Newspaper Y (%) | | M (%) | | Total (%) | |
|-------|-------|-------|-----------------|-------|-------|-------|-----------|-------|
| | 1937 | 36 | 36.0 | 24 | 26.1 | 25 | 26.3 | 85 |
| 1941 | 22 | 22.0 | 28 | 30.4 | 26 | 27.4 | 76 | 26.5 |
| 1942 | 16 | 16.0 | 14 | 15.2 | 16 | 16.8 | 46 | 16.0 |
| 1945 | 26 | 26.0 | 26 | 28.3 | 28 | 29.5 | 80 | 27.9 |
| Total | 100 | 100.0 | 92 | 100.0 | 95 | 100.0 | 287 | 100.0 |

$$\chi^2 = 3.717, p \text{ N.S.}, df = 6.$$

reflect the government's intense desire to manage the news in a time of crisis. When individual papers are considered, Asahi most frequently carried stories without sources in 1937, while Yomiuri did in 1941 and Mainichi in 1945 (Table 23). All three papers least frequently used no-source stories in 1942. The percentage of no-source stories increased in 1945, but only to earlier levels. On the

whole, however, no significant difference was observed among the three papers.

Second, it was found that the variety of sources of information used was not significantly different among the three papers (Table 24). Of all the Japanese sources cited, over 90% were Japanese government and military sources. In fact, Yomiuri cited no other Japanese sources. This result confirms how effectively the government controlled the news-gathering activities of the press. Of the three papers, Mainichi was slightly more inclined to use military sources and slightly less inclined to use Japanese government sources in its stories than the other two papers.

Surprisingly, however, more than half of all sources cited in the stories were foreign sources. This may suggest

Table 24. Variety of sources used by three newspapers

| Source | A (%) | | Newspaper Y (%) | | M (%) | | Total (%) | |
|---------------------|------------|--------------|-----------------|--------------|------------|--------------|------------|--------------|
| | | | | | | | | |
| Japanese government | 37 | 19.7 | 30 | 19.0 | 26 | 16.0 | 93 | 18.3 |
| Japanese military | 48 | 25.5 | 45 | 28.5 | 50 | 30.7 | 143 | 28.1 |
| Other Japanese | 9 | 4.8 | - | - | 4 | 2.4 | 13 | 2.5 |
| Foreign | 94 | 50.0 | 83 | 52.5 | 83 | 50.9 | 260 | 51.1 |
| Total | <u>188</u> | <u>100.0</u> | <u>158</u> | <u>100.0</u> | <u>163</u> | <u>100.0</u> | <u>509</u> | <u>100.0</u> |

$$X^2 = 5.363, p \text{ N.S.}, df = 6.$$

that the Japanese press tried to provide the public with information about the outside world during the global crisis situation, despite the difficulty of gaining information from foreign countries. At the same time, it should be also remembered that such information was probably being manipulated by the United News Agency (Dōmei), because all the information from outside was transmitted through its communication channels and it was operating under the same censorship restrictions as the major newspapers.

The classification of the variety of sources according to the four time periods is shown in Table 25. A chi square test suggests that there was no significant difference among the frequencies of the use of the varied sources from 1937 to 1945. Therefore, Subhypothesis D was rejected.

Table 25. Variety of sources used from 1937 to 1945

| Source | Year | | | | | | | | Total (%) | |
|---------------------|----------|-------|----------|-------|----------|-------|----------|-------|-----------|-------|
| | 1937 (%) | | 1941 (%) | | 1942 (%) | | 1945 (%) | | | |
| Japanese government | 13 | 16.3 | 31 | 19.5 | 27 | 23.7 | 22 | 14.1 | 93 | 18.3 |
| Japanese military | 31 | 38.7 | 36 | 22.6 | 24 | 21.0 | 52 | 33.3 | 143 | 28.1 |
| Other Japanese | 2 | 2.5 | 4 | 2.5 | 1 | .9 | 6 | 3.9 | 13 | 2.5 |
| Foreign | 34 | 42.5 | 88 | 55.4 | 62 | 54.4 | 76 | 48.7 | 260 | 51.1 |
| Total | 80 | 100.0 | 159 | 100.0 | 114 | 100.0 | 156 | 100.0 | 509 | 100.0 |

$\chi^2 = 16.468$, p N.S., df = 9.

In fact, the percentage of Japanese government sources decreased in 1945, while the number of military sources increased. The percentage of foreign sources decreased in 1945, but the increased percentage of "other Japanese" sources contradicts the research assumption that the variety of sources cited in the stories would decrease as Japan experienced more military losses.

Interestingly, the ratio of Japanese government to military sources swung impressively. During the fall of Nanking, military sources outnumbered government sources by two to one. The same occurred with the surrender in 1945, but for the attack on Pearl Harbor and the defeat at Midway, military and government sources were closely clustered.

Finally, the sources used in the stories were divided into three groups according to specificity: name and specific title; specific title without name; and general title only.

No significant difference in the frequencies of the specificity of sources was observed among the three newspapers (Table 26). That is, they were all likely to identify sources in the same style for their stories. In general terms, readers were given names and titles 34.4% of the time; they at least knew the title (but not the name) of the source 48.1% of the time. Only 17.5% of the sources were identified only by a general title.

Table 26. Specificity of sources used by three newspapers

| Source | Newspaper | | | | | | | |
|---------|------------------|------|------------------|------|------------------|------|------------------|------|
| | A (%) | | Y (%) | | M (%) | | Total (%) | |
| Name | 72 | 38.3 | 45 | 28.5 | 58 | 35.6 | 175 | 34.4 |
| Title | 82 | 43.6 | 85 | 53.8 | 78 | 47.8 | 245 | 48.1 |
| General | 34 | 18.1 | 28 | 17.7 | 27 | 16.6 | 89 | 17.5 |
| Total | <u>188 100.0</u> | | <u>158 100.0</u> | | <u>163 100.0</u> | | <u>509 100.0</u> | |

$\chi^2 = 4.476$, p N.S., df = 4.

Asahi was slightly more likely to identify sources specifically (38.3%) than the other two, but it was also slightly more inclined to resort to general titles (18.1%). Asahi and Mainichi were very similar in their identification of sources. Yomiuri, on the other hand, was less inclined toward specific names (28.5%), but more inclined than the others to use specific titles (53.8%).

Surprisingly, the Japanese newspapers were twice as inclined to use sources with name and a specific title than they were to identify them only by a general title. There was little difference among the three papers in their relative use of general-source identification.

Table 27 was created to determine if any significant changes in the frequencies of the specificity of sources occurred through the four periods. The result of chi square suggests that there was no significant change of the frequencies from 1937 to 1945; therefore, Subhypothesis E

Table 27. Specificity of sources used from 1937 to 1945

| Source | Year | | | | | | | | Total | (%) |
|---------|----------|-------|----------|-------|----------|-------|----------|-------|-------|-------|
| | 1937 (%) | | 1941 (%) | | 1942 (%) | | 1945 (%) | | | |
| Name | 28 | 35.0 | 42 | 26.4 | 42 | 36.8 | 63 | 40.4 | 175 | 34.4 |
| Title | 42 | 52.5 | 84 | 52.8 | 52 | 45.6 | 67 | 42.9 | 245 | 48.1 |
| General | 10 | 12.5 | 33 | 20.8 | 20 | 17.6 | 26 | 16.7 | 89 | 17.5 |
| Total | 80 | 100.0 | 159 | 100.0 | 114 | 100.0 | 156 | 100.0 | 509 | 100.0 |

$\chi^2 = 9.066, p < N.S., df = 6.$

was rejected. Indeed, the percentage of the use of sources identified by name and a specific title increased over time, while the proportion of "specific title" and "general title" decreased. These trends are in the opposite direction of the research assumption that more general sources would be used as Japan experienced more military losses after the defeat at the Battle of Midway.

Attitude

The overall attitudes of the stories were examined based on two main points: attitudes of the stories toward the enemy (the United States, Great Britain, Russia, and China) and attitudes toward the Axis allies (Germany, Italy, and Japan).

There were 566 stories that showed any attitudes toward the enemy in 60 issues of the three Japanese newspapers from 1937 to 1945 (Table 28). Over 60% of those attitudes were

Table 28. Attitudes of three newspapers toward enemy

| Attitude | Newspaper | | | | | | Total (%) | |
|----------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|
| | A (%) | | Y (%) | | M (%) | | | |
| Anti- | 126 | 62.4 | 107 | 63.3 | 113 | 58.0 | 346 | 61.1 |
| Neutral | 73 | 36.1 | 59 | 34.9 | 79 | 40.5 | 211 | 37.3 |
| Pro- | 3 | 1.5 | 3 | 1.8 | 3 | 1.5 | 9 | 1.6 |
| Total | 202 100.0 | | 169 100.0 | | 195 100.0 | | 566 100.0 | |

$\chi^2 = 1.301^a$, p N.S., df = 2.

^a Chi square was calculated after collapsing "neutral" and "pro-."

Table 29. Attitudes of three newspapers toward Axis

| Attitude | Newspaper | | | | | | Total (%) | |
|----------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|
| | A (%) | | Y (%) | | M (%) | | | |
| Anti- | 1 | .6 | 1 | .6 | 2 | 1.2 | 4 | .8 |
| Neutral | 53 | 31.5 | 55 | 35.5 | 55 | 34.0 | 163 | 33.6 |
| Pro- | 114 | 67.9 | 99 | 63.9 | 105 | 64.8 | 318 | 65.6 |
| Total | 168 100.0 | | 155 100.0 | | 162 100.0 | | 485 100.0 | |

$\chi^2 = .615^a$, p N.S., df = 2.

^a Chi square was calculated after collapsing "anti-" and "neutral."

"anti-," and 37.3% were "neutral." Only 1.6% showed "pro-" attitudes toward the enemy. Yomiuri had the highest rate (63.3%) of "anti-" attitudes against the enemy, followed by Asahi (62.4%). Of the three papers, Mainichi was most likely to carry stories with "neutral" attitudes. However,

there was no significant difference in the attitudes of the three newspapers toward the enemy.

On the other hand, the attitudes of the stories toward the Axis powers were almost twice as likely to be "pro-," rather than "neutral" (Table 29). The "pro-" attitudes toward the Axis exceeded 65%. As with the previous category, no significant difference was found in the attitudes of the three newspapers toward the Axis.

The attitudes of news stories toward individual countries are shown in Table 30 and 31. Of all the stories that indicated any attitudes toward the enemy, 41.2% dealt with the United States, followed by China (25.8%), Great Britain (24.0%) and Russia (9.0%). From this result, it can be concluded that Japan considered the United States the most important country in terms of its diplomatic negotiations and war situations from 1937 to 1945. China got more mentions than Great Britain, probably because China had been the only enemy for Japan until the beginning of the Pacific War in 1941 and, therefore, got more attention from the Japanese press than did Great Britain in 1937. Likewise, Russia had been a neutral country until its declaration of war against Japan in August, 1945, so it got much less attention from the Japanese press than did the other three countries.

These trends are reflected in the proportion of negative attitudes in stories toward the individual enemies.

Table 30. Attitudes of stories toward individual enemy

| Attitude | Country | | | | | | | | | |
|----------|---------|-------|-----|-------|-----|-------|-----|-------|-------|-------|
| | USA | (%) | BRI | (%) | RUS | (%) | CHI | (%) | Total | (%) |
| Anti- | 147 | 63.1 | 91 | 66.9 | 24 | 47.1 | 84 | 57.5 | 346 | 61.1 |
| Neutral | 85 | 36.5 | 44 | 32.4 | 27 | 52.9 | 55 | 37.7 | 211 | 37.3 |
| Pro- | 1 | .4 | 1 | .7 | - | - | 7 | 4.8 | 9 | 1.6 |
| Total | 233 | 100.0 | 136 | 100.0 | 51 | 100.0 | 146 | 100.0 | 566 | 100.0 |

More than 60% of the stories that showed any attitudes toward the U.S. and Britain were categorized as "anti-," followed by 57.5% of the stories about China. With regard to Russia, the treatment was slightly more "neutral" (52.9%) than "anti-" (47.1%). Although the percentage of "anti-" stories against Britain was higher than that of the U.S., the latter was much more frequently mentioned and there was little difference in the attitudes toward the two countries.

Of the three countries of the Axis, Japan dominated nearly 90% of all the stories that showed any attitudes toward the Axis powers (Table 31). Not surprisingly, 67.4% of those stories indicated a "pro-" attitude toward Japan. Only two stories (.4%) that criticized the Japanese government or military policies were found in the coverage of the three papers from 1937 to 1945. However, only about 50% of the attitudes toward Germany and Italy fell into the category of "pro-." Indeed, there were only 16 stories

Table 31. Attitudes of stories toward individual Axis powers

| Attitude | GER (%) | | Country ITA (%) | | JAP (%) | | Total (%) | |
|----------|---------|-------|--------------------|-------|---------|-------|-----------|-------|
| | Anti- | 2 | 5.0 | - | - | 2 | .4 | 4 |
| Neutral | 17 | 42.5 | 8 | 50.0 | 138 | 32.2 | 163 | 33.6 |
| Pro- | 21 | 52.5 | 8 | 50.0 | 289 | 67.4 | 318 | 65.6 |
| Total | 40 | 100.0 | 16 | 100.0 | 429 | 100.0 | 485 | 100.0 |

showing any attitudes toward Italy: Half were "neutral" and half were "pro-Rome." Germany enjoyed slightly more support (52.5%), but two of the 40 stories (5.0%) were critical, or "anti-Berlin." This result may suggest that the Japanese press tended to emphasize the "strength" or "justice" of Japan itself, rather than publicize cooperation among the Axis countries.

Overall, it was confirmed that attitudes of the stories toward both the enemy and the Axis significantly changed through the four time periods (Table 32 and 33). For example, the percentage of stories which expressed "anti-" attitudes against the enemy markedly increased in 1941 (55.8%) and in 1942 (81.4%), dropping to 63.9% in 1945. On the other hand, "pro-" attitudes toward the Axis recorded a relatively high percentage (68.1%) in 1937, increased to 75.2% in 1942, but decreased in 1941 (58.4%) and 1945 (61.5%). That is, both "anti-" attitudes toward the enemy

Table 32. Attitudes of stories toward enemy from 1937 to 1945

| Attitude | Year | | | | | | | | | |
|----------|----------|-------|----------|-------|----------|-------|----------|-------|-----------|-------|
| | 1937 (%) | | 1941 (%) | | 1942 (%) | | 1945 (%) | | Total (%) | |
| Anti- | 35 | 38.5 | 91 | 55.8 | 96 | 81.4 | 124 | 63.9 | 346 | 61.1 |
| Neutral | 50 | 54.9 | 70 | 43.0 | 22 | 18.6 | 69 | 35.6 | 211 | 37.3 |
| Pro- | 6 | 6.6 | 2 | 1.2 | - | - | 1 | .5 | 9 | 1.6 |
| Total | 91 | 100.0 | 163 | 100.0 | 118 | 100.0 | 194 | 100.0 | 566 | 100.0 |

$\chi^2 = 31.329^a$, $p < .001$, $df = 3$.

^a Chi square was calculated after collapsing "neutral" and "pro-."

Table 33. Attitudes toward Axis powers from 1937 to 1945

| Attitude | Year | | | | | | | | | |
|----------|----------|-------|----------|-------|----------|-------|----------|-------|-----------|-------|
| | 1937 (%) | | 1941 (%) | | 1942 (%) | | 1945 (%) | | Total (%) | |
| Anti- | 1 | .9 | - | - | - | - | 3 | 2.3 | 4 | .8 |
| Neutral | 35 | 31.0 | 52 | 41.6 | 29 | 24.8 | 47 | 36.2 | 163 | 33.6 |
| Pro- | 77 | 68.1 | 73 | 58.4 | 88 | 75.2 | 80 | 61.5 | 318 | 65.6 |
| Total | 113 | 100.0 | 125 | 100.0 | 117 | 100.0 | 130 | 100.0 | 485 | 100.0 |

$\chi^2 = 8.955^a$, $p < .05$, $df = 3$.

^a Chi square was calculated after collapsing "anti-" and "neutral."

and "pro-" attitudes toward the Axis were the highest in 1942.

The fact that the most distinctive change occurred in 1942 was consistent with the observed trends of other variables, such as emotions, slant of stories and headlines,

and the variety and specificity of sources. However, the research assumption in terms of the attitudes of stories was that both of "anti-" feeling against the enemy and "pro-" feeling toward the Axis would be the highest in 1945, increasing from the first period to the final period of the war. Therefore, Subhypothesis F was not supported.

Strong Negative Words*

Overall, 205 strong negative words or statements against the enemy were found in this analysis (Table 34). Of the three newspapers, Mainichi most frequently used those words or statements. Its stories contained 44.4% of the total. The other two were: Yomiuri (28.8%) and Asahi (26.8%). The average number of strong negative words used in each story of the three papers came to be .41 for Mainichi, .30 for Yomiuri, and .24 for Asahi. The result of one-way ANOVA with a Scheffe test suggests that there was no significant difference in the mean scores of the three papers.

From 1937 to 1945, the average number of strong negative words or statements used in the stories increased from .10 in 1937 to .33 in 1941 and .44 in 1942. It then slightly decreased to .40 in 1945 (Table 35). The result of

* The examples of strong negative words will be described in the next chapter.

Table 34. Strong negative words or statements used by three newspapers with ANOVA table

| Newspaper | N of stories | N of words | (%) | Mean score |
|-----------|--------------|------------|--------------|------------|
| Asahi | 226 | 55 | 26.8 | .24 |
| Yomiuri | 198 | 59 | 28.8 | .30 |
| Mainichi | 220 | 91 | 44.4 | .41 |
| Total | <u>644</u> | <u>205</u> | <u>100.0</u> | <u>.32</u> |

| Source | df | S.S. ^a | M.S. ^b | F ratio | F prob. |
|----------------|-----|-------------------|-------------------|---------|---------|
| Between groups | 2 | 3.3505 | 1.6752 | 1.7088 | .1819 |
| Within groups | 641 | 628.3933 | .9803 | | |
| Total | 643 | 631.7438 | | | |

a "S.S." refers to "sum of squares."

b "M.S." refers to "mean squares."

one-way ANOVA with a Scheffe test suggests that the mean scores of strong negative words of 1942 and 1945 were significantly larger than that of 1937. No significant difference was found between 1937 and 1941, or among 1941, 1942 and 1945. From this finding, Subhypothesis G, which assumed that the more Japan suffered military losses, the more strong negative words would be used by the three Japanese newspapers, was not statistically supported. However, the observed trend showed that the three newspapers used more negative words against the enemy at the "defeat" stages (1942 and 1945) than they did at "victory" stages (1937 and 1941).

Table 35. Strong negative words or statements used from 1937 to 1945 with ANOVA table and Scheffe test

| Year | N of stories | N of words | Mean score |
|-------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| 1937 | 153 | 15 | .10 |
| 1941 | 175 | 58 | .33 |
| 1942 | 127 | 56 | .44 |
| 1945 | 189 | 76 | .40 |
| Total | $\overline{644}$ | $\overline{205}$ | $\overline{.32}$ |

| Source | df | S.S. ^a | M.S. ^b | F ratio | F prob. |
|----------------|-----|-------------------|-------------------|---------|---------|
| Between groups | 3 | 10.6910 | 3.5637 | 3.6724 | .0121 |
| Within groups | 640 | 621.0528 | .9704 | | |
| Total | 643 | 631.7438 | | | |

| Mean | Year | 1937 | 1941 | 1945 | 1942 |
|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| .10 | 1937 | | | | |
| .33 | 1941 | | | | |
| .40 | 1945 | * | | | |
| .44 | 1942 | * | | | |

a "S.S." refers to "sum of squares."

b "M.S." refers to "mean squares."

Overall Category

This study also examined the overall categories of propaganda emphases in the stories covered by the three Japanese newspapers from 1937 to 1945. All stories were exclusively categorized into twelve groups based on their primary emphasis (Table 36).

Among the twelve categories, "war news" recorded the highest percentage (28.0%) of frequency. This trend continued through the four periods. It decreased from 30.7% in 1937 to 25.1% in 1941, and slightly increased to 26.0% in 1942 and then to 29.6% in 1945. The high percentages were probably caused by the four-day long battle at Nanking in 1937 and the sustained air raids on Japan's homeland in 1945.

The same general trend was observed for stories dealing with the "strength of Japanese material or morale." From a high of 20.3% in 1937, the percentage dropped dramatically to 8.6% in 1941. The percentages increased and leveled at 14.2% in 1942 and 14.3% in 1945. This finding indicates that the newspapers strongly emphasized the "strength" of Japanese material and morale in the China campaign, but not at the Pearl Harbor attack. On the other hand, "strength of the Axis powers" stories were mainly covered in 1942. Only four of these stories appeared from 1937 to 1941. And, of course, none of them was found in the issues of August, 1945--after the surrender of Germany and Italy. Interestingly, the Japanese press still tried to publicize "Japan's strength" in the final period, despite the desperate situation the Japanese people were facing.

Stories related to "The Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" and other ideological themes increased in 1941 and 1942, then slightly decreased in 1945. Thus, the ideology

Table 36. Overall category of propaganda emphases employed in all stories from 1937 to 1945

| Category | Year | | | | | | | | Total (%) | |
|---------------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|-----|-------|-----|-------|-----------|-------|
| | 1937 (%) | 1941 (%) | 1942 (%) | 1945 (%) | | | | | | |
| War news | 47 | 30.7 | 44 | 25.1 | 33 | 26.0 | 56 | 29.6 | 180 | 28.0 |
| Strength of Japan | 31 | 20.3 | 15 | 8.6 | 18 | 14.2 | 27 | 14.3 | 91 | 14.1 |
| Strength of Axis | 1 | .6 | 3 | 1.7 | 12 | 9.4 | - | - | 16 | 2.5 |
| Greater East Asia | 3 | 2.0 | 12 | 6.9 | 10 | 7.9 | 11 | 5.8 | 36 | 5.6 |
| Domestic (non-war) | 14 | 9.2 | 24 | 13.7 | 26 | 20.5 | 13 | 6.9 | 77 | 12.0 |
| Foreign (non-war) | 16 | 10.5 | 18 | 10.3 | 8 | 6.3 | 39 | 20.6 | 81 | 12.6 |
| Weakness of U.S. | - | - | 11 | 6.3 | 3 | 2.3 | - | - | 14 | 2.2 |
| Weakness of Britain | - | - | 4 | 2.3 | 2 | 1.6 | 1 | .5 | 7 | 1.1 |
| Weakness of enemy | 5 | 3.2 | 3 | 1.7 | 6 | 4.7 | 5 | 2.7 | 19 | 3.0 |
| Fear story | - | - | - | - | 2 | 1.6 | 11 | 5.8 | 13 | 2.0 |
| Miscell. (war) | 35 | 22.9 | 38 | 21.7 | 5 | 3.9 | 14 | 7.4 | 92 | 14.3 |
| Miscell. (non-war) | 1 | 0.6 | 3 | 1.7 | 2 | 1.6 | 12 | 6.3 | 18 | 2.8 |
| Total | 153 | 100.0 | 175 | 100.0 | 127 | 100.0 | 189 | 100.0 | 644 | 100.0 |

which called for "cooperation among Asians" was more frequently used during the period from the Pearl Harbor attack to the Battle of Midway, though it still appeared immediately before the surrender.

It was observed that the proportion of non-war related news changed in the different patterns through the four periods. For example, "domestic (non-war) news" increased

from 9.2% in 1937 to 13.7% in 1941 and to 20.5% in 1942, then dramatically decreased to 6.9% in 1945. On the other hand, "foreign (non-war) news" stories decreased from 10.5% in 1937 and 10.3% in 1941 to 6.3% in 1942, but markedly increased to 20.6% in 1945. These two patterns were almost completely reversed, especially in 1942 and 1945. One logical explanation for this may be that, by 1945, every air raid brought the war home in an unprecedented way so that it would have been almost impossible for domestic news reporting to ignore the military situation.

The proportion of stories about the "weakness or wickedness of the enemy" also showed different patterns. The total percentage of the frequencies increased from 3.2% in 1937 to 10.3% in 1941, then dropped to 8.6% in 1942 and to 3.2% in 1945. The two categories, "weakness or wickedness" of the U.S. and Britain, followed the same pattern, but "weakness or wickedness" stories about other enemies (China, Russia, etc.) decreased from 3.2% in 1937 to 1.7% in 1941, increased to 4.7% in 1942, and, again, decreased to 2.7% in 1945. This unique pattern probably occurred because the U.S. and Britain became the primary opponent of Japan after the beginning of the Pacific War in 1941. The relatively high percentage of "weakness and wickedness" of other enemies stories appeared in 1937 and 1942 because of the following two reasons: First, China had been the only enemy for Japan before 1941, so it got more

negative comments than did others. Second, the main topics covered by the three papers in 1942 were Japanese "victories" at the Battle of the Coral Sea and the Sydney Bay attack; therefore, they described the U.S., Britain and Australia as a collective enemy.

"Fear stories"--about the atrocities or war crimes committed by the enemy--appeared only after the defeat at the Battle of Midway in 1942, and none occurred in 1937 and 1941. Of the 13 stories found, two appeared in 1942 and eleven in 1945. The marked increase of this kind of story in 1945 was a clear function of the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Finally, "miscellaneous" stories related to the war were more frequently covered at "victory" stages (22.9% in 1937 and 21.7% in 1941) than at "defeat" stages (3.9% in 1942 and 7.4% in 1945). On the other hand, non-war "miscellaneous" stories increased in 1945, while they hardly changed from 1937 to 1942. This trend might be caused by the decrease of victory news which accompanied general stories about Japanese soldiers at the battle front, as Japan experienced more military losses, especially after the overwhelming defeat at the Battle of Midway in June, 1942. It was also observed that such stories tended to be replaced by more practical information at the final period, such as stories on food distribution, nutrition, gardening and fire prevention.

Charles Lomas' study, which analyzed the content of Dōmei (the United News Agency) transmissions in the occupied Asian areas from 1944 to 1945, found that the basic pattern of Japanese propaganda emphases "had undergone radical alternations" during this period.¹ A summary of his findings was as follows: First, "Japanese strength" stories increased in 1945, substituting for factual reporting of war news. Second, "The Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" and other ideological themes completely disintegrated in 1945. Third, stories about the "weakness of the enemy" markedly increased in 1945, while only a slight increase of "wickedness of the enemy" stories was observed. Finally, some miscellaneous and unslanted material appeared in 1945, while none was found in 1944.

When compared to Lomas' study, the observed trends of propaganda emphases in this study suggest two similarities and two differences between Japanese domestic and foreign propaganda. First, "strength of Japanese material and morale" stories did not increase in the coverage of domestic newspapers in 1945. Second, "weakness and wickedness of the enemy" stories did not, again, increase at the final period, while Lomas observed the marked increase of those stories from 1944 to 1945. Third, stories dealing with ideological themes decreased during the final stage of the war, as observed by Lomas. Finally, the total percentage of "miscellaneous" stories (war-related and non-war) increased

from 5.5% in 1942 to 13.7% in 1945. This result was consistent with Lomas' finding that miscellaneous material increased in 1945. However, those stories were more frequently found in 1937 and 1941 than in the last two periods in this study.

Obviously, the comparison of the two studies is somewhat tentative because of the different time periods examined. However, at least in some points, it can be assumed that Japanese propagandists employed different propaganda emphases in their domestic and foreign efforts during the war, in order to fit the different demands of their primary audiences in the occupied areas and homeland.

Discussions of General Hypotheses

It was expected in this research that fewer restrictions on the press would be observed during the first period, the fall of Nanking, in 1937; that is, stories would tend to be more factual and unbiased, with more sources of information (Hypothesis 1). However, no statistical evidence was found to support this assumption.

For example, the degree of emotion expressed in the stories during this period was not significantly lower than that of 1941 and 1945. Slanted headlines were least frequently used in 1937, but the use of slanted stories was higher than that of 1941. The total number of sources was the lowest during this period, with the highest rate of the

use of non-source stories, while the highest frequencies of the use sources was expected. Also, Japanese government and military sources were most frequently used in 1937, which means that less varied sources were used then than in the other three periods. Only the result concerning the specificity of sources partly supported the hypothesis, because the sources identified only by general title were least frequently used during this period. However, no statistical significance was observed in the change in specificity of sources from 1937 to 1945. The attitudes of stories toward the enemy were more likely to be "neutral" than in the other three periods, but those expressed toward the Axis were more "pro-" than those of 1941 and 1945. Therefore, it was not confirmed that the stories covered during the "victory" period would be more factual and unbiased.

During the second period, the Pearl Harbor attack in 1941, it was expected that fewer sources and more emotional and biased stories would be employed than in 1937, because there would be more fear and less confidence about the outcome among the Japanese public after the United States and Great Britain declared war against Japan (Hypothesis 2). However, no statistical evidence was provided for this hypothesis. In fact, some analyses suggested the opposite directions of content trends from those hypothesized.

For example, the use of foreign wire service stories increased from 1937 to 1941, while the expected trend was that their use would decrease over time. Likewise, the degree of emotion and slant of stories decreased in 1941, even though slanted headlines were more frequently used by the papers than in 1937. Also, total number and variety of sources increased from 1937 to 1945, as opposed to the research assumption. The expected trends were observed only in the decrease of the specificity of sources and in the increase of "anti-" attitudes toward the enemy and of the number of strong negative words. These results suggest that the coverage by newspapers during this period was more likely to be "rational" and unbiased with more sources of information than that of 1937.

The most distinctive changes occurred in 1942 with the Battle of Midway (see Figure 1). Fewer stories appeared on front pages during this period than during the other three periods. This means that the length of stories on the front page dramatically increased. At the same time, the stories were more likely to be emotional and slanted. Also, more stories were written by Japanese writers (the newspapers' own staff or the United News Agency). These results suggest that more strict press controls were exercised during this period than ever before, if only because Tokyo had to deal with its first significant setback in five years.

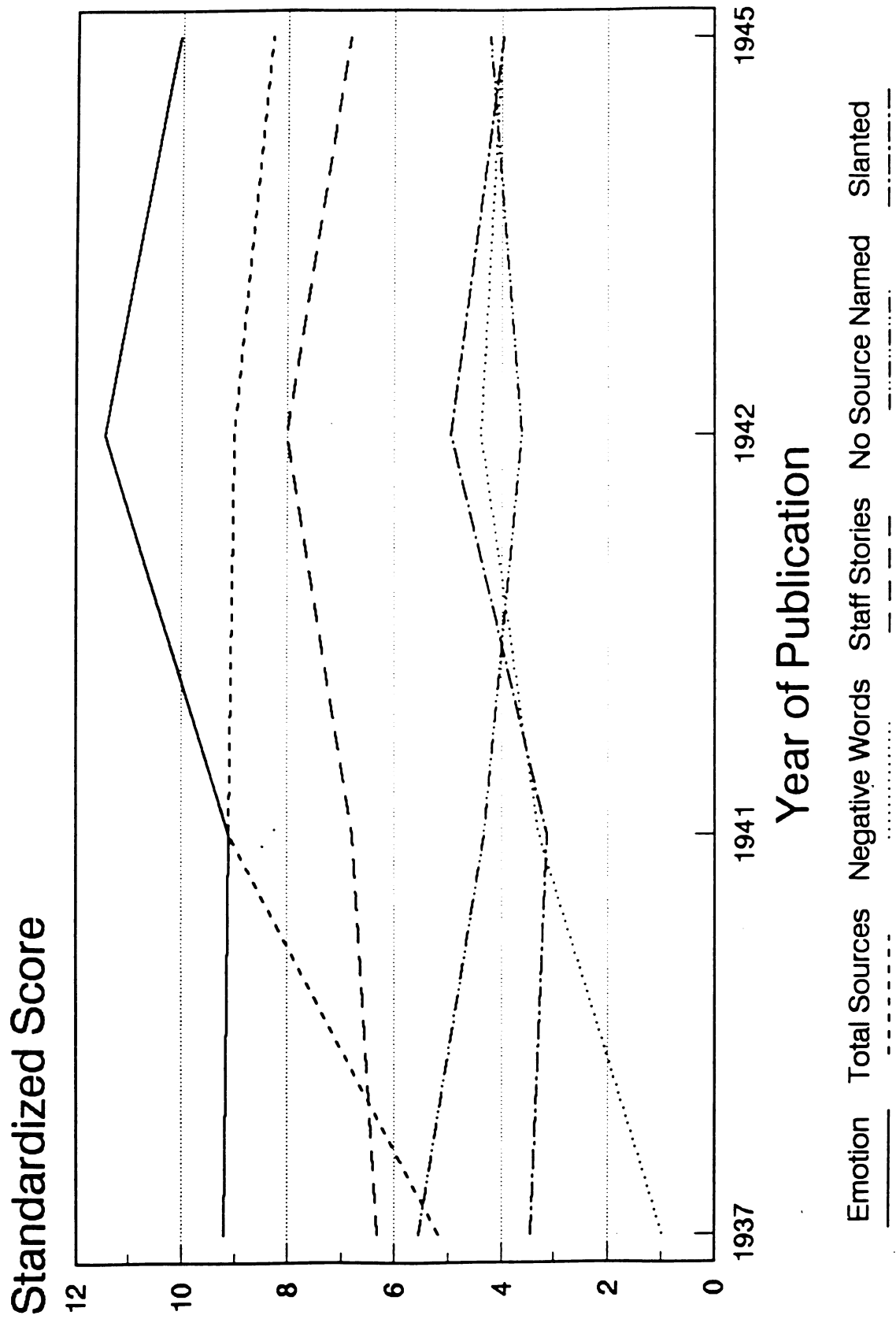


Figure 1. Japanese newspaper content categories by year

The newspapers employed a higher degree of emotional techniques than they did during the other three periods. Such trends were accompanied by the highest use of slanted stories and headlines, because a statistical analysis indicates that the more the stories conveyed slant in their stories and headlines, the higher was the degree of emotion expressed by writers. Also, both "anti-" attitudes toward the enemy and "pro-" attitudes toward the Axis increased during this period, with a notable increase of strong negative words criticizing the enemy.

On the other hand, the expected change of content trends from 1937 to 1942 was not observed in the analyses of sources cited in the stories. For example, there was little difference in the total number of sources cited between 1941 and 1942. In fact, the total number of sources used in 1942 was much higher than that in 1937. Also, the use of non-source stories dramatically decreased in 1942, as opposed to the assumption that fewer sources would be cited in defeats than during the "victory" periods. The variety of sources followed the same pattern: It slightly decreased from 1941 to 1942, but was much higher than that of 1937. The finding that the newspapers more frequently identified their sources by name and specific title in 1942 than in 1941 also contradicted the expected trend of the research assumption.

Overall, Hypothesis 3, which stated that a higher level of press restrictions and emotional appeals would be

employed in the three newspapers than ever before, was partly supported in this study. Although the total number, variety, and specificity of sources increased in 1942 when compared to those of 1937 or 1941, a higher degree of emotions and of slant of stories and headlines were observed. Probably, the increase of strong negative words contributed to these distinctive changes. As a result, attitudes toward the enemy came to be more inclined toward "anti-" feeling, while those toward the Axis allies showed more "pro-" tendency. In fact, in most cases, statistical significance was found only during this period, not among the others.

On the other hand, Hypothesis 4 was not supported in this study. The content trends expected by the hypothesis were that the greatest restrictions on the press and the most emotional and biased tone of all four periods would be observed during this final period of the war, August 1945, because of the desperate situation in which Japan experienced tremendous military losses and increased air raids in its homeland. This situation was reflected in the change of the kind of stories, where "domestic/war" news dramatically increased and "foreign/war" stories decreased. However, the result of hypothesis-testing revealed that, in most analyses, there was no significant difference between 1942 and 1945, or even among 1937, 1941, and 1945.

For example, emotional appeals expressed in stories decreased from 1942 to 1945, although they were greater than those of 1937 and 1941. The use of slanted stories followed the same pattern, but slanted headlines were less frequently used than in 1941. Although the total number and variety of sources slightly decreased from 1942 to 1945, with the increase of non-source stories, the specificity of sources increased during the same period. The number of strong negative words also declined in 1945, and this change was accompanied by the decrease of both "anti-" attitudes toward the enemy and "pro-" attitudes toward the Axis. Such observed trends indicate that the three newspapers covered more emotional and slanted stories at the "defeat" stages than at the "victory" stages, but no statistical evidence was found in the difference between 1937, 1941, and 1945.

Finally, the uniformity of the coverage by the three newspapers which was expected by Hypothesis 5 was statistically supported in this analysis. No significant differences were observed among the three papers on such quantitative analyses as to the kind of stories, writer, degree of emotion, slant of stories and headlines, total number and variety and specificity of sources, attitudes toward the enemy and the Axis, and the number of strong negative words. These results may suggest that state controls were so effective that the Japanese press uniformly

■

ENDNOTES

1. Charles W. Lomas, "The Rhetoric of Japanese War Propaganda," The Quarterly Journal of Speech 35 (February 1949): 32.

VIII. QUALITATIVE RESULTS

Although the primary thrust of this thesis has been a quantitative analysis of content, sources, and emotional words, qualitative assessments were also made in an attempt to capture the depth and intensity of the language employed by the three Japanese newspapers during the four selected time periods under study. In this sense, qualitative analyses were used to assess main themes of stories, the variety of sources cited, and wording used, both in support of the war effort and against the enemy.

Story Themes

The stories covered by three Japanese newspapers in December, 1937 were dominated by war reports related to the fall of Nanking. The "great victory" and "bravery" of Japanese soldiers were especially emphasized in this period, as when the "gallant spirits of the Imperial Army" and "the Japanese flag of 'rising sun' was shining on the wall of the fort."¹ These themes were repeated, not only in war reports but also in miscellaneous stories, such as the "victory march" in Nanking, the memorial ceremony for Japanese casualties, and the tremendous number of Chinese captives.

On the other hand, General Chiang Kai-shek and his government were harshly criticized for their "immorality, inhumanity, weakness, wickedness, and unfairness." Chinese

troops were portrayed as "confusedly escaping cowards" who "relentlessly abandoned" Chinese citizens around the Nanking area. When a commander of the Chinese army stated that they were prepared to make a powerful counterattack against the Japanese, the newspapers sneered and called it "a case of sour grapes."²

While criticizing Chiang's government, the newspapers supported the puppet government created by the Japanese army. They uniformly stated that the new regime would bring "peace and independence" to China under Japanese guidance. All six of the stories which showed the "pro-" attitudes toward China in this period were not favorable to Chiang Kai-shek, but to the puppet government.

The three Japanese papers were also openly critical of Britain and the United States because of their opposition to the Chinese invasion. The Soviet Union was also criticized because it provided military weapons to the Chinese communists. With regard to the USS Panay incident, there was no "anti-" attitude against the U.S. government; however, those stories (only four stories about this incident were found in the three newspapers) tended to be short and without detailed explanation and to emphasize the Japan's excuses for the "unintentional accident."

At the second stage, the Pearl Harbor attack in 1941, the themes of the stories markedly changed. The main interest of the newspapers shifted from China to the U.S.

and Britain--the primary enemies of Japan. Although the attitudes of news stories were relatively moderate before the declaration of war, the "anti-" attitudes against the two countries were markedly heightened after the U.S. government refused Japan's final response to the Hull Note on November 26, 1941. Not surprisingly, the "overwhelming victory" of the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor and the sinking of two British battleships, the Prince of Wales and Repulse, were heavily publicized by the three Japanese newspapers. Not only did they emphasize the "weakness and wickedness" of the United States and Britain, but they also stressed the "strength" of the Japanese material and morale, "superior" power of the Japanese industry, and the national mobilization for a strong war effort.

Along with this situation, the cooperation among the Axis powers and some Asian countries, such as French Indochina and Thailand, was also emphasized in the stories. The primary Japanese ideology, "The Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere," repeatedly appeared in the news coverage with an attempt to justify Japan's position as a "leader of Asian fellows." The "willingness" of native people in the occupied areas to cooperate with the Japanese was one of the favorite topics of the three papers. However, when the native local leaders refused to support the Japanese regime, the papers attacked them as "traitors to Asian prosperity."³

Reactions of other countries also appeared in this period, though they were likely to be downplayed or parts of summaries. Among the neutrals, Spain, Mexico, Turkey, and Argentina were reported to have avoided participating in the war because they were "frightened by the strength of Japanese military power." Also, the countries that declared war against Japan, such as Australia, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica, were portrayed as "dull-headed." Their involvement was described as being the result of coaxing or coercion by London and Washington.⁴

The overwhelming defeat of the Japanese navy at the Battle of Midway was a significant turning point not only for the nation itself, but also for Japanese press coverage. Initially, only a small story reported that there had been a battle between the U.S. and Japanese Pacific fleets, but no detailed description was provided. On June 10 (Tokyo time), 1942--a full five days after the battle--Tokyo radio broadcast that Japan had won a great victory, sinking two U.S. carriers and destroying 120 U.S. airplanes. All the newspaper reports followed the same line. As David Bergamini wrote: "Previously the Japanese media had ignored some setbacks in China but never had they had to tell such an utterly outrageous lie."⁵

Instead of describing the defeat at Midway, the Japanese papers focussed on the military's announcement of "war achievements" and reports of "great victory" at the

Battle of the Coral Sea and the attack on Sydney Bay, Australia. The Japanese newspapers reported that the U.S. and British combined fleet was so heavily damaged as a result of these battles that it became a "funeral fleet." The Japanese military announcement provided information on both military gains and losses, but, of course, it did not include the heavy losses at Midway. When the U.S. government announced that the battle ended in the tremendous victory of the U.S. Navy, the Japanese papers criticized Washington for "circulating false information to deceive its own people."⁶

Other common themes in newspapers at this time included: national unity, the "Greater East Asia" progress, criticism of Chiang Kai-shek and Chinese Communism, and the strength of Germany and Italy. In addition, the papers sometimes reported the domestic political and economic situations of the enemies, usually describing them in terms of "economic crises" or "political and social confusion." These reports were used to emphasize the "weakness" and "lack of unity" of those enemies.⁷

During the fourth period, that of Japan's unconditional surrender in August, 1945, five main themes emerged in the coverage by the three Japanese newspapers. First, war reports related to the U.S. air raids on Japan's homeland dramatically increased at this period. In most cases, the stories were small in size and did not provide detailed

descriptions of damage, frequently stating that "there was no significant damage."⁸

Second, the strength of Japanese morale (not material) was still emphasized in press calls for national unity for the emperor. Although the use of the emperor as a symbol of unity was employed throughout the war, this persuasion technique was most frequently used at the end, probably because it was the last means available to stir up the Japanese people's mind.

Third, Japanese criticism of the use of atomic bombs by the U.S. air force was highlighted in news coverage. These "atrocious stories" were designed to emphasize the inhumanity of the enemy, while at the same time urging the public not to be afraid of the tremendous power of this new weapon.

Fourth, the strength of Japanese soldiers' morale at the battlefield, such as the South Asian islands and China, was extraordinarily exaggerated in the stories. In fact, most of the soldiers in those areas died in "Banzai attacks," but such tragic stories were never covered by the Japanese newspapers. Finally, the ideological theme embodied in "The Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" still appeared at this period. However, the main emphasis shifted from the strength of Japanese troops and material to cooperation with the native Asian people.

Name and Title of Sources

The names and titles of the sources cited in the 644 stories by the three Japanese newspapers are listed in Appendix C. Overall, there were 73 Japanese sources and 118 foreign sources.

Interestingly, the three papers tended to use enemy sources (91 from the U.S., Britain, Russia, and China) rather than Axis sources (11 from Germany and Italy). Only 16 "other" foreign sources were used, and they were mainly those of neutral countries. This result may indicate that Japanese newspapers used enemy sources more than might be expected, despite the difficulty of obtaining information from them.

However, it should be noticed that foreign stories were usually very short, without detailed information. They were likely to be "rational" rather than "emotional" because of their limited space. Also, all three papers tended to use foreign sources to reinforce Tokyo's points of view; that is, only sources whose comments were favorable to the Japanese were used by the Japanese papers. For example, they cited the enemy sources to confirm the Japanese military success in battles. When enemy sources revealed the heavy losses of the Japanese military, the papers criticized the enemy for circulating "false information." Likewise, foreign sources of neutral countries were mostly

used to justify Japan's position or "justice" in international relations.

From these observations, it can be assumed that the tremendous use of foreign sources was a part of a policy calculated to validate impressions that Tokyo wanted to convey. Two techniques might be involved in this strategy: government censors sought out sources who were favorable to the Japanese cause; or they actually attached untrue or inaccurate statements to foreign sources. A tendency toward the latter appeared after the Battle of Midway and increased as Japan experienced more military losses.

Wording

The average number of strong negative words or statements increased from .10 per story in 1937 to .40 in 1945; that is, the newspapers were more likely to use those words or statements when Japan experienced military losses. However, the emotions carried by the stories were not determined only by the use of negative words but also by repetition of strong positive words. This section, therefore, describes the use of both kinds of words, positive and negative, by the three Japanese newspapers.

At the first stage, the fall of Nanking, the main target of negative comments was Chinese General Chiang Kai-shek and his government and troops.⁹ For example, all the papers criticized Chiang's government for "enriching itself

by victimizing the welfare of the Chinese citizens." Because Chiang did not regret his "unfair" policies and refused to cooperate with the Japanese for the Asians' prosperity, he had to be "punished" by the Japanese, the "leader of Asia." When the Japanese army attacked Nanking, Chinese defenders were so "weak and confused" that they "only managed to escape from their capital." As a result, Chiang's army was "easily destroyed," and his government was "about to be ruined."

On the other hand, the fighting spirit of Japanese soldiers was "excellent and extraordinary," supported by "patriotic enthusiasm" of the Japanese public in the homeland.¹⁰ The power of their hard blow was "like a gust of wind" and "threw the enemy into panic"; therefore, there was no doubt that they would win the battle. The outstanding "victory march" in Nanking "added another shining page to the world history," with the "flying flag of the rising sun." Moreover, such "great victory" was "inevitable" for the Japanese because they were destined to "establish the eternal peace of Asia," "brighten the spirit of the Eastern cultures," "protect the Western civilization from being ruined," and "contribute to the development and prosperity of the world." Thus, these positive words were deeply associated with the main Japanese government ideology, "The Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere."

After the Pearl Harbor attack, however, all the strong negative words or statements were employed against the United States and Great Britain. Few negative comments about China were found at this period. This is not surprising, for three reasons. Most important was that the U.S. and Britain were not only the primary enemies, but also were much more powerful and, therefore, dangerous. As a result, the press and public normally shifted their focus to the Pacific naval war. At the same time, the Chinese land war had already produced its major victories, so there would not be much necessity to cover those stories on the front page.

According to the stories examined, the failure of peace negotiations between the U.S. and Japan was caused by Washington, which "lacked the sincerity to keep a peaceful relationship" and "reinforced its economic and military threats against Japan." Since the U.S. and Britain intended to "invade and exploit the profit of Eastern Asia" and "ignored the reality of the world development," they were portrayed as "tremendous threats for Asians' peace and independence" and, therefore, had to be excluded from all of Asia.¹¹

To encounter such threats of the Western powers, Imperial Japan had "bravely stood up against the invaders." Its main purposes were to "protect Imperial Japan itself from the evil invaders," to "establish a new order for

Asians," and to "bring rapid progress and prosperity in Greater East Asia."¹² The Japanese "historical surprise attack" on Pearl Harbor was described as having been essential to achieving these "fair purposes." The victory itself was seen as an "unprecedented success in the world history" and "proved the superiority of the Japanese military power." Japanese pilots were "brave and determined with divine spirits" and "showed their abilities to the full," heavily bombing and firing on the enemy. As a result, the U.S. navy was "mortally damaged" and "had no power to fight back against Imperial Japan."¹³

Negative comments against the enemy became more severe and exaggerated at the third period, the Battle of Midway in June, 1942. This was also the period of the greatest distortion by the Japanese press because of its almost total lack of coverage of the defeat at Midway. Instead, front page stories focused on two less important battles. They were the successful attack on Sydney Bay and the Battle of the Coral Sea, which ended in a draw, but which was reported by the Japanese papers as "overwhelming victory."

The descriptions of the two battles were as follows:¹⁴ To save the Asian areas that were "unreasonably invaded" by the Western powers, the Japanese navy attacked the Allied combined fleet at Sydney Bay and the Coral Sea. These surprise attacks were described as being so well-performed that the "incapable and lazy" U.S. and British navy were

"mortally damaged" and "corrupted into a funeral fleet." This, it was said, revealed their "strategic incompetence and clumsiness." According to the Japanese press, Washington was so surprised by these "tremendous defeats" that the U.S. government resorted to "false information which distorted the truth" to deceive the "ignorant and easygoing" American public. Such demagoguery proved the "immorality, dishonesty, and abnormal superiority complex" of the U.S. government. The conclusion revealed by the three papers, therefore, was that "there is no chance for the U.S. to win the war as long as President Roosevelt takes charge of militaristic strategies."

Some negative comments against China were also found at this period.¹⁵ According to the Japanese newspapers, Chiang Kai-shek was a "ignorant, selfish, and ambitious" leader who blindly believed the "insane and abusive words" of the U.S. and Britain. He was portrayed as being "too stupid to realize that the U.S. and Britain would easily abandon him and his China if the war situation becomes unfavorable to them." The papers also criticized his refusal of the "friendly support" of the Japanese government and his willingness to "sell his country to the Western invaders against Japan."

On the other hand, the Japanese, again, were portrayed in the home press as "the savior of the world."¹⁶ Their "sacred mission" was to establish "an eternal stability and

peace in Eastern Asia," which would bring about "world-wide peace and development." Since Japanese soldiers were strongly inspired by the mission, they were "brave, daring, and determined," "advancing like raging waves." Their naval strategies were so "incomparably magnificent," giving a "deadly blow" to the enemy, that "the American Stars and Stripes is fading in the presence of the Japanese rising sun." Overall, the results of the two battles (the Battle of the Coral Sea and the attack on Sydney Bay) were described as "historical achievements" that made the war situation "extremely favorable to Japan," and "the Asian fellows are satisfied with our successive victories."

Some differences, however, appeared at the final stage--just prior to Japan's surrender in August, 1945.¹⁷ With regard to black propaganda against the enemy, most negative comments were associated with "atrocious stories" about the use of two atomic bombs against Japanese citizens. For example, the Japanese newspapers harshly criticized the U.S. for the "inhumanity and cruelty" that were manifested by the attempt to "massacre innocent citizens." The use of atomic bombs was an "unprecedentedly cruel atrocity in the human history," which "threatened human existence," and proved the "brutality and cold-bloodedness of horrible demons." Thus, the U.S. government was accused of trying to "accomplish its purpose by any means," ignoring the "value of human life."

The difficult war situation for the Japanese also brought about some changes in the propaganda carried by the Japanese newspapers to keep up home front morale.¹⁸ Because of increased U.S. air raids on Japan's homeland, the amount of "victory news" decreased, and was replaced by "Fight for the Emperor" stories. The main logic of these stories was as follows: "The war situation becomes unfavorable to us, but if we work harder for the emperor, we can make it." Such logic was not only unrealistic, but also revealed that propagandists had been forced to resort to desperate measures by implying that victory could still be achieved because of the holy power of the emperor to work miracles.

For example, one story stated: "Implore god on your knees.... for the eternal existence of Imperial Japan.... Then, our Yamato (Japanese) people may be saved from this crisis." Another story wrote: "Although the new bombs caused tremendous damage on our homeland, we Japanese will never surrender to the enemy. Do not doubt our ultimate triumph. Hold your fighting spirit, even if you die....and find a way out of this difficulty."

A few small "victory" stories still appeared at this period, even though they were from limited battle fields, the South Eastern islands and China.¹⁹ The enthusiastic tone of the stories, which was the main characteristic of white propaganda from 1937 to 1942, had by now faded, but the heroism of Japanese soldiers was more emphasized. For

example, a story said that Japanese troops at the South Eastern battle fronts "repeatedly launched overwhelming attacks against the enemy and killed the thousands of them." Also, guerrilla warfare conducted by the Japanese "heroes" was so "powerful and successful" that "the enemy troops are awkwardly retreating with the loss of their fighting spirit."

Not surprisingly, the same kind of wording was used in domestic war reports about the U.S. air raids on the homeland. Typical of these stories was that "hundreds of the enemy planes flew over our home land, but retreated when our air force bravely encountered them." As a result, the enemy was "heavily damaged," while "our losses and damages were very little."

Finally, it should be mentioned that these strong negative and positive words or statements were repeatedly used by the Japanese newspapers through the four periods. The Japanese soldiers were portrayed as "heroes with brilliant spirits." Generally, the Japanese navy, army, and air force were called "sea eagle," "land eagle," and "violent eagle," respectively. On the other hand, the enemies, especially the U.S. and Britain, were usually described as "demons" or "brutal beasts" who were inhuman, cruel, and morally corrupted. Also, it was observed that Japanese war propaganda was based more on white propaganda with strong positive comments for the Japanese, rather than

black propaganda against the enemies, even though the number of strong negative words against the enemies increased as Japan experienced increasing military losses after the Battle of Midway.

ENDNOTES

1. Asahi Shinbun, 10 December 1937, 1.
2. See, for example, the front pages of Asahi Shinbun, 10, 14, 16 December 1937; Yomiuri Shinbun, 12, 14 December 1937; Mainichi Shinbun, 12, 14 December 1937.
3. From the front pages of Asahi Shinbun, 13 December 1941; Yomiuri Shinbun, 9, 13 December 1941; Mainichi Shinbun, 5 December 1941.
4. From the front pages of Asahi Shinbun, 13 December 1941; Yomiuri Shinbun, 9, 13 December 1941; Mainichi Shinbun, 11, 13 December 1941.
5. David Bergamini, Japan's Imperial Conspiracy (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1971), 934.
6. From the front pages of Asahi Shinbun, 2, 4 June 1942; Yomiuri Shinbun, 2, 8 June 1942; Mainichi Shinbun, 4 June 1942.
7. Asahi Shinbun, 2 June 1942, 1.
8. From the front pages of Asahi Shinbun, 6, 10, 12 August 1945; Yomiuri Shinbun, 6, 8, 12, 14 August 1945; Mainichi Shinbun, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14 August 1945.
9. The negative comments described in this paragraph are based on those from the front pages of Asahi Shinbun, 14, 16, 18 December 1937; Mainichi Shinbun, 12, 14 December 1937.
10. This paragraph is based on the comments from the front pages of Asahi Shinbun, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18 December 1937; Yomiuri Shinbun, 12, 14, 16 December 1937; Mainichi Shinbun, 10, 12, 14, 18 December 1937.
11. See, for example, the front pages of Asahi Shinbun, 9, 13 December 1941; Yomiuri Shinbun, 7, 9 December 1941; Mainichi Shinbun, 5, 7 December 1941.
12. From the front pages of Asahi Shinbun, 9, 13 December 1941; Yomiuri Shinbun, 9, 13 December 1941; Mainichi Shinbun, 9 December 1941.

13. From the front pages of Asahi Shinbun, 9, 11, 13 December 1941; Yomiuri Shinbun, 9, 11, 13 December 1941; Mainichi Shinbun, 9, 11, 13 December 1941.

14. This paragraph is based on the front pages of Asahi Shinbun, 2, 4, 6, 8 June 1942; Yomiuri Shinbun, 2, 6, 8 June 1942; Mainichi Shinbun, 4, 6, 8 June 1942.

15. This paragraph is based on the front pages of Asahi Shinbun, 4 June 1942; Yomiuri Shinbun, 4 June 1942; Mainichi Shinbun, 2, 4 June 1942.

16. From the front pages of Asahi Shinbun, 2, 4, 6, 8, 10 June 1942; Yomiuri Shinbun, 2, 4, 6, 8 June 1942; Mainichi Shinbun, 2, 4, 6, 8 June 1942.

17. From the front pages of Asahi Shinbun, 8, 10, 12, 14 August 1945; Yomiuri Shinbun, 8, 10, 14 August 1945; Mainichi Shinbun, 8, 10, 12, 14 August 1945.

18. The next two paragraphs are based on the front pages of Asahi Shinbun, 12, 14 August 1945; Yomiuri Shinbun, 6, 8, 12 August 1945; Mainichi Shinbun, 8, 10, 12, 14 August 1945.

19. The next two paragraphs are based on the front pages of Asahi Shinbun, 6, 10, 12, 14 August 1945; Yomiuri Shinbun, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14 August 1945; Mainichi Shinbun, 6, 10, 14 August 1945.

IX. CONCLUSIONS

The quantitative content analysis revealed that over 90% of the stories examined were written by the staff of the three Japanese newspapers or the United News Agency (Dōmei) through the four periods. This indicates that the management of news stories was mainly in hands of Japanese writers whose actions were clearly dictated by government and military instructions. The high percentage (44.6%) of non-source stories also suggests that writers frequently used their own analysis or observation to write their stories without using any identifiable sources of information. Therefore, it can be concluded that official controls over the Japanese press were relatively thorough and successful, from December 1937 through World War II.

The observed differences of content trends through the four periods may be explained by the different situations in which the selected four events occurred.

For example, in the case of the fall of Nanking in 1937, the battle between Chinese and Japanese troops lasted for four days. It was the greatest moment of military victory for the Japanese since the outbreak of Sino-Japanese hostility in 1931, or indeed since the early 1900s. Because of this situation, newspaper coverage was filled with victory stories about Japanese troops. The tremendous number of Japanese war correspondents sent to the

battlefront contributed to the increase of non-source stories, because many reported their sensational "eye-witness" stories without by-lines. Also, these reporters were heavily dependent on Japanese military sources for war information, so the variety of sources decreased during this period.

The long-standing hostility between China and Japan was also manifested in anti-Chinese feeling in the Japanese newspapers through the four periods. In fact, it was stronger than negative attitudes toward the United States and Great Britain. Most of these negative attitudes were expressed toward Chiang Kai-shek and his government, because it was believed by the Japanese that Chiang refused friendly support from the Japanese emperor to protect his country from "being invaded" by western powers.

During the second period, concerning the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor, the main attention of the Japanese press shifted from China to the United States. Even though anti-U.S. feeling had been increasingly heightened in Japan, the stories covered in the two issues before the Pearl Harbor attack were relatively rational and reasonable, with detailed explanations of diplomatic negotiations between the two countries. However, this dramatically changed after the attack, with strong emphases on victory news of the Japanese navy. From this moment, the United States became Japan's primary enemy, and this trend continued throughout the war.

Although anti-British feeling was just as strong as anti-American feeling in the Japanese newspapers, Britain tended to be considered the second primary enemy among the Allied countries.

Some specific changes in content trends also occurred during this period. For example, non-source stories decreased from 1937 to 1941, and the total number of sources cited in stories increased. This change was probably caused by the increased concern with diplomatic negotiations and the location of the battle. It can be assumed that it was difficult for Japanese writers to depend only upon their own analyses and observations when a significant event was related to foreign relations occurring outside Japan. Also, the increased use of Japanese government sources during this period can be explained by these situations.

Probably the most significant period for the Japanese press was the defeat at the Battle of Midway, when the Japanese navy experienced devastating losses. No detailed description of the battle appeared in Japanese newspapers. Instead, the newspapers focussed on two other engagements that could be described as victories--the invasion of Sydney and the Battle of the Coral Sea.

Among Japanese government sources, the Cabinet Information Bureau was most frequently cited by journalists, because all information related to Japanese naval actions in the Pacific and southeast oceans was transmitted by the

United News Agency, which was under the absolute control of the bureau. The bureau also provided some analyses of the war situation during this period.

It can be also assumed that the high degree of emotion observed in 1942 was caused by these situations; that is, the Japanese press tried to conceal factual information on the defeat by exaggerating victory news of other battles. However, it would be more reasonable to think that such a "strategy of the big-lie" was initiated by government or military leaders rather than by journalists, because there was no way for the latter to find out what was happening in the outside world.

Finally, it may be concluded that Japanese propagandists failed to accomplish their goals during the final period, that of Japan's unconditional surrender, as pointed out by Charles Lomas and Anthony Rhodes.¹ The Japanese public became increasingly aware of the actual war situation when they saw the U.S. air force dropping bombs on their homeland. Nobody would expect to win the war in that situation. By then they must have realized the gap between reports by domestic newspapers and the reality. Japanese newspapers could no longer persuade the people to believe in ultimate triumph, though they still tried to emphasize the strength of Japanese material and morale.

For example, the writers sometimes carried their own analyses and observations in their stories containing war

reports related to air raids. Those stories tended to maximize the enemy's losses and minimize the damage to Japanese property. For this reason, the number of non-source stories increased during this period. Also, since "air raid news" was mainly provided by military headquarters in each domestic district, the number of Japanese military sources increased. Atrocity stories related to the atomic bombs provided the press with a suitable topic for criticism of the enemy, but it was useful to emphasize only the "wickedness of the enemy," not the strength of Japan.

Two additional comments about propaganda techniques employed in the three Japanese newspapers from 1937 to 1945 should be mentioned. First, "emotional" stories were likely to be made the leading stories. They tended to be given large play, and usually carried big pictures which showed "brave" Japanese soldiers attacking (or about to attack) the "weak" enemy. On the other hand, "rational" stories tended to be much less detailed and placed on the bottom half of the front page. As a result, the main impression conveyed to the Japanese public would be emotional rather than rational, although more than two thirds of the total number of stories were rational.

Second, as in the case of "emotional" stories, "slanted" stories usually appeared in the top half of the issues, with "slanted" headlines in large size, while "unslanted" stories were most likely to appear at the bottom

in small size. Thus, Japanese readers were likely to be more strongly influenced by "slanted" stories than by "unslanted" ones. Also, these stories tended to contain more strong negative words than did rational and unslanted stories. Thus, the possible effects of those words on the Japanese public would be more significant than is reflected in the small total numbers which were observed in this study. Such techniques of news management were consistently employed by the three Japanese newspapers throughout the periods studied, from 1937 to 1945.

These analyses and observations of content trends of the three Japanese newspapers before and during World War II may suggest some theoretical implications about the functions of mass media as a propaganda instrument in crisis situations. Four main variables are considered to have significant influences on the efficacy of war propaganda: (1) military situations; (2) presence of objective reality observable to the public; (3) powerfulness of the state control over the media; and (4) communication technologies available to propagandists.

First, as suggested by previous studies and expected by this study, the changes of military situations during the war somewhat affected the content of the three papers. For example, the degree of emotion expressed in news stories became higher in defeats, 1942 and 1945, than in victory periods of 1937 and 1941. The most significant changes

occurred in 1942, probably because the state suffered its first major, and most crucial, defeat at the Battle of Midway. It was observed that factual information was provided by Tokyo as long as military situations were favorable to Japan, when the state experienced heavy military losses, the government concealed the truth from the public. For this purpose, more press restrictions would be employed by the state.

However, the changes of Japanese press performance that occurred at the final days of the war could not be explained only by military situations. The degree of emotion in stories decreased during this period from 1942, whereas the highest was expected. This occurred probably because the awareness of the Japanese public about the reality of defeat increased when they saw the enemy air force dropping bombs on their homeland. Such a presence of objective reality caused the public to discredit information provided by propagandists. The effects of propaganda techniques, especially those by means of a strategy of the big-lie, would be weakened compared to those employed in the periods during which the public was not aware of reality.

Third, the power of state controls over the media would have significant influence on the effectiveness of propaganda. As pointed by Anthony Rhodes, the structure of fascism in Japan was not as well-organized as it had been in Germany.² Therefore, Japanese leaders lost their power to

control the press when they suffered desperate military situations and lost their credibility as leaders. This situation was complicated by an underlying disagreement between government leaders and military headquarters in war aims and propaganda emphases. As a result, Japanese propagandists had difficulty concentrating on a few simple themes, and conflicting view points given to the press diluted the effectiveness of domestic propaganda, especially during the final period of the war.

Finally, it can be assumed that communication technologies available to propagandists would influence the efficacy of propaganda techniques. For example, it has been pointed out that German propaganda was more effective in the use of visual communications than that of Japan, and, therefore, had more powerful influence on the public.³ If Japanese propagandists had considered such effects of visual messages on the public's mind, their domestic propaganda would have been more successful. In this sense, the dramatically increased capacity of modern communication technologies, especially television and satellite communication, might have significantly influenced the effectiveness of propaganda in modern wars. However, at the same time, well-developed technologies could just as easily create difficulties for propagandists seeking to conceal or manipulate factual information.

Finally, some suggestions for future research of Japanese war propaganda should be mentioned.

First, content analysis with a different sample may provide more detailed characteristics of content trends of Japanese newspapers both before and during World War II. For example, it would be useful to include stories from page two, as well as the front page, and samples from additional time periods between 1932 and 1945. Since this study was conducted by a single researcher with limited time, only front-page stories were examined. If the same kind of research with a different sample were conducted by several scholars, more concrete and useful information might be obtained. Also, it can be expected that the reliability of coding would increase if the sample stories were coded by several coders.

Second, a probability sampling method would be more appropriate than the intentional sampling applied in this research, which selected four significant events related to World War II. Although this method was useful to describe the most distinctive characteristics of content of the three Japanese newspapers, some statistical limitations made it difficult to generalize the obtained data into the interpretation of the study population. The use of simple random sampling or systematic sampling would solve this kind of problem.

Third, the length of stories should be considered to determine the degree of emotion carried by the stories. It was observed in this research that the longer the story, the more emotions could be expressed by the writer of the story. For example, the overall impression of the front page would be determined as "highly emotional" if one emotional story dominated more than half of the front page. Such an impression would not be altered even if the rest of the page were devoted to "rational" stories. This technique of playing the more emotional stories at the top of the front page in large size was frequently used by all three Japanese newspapers. This observation may suggest that such a trend, which is not reflected in the numbers, might be overlooked if the analysis does not pay attention to the size of stories.

Fourth, the use of pictorial messages should be also considered in this kind of content analysis. Generally, the three Japanese newspapers carried big pictures or drawings of Japanese troops, airplanes, or battleships on the front page. Since those pictorial messages were usually emotional with sensational and stimulating captions, it would be assumed that they had significant influence on the Japanese public's mind. Because of time limits, this research did not deal with pictorial techniques employed by the Japanese newspapers, but it would be useful to pay attention to these aspects to understand Japanese war propaganda techniques.

Fifth, it will be valuable to consider not only the number of strong negative words, but also the positive words or statements used to publicize the "strength" of Japanese material or morale. One of the observed characteristics in this research was that the three papers more frequently used strong positive words toward the Japanese than negative words against the enemy. This means that the degree of emotion was more likely to be determined by the use of strong positive words than by the use of negative words. It should be noticed that a story could be highly "emotional" without any negative words against the enemy, if it was filled with positive words concerning the Japanese.

Finally, quantitative analysis of content trends of other Japanese mass media, especially radio, will also contribute to the better understanding of Japanese war propaganda. Since radio was another influential medium in shaping the public opinion of the Japanese during the war, content analysis of radio broadcasting would be useful to learn how the government and military controlled the Japanese masses' points of view. Although many studies of domestic radio broadcasting during the war have been conducted by Japanese scholars, they tend to be qualitative analyses with a small sample size rather than quantitative, and, therefore, lack a systematic method for the analysis. The application of quantitative methods with a large sample

size may provide useful statistical evidence to describe content trends of wartime radio programs.

* * * * *

Daniel Lerner once wrote: "Propaganda is the distinctive instrument which manipulates only the symbols by which people think, feel, believe; it works with threats and promises to affect people's hopes and fears."⁴ He also suggests that there are four main targets to which propagandists adapt their strategies: (1) enemies--theme of their ultimate defeat; (2) allies--loyalty, unity, and ultimate triumph; (3) neutrals--righteousness and ultimate triumph of allies; and (4) the home front--the need for war effort and sacrifice to achieve victory.⁵

The main role of the Japanese press before and during World War II was the fourth--to persuade the Japanese public to support the national war effort. Under the strict controls and guidance of the government and military, the state-controlled press successfully manipulated information, shaped public opinion, and maintained patriotic enthusiasm among the Japanese public. Isolated from the outside world, most Japanese citizens never doubted the "justice" of their cause and ultimate victory. Also, the "sacred" image of the emperor held by the Japanese people greatly contributed to mobilizing national unity.

Although the Japanese press tried to provide factual news so long as the war situation was favorable to Japan, it

could not help circulating false information when Japan began to experience heavy military losses after the Battle of Midway in June, 1942. The Japanese soldiers were always portrayed as "heroes," while the image of the enemy was "evil," "cruel," "inhuman," and "immoral." Toward the end, the Japanese were told that if they lost the war, the enemy would kill their children, parents, families, friends, and, finally, their emperor. Such a distortion of reality was commonly used by the Japanese domestic media. In this sense, Japanese war propaganda was based on the use of false context--a strategy of the big lie. This was also a characteristic of German propaganda during World War II, though the Nazis were more effective and skillful than the Japanese.

For the last five decades, the Japanese press has experienced a democratic style of freedom of speech. There has been a general belief that the press will be always "an organ for the people," not for the government or state. However, it should be remembered that it is very difficult for the press to continue to provide truth in a crisis situation. As historically suggested, truth is the first casualty of any war.⁶

ENDNOTES

1. Charles W. Lomas, "The Rhetoric of Japanese War Propaganda," The Quarterly Journal of Speech 35 (February 1949): 35. Also see Anthony Rhodes and Victor Margolin, ed., Propaganda--The Art of Persuasion: World War II (New York: Chelsea House, 1976), vol. 2, 263-4.
2. Anthony Rhodes and Victor Margolin, ed., Propaganda--The Art of Persuasion: World War II (New York: Chelsea House, 1976), vol. 2, 263-4.
3. William Murphy, "World War II Propaganda Films," in Propaganda--The Art of Persuasion: World War II, ed. Anthony Rhodes and Victor Margolin (New York: Chelsea House, 1976), vol. 2, 296.
4. Daniel Lerner, "The Psychological Warfare Campaign against Germany: D-Day to V-E Day," in Propaganda: The Art of Persuasion--World War II, ed. Anthony Rhodes and Victor Margolin (New York: Chelsea House, 1976), vol. 2, 283.
5. Ibid., p. 284.
6. Phillip Knightly, The First Casualty--From the Crimea to Vietnam: The War Correspondent as Hero, Propagandist, and Myth Maker (London: Quartet Books, 1982), 1.

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APPENDIX A. LAWS AND REGULATIONS OF OFFICIAL CENSORSHIP
IN JAPAN FROM 1868 TO 1945

(Note: The laws underlined are the most significant regulations related to press censorship. The term "press" refers to newspapers and magazines, while "publication" includes any other publications, such as books, leaflets, etc.)

| (Year) | (Press) | (Publication) |
|--------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1868 | | First Meiji censorship decree |
| 1868 | | Second Meiji censorship decree |
| 1869 | * <u>Press Publication Ordinance</u> | * <u>Publication Ordinance</u> |
| 1872 | | Publication Ordinance (2nd) |
| 1873 | Stipulations for the Press | |
| 1875 | Press Ordinance | Publication Ordinance (3rd) |
| 1875 | | Libel Law |
| 1883 | Press Ordinance (2nd) | Publication Ordinance (4th) |
| 1887 | Press Ordinance (3rd) | Publication Ordinance (5th) |
| 1893 | | * <u>Publication Law</u> |
| 1897 | Press Law | |
| 1909 | * <u>Press Law (2nd)</u> | |
| 1934 | | Publication Law (2nd) |
| 1941 | * <u>Press Business Ordinance</u> | |
| 1943 | | Publication Business Ordinance |
| 1945 | _____ | _____ |

Other regulations related to the press

1. Public Gatherings Ordinance (1880)
2. Public Gatherings Ordinance (2nd, 1882)
3. Peace Preservation Ordinance (1887)
4. Great Japanese Imperial Constitution (Meiji Constitution, 1889)
5. Public Gatherings and Political Association Law (1890)
6. Military Secrets Protection Law (1899)
7. Public Peace Police Law (1900)
8. Peace Preservation Law (1925)
9. Extraordinary Control Law for Seditious Literature (1936)
10. National Mobilization Law (1938)
11. Military Resources Secrets Protection Law (1939)
12. National Defense Security Law (1941)
13. Ordinance for Restrictions on Periodical and Other Publications (1941)
14. Emergency Law for Control of Speech, Publication, Assembly, Association, and So Forth (1941)

Regulations related to broadcasting censorship

1. Wireless Telegraphy Law (1915)
2. Regulations on Private Broadcasting Wireless Telephone Facilities (1923)
3. Wireless Telegraphy Law (2nd, 1929)

APPENDIX B. CODING SHEET

(Story code number) _____

(Paper) ___ 1. Asahi; ___ 2. Yomiuri; ___ 3. Mainichi.

(Date) _____ Year; _____ Month; _____ Day.

(Kind of story) _____ 1. Domestic/war-related
 _____ 2. Domestic/non-war
 _____ 3. Foreign/war-related
 _____ 4. Foreign/non-war

(Writer of story) _____ 1. Staff of the newspaper
 _____ 2. Japanese wire service (Domei)
 _____ 3. UP
 _____ 4. AP
 _____ 5. Reuters
 _____ 6. Agence francaise
 _____ 7. Other or uncertain

(Number of sources)

_____ * Total number of sources cited in story.

_____ How many are identified by name and specific title?

_____ How many are used without name, but by specific title?

_____ How many are used without name and only by general title ("government spokesman," etc.)?

(Variety of source) _____ 1. Japanese government
 _____ 2. Japanese military
 _____ 3. Other Japanese
 _____ 4. Foreign sources

(Name of source)

(Title of source)

| | | |
|----|-------|-------|
| 1. | _____ | _____ |
| 2. | _____ | _____ |
| 3. | _____ | _____ |
| 4. | _____ | _____ |
| 5. | _____ | _____ |
| 6. | _____ | _____ |
| 7. | _____ | _____ |

(Overall category)

- 1. War news
- 2. Strength of Japanese material/morale/morals
- 3. Japanese solidarity with "Greater East Asia Co
-Prosperity Sphere" & its progress
- 4. Strength of Axis powers
- 5. Domestic news (non-war/political/economic)
- 6. Foreign news (non-war/political/economic)
- 7. Weakness or wickedness of U.S. material/morale/morals
- 8. Weakness or wickedness of Great Britain
- 9. Weakness or wickedness of enemy (collectively)
- 10. Fear stories (atrocities/war crimes)
- 11. Miscellaneous (war-related)
- 12. Miscellaneous (non-war)

(Title/headline)

(Slant of headline)

- 1. Slanted (pro-Japanese or anti-enemy)
- 2. Unslanted/neutral/factual

(Slant of story) [When read in full, does the story convey a slant?]

- 1. Yes: Slanted toward Japan or Axis
- 2. Yes: Slanted against enemy
- 3. No: Unslanted/neutral about Japan or Axis
- 4. No: Unslanted/neutral about enemy
- 5. Can not tell or other

(Emotional technique)

- 1. Highly rational
- 2. Somewhat rational
- 3. Somewhat emotional
- 4. Highly emotional

(Number of strong negative words or statements) _____

(Main theme or summary of story)

(Direction of attitude)

| | | <u>1: Anti-</u> | <u>2. Neutral</u> | <u>3. Pro-</u> |
|-----------|------------|-----------------|-------------------|----------------|
| 1. Enemy: | A. U.S. | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| | B. Britain | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| | C. Russia | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| | D. China | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 2. Axis | E. Germany | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| | F. Italy | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| | G. Japan | _____ | _____ | _____ |

Examples of possible black propaganda (such as charges that enemy machine-gunned Japanese aviation personnel who had bailed out in parachutes or were adrift in rubber boats):

Examples of strong negative words or statements:

Examples of possible white propaganda (such as how our boys have "added another shining page to their record of achievements"):

Examples of use of quotes without attribution (such as "a heavy toll of enemy planes was taken by Japanese defenders"):

APPENDIX C. LIST OF SOURCES CITED IN THE STORIES OF THREE
JAPANESE NEWSPAPERS FROM 1937 TO 1945

(Note: The names and titles are translated from Japanese characters into English. The names of foreign sources which were not verified are omitted.)

1. Japanese Government (33)

| (Title) | (Name) |
|---|------------------------------|
| Alliance for Imperial Rule Assistance | |
| Ambassador at Berlin | Ōshima, Hiroshi (1941) |
| Ambassador at Thailand | Tsubogami (1942) |
| Army Ministry | |
| Cabinet Information Bureau | |
| Chief Secretary of Trade Bureau, Ministry of Commerce and Industry | Hishinuma (1941) |
| Emperor | Hirohito |
| Finance Minister | Kaya, Okinori (1941) |
| Foreign Minister | Tōgō, Heihachirō (1945) |
| Grand Chamberlain of Imperial Palace | Baron Hozumi (1945) |
| Imperial Rule Assistance Association (IRAA) | |
| Manager of the 3rd Division of Cabinet Information Bureau | Iguchi (1945) |
| Manager of the 3rd Division of Cabinet Information Bureau | Hori, Teikichi (1942) |
| Manager of Information Division of Japanese Embassy in China | Yoshitomi (1942) |
| Minister of Agriculture and Commerce | Ishiguro (1945) |
| Minister of Home Affairs | Suetsugu, Nobumasa (1937) |
| Minister of Navy | Shimada, Shigetarō (1941) |
| Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce | |
| Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry | |
| Ministry of Commerce and Industry | |
| Ministry of Communications | |
| Ministry of Home Affairs | |
| Ministry of Imperial Household | |
| Minister of State Affairs | Andō, Kisaburō (1942) |
| Minister of Welfare | Okada, Keisuke (1945) |
| Navy Minister | Yonai, Mitsumasa (1937) |

| (Title) | (Name) |
|--|---------------------------------|
| Navy Ministry | |
| President of Cabinet Planning Board | |
| President of Research Committee on State Affairs (IRAA) | Yamazaki, Tatsunosuke (1942) |
| Prime Minister | Suzuki, Kantarō (1945) |
| Prime Minister | Tōjō, Hideki (1941) |
| Privy Council | |
| Social Affairs Bureau, Ministry of Home Affairs | |

2. Japanese Military (32)

| (Title) | (Name) |
|---|-----------------------------|
| Air Defense Head Office | |
| Army Department of High Command Office | |
| Army General Staff of Central Division of Military Service | Akatsuka (1945) |
| Chief Commander of Army in Chinese Districts | Okamura (1945) |
| Chief Commander of Army in Java Districts | |
| Chief Commander of Army in Philippines Districts | Yamashita (1945) |
| Chief Commander of Army in Shanghai Expeditionary Force | Matsui, Iwane (1937) |
| Chief Commander of Army in Sumatra Districts | |
| Chief Commander of Navy in Chinese Districts | Hasegawa, Kiyoshi (1937) |
| Chief Commander of Navy in Chinese Districts | Koga, Mineichi (1941) |
| Corporal (Nanking Expeditionary Force) | Itō, Takashi (1937) |
| Expeditionary Force in Central China | |
| Expeditionary Force in Southern China | |
| Former Governor-General of Korean Army | Minami, Jirō (1942) |
| Governor of Imperial Reservists Association | Prince Nashimoto (1945) |
| Headquarter of Central Division of Military Service | |
| Headquarter of Eastern Division of Military Service | |

| (Title) | (Name) |
|--|-------------------------------|
| Headquarter of Northeastern Division of Military Service | |
| Headquarter of Northern Division of Military Service | |
| Headquarter of Western Division of Military Service | |
| High Command Office | |
| Information Division of Naval Shanghai Expeditionary Force | |
| Korean Army | |
| Kwantung Army (in Manchukuo) | |
| Manager of Information Division of Southern Expeditionary Force | Saitō, Jirō (1942) |
| Navy Department of High Command Office | |
| President of Imperial Reservists Association | Inoue, Ikutarō (1945) |
| President of Navy General Staff | Prince Fushimi (1937) |
| Private First Class (Nanking Expeditionary Force) | Mukai, Tsurumatsu (1937) |
| Private First Class (Nanking Expeditionary Force) | Yamamoto, Hisamatsu (1937) |
| Section Chief of Information Division of Navy Department (High Command) Southern Expeditionary Force | Hiraide, Hideo (1942) |

3. Other Japanese (8)

| (Title) | (Name) |
|--|-----------------------------|
| Central Committee of Industrial Association | |
| Doctor of Law | Kiyose (1945) |
| Doctor of Science, Professor of Osaka University | Fushimi, Kōji (1945) |
| National Federation of Industrial Organizations | |
| President of Industrial Facilities Business Organization | Fujiwara, Ginjirō (1941) |
| President of Wartime Agricultural Association | Sengoku, Kōtarō (1945) |
| Volunteers Council for Minseito (Constitutional Democratic Party) | Tawara, Magoichi (1937) |
| None | Miyata, Seiichi (1945) |

4. Foreign Sources

A. The United States (42)

| (Title) | (Name) |
|--|--|
| Army and Air Force Headquarter in Canada | |
| Army and Air Force Headquarter in China | |
| Brigadier General | Eisenhower, Dwight D. (1945) |
| Chief Commander of Army in Chinese Districts | |
| Chief Commander of South Defense Force | |
| Chief Commander of Southwestern Pacific Allied Combined Fleet | MacArthur, Douglas (1942) |
| Commander of the 8th Air Force | Doolittle, James (1945) |
| Critic | Sullivan, Mark (1942) |
| Critic | Shean, Vincent (1942) |
| Critic | Snow, Edgar (1942) |
| Department of Army | |
| Department of Navy | |
| Department of State | |
| Diplomatic Critic | Peffer, Nathaniel (1942) |
| Director of Wartime Production | |
| Embassy at Peking | |
| Former Chief Commander of Asian Fleet | Yarnell, Harry E. (1942) |
| Government/White House | |
| Governor of Hawaii | Poindexter (1941) |
| Mayor of New York City | Victoria (1941) |
| Navy Critic | Bywater (1942) |
| NBC Broadcasting | |
| New York Columbia Broadcasting | |
| "Newspaper Magnate" | Hearst, William R. (1942) |
| President | Roosevelt, Franklin D. (1937, 1941, 1942) |
| President | Truman, Harry S. (1945) |
| Presidential Secretary | |
| Presidential Secretary | |
| President of Senate Diplomatic Committee | Ross, Charles (1945) |
| Professor of Columbia University | |
| Professor of University of Chicago | Lasswell, Harold D. (1945) |
| San Fransisco Broadcasting | |
| Secretary of State | Hull, Cordell (1941) |

| (Title) | (Name) |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Secretary of War | Stimson, Henry L. (1945) |
| Senator (Republican) | Taft (1945) |
| <u>The Chicago Tribune</u> | |
| <u>The Christian Science Monitor</u> | |
| <u>The Daily Express</u> | |
| <u>The Economist</u> | |
| <u>The New York Herald Tribune</u> | |
| <u>The New York Times</u> | |
| Under Secretary of State | Grew, Joseph C. (1945) |

B. Great Britain (18)

| (Title) | (Name) |
|------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Army Headquarter in Cairo | |
| Army Headquarter in Hongkong | |
| Army Ministry | |
| BBC Broadcasting | |
| Embassy at China | |
| Foreign Minister | Eden (1937) |
| Foreign Minister | Bevin (1945) |
| Foreign Ministry | |
| Government/White Hall | |
| Hong Kong Broadcasting | |
| Labour Party | |
| Ministry of Commerce | |
| Navy Minister | Cooper (1937) |
| Navy Ministry | |
| Prime Minister | Churchill, Winston (1941, 1942) |
| Prime Minister | Attlee, Clement (1945) |
| <u>The Daily Mail</u> | |
| <u>The London Times</u> | |

C. Russia (11)

| (Title) | (Name) |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| Ambassador at Tokyo | Malik (1945) |
| Ambassador at Washington | Litvinov (1941) |
| Charge d'affairs at Berlin | |
| Foreign Minister | Molotov (1945) |
| General Secretary of the Communist Party | Stalin, Josef (1941, 1942, 1945) |

(Title)

(Name)

Government
 Information Division
 Leningrad Broadcasting
 Tass Agency
The Red Star
 White Russian Bureau

D. China (20)

(Title)

(Name)

Alliance for Peace Preservation
 in Beijing and Tianjin District
 Alliance for Peace Preservation
 in Northern Shandong District
 Ambassador Extraordinary
 Assistant Ambassador Extraordinary
 Chief Secretary of Central Committee
 on Politics
 Chongqing Broadcasting
 Chongqing Government
 Commander of Nanking Defense Force
 Director of Legislative House
 Eastern Hebei Government
 Interim Mayor of Peking
 Manager of Diplomatic Department
 Manager of Financial Department
 (Chongqing Government)
 Manager of Propaganda Department
 Mongolia and Xinjiang Joint Committee
 Provisional Government of
 Republic China
 Shanghai Broadcasting
Xinhua Daily
 None

Chiang, Kai-shek
 (1937-1945)

Chu, Minyi (1942)
 Yang, Kuiyi (1942)
 Zhang (1937)

Tang, Shandong (1937)
 Sun, Ke (1945)

Jiang, Chaozong (1937)
 Guo, Taiqi (1941)
 Kong, Xiangxi (1945)

Shao, Lizi (1945)

Zhu, Shaoliang (1937)

E. Germany (7)

| (Title) | (Name) |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| | Hitler, Adolf (1937, 1941, 1942) |
| Army Headquarter | |
| Army Headquarter in Paris | |
| Doctor of Biology | Nikolai (1945) |
| Doctor of Science | Klauzewitz (1945) |
| Government | |
| Manager of Army Information Division | Schmitt (1941) |

F. Italy (4)

| (Title) | (Name) |
|----------------------------|---|
| | Mussolini, Benito (1937, 1941, 1942) |
| Government | |
| <u>Osselevatole Romano</u> | |
| <u>Tart</u> | |

G. Other (16)

| (Title) | (Name) |
|--|-----------------------|
| Argentine Government | |
| Army Minister of Australia | Ford (1942) |
| Finnish Government | |
| Former Prime Minister of Egypt | |
| Home Ministry of Chili | |
| Manila Broadcasting | |
| Mexican Government | |
| <u>National Zaitzung</u> (Switzerland) | |
| President of Mexico | Camacho, Avila (1941) |
| President of Philippines | Quezon (1941) |
| Prime Minister of Australia | Curtin, John (1942) |
| Prime Minister of Belgium | Acker, Achille (1945) |
| Prime Minister of New Zealand | Fraser, Peter (1945) |
| Prime Minister of Thailand | Pibul, Luang (1941) |
| Singapore Government | |
| Turkish Government | |