Q: Mr. Chapin, could we start by learning something about you, where you were born, a little bit about your family, and your early education?

EC: I was born in Brooklyn in 1920. My family moved to Staten Island, New York, when I was less than a year old, and I grew up in Staten Island. I went to school at Poly Prep, Polytechnic Preparatory Country Day School in Brooklyn. And then I went to the University of Rochester, was graduated from the University of Rochester in 1941.

Q: What did you major in as an undergraduate student?

EC: Majored in English.

Q: English?

EC: Straight English, yes. And I didn't know what I was going to do with it.

If you want subsequent education, then after the war, on the GI Bill, I spent one year at University College, London, studying History, although it wasn't for credit. I just sat in, then came back to Columbia University to the School of Journalism and got my MS in Journalism there in 1952. Subsequently I spent one year on a Carnegie Fellowship at Columbia University in the East.
Asia Journalism Program and the Advanced International Reporting Program from 1967 to 1968, the academic year.

Q: Since you were an undergraduate major in English, I wonder if you had any awareness or consciousness of Asia, Japan, any particular interest? Or was it the war that really brought you in touch with Japan?

EC: No, I had very little knowledge. What interests I had, what international interests, were all Europe-directed, particularly toward England because I'd majored in English Literature, particularly Shakespearean 17th and 18th century literature and history. So I came to Japan knowing very, very little about it.

Q: Did you serve in the Pacific during World War II?

EC: I got out of college. I was a copyboy at the New York Sun for about six months before I went in the Army, which was very lucky for me. I got drafted into the 98th Infantry Division, which turned out to be the only infantry division and I think one of only two American Army divisions that never fought in the war. We were prepared for all of the worst of the Pacific campaigns. We were supposed to go in the invasion of the Philippines and it got called off. We were supposed to go to Okinawa, we were supposed to go to Iwo Jima. And in each case, after we had been alerted, after we had been in the preparation stage, the orders were changed and somebody else went instead of us. And we then had orders; we would have been in the invasion of Kyushu. We had the orders for that and were preparing, training, when the Emperor's announcement came. So we were very lucky then, too.

We then hoped that we'd come home. We spent all this time in Hawaii. But then the orders came for us to go to Japan as part of the occupation
force. We left in late--let's see, we left in early September and arrived in Japan in late September, 1945.

Q: Is there any special reason why your division was chosen for this? Were there Japanese trained experts, language experts or anything like that?

EC: No, I think that they simply sent all available. I think something like 16 or 18 divisions were sent in for the occupation force, and we were very readily available, ready to go. We were already beginning to pack up for what would have been the invasion, so I think it was relatively easy for them to send us.

Q: I know it was wartime and I can imagine what your wartime feelings might have been about Japan and the Japanese, but when you heard that you had these orders to go to Japan, what were your immediate feelings? Can you reconstruct the attitudes that you had toward the Japanese in that period?

EC: Well, we were very nervous because the war was just over, and we had no way of knowing how the occupation would turn out. We'd had very little orientation about Japan, the propaganda which led us to expect the worst of the Japanese. We went in feeling very uncertain, very reluctant to go. But I think at the same time, there was a little bit of a feeling that this was a big adventure. We'd been held back from combat for so long and people had been--it's hard in retrospect now to think back, but there were people who were terribly upset because we had never gotten into combat. They'd never had a chance to fight, never had a chance to prove themselves. In retrospect, I think everyone would agree we were very lucky to have escaped the war. But we knew very little. We were on shipboard for about three weeks. We went to Saipan, spent two or three days there. A few of us were
able to get ashore on Saipan. I should say that I was, at this stage I was a sergeant, a technician fourth grade. I started out in an infantry regiment. Then I got into the division artillery headquarters as a surveyor, and finally in the last months before we went to Japan, I became the editor of the division newspaper, which gave me a good deal of opportunity, I think, to get out and around. And I had access to information materials; and in the newspaper on board ship, we used what materials we had to try and tell people about Japan. But it was very limited; we knew very little.

And after we left Saipan, then they announced that we were going to Osaka. And we dug into a book and put out in our newspaper a little piece about the background of Osaka, which according to the reference material, we called "the Venice of Japan," because of the canals, the moats and canals there. But we went with a lot of trepidation and almost no knowledge. And assigned to our division of 15,000 men was a language unit of 10, one officer and 10 enlisted men who had some knowledge of Japanese. This is our means of communicating.

Q: What was it like when you first landed in Japan, your very first evening or day?

EC: I'll tell you. I have very vivid memories of that. We went ashore at south of Wakayama. It was a very big operation. I think there must have been about, oh, 15 or 16 ships in our convoy. We had to go sort of by landing craft and wade up the beach because there were no facilities for docking. They weren't sending any ships into the Inland Sea then because the mining—it had been mined so effectively. So we walked up on the beach. It was a rainy, cold, drizzly day, and we had spent a year and a half in the tropics, so we were cold. And the first impression was of a thoroughly beat-up, devastated
country. We spent a few hours on the beach. Then we were assembled, and we walked in to Wakayama. I assume it was Wakayama itself. We looked around, and the impression that I formed then was, "How could these people ever have dared to fight us?" It looked so poor and so bleak, so devastated.

We were loaded onto a train. I was with division headquarters, which was about 300 men. It was the heart of the infantry division. And we were loaded on a train about four or five o'clock in the afternoon. The train started up and went on and on for what seemed hours to us, winding its way up, I guess, the peninsula, the Key Peninsula, is that what it is?

Q: Yes.

EC: Toward Osaka. We stopped several times at small stations and girls with armbands with a green cross would come out to offer us tea through the windows. And we were scared to death we'd have to drink the tea. We thought we'd be poisoned, so I think very few of us had any of the tea. But there were a lot of curious people standing on the station platforms. We were, I guess, the first Americans into this area, apart from just a few advance parties. And they had originally, through aerial photos, they thought that they would put us at Osaka Castle on the grounds there. And then I think when they looked and somebody surveyed it in person, they realized they couldn't do that. And they assigned us to a large military airfield, Taisho Airfield, west of Osaka.

And about midnight, I think, the train stopped, and we all got out on this small railroad platform. And somebody said, "This is your guide," and there was one Japanese man holding a Japanese lantern, lighted. And we were told to follow him, and we set off. I can't reconstruct where we went, but
we went along paths and now and then through what seemed to be a small village, with the windows shuttered, people peering out at us curiously, the children looking at us and saying, "Ohayo," although it was midnight. We walked for about an hour through the darkness, following this man with the Japanese lantern until we reached our destination at Taisho Airfield. And my impression and those— we were not combat. We carried all our weapons, all our combat gear, but without ammunition. And I thought, "The occupation is going to be a success." If anybody had been going to ambush us or snipe at us or anything, we would have been sitting ducks. But it was utterly peaceful. The people appeared to be friendly. They appeared interested and excited, and so we moved into this airfield with no incident whatsoever. That impression, that memory has been very vivid with me ever since.

Q: How close was this to the city of Osaka? When did you first see the city?

EC: It was at a place called Yao, I'd say about 10 miles outside. It was out in the rice fields. My recollection of the area is that it was surrounded by rice paddy fields and a paved road, not a very big road, that led into the city, and a railroad station, I guess, that was not too far that went in to Tonogi, I think, Tonogi Station in Osaka.

I should say that I'd had no Japanese language. In fact, in the infantry outfit I was in, we didn't even know that the Army trained people in Japanese. Presumably applications had been made available, but in the infantry nothing ever got down to us, and it wasn't until the ASTP Program, the Army Specialized Training Program, was being broken up and they were sending new people into our outfit that we got a few people who had been, actually had known of a language Japanese/training program. But the bulk of us were completely unprepared
for Japan.

Q: What were to be your military responsibilities as occupying soldiers? What sort of daily routine did you think you would be following out at that air base?

EC: For most of the outfit, that first month was almost just killing time until we could get settled and until they could clear out downtown Osaka. In about a month we were able to move into the city to the Nippon Building, one of the few buildings that was still intact in central Osaka. My job, with five or six others, was putting out a division newspaper. So we immediately went to work to try and get out a newspaper that would provide both world news, what was happening in the outside world, which we had had very little contact with, and bits and pieces of news of what our division was doing, about the area we were in, the kind of missions that were being performed. And after we got a little bit settled in, then our units covered an area all the way over to the city of Tsu on Ise Bay. I think one company went in to Owagishima and had responsibility for occupying Owagi. Our area extended over, the 30th Infantry Division was in Kobe, and I think somewhere along in between was the border between our area of responsibility and theirs. And my old outfit, the Division Artillery Headquarters, was situated in Nara. They really had a very good setup there.

A lot of infantry units then had responsibility for what was called, I guess, demilitarizing Japan. They went out to Japanese, they found Japanese military establishments and I guess disposed of military equipment and handled the, I don't know, whatever the administrative details of removing all military potential, I guess it was, from Japan. I went along on a number of these
occasions. They discovered that the Japanese had been making some beginnings at atomic energy. At that stage we knew very little about what it amounted to, but I went along with the group that went to the University of Osaka, I guess, and hunted down the cyclotron that had been installed there and carried it off and blew it up, I guess, destroyed it to prevent the Japanese from developing a atomic power. And we had, at the University of Rochester, we had had considerable atomic energy program, I guess, research. And there was a good-sized nuclear cyclotron there. I remember being struck at the pitiful smallness and primitiveness of this establishment at the University of Osaka and thought really how ridiculous it was for the occupation authorities to go ahead and take this thing and take it out and smash it or blow it up. But the division had responsibilities like that, simply to occupy, to have a presence in the area, to hunt out all military establishments, I guess to supervise to some extent the demobilization of the Japanese and administer people's returning, getting back to their place of origin.

I remember a lot of Koreans being sent home, going down to Osaka Station one night and seeing Koreans being loaded on flatcars, open cars, and shipped off into the night to go back to Korea.

Q: What about Osaka itself? Did it turn out to be the Venice of the East, as your first description had it?

EC: Osaka was a big city. It had the feeling of a big city, but it really was horribly devastated.

Q: Was it as hard hit as Tokyo? Or were you aware of those statistics at the time?

EC: Well, of course I hadn't been to Tokyo, and I didn't see Tokyo until later.
But I think it probably was about the equivalent. The military figures said between 50 and 60 percent destroyed. And in the downtown area there were a few large buildings left standing, many of which the occupation then took over. But there was an awful lot of rubble, and I'm sure other people have described it just the way I saw it. You could stand for blocks, and there would be walls, there would be safes. There would be a chimney standing here or there, otherwise just flattened. The thing that struck me in those very early days was the industry of the people, that they had already begun to tidy up, to pull the rubble apart, sort it out, pile up things neatly. They had put up shacks with tin-plate roofs and were cultivating, growing vegetables in the little pieces of property there in front of the houses. There were peddlers out, but certainly there was no sense of it being a bustling city. Naka Suiji was the main avenue, the main boulevard and we were situated right on that. It was very quiet.

It was a nice autumn after our first three weeks there were very rainy and we were miserably cold, having come from the tropics, even though Osaka isn't that cold. But then after that the fall was pleasant. It was a pleasant fall and sort of a bucolic atmosphere, I think, in Osaka. And we were given, my particular unit was given a small office in the back of what had been, I think, a bank building or a trading company building about five blocks from the Nippon Building. And we walked back and forth for our meals in the building where the headquarters was. We had our own little office in the back, and it was very pleasant to walk up and down in the sunshine. For people who had been training for war for three years, it was
relaxing and a change, I think. I think all the GI's felt very relaxed that
the fighting was over.

Q: What do you recall of the appearance of the Japanese people as you passed them
on the streets or saw them in buildings? What was your first encounter like
with the Japanese?

EC: I dug up this morning a letter that I'd written home, which I hesitate to
read. Would it be interesting to read?

Q: Yes, it would indeed.

EC: This was one paragraph out of one of my earliest letters home. This letter
I wrote within the first month that we were in Japan. We were still living
out at the airfield. The airfield was beaten up, it was dirty. The first
night we were there we were put in, I guess, what had been a barracks. And
we lay on the--I guess we put down blankets on the floor and looked up at the
rafters, the beams up overhead, and the rats were running around on the rafters.
There was a feeling they might miss in jumping from one to another and come
down on us, which none ever did. But then our mess operations, our eating
operations, were set up outdoors. We were eating out of mess kits, and then
they had these large barrels in which we would dump the scraps left over from
our food. And there were a lot of Japanese men who were employed working on
the, I guess, cleaning up, straightening up. And when we were through, these
men would rush to these barrels and bins and go through for whatever scraps
of food they could get. It was very depressing. These were people in old
cast-off army uniforms. They looked poor, they were thin, it was a very
depressing experience, I think, in that respect. And this is what I wrote
home to my mother.
"My mind isn't at all clear about things in general. The occupation has no clear policy, it seems to me. Whether the people are deserving of sympathy and kindness or whether they are a sly, sneaky lot, I really don't know. They are terribly primitive. I haven't seen any cases of dishonesty yet. There are many of them starving, they are dirty and smelly, and they believe in elaborate ceremonies. You should see the dealings between GI's and Japs." I'm sorry I wrote that at that time, but this was the Army mentality. "With bows and smiles and continued thumbing of the phrase books, slow and careful speeches, noddings, gigglings, chattering. Oh, it just can't be explained." And that was my feeling about so much of the occupation. It was such a strange experience that it defied trying to explain to people back home in the normal terms.

Q: Did you have much opportunity in off-duty hours just to wander around a bit or get into the countryside? I know there were non-fraternization rules, but what did you do?

EC: Oh, there weren't, there weren't.

Q: Oh, there weren't?

EC: Oh, no. If you want me to go into this?

Q: I'd love to hear it.

EC: This was one of the things that really made the occupation go so well, I think. There were no non-fraternization rules. When we first got there, I think all of the women had, most of the women had vanished. But it didn't take long for them to come back. The red light district in Osaka was, I think, had been about half destroyed, but it was still functioning. And I think the Army found this quite convenient for so long as the news didn't get back home
to the anxious parents at home. You want me to -- so that after we'd been at Taisho Airfield for a couple of weeks, actually the trucks taking people off after work at the end of the day, actually drove to the red light district in Osaka and most of the GI's were happy to go there. There was a wall around and a prophylactic station was set up at the entrance. And the GI's would go in and come back out, go through the prophylactic station, and go home. I think this helped keep peace and order. After we'd been there about three or four weeks--the Army did things in its own inimitable manner--in our daily bulletin, the division bulletin, there was a notice saying that the division had run out of prophylactic supplies and please wouldn't the GI's, please wouldn't the men of the division exercise restraint until the supply could be replenished.

Of course this wasn't all of it, but the cabarets were functioning. There were several fairly good-sized cabarets in downtown Osaka that hadn't been destroyed. There were a lot of girls, and I think the GI's found them delightful, very doll-like, attractive, friendly. The girls were interested in the GI's and a lot of the fellows went off to the cabarets for the evenings. It was relatively cheap. There was Japanese beer. Also, our division operated a couple of movie houses down near Osaka Station, made a theatre. And the GI's were permitted to take girls in to the movies. It was a warm place and an opportunity for the girls to see an American movie and keep warm. And the girls would gather around outside the movie house and a GI would pick up a girl, and they would go to the movie. And that was very sociable, too, for the GI's.
Q: Was there much problem with, oh, quarrels or incidents or any violence around the cabarets?

EC: Only among GI's, only among GI's. There always were those who would want to pick a fight when they got drunk, and there would be fights over girls and things like that.

Q: But not picking fights with Japanese or Japanese men were getting angry?

EC: Very little that I was ever aware of. In my division about January of 1946 there was an incident which we were not allowed to put in our newspaper, but we were made aware of because it might break into public print in which apparently an American GI had been killed. He was found dead in an automobile or a jeep or something, some vehicle had been pushed off a dock. And the supposition, the understanding was, the feeling that he had been playing around with girls that the Japanese resented and that he had been killed. And this was said at this time to be, perhaps might have been the first case of violence against any occupation personnel by the Japanese. I don't know how true this is, but this is the way I understood it at the time.

But apart from that, the cooperation, it was really remarkable, and I'm sure you've heard this from many other people, too, that we came in there not knowing what to expect but ready for the worst, and found that instead people were friendly, people were cooperative, and I think more of the occupation problems came later. The GI's who went in early had been through the war. They were eager to get home. They were relaxed at having the war over. And a lot of the young kids who came later had heard, they wanted to be real soldiers. They were the ones who had more trouble with the Japanese, who wanted to push the Japanese around, who wanted to show American superiority.
Q: Could I ask if during that first period in Japan you began to take an interest in Japanese culture or Japanese history? Did you get to Kyoto? Did you get to Nara? Did you learn anything much about the Japanese people?

EC: I think I did, but when I look back, we had a lot of problems. We put out a mimeographed newspaper! Then we were able to get, when our press got unloaded, a multilith offset press. We got that unloaded and started putting that out, a somewhat more ambitious thing than just a mimeographed paper. And finally we got some fairly advanced equipment from an engineering outfit that had been printing maps with color capability. So that we went from one to the other. We also printed about 6,000 copies. Just the mechanics of running a mimeograph machine and collating four or five pages, stapling and collating. And looking back in my letters, I wrote to my mother that I was working 12 or 14 hours a day getting the newspaper out, collecting material from a variety of sources and sometimes getting out and around myself. So that I didn't have a lot of the enjoyment that the others did.

Yes. I was, I think, very stimulated by being in Japan. Another letter I found this morning, I told them my first trip to Nara, which I found very exciting except that the fellows I was with spent more time in the souvenir shops than they did going out, and I say I would have liked to have seen something more of the temples and shrines. We went up to Kyoto one time. Somebody had made an arrangement to go to a geisha house, and I remember that. That was very pleasant. But I didn't really see very much of the cultural side of Japan, even though I was in an area where there was a great deal to see.

At Christmastime I left my unit and went up to Nara to have Christmas with my old outfit there. And they were, we had a great time. One of my
friends whom I'm still in touch with had been made the manager of the Nara Hotel, which was an officers' rest and recreation place. And you can imagine what a nice job this must have been for him. I remember at Christmastime it was snowing in Nara and very pretty, and everyone was enjoying themselves. Another of my friends, who was technically a surveyor, had become the cook and was cooking the turkeys, with a great deal of liquor and beer flowing around. I remember standing in the window and looking out at the snow. It was near a school, I guess, and the Japanese girls in kimono, I guess they used to come by and, you know, wave to the GI's and the GI's would wave at them. And all of these little girls in their kimonos and playing with these paper balls that you blow up and bouncing them around. And my recollections of that, to think, whoever told us that the Japanese were inscrutable? Because by that time I realized, of course, that they were very human.

One of the first Japanese contacts I had was a young man who had been a kamikaze, and one of the fellows I worked with had met him on the street. This fellow spoke some English, and they struck up a conversation. And he brought him back to our office and we got him to write an article for our division newspaper. He wrote about the enfranchisement of women.

Q: With fear or trepidation or--

EC: No, with interest. He was a university graduate. He figured that if the war had lasted much longer, he would have been probably in the force that would have attacked our attacking force off Kyushu. Subsequently when we went back, when I went back to work as a civilian, we kept contact with him for a number of years. And I understood he had a nervous breakdown.
He went into business, but I think the strain of somebody who had expected
had
to have/a few weeks to live and suddenly the war ended and this death
sentence was lifted really broke him up eventually. Very strange.

He brought around another university student friend, and we kept contact
with the two of them for quite a while.

Q: How did you happen to remain in Japan and become a part of the occupation?
I assume that your tour of duty ended after a few months and you could have
gotten out of the Army?

EC: Yes, this is another long story, I guess, if you want it. I worked really
very hard with the division newspaper, and I think we had very good results
with it. Everyone told us it was very successful. At a time when keeping
morale up, when the division was breaking up, people with a lot of points
were going home. And everything was being turned upside down. Actually
within a month after I left, the division itself was disbanded and reorganized
into two other divisions, more permanent Army divisions in the area. So people
were going home right and left, and we were struggling to keep the paper going.

And when finally my number of points came up, I think, in mid-January, I felt
I hadn't really seen enough of Japan. While everybody else was rushing home,
I got a friend who cut the orders to send people home, to leave my name off
the list. And for three or four days I went around wandering around taking
pictures, trying to see what I could see until one day I met the division
chief of staff on the street. And I should say I was very low-ranking, but
I did have a special position in the division. And he said, "Ah, Sergeant Chapin? I thought you had gone home."

And I said, "Yes, sir. I'm going tomorrow." I thought at that point
I didn't want to ask for any more trouble, so I came home and was discharged at Camp Dix the first of February, I think, in 1946. I'd had really no preparation. I'd worked as a copyboy at the New York Sun. I went back there and of course they had taken back all of their people. They were overstaffed. They told me I could go back as a copyboy at age 25, which at that point I didn't want to do, one of the small coincidences that shape one's life. But my family then used to read the New York Herald Tribune, and in the first week or two after I got out, there was quite a long story in the Tribune about Colonel Kenneth Dyke, who was the head of the Civil Information and Education Section. And he had come back to New York to recruit personnel because all of the military people who'd come up through the Pacific campaign and all the people who had made GHQ/General Headquarters/ were getting out of the Army and coming home. And he was looking for people, hiring civilians. And almost on the spur of the moment I sat down and wrote him a letter and said I'd just come back from Japan, I enjoyed it, and gave him my background and sent this letter off to him. I don't even remember where I addressed or who I addressed it to. And I think I forgot about that, and I got a job at Eastman Kodak. Having been in Rochester, the University of Rochester, Kodak was closely related. I had a friend who'd gotten a job in Public Relations in Kodak, and I went up to Rochester to visit. He said, "Why don't you go down to Kodak."

So I got hired to work in the Advertising Department of Eastman Kodak, and I had been there about—we were dating at long distance, Hudy and I. She was in Schenectady. And one day my mother called up from New York and said, "You have a telegram from the War Department offering you a job in Tokyo."
The telegram said, you know, the kind of lingo, "You are hereby offered a job at a CAF 7, $4300 a year, as an assistant analyst." That was all it was. "If you want the job," you know, "if you want to accept, please reply at once to Mrs. Callaway in Washington."

And my mother, much to her credit, because I'd been away for all these years, she said, "Oh, you can't turn down a chance to go to Tokyo." And I called up Hudy, and we had talked about getting married before that. But I called her up and said, "All right. Would you like to get married and go to Tokyo?" And she had to think about it, I guess, for a few days, but anyway, the result was Yes.

Then I had to wait actually. I replied to Washington and then I was processed and signed the papers. I still didn't know. I guess I knew that I was going to CIAndE, but I had no idea what the job would be. I think I left home in July, went by train to the West Coast. We spent about two weeks in Seattle before the shipping arrangements were made. And I got back to Tokyo about the 20th, 25th of August in 1946 to work for GHQ.

Q: Was that the first time you'd seen Tokyo?

EC: It was the first time I'd seen Tokyo, the first time, yes. When I was coming home, we came through Nagoya, but I hadn't been in Tokyo at all.

Q: And how did Tokyo look at that point in the occupation? There had been some time to recover from the war.

EC: Yes.

Q: Did it look that way?

EC: Tokyo was hard to describe. It wasn't like the pictures of Germany with all these skeletons of buildings. Much of Tokyo, I guess, had just burned
and was flattened, and by this time there'd been a lot of growth. So an awful lot of it was just green, vacant lots with walls here and there. And there was still rubble, with chimneys standing up. But except in the downtown Marunouchi-Ginza area, there wasn't really the sense of being in a big city. There were these vacant lots, vast areas of just vacant lots overgrown with weeds, and shacks with again cultivation. People had planted and were growing whatever they could.

Q: And families living in them?

EC: And then later on, I think, when we were living in the Montetsu Building at the entrance to Just across the street from the gateway to the U.S. Embassy was the wreckage of an old automobile, with a lot of debris piled around it, and there was a family of the parents and three children, I think, living. No? How many? I guess three persons actually living in the wreck of this old automobile. And it was a long time before that was cleaned up.

When I walked to work at the NHK Building, there were great heaps of rubble. Everything had been piled up, and it was a long time before they had cleared away these huge heaps of rubble and debris.

Q: How about the Japanese people, the street scenes, their appearance in Tokyo by comparison with what you remembered from Osaka just after the ending of the war?

EC: Well, by then, I think, things had picked up. I think people were a little—it wasn't such desperate straits, and I think people were a little bit better dressed. There was more activity in Tokyo. I was billeted first for the first five months at Ichigaya in what had been the old War Ministry. They'd made one of the buildings there into a hotel, and I remember walking down. It was a hot
August day, walking down to the downtown central area, and great numbers of people fishing in the Imperial Moat. I don't know whether they ever caught anything, but I guess/had at that point—a unemployment was very high people hadn't been absorbed back into the normal lifestream and a lot of people with not much to do except stand around and fish.

One of my experiences before Hudy arrived, was when the new constitution was promulgated on the Imperial Palace Plaza. I think that was the first public appearance, as I understand, that the Emperor had made, had come before the people in person to proclaim the new constitution. And being a privileged American, I was able to get pretty much at the head of the crowd, and I stood along the path where the Emperor proceeded from his carriage. His carriage came out over the double bridge, a horse-drawn carriage, pulled around and stopped, and the Emperor, followed by the Empress, walked across to the ornate platform that had been built. And I think he simply made a very brief statement. Other people did the speechmaking, and then he walked back toward the carriage. And as he came back, the throng broke through; I think in their eagerness to see the Emperor, they pushed the police aside. And I was literally lifted off my feet and carried forward, I think, 25 or 30 feet toward the Emperor before the police and then I guess MP's /Military Police/ got the crowd under control. So I got a very good close look and in fact, I got a picture of the Emperor from quite close up on that occasion.

The office I worked in was interesting. I was not in an office that was telling the Japanese what to do. Our office was reporting on what the Japanese were doing, what they were—my particular job was doing analyses of
the Japanese magazine publications, topic by topic. We didn't do an overall survey. We would pick topics that were currently being dealt with, and we had, I think, three Americans in the office, four Americans, one of whom was a nisei or...

... language officer, who became a very good friend, and about 30 Japanese. These were all people who had considerable knowledge of English, teachers. There was a woman who had been a professor of English at Tokyo Women's University. There were several former diplomats. So that they were a formerly well-to-do and obviously well educated and more sophisticated group than many other people in the occupation would meet. And we made many friendships with these people. The relationships in the office were very informal and very pleasant, I think, and we got along very well. I think many of our Japanese friendships date back all the way to that.

Q: What was your section or your unit actually called within CIandE?

EC: It was the Publications Unit of a Media Analysis Section of the Analysis and Research Division. And we received, parallel I guess with the CCD, we were supposed to have sent to us one copy of everything that was published in Japan. There was a Press Analysis Unit down the hall and they did the daily press analysis. Three or four of us Americans with our staff of Japanese put out periodical, once or twice a week, analyses of what was being said in the magazines. And I did that for about a little over two years, I think now, maybe two and a half years for CIandE. What we were doing was quite parallel, I think, to much of what was being done in the Translator-Interpreter Section, known as ATIS. And eventually the higher-ups realized that there was duplication, and then there was a great
struggle between CIandE and G2 as to who would take over the full responsibility. CIandE was at a disadvantage, I think, because our section chief was only a lieutenant colonel. And this was in a military administration in which rank counted for a great deal. So among all of the chiefs of sections in GHQ, he and Colonel Hubert Skenk of Natural Resources were the two low-ranking men. They were only lieutenant colonels and other sections were headed by generals and full colonels. So I think that we suffered when it came to the real crunch. G2 prevailed and our division of CIandE was disbanded and a number of us were then absorbed into ATIS where we did fundamentally the same work.

Q: Would you say in that earlier period that you had fairly comprehensive coverage? Were you interested in politics, economics, educational kinds of things? Or was there one particular focus?

EC: Oh, we could do almost whatever we wanted within limitations. I went over there all idealistic, and the first one I wanted to do was on the Japanese reaction to democracy. And they said, "Well, you know, this is rather abstract. How are you going to do it?" But I did, I think, enough material together and I think I did, among the first ones, I did get a report on how the Japanese looked at democratic principles. I did all sorts of things.

There was one man in our office who was interested in economics. He was also very consciously a Harvard man, and I don't think he was terribly energetic. He would make out that he was analyzing the Japanese, what the magazines were saying about economics. But mostly he relied on the Oriental Economists, the English language edition of the Toyo Keizai. And his reports, I think, actually didn't give a very broad perspective of what
Q: In that letter that you wrote to your mother, you said you didn't think the occupation had any policy. Did you still feel the same way when you joined SCAP (Supreme Commander Allied Powers)?

EC: Well, by then I think, obviously General Douglas MacArthur had made—this was in the first month, and we were living in a tent and very much out of contact. I think Stars and Stripes, which we received irregularly, and the Armed Forces Radio had dictation speed news. They would read news very slowly and we would write it down and then mimeograph five or six or seven elements of it. So in that first month I think we had very little feeling of any kind of direction. But I think surely by the time MacArthur had been issuing many of his directives, there was a very real feeling that the occupation had basic policies. And at that point when I got into SCAP, I didn't really replace but the job that was made vacant was that of Harold Strauss, who was on leave as editor of Knopf, Alfred Knopf. And while he was there in this section, he got interested in Japanese literature. And he was the one who first in the U.S. publishing world promoted the translation and publishing of Japanese novels, Japanese writing.

Q: I've often wondered how it was that Knopf came to be associated with so many translations.

EC: That was Harold Strauss who, I think, had been a captain in the Army, wound up in GHQ and was in CIandE. He left and I came over and filled the job that he had had, at a lower level. He apparently had found a Japanese war correspondent who—he was convinced he had—I think he misjudged American public opinion. He had the Japanese story of the war by a Japanese newspaper
Japanese were saying.

But I did things—one of the things I got interested in and did a couple of times was language reform, with the American experts who were recommending, actually recommending romanization of the language. And without knowing very much about Japanese, I was able with the help of our chief translator, to get material together on what the Japanese reactions to these proposals were, which were mostly negative. Most of them said, you know, "You can't render the sensitive aspects of Japanese into romanization." There were a few who thought it was a good idea. But there was quite a debate in the Japanese media at that time over this, and I consulted with the people and who had the title of Advisor on Language Reform in CIandE, went over my reports with them to make sure that technically they were accurate. And I do think that these reports had fairly wide distribution within GHQ and back in Washington. So that they did have some influence.

I did some agriculture, land reform, attitudes toward land reform, increasing agricultural productivity, the state of the Japanese cinema. We could do almost whatever, any topic that we could find a basis for. And we could ask our translators to look particularly for articles on subjects that we found interesting.

Q: I see. You asked them to look for particular subjects?

EC: To some extent.

Q: And they would also volunteer?

EC: And they would volunteer, and of course they monitored the publications. The major magazines, I think, they monitored pretty thoroughly. But then they would go outside that and look for specialized articles in other magazines that we
man named Kato Masao telling of the war seen through Japanese eyes, in good English. He had said that he was going to make a killing with this and how this would really hit the American market. Well, of course, people by this time weren't that interested, and the book was published, but I think it had very limited sales. How did I get onto this? There was some--

Q: We were talking about monitoring the major journals like _Eunrei Shugi_ and so on. You mentioned that you did a report on Japanese perceptions of principles of democracy. Do you remember what you thought at the time about how the Japanese were understanding these reform efforts, including the constitution or anything else that comes to mind, agriculture?

EC: I had the feeling they were trying very hard and even in those days there was this feeling that still persists that the eyes of the world are on us, which wasn't so, but Japan as a nation is being judged by the rest of the world. And we have to show them what we can do. The striving for democracy, over and over again the feeling that "We haven't earned democracy ourselves, Other people have learned. The Americans had to learn the hard way, the British, all these people fought for democracy. And now it's being given to us on a silver platter, so we don't appreciate what's gone into it," and the striving to, I think, to explain principles of democracy.

MacArthur preached about Japan being the Switzerland of the Pacific, and my feeling over the years, in the beginning they thought, "He's crazy. How can you demilitarize? How can you be a peaceful nation?" And gradually, certainly in the job I was doing, gained the sense over the years that by 1950 they had pretty well convinced themselves that this could be so. There was an appreciation of the constitution. There was an appreciation of, "Here is an
opportunity to do what no other country has done, to really be a peaceful, a non-military power." And then along came the Korean War, of course, and the Americans turned around and said, "Well, you have to be able to protect yourselves." And I think a great many of the Japanese, there must have been a great deal of irony in this. After having slowly come around to believe what MacArthur was telling them, suddenly to have war break out in Korea and have things turned around again.

Q: Did you pick up much from the Japanese media on the purge or zaibatsu busting or war crimes trials in that period?

EC: Yes, we did have quite a lot about it, and I'd have to go back and refresh my memory. Of course, the press was under considerable restraint, the magazines, so you didn't find overt criticism of the war crimes trial, although I think that certainly there were subtleties of people questioning the justice dispensed by the victorious powers only.

Along that line, I went several times. We went to the sessions of the war crimes trial. We went one day when /General Hideki/ Tojo was on the stand. And I remember we were struck by, I don't know. Were you there?

Q: No.

EC: I was struck by the acuteness of Tojo and the fumbling of the American, of Keenan, the American chief prosecutor, who was an American politician. Tojo was very sharp, and I think he made the prosecutor look silly. It struck me, you know, having Tojo the villain of the war and all this. At one point there was great confusion because this guy, Keenan, in his theatrical manner, asked a question in a negative way: "Are you not the man who was responsible for this horrible devastation and war and all this?"
And the answer came back, "Yes, I was not." But there was consternation in the courtroom for quite a bit.

I think the war crimes trial dragged on and on and on. I think there was a lot of interest in the beginning and then it went on for so long. Then it was over, then there was a period of, how long, a year or so, before the verdict was prepared. And then, of course, there was a great deal of reaction to the verdict. And I think most of it again was that this was what the responsible people had brought upon themselves, that they deserved—that the verdicts were just. And again the sense of the Japanese learning from the bitter experiences and then starting fresh.

One of the overall experiences I do want to be sure to get on the record is the feeling in those early years of reading what the Japanese were writing, especially in the very earliest period. The sense of emptiness, of disillusionment, the shattering of all the things that people, the spiritual vacuum that people were left in at the end of the war, not knowing what to believe. All the things that they'd believed in had been shattered and been proved wrong, the disillusionment with the Japanese background, the Japanese ways, and a searching for something new and of course American, and picking up to some extent a lot of the not-so-desirable aspects of America. But this hunting for something to fill the emptiness. And it wasn't until 1949, 1950, I think, that there was a sense really of a beginning of a feeling of some pride in traditional Japan and Japanese things, the beginning of a new spirit.

I think that one was impressed by how hard they worked and the determination. I certainly came away from a country in 1950 that was still shattered, still groping, but with a very strong feeling that Japan would
resurge as a great country because of the energy, the drive, the discipline of the people.

Q: Would you tie this change in psychology of the Japanese just to the passage of time or to any specific events that occurred in 1949? Or as you indicated, to their hard work and abilities?

EC: I think they were beginning to see the light after that. In 1946, was it 1946, early 1947, the near general strike, the demonstrations in the streets, the people marching in their ragged clothes. I remember in the Asahi Graf, one very moving picture, I think. Let's see, how was it.

Q: Beware the fury of the quiet man?

EC: Yes. Beware the fury of the quiet man, and the picture of this man in an old army uniform, you know, with the little military hat, disheveled, tired, and with this vacant stare on his face. It's so hard to remember now how close a call it may have been, I think, with disillusionment, the poverty, the attraction of Communism. There was a period, I think, when it was quite uncertain which way Japan would go. And then of course the Socialists winning the election. Was it in 1946 that the Socialists won? A very widespread feeling, I think, of despair, disillusionment. And I think really it was just that things brightened up, food supplies became better. I think people became more aware of the fact that the United States was building up Japan, that we didn't intend to destroy, that the aim was to help the Japanese get back on their feet.

It's funny, one of the significant memories I have, the first international baseball game. Was it the San Francisco Seals? The Pacific Coast League came to Japan to play the Tokyo Giants. And they had a parade through downtown
Tokyo. And I remember being at the first game at Stadium when they raised the American flag and they played the national anthem. And they raised the Japanese flag, I think one of the first times, and played the national anthem. And the feeling of people was very positive, I think, at that point.

Q: Do you remember when that was?

EC: When?

Q: Yes. 1947? 1948?

EC: No, later. It must have been about 1949, I think. And then again, the Japanese in 1948 were, of course, excluded from the Olympics. But they had their own swimming star, Forohashi, who was swimming faster than anybody else in the world at that time even. They couldn't go to the Olympics, but they had the Japanese National Swimming Championships at about the same time as the Olympics were being held in Helsinki. I swam in college, so we followed this with interest. But this was at University, I think. He and several others, he had a teammate who was also very good. And in the Japanese National Championships, I think he broke two world records. We saw him break the 1500-meter swimming record by about 18 seconds, and that's an awful lot. And the Japanese people went crazy. This was their first real hero after the war, somebody who was better than anybody else in the world at what he did. And all the Tokyo newspapers used banner headlines for Forohashi breaking the world records. I couldn't imagine, as a swimmer, any American, even Challener in the Tokyo Olympics didn't get the headlines in the States that Forohashi got in Tokyo. And this was a symbol, I think. There were a number of such symbols, something that the Japanese could be proud of, a Japanese accomplishment
that was on the world class.

Q: You mentioned that you did a survey of the Japanese cinema. I wonder if you can recollect much of what you found out about the world of Japanese films?

EC: At that point it was very primitive. I think they'd been released from restraint. I can't really remember very much. Arthur Fujiwara, who worked with me, had a cousin who was a movie star. And we went out to the Toho Studios one day and saw them making movies. Their equipment was very primitive. Well, the studios were, the facilities were very poor. I remember being struck, there was one scene of scuffling, and the dust all flew around, and the lighting was poor. There was a lot of pornographic, erotic stuff, too, I think. They'd been released from all of the restraints. And some of the stuff they made then, well, by current standards, I guess, not, but in those days I think a lot of it was rather shocking and startling. But I don't think we got to see more than one or two Japanese movies, and the names weren't familiar other than a few of the stars. So I really can't comment very informatively on that.

Q: I wondered if I could ask you about the people who served in the occupation at various levels? For example, from where you sat, how did you perceive General MacArthur? What was your feeling about the kind of leadership which he was providing, direction in which he was moving? And not only MacArthur, but his interaction with the various generals?

EC: Oh, the various staff members, I think that was a joke.

Q: Major General Charles Willoughby and others, down to your own lieutenant colonel or your own head of division?

EC: We had a maid, a very bright little girl who worked for us in our one-room apartment and several of the others. We could always get a laugh out of them
by striking a profile and a stern look and striding like this, and they'd all break out into giggling. They knew who it was. They wouldn't say anything, but—at the level I was at there was a feeling that MacArthur did a great deal of posturing. These high-sounding statements that he would make, which were rather incomprehensible to some people, and particularly when he would make, issue a decree or make a statement. And it would be reported in the Japanese press and then translated back from the Japanese rendition into the English by somebody who didn't know the original, and it was gibberish. They didn't know what to make of it. I used to wonder in those days, everyone said, "Oh, MacArthur understood the psychology of the Japanese so well." Now I have mixed feelings. I guess probably to put himself as the Supreme Commander, to be utterly out of touch with the common people. He traveled very little in Japan. All he saw of Japan itself was on his twice daily trips from the Embassy to the Dai-Ichi Building. He surrounded himself only with his chiefly military advisers, who were mostly yes-men anyway.

Q: Was that your perception at the time? And Willoughby?

EC: That was my perception at the time, yes. Well, Willoughby, and then of course all of his aides, there were all these rivalries for MacArthur's favor. I guess General Courtney A. Whitney and Willoughby were the closest to him and had the most influence. And what we heard through the grapevine, I guess I mentioned Colonel Skenk, the head of the Natural Resources Section, who was only a lieutenant colonel, along with Colonel Nugent. So because I was their own low rank, their sections had much less power, much less strength in all of the rivalries. When it came to cutbacks to be made, when funds grew scarce, these were the sections that were affected, not because of the function
that they had, but because of the lack of rank, because of the internal politics in the MacArthur circle. I think at the time and still I had the feeling that the overall concept of the occupation and by and large the way, in general terms, the way it was carried out was really surprisingly successful, even though at the working level we were over and over again frustrated by the bureaucracy, the irritations, the military mind of--Colonel Nugent was a Marine. His chief qualification for being head of CIandE, I think, was that he had been a high school teacher in Japan and spoke Japanese and had been in Japan before the war. So this made him an expert on Japan and on all of the informational, educational--CIandE, I guess, had responsibility for the reform of the educational system. It had supervision over all the press, over all the media, radio. Herb Passin, I think, was very instrumental in getting public opinion surveys going in Japan, which they certainly have flourished since then. And this was a little man and given tremendously important responsibility, a well-meaning man, a man who was frightened, I think. I always had a feeling of Nugent being very timid because of his being only a lieutenant colonel and being afraid to take initiatives. In our reports we were, while we could pick our subjects, we could never produce anything that was too critical without balancing it. If we came up with only critical material, it would be, "Well, you know, you can't be just critical. You have to have something positive." And there would be a great effort made. They didn't want to have criticism of the occupation, and in the end, I think in 1950 our function was suddenly discontinued and the successor function to ours was included only in classified materials that were distributed only under classified conditions. And I came away feeling that this was because MacArthur
didn't want to have people back in Washington reading what was being put out in Tokyo.

Yes, I've been reminded of the population question at that time was a very important one. We did a lot of reports on population. At one stage Margaret Sanger was invited by Japanese organizations to visit Japan and MacArthur refused to permit her to come because of fear of the Catholic Church, because at that time I think he had political ambitions back in the States, and he didn't want to offend anybody. So anyone so controversial as Margaret Sanger could not be permitted, even at the invitation of the Japanese.

The occupation certainly was an imperfect, GHQ/General Headquarters/ was certainly a very imperfect organization. And the wonder is that it did function as well. When I first got there in 1946, a lot of bright young people had come in, had been recruited to replace the military. And at the lower ranks there were a lot of bright people who really had an idealistic concept, I think, of, you know, here's a blank slate, here's a country in which all the past is wiped away, in which we can recreate something new in the model of America, democratic. And a great many people had this kind of idealistic and really unrealistic feeling. I think Welch probably fitted into this category. He'd been in the New Deal, been one of the Washington New Deal administrators, probably at not so high a level, and I think probably came in with the feeling that he was helping to democratize, to bring real democracy to a country that had been feudalistic. There was a great deal of talk of feudalism, of feudalistic Japan, and recreating; a lot of social planners and experimenters thought, "Gee, here's an ideal place for us to put into practice the academic principles."
Q: Did you hear much talk about some of these bright young people being accused of left-wing sympathies and so on? Or is that something that we're more aware of now as we do research on the occupation, the New Deal element in the occupation versus the more conservative element in the occupation?

EC: To some extent. Of course, again, I wasn't in an operative part of the occupation. We were reporting on what was happening, as seen through Japanese eyes really. So I wasn't, I wouldn't be a very good source on that. I did get out. I had an experience, I think it was in the first year I was there. I sent something to the New York Herald Tribune which was printed over my name. A Japanese girl had written a letter to Stars and Stripes complaining about the behavior of GI's, how GI's regarded every woman on the street in Japan as potential prey. And she had written a letter to Stars and Stripes protesting and expressing the hope that GI's as ambassadors of democracy could behave themselves a little bit better, and this at a time when I think much of the press in the United States was saying what a wonderful job our American boys are doing in Japan in creating democracy. And I don't know whether it was in a moment of irritation or what, but I sent her letter to the Herald Tribune over my name, saying that I thought this should be brought to the attention of American readers. And it was printed. It's over there. It ran very prominently in the Herald Tribune, and my mother, I think within days I got reports from home that the FBI /Federal Bureau of Investigation/ was around asking questions about me, asking questions of family friends, all sorts of people. And I'm sure if I could ever get my files out of Washington that that's in there.

I was up for promotion at that time. I went into my boss's office one morning. I had really kind of forgotten about this. And there were fragments
of an expensive vase lying around on the floor. And I innocently asked, "Gee, what happened here?" And he had gotten a dressing down from Colonel Nugent's aide on my letter having appeared in the Herald Tribune. But it was typical, I think. I think this was the beginning of the McCarthy period and anybody who was critical must be subversive, and I guess I was regarded as a potential Communist because I had dared to voice criticism.

Q: Do you have impressions of any other individuals at, say, middle levels of SCAP, either impressions of specific individuals or general impressions? Were they provincial, were they sophisticated, these people who were recruited to come out and engage in reforming Japan?

EC: Well, in different places. It was a wide variety. There were some quite capable people. When I went over in 1946 as a civilian, there were a lot of people who had no knowledge of Japan. For them it was an adventure. They had little preparation. And of course I think I was hired without their knowing all that much about me, other than what I'd written in the letter to General Dyke.

My feeling was that at a lot of/higher levels the people, they weren't able to get first-class people. The war was over, people were tired of the war. The people that had spent three or four years in the military wanted to get out and resume their civilian careers. It may be unfair. As I was saying earlier, I think one of the persons who lived down the hall from us was Dr. Walter Eels who came over about 1947/1948 to be in charge of the Higher Education Section of CIandE, in which his job was to reform the Japanese education system. And I think he was a well-meaning man and had had a fair amount of university teaching experience, but looking back and at the time, too, hardly
regarded him as a person qualified to reform, to institute an entirely new educational system in Japan.

In our analyses we got a great deal of discussion of the educational reforms, a great deal of discussion of PTA's and of the part that parents should play, the reorganization of the school system to 6-3-3.

But as in so many cases, I think that many of the people in responsible positions in the occupation were second rate or were not broad people of capability of having a high degree of responsibility, the broadness of vision. Many of them knew nothing about Japan. Their purpose was to teach the Japanese the American way, more or less to impose it without understanding the tradition, the background, the culture of Japan.

Q: You mentioned the surveys on education. Now there's quite a bit of criticism of what was done under American auspices in that period. At the time were the Japanese reacting critically at all, at least between the lines? Could you tell?

EC: I think between the lines there was some questioning, but at the same time overtly they more or less had to approve. And I think a great many of them seemed to feel that the old education had been bad and that they had to find a new basis for it. There was questioning, I think, whether the mechanics of the new system would work properly. There was, I think, approval for the PTA /Parent Teacher Association/, for parent participation, for a more democratic form of operation in the classroom, all of this in this first wave of--I don't know whether euphoria's the right word. But the desire to do away with the old and the bad, what had been proved bad, and to find something new that would be more successful, with the eyes of the world on us.
Q: Were you much aware at that time of American press coverage of the occupation, what Newsweek was saying and what Time was saying? Did you have much dealing with American newspaper men in Japan?

EC: No, I didn't. I really had very little. I worked in the same building actually where the Public Relations office was, Public Relations Section. All of the correspondents used to park their jeeps in the street outside our window, and I would look out at these important people striding out to their vehicles and driving off to cover the news. But my impression is that Japan was not terribly well covered in the post-war period. Once the war was over and people lost interest, the correspondents there weren't of the, I think, of the highest caliber. My guess is that they had trouble getting their stories into the newspapers back home. I dug up again this morning, looking through old things, a letter I had written to the Herald Tribune. I think my Mother clipped these stories from the Herald Tribune and sent them out to me so I could see what was being written. And I wrote a long, reproachful letter to the editor of the Herald Tribune, saying that I thought that their correspondent was anti-Japanese in that he didn't appreciate the Japanese problems. I analyzed one of his stories paragraph by paragraph, saying that it showed a bias against the Japanese and inability to look at some of the problems from the Japanese point of view, I guess because I had been reading so much material about Japanese problems from the Japanese point of view and here was an American looking on, it struck me, rather superciliously at the Japanese and their quaint ways of doing things.

Q: Who was that journalist?
EC: That was a man named Ralph Chapman. We had the American Education Center there operated by the Army. We had a series of 10 evening lectures by correspondents working in Japan. Russell Grimes was one. I can't remember all then of them. I guess Carl Buckmyer was the Newsweek man in the very early stages, was later I guess replaced by Compton Peckinham. The one who impressed me most was Kyes Beach, who later won a Pulitzer Prize in covering Korea. And I've known Kye—-I didn't know him then; I've known him in subsequent years--who was then a very earnest young man, an ex-Marine who, I think, had been a Japanese language officer and had, it seemed to me, more sympathy and more understanding than most of the others. Most of the others struck me from the little I saw of them as professional newspaper men who had been put down in Japan rather than people with Japan experience, with any real feeling for Japan itself.

Q: One of the reasons why I asked is that I have looked at some of the Newsweek coverage in 1946, 1947, 1948, and it's quite critical and sometimes vitriolic. I haven't had a chance yet to look into Time's coverage or anything else. I was wondering whether, for example, the FEC 230 controversy which broke out in late 1947 and on into 1948 made much of an impression on the people who were in the occupation, whether there was a lot of talk or a lot of gossip about it. Or is it just one of those things that we as scholars and researchers have picked up later? I have in mind the reverse course as well, the FEC 230 controversy having to do with reversal deconcentration policy and busting of the zaibatsu.

EC: There again, I'm not a good source on this. I'd have to refresh my memory. I know that we did reports on the attitudes toward the zaibatsu and the Antitrust and Cartels Division effort to break up the big concentrations. My
recollection is that some of them outside the immediate aspects of it—we were aware of course of this major program to democratize Japanese industry, to introduce competition, to break up these sources of what had been characterized as very evil power used for militaristic purposes. And I did have some contact with Welch because he was a Phi Bete through the Phi Beta organization in Japan, and we got him to be the chairman or the president of it for one year. I always had the feeling that he was preoccupied, that this was something he took on because he, maybe because of pressures. But I have a feeling that there had been a change of attitude. I somehow have the recollection that the Chicago Tribune, Walter Simmons, who was a dour sort of man was the Chicago Tribune correspondent there. And I think the Chicago Tribune and Newsweek had, during the McCarthy period or the conservative reaction in the United States, that these people were preaching the evil of American Socialists over there, breaking up Japanese big business and trying to introduce Socialism in Japan. This was the way it came through to us and then the gradual awareness that attitudes in the States were changing, that pressures were being applied in Washington, and that Welch was fighting what would turn out to be, I guess, a losing battle. But that's about as much as I feel I could say on it. We were aware.

END TAPE I, BEGIN TAPE II

We knew that attitudes in the United States were changing, that in essence the policies of the occupation were changing, that whereas the initial aim had been to break all this up and foster competition, that now the idea was to rebuild Japan as an American ally, and that if we broke up all of the Japanese industrial power, that it would be a weak country that we'd have to support for years and years
Q: Was the term "reverse course" employed at all at that time?
EC: No, not that I was ever aware of. I think that that probably came up later or it may have been used by people involved but didn't get into the general awareness, I think, in the occupation.
Q: You said that your particular unit was phased out and you merged with ATIS.
EC: Yes.
Q: Could you tell me a little bit more about that and about the new setup you found yourself in? And any change of duties or responsibilities which you had? That was in 1948?
EC: That was in 1948, but I guess it was a while in coming. I think in early 1948 we were aware that--I think all of the officers in SCAP were fighting to maintain their own areas of jurisdiction and protect what they had. We went through quite a lot of administrative detail, of writing out--what's the word--a summarization of our duties. What's the word I want?
Q: Job description?
EC: Job description, and building this up, implying how important it was, how important we were in our organization. And a lot of effort went into this. Then there was one time we got an order from Colonel Nugent not to discuss with the enemy, in effect, with anybody else our operation, not to give away any secrets that would enable somebody else to chip away at our organization. But all of this was unavailing and I guess that the announcement came quite suddenly. We were summoned to a meeting and told that as of today, the Analysis and Research Division of CIandE is abolished. I think from an overall point of view only one or two jobs were abolished. I don't think anybody was sent home as a result. Places were found for everybody somewhere else.
And we moved with our staff of I guess about 25 or 30 Japanese translators from the NHK Radio Tokyo Building over to the NYK Building in Marunouchi where it was much more of a military—I think in CIandE we had a much more personal relationship. It was a smaller organization and for all Colonel Nugent's faults or inadequacies, we did have a good esprit de corps there. We had periodic parties down at Chinagawa at a place called the Camachi Inn. We had parties Japanese style with—you know during the occupation we were forbidden, very strict regulations about eating Japanese food, going to Japanese homes, all this sort of thing. We were supposed to provide our own food. If we went off for a week, we had to take a week's supply of food, if we went to a Japanese inn.

But CIandE did arrange permission to have these sukiyaki parties with Japanese entertainment every six months or so. And there was much more of a feeling of friendliness, I think. When we got over to ADIS, I worked in a great big room which would, I guess, have been the main room there. The Japanese were all separated, whereas in CIandE we'd had a very informal relationship with the Japanese workers. We were separated from them.

General Willoughby, I guess, was our supreme boss, but I never saw General Willoughby. But the stories told of General Willoughby were rampant. And the ones that I always liked was that he had a section—I'm sure you know all this—writing the Japanese history of the war, all these former admirals and generals sitting up there somewhere on the fourth or fifth floor writing the war as seen through Japanese eyes. And the story went, whether true or not, but I'm sure some of it was true, that Willoughby then had the final, was the final editor. And Willoughby went through and said, "This is wrong.
This is not so," and excised large portions of their account because they didn't agree with his recollection or his version of how the war had been fought. So at our low level I think there was this kind of story. We were not that much in touch with the high officers, but there was plenty of dis­flowed cussion of them and their activities and the rivalries, the gossip/very freely.

Q: Could you tell me something about black marketing activities, for example? Any observations you might have of improvements in food supply for the Japanese or any other consumers' goods in the period you were there?

EC: At a personal level? Or you mean on a larger scale?

Q: Yes, observing it generally and then at a personal level.

EC: Well, there was a great deal of it obviously. People went to the PX/Post Exchange/ and bought all sorts of things. The moral question was a very difficult one. To some extent it was resolved for us. I've told you about Dr. and Mrs. Kerr, religious people who were Protestant missionaries for many years. We all had maids and we became quite fond of the people, many of us had maids and others working in the building. And we used to provide them with food to take home, with candy bars and things like that, until the authorities instituted a search of all employees leaving the building. So then you would have to go outside the door and meet them outside the door to convey to them these things. And when I discovered that the Kerrs, these upright Protestant missionaries, were doing the same thing, were carrying these items which, strictly speaking, we were forbidden to give to the Japanese and taking this food and candy and other supplies out to give to their maid outside the door, then I felt, well, we needn't moralistically feel badly about it.
So we figured that this sort of thing was all right, and I think in a sense the obvious purpose of the restriction was to prevent very large scale black marketing, people who would go to the PX or go to the commissary and buy in very large quantities. And a great many people then did sell this on the black market, and it could provide a considerable source of income.

On a small scale, of course, we had close Japanese friends. A couple of times we had office parties. People would come to the office and we would provide the food, this sort of thing, which strictly speaking, was not legal but eyes were closed to this. Everybody I think sold cigarettes if they didn't smoke. The Japanese wanted them and we didn't. I think that was the only thing that we ever did in a sense of getting money for it. But of course we provided food lots of times for Japanese friends, we provided things from the PX for Japanese friends, in an informal way. We didn't do it on a commercial basis. But there was a lot of black marketing.

There were stories told of the MP's who set up a racket in Hibya Park. One GI would go and offer a carton of cigarettes to Japanese and his colleague would stand 50 yards down the street and as the Japanese, having paid for the cigarettes from the one GI, would be stopped by the other one saying, "What's that you've got?" with an MP armband on him and would take it away from him, this sort of thing. I think the GI's probably, a lot of them, did engage in this but not to an excessive extent. I think it was kept within control.

One of Arthur Fujiwara's cousins was a big dealer and he used to get liquor on the black market. And I remember the complaint once when he had bought a case of liquor. Well, we were given a very good ration of American liquor, much more than we obviously could drink. And there was a great
temptation to give this away or to sell it. And this cousin had bought a case of American liquor on the black market and found the bottles were all filled with water. So was he justified in complaining about it or should he have known better? But we didn't ever come into direct contact, I think, with very large-scale black marketing. In the very early occupation days, I think before the occupation had been properly set up, when I was a GI, there were GI's who got rich, really, by buying stuff in the PX, selling it on the black market, converting it back into dollars and sending the dollars home. There were people who really made a great deal of money out of that, and it was a month or so, I think, before the Army realized this and made a regulation that no one could send money home exceeding the amount of his pay. That was the limit on which he could buy money orders and send them back home. But an awful lot of people got away with a lot before they put that ruling.

Q: Did you ever eat Japanese food from time to time, even though there were these regulations about food?

EC: Oh, sure. We had Japanese friends--this again takes a bit of explaining, but we got quite close to one Japanese family, they're still very good friends of ours, who lived not too far away from us. They had a villa in Oiso. Our friend was the son of who was secretary to Prince Saionji. The son, was very well connected in Tokyo. He knew all of the old aristocracy. His father had been a close associate of /Shigeru/ Yoshida, so that Yoshida still came to pay visits to the family on New Years Day. And we used to go down and visit at their home in Oiso. We'd go down for weekends, and we had to take a lot of food. We'd take American food, and then we'd have sukiyaku parties with their food. They'd come over to our
apartment. We had almost a Saturday night ritual where all the Harda family and relatives would come over to our apartment and take a hot shower, use the shower facilities, and sit around and read American magazines, mostly Life Magazine. These were people who were Western-oriented. The wife had grown up in Canada. And we had a lot of exchange with them.

We had other friends whose homes we'd go to and to many of the Japanese, including our maid. We were invited out to our maid's home several times, and they would put on a big sukiyaki feast for us.

These were sidelights. Our maid got married after about a year and a half, and we were the honored guests at the wedding. She came from a lower middle-class family, I guess. And we went to the wedding and then we drove the bride and groom home in our jeep, the wedding procession. And as we went into this rather--the area in Tokyo along the Sunda, and were greeted, you know, driving down the street with the wedding couple. I think we attracted more attention than they did in their immediate neighborhood.

But then we had a lot of social contacts of that sort, and we were invited to people's houses and they'd serve us food and--

Q: Where did the Japanese get the meat for the sukiyaki? Did they use chicken, did they use beef?

EC: I don't know where. Beef was available. I think in some cases we'd bring our contribution to the food where we could. I guess there/ some whale meat. We had some whale sukiyaki that came back from the first expedition. But I think food was available after--in the very early days people would go out into the countryside and go foraging to bring it back. I suppose people would
save up if they were going to invite Americans in, would make a special effort and would save up the best food available for us. But a number of times we were invited out just to the homes of people who worked in the office or homes of friends that we'd met in other ways, and a sukiyaki dinner would be the thing. They figured this is something that Americans would like. I don't think we ever ate any sashimi in those days. I think sashimi would have been very suspect and the lack of hygiene. And I guess the waters around Japan probably are pretty polluted. But otherwise—we took care to cook any Japanese food, I think, except perhaps apples and fruit, I guess, in the latter years. Part of the restriction was for sanitary reasons and part, I think, was simply not to have Americans eating up food that was already scarce for the Japanese. So if we went off for a weekend to a Japanese inn, you know, we'd be loaded down with food for a number of days.

Q: Well, let me shift a little bit more to your personal life in the occupation.

EC: Let me just—we had eggs. Eggs were shipped from the United States, I guess. I don't know if they were frozen, but they were chilled. And our maid was horrified. Why didn't we eat Japanese eggs? Japanese eggs were very good, and here we had these eggs sent all the way from America. For one year we had a house down at Hakone Machi which we shared with another family, and we used to stop in local stores down at Odawara and do shopping there to go up for a weekend. So we didn't have much hesitation about the Japanese food.

Q: You were married, weren't you? And I wondered what sort of living quarters there were for married men and their families? Was it easy for you?

EC: Well, it depended on rank, of course. I think people over the rank of lieutenant colonel and over were given houses. And the Army just marched in
and commandeered these houses and put the occupants out and took them over. There were some very nice houses. We visited the Skenks at a very nice house. Burton Crane we visited once and he had a big fancy house. At the lower levels, I guess enlisted men, sergeants and above the rank of sergeant were able to have dependents. And I think the best that they had were Quonset huts. There was a housing area called Palace Heights that was one of the very first, up overlooking the Imperial Palace. I'm rusty. I know where it is but I can't give the name of the area, I guess close to where the National Theatre is now. And this was a settlement of Quonset huts and low-ranking civilians and non-commissioned officers were put up there.

Then they started renovating burned-out buildings and we were in the Montetsu Building. It had been completely burned out at Toronowon. But they rebuilt it and converted it into, I think, almost all one-room apartments, one room with bathroom. I think there were two-room apartments for the generals and the colonels who did live in the building. We had a common dining room on the top floor. People improvised all sorts of things, and Hudi had a hot plate and several other electric attachments so that when we got tired of the Army meals upstairs, we had some of our own. And I think people who lived in apartments and had central dining facilities didn't have full commissary privileges. But you could get many things in the commissary.

Again I looked up, looking at old letters this morning. I think in this building which housed 80 working people in the occupation plus dependents, that is, there were 80 members actually contributing to the occupation, the Japanese staff numbered about 300, one maid for each apartment and all kinds of , so to speak, and office personnel and musicians, yes. We used
to joke, I think, what we called the Montetsu Symphony Orchestra. But two nights a week in the dining room they would have six or eight musicians and these poor people whom I'm sure had starved through the war because what was there for musicians to do? And in post-war Japan, I think this is one of the very good things that the occupation did there. They helped people in the arts. The occupation sponsored the Fujiwara Opera Company and there would be performances of what was really second-rate opera and second-rate ballet. But it did give a start to these people and encouraged these people. And I think much of the flowering of the artistic world in Japan now may be partly a result of the occupation helping people out in areas where, you know, there would have been no source of income at all in those very difficult days.

Q: Did you feel as though you were living a rather privileged life?

EC: Oh, yes, we were very privileged, even in a one-room apartment, but with the Army providing our—we had the best of both worlds. The Army took care of us, we had adequate food and we had a comfortable place to live, even if it was small and limited. And then of course we were in an exotic foreign country with travel privileges. You could ride free on the trains. In the early days there were two weekends; we took a trip up to Hokkaido by train free and stayed in the Sappora Hotel for a weekend. The next weekend we went down to Matsayama in Shikoku, took a boat across the Inland Sea and visited a friend who was the CCD man in Matsayama. So the opportunities for travel for people who wanted to get out and were adventurous, and there weren't too many really. There weren't too many people who—there were a lot of Americans who were making money and existing in Japan. There weren't too many, I think, who really wanted
the
to get out and make contact with the country and people. And the Japanese
were very eager to make contact with us so that sometimes we felt there were
just so many people wanted to have social contacts, the invitations. It got
almost overwhelming at times, the feeling of responsibility to be representa-
tive Americans, to make a good impression and make contacts with the Japanese.

Q: Did you have much time to take language lessons or dabble in the language or
to get very much into Japanese culture?

EC: Well, I kick myself because I was shortsighted. As I said, I had a feeling
that there was a very real future for Japan. At the same time, in those days
Japan was so far away, I didn't know where my career would take me. I worked
among Japanese who spoke English. At one time in ATIS I worked in a room with
60 people. I think I was the only one who was not a language specialist. And
I was, I think, more interested in doing other things than putting a lot of
effort into learning Japanese, never feeling at that time that Japan would be
a part of our future. It's hard to recall this.

When our ship sailed away from Yokohama, we had 30 or 40 friends came down
to see us, and we were I think in tears. We thought we'd never see these
people again, the world was so big and Japan was so far away. Well, of course
now God knows how many of them we've seen how many times.

So I learned very little other than the phrases. I learned a great deal
about the language in doing papers on language reform. I learned about the
principles of the language. After a year or so, I came to be so familiar
with Japanese English that I could pull together expressions that were very
vague and know for sure what it was that the people were trying to say. But
I felt badly. Now Hudy did, Hudy studied at the Army Education Center and I
think in the circumstances did very well. She still is way ahead of me.
And I later did study Japanese. When I went back as a correspondent, I worked very hard at it with limited results. But in the occupation period I really missed the opportunity for that. There were, I think, very few people who did make the effort, other than those who had been trained in the Army or the Navy who in military service had gotten the language. But I think very few.

In ATIS I worked among a lot of linguists, a lot of the nisei. I got to know Jim Nakamura in ATIS. The Nakamuras are among our old friends there.

Q: When you shifted to ATIS in 1948 to 1950, do you remember any events or incidents that particularly made an impression on you? What kinds of reports did you write at that stage, by comparison with the earlier periods in CIandE?

EC: Well, we went on pretty much the same.

Q: Pretty much the same way?

EC: The same people and we put out the reports really in the same format. I've got a bunch of them all bound and filed over there, that whole period. I think there was a change in the feeling in the occupation from the early—the first years it was adventure, something new and exotic and by the time we went to ATIS there was a feeling that it was beginning to wind down and we were beginning to wonder what would be the next step. The emphasis had begun to change, I think, from reform and all of the do-goodism to more practical concerns.

Q: Were Japanese speaking out more freely or more critically toward the end of your stay?

EC: I think they were, I think quite definitely. I remember the Dodge Mission and all of the—there was a great deal of discussion of that and financial...
Just as a sidelight I think, in subsequent years as a correspondent I interviewed Ikeda Hayato when he was prime minister. And he had been the Finance Minister during the Dodge period. Mr. Dodge came over there and imposed very stringent controls on the Japanese in order to limit inflation. And of course, later became known for his doubling the income policies. So I was supposed to have half an hour with Ikeda and toward the end of the half hour I asked him how he reconciled his later policies with the policies he was required to carry out under Dodge. And his eyes lighted up and he said, "Oh, were you here then?" And he went on. It was reported in the papers that he had planned to spend half an hour but when he got talking about the occupation years and the Dodge policy and his role then, he went on for an extra half hour and kept his next appointment waiting. And I find that sort of thing so often in speaking with Japanese in later years to recall having been there during the occupation stirs up all sorts of recollections and people's eyes light up.

Q: Could you tell me something more about the street scenes in Tokyo? For example, did you observe any demonstrations, any street violence?

EC: Well, in the early days there were all sorts of demonstrations, particularly in the early part of 1947, I think, when a general strike was threatened in February. We lived close to the Ministry buildings in downtown Tokyo, so that there were always processions of people marching past our building holding banners, banners of "Yoshida, Bulldog Yoshida," with this grim expression, and threatening a general strike.

Going back earlier, in the early days we got the impression that the Japanese were very recreation- and sports-minded because particularly at noon
hour, they'd all be out, office groups would be out playing volley ball. They'd form a circle and bat the ball around the circle, men and women together, which I guess at that time was something of an innovation. And baseball, I guess, became very popular, and there were pickup baseball games. People would be playing catch in the streets, and there was very little vehicle traffic, so we'd really have to duck or scoot by as baseballs would go flying past our heads in the streets. And the building where we worked stood quite alone. Everything had been demolished around it, and the extensive space between the Montetsu Building and the American Embassy was an open field. I guess it had been leveled. And baseball games were always going on there, people out playing ball.

One of my funny experiences, I was in my jeep driving back to work after lunch, and somebody hit what obviously was a home run. The ball came flying way out of the field and into the street, and I was able with my left hand to catch the ball. And as the outfielder came running out for it, I threw it back to him. He turned and relayed it in, and the man who had expected a home run was tagged out at the plate. And as I drove away, there was this great argument developing over the legality of this play. It was very, very funny.

I remember the kids were always playing. On the other side of the building there was a lot there. The kids were always playing baseball. And I have a picture of a boy about 12, I guess, who--well, I have pictures of the boys playing ball with the younger brothers strapped on their backs, batting. I remember also the pitcher in one of the games had apparently a baby brother over on the sidelines, and the baby fell down and started to cry. And the
pitcher walked off the mound, walked over and picked up the baby and comforted him and took care of him. And the game stopped while the kid was comforted and taken care of. There are so many memories of these funny little incidents.

Q: I'm glad that you mentioned Yoshida because one question I would like to ask is what opinions you were forming of the Japanese political leaders? What impressions you might have had of those who were prime ministers at the time, particularly of Yoshida?

EC: It's very difficult to separate my, to recall how I felt about Yoshida then from the way I regard him historically. I think he was a strong man at a time when Japan needed somebody like him. One had the impression that he stood up to MacArthur, that he did have the best interests of the Japanese people at heart. I guess he wasn't very popular with the workers. He was caricatured, he was reviled, but I think there was a feeling then that he was the kind of leader the Japanese needed at this difficult period, somebody of strong will, somebody who was able to impose, where necessary, impose the necessary discipline on the Japanese. And compared with the others, with /Hitoshi/ /Tetsu/ Ashida and /Katayama, who were—I think Katayama was a good man who came to power too soon and didn't have actually the strong support in his own party. And Ashida somehow was a compromise, and he didn't seem to be a very strong man, and Yoshida stood out. There wasn't anybody in that period.

Q: What about the Communist leaders? Did you do much reporting on them?

EC: Well now, names escape me. Who was the one who was the Party leader? He was a very sophisticated, polished man. Not Takuda.

?: It began with an "N."

EC: Anyway, the story was told, this Communist Party leader—of course, the
Communists were in good standing in the early stages of the occupation, and I guess they were invited, along with other political leaders, to the proper functions. There was one story told of William Draper, who was Under the Secretary of the Army, being at a dinner at Imperial Hotel and having a charming conversation with the person next to him and later on saying, "Who was that person anyway?" He was the Communist Party chief, and he apparently was a very sophisticated, like Chou Enlai, I guess, in China would be a comparison, a man who was charming and sophisticated, so people couldn't believe that he was really a Communist. Communists aren't like that.

And then of course there was the impression of Takuda who was, if I had to think, one would think of him as kind of a Mussolini-like character, bluff and rough and aggressive and outspoken. He went into hiding, I guess, didn't he, after the start of the Korean War? I don't think he ever turned up again.

So the Communists were very active. We did reports on them. The Communist propaganda, they were very clever in avoiding some of the censorship. They had very subtle criticism of the behavior of the GI's, and they would write about big, tall men in small vehicles who went such-and-such a place and did such-and-such a thing. And of course these were GI's. I think they got away with quite a lot actually. So, you know, we were very aware of their presence in the beginning. I think everyone thought that they would be constructive partners. And then gradually came the recognition that they weren't in accord with the basic aims of the occupation or the Americans. I never had any personal contact with any. Certainly their influence was very evident in the demonstrations in the early period.
If I could interject again, years later as a correspondent, it was unfortunate. The man who worked with me in Tokyo was not terribly energetic. He found he could get stories in the newspaper whenever he wrote about the Japanese Communists. So writing Japanese politics and getting it into the papers can be pretty difficult because the characters tend to be rather colorless by and large. But any story that he wrote about the Japanese Communists, even though it's such a proportionately small party, would always get printed in the paper.

Q: Can he be named?

EC: I'll name him, Robert Trumbull.

Q: Yes. When did your tour of duty, so to speak, with the occupation end?

EC: Well, I could have stayed on, but things were obviously breaking up and changing. MacArthur already in 1949, I guess, was urging an end to the occupation. It's funny but from our point of view, seeing Americans running things and the Japanese so dependent, my own feeling and it shows how naive I was because the Japanese had been running their own country for a long time. But I thought, "Oh, certainly it's premature to have a peace treaty now. They're not ready yet to go in themselves." I really was very young and I think very naive, but it was partly the occupation atmosphere, that we were running things and the Japanese were doing what we told them to do. But obviously by 1950 we'd begun to think about the future, and I was eligible for benefits on the GI bill and I wanted to take advantage of it while it was still possible. So we planned to come back. I think we had planned. I started writing letters by the winter of 1949, I wanted to go to London, to Britain, sort of to get back into the real world
again. Because I'd had the years in the Army and then the four years in the occupation a long way away from home and from the Western intellectual world. So I did make arrangements to get enrolled at the University of London, University College, London, in the fall of 1950, and we left in July, July 10th, 1950.

Just two weeks before we left, the Korean War broke out, and this was a real thunderbolt, although I think there too we didn't realize at the time. I think it took a while to dawn on the people secure and in the routine there in Tokyo that this was a real war and it would be a real war.

If I can digress again, the GI's there had gotten soft, they had gotten spoiled. The training had been let up, the GI's had Japanese who did their KP and who shined their shoes and cleaned their barracks. It was an easy life for them, and they became accustomed to think of Orientals as servants, people who worked for them. And when they were sent into combat in Korea, these kids were just unprepared for what they went into. I guess they were slaughtered in the early stages.

I had a friend working with me in ATIS who was a first lieutenant in the Army who had been a language officer and who had signed up for the Regular Army because this was going to get him three years at the University of Washington studying Japanese language and culture. He was very pleased about this, was awaiting his orders, and then came the Korean War. And as we left to come home to the States, he was leaving for Korea, and I thought I'd never see him again and was surprised years later at a luncheon at Columbia, he was the guest of honor. He was teaching history at West Point, a man named Jim Buck, James Buck, now at the University of Georgia. But he was a first lieutenant
and when he went off to Korea, I thought he would never come back. He had a fascinating career after that.

Q: What were your feelings when you left Japan the summer of 1950? What was the departure scene like?

EC: It was terrible.

Q: Terrible?

EC: Oh, we had farewells. We had a farewell party at the Cosmopolitan Club in Tokyo by a lot of people who had belonged to the Tennis Club. Oh, somewhere had I'd like to get on record our having the Mitsui sons borrow my jeep, which I thought was almost the epitome of the strange turnarounds, the strange things that happened in the occupation. But we had a farewell party of 30 or 40 people there, Ugata Sadako Nakamura was among the people at our farewell party.

Then we left by ship from Yokohama. We drove down and we had about 30 people there on the pier. We have pictures taken from the ship. And then we got on board the ship and waited and waited, and it was a hot July day and people waited on the pier and we waited and we waved goodbye. And it was just—as I say, we thought we would probably never see most of these people again, people who worked in the office, friends, the Harda friends and their family and a number of other—I guess there must have been about 30 people.

We waited for a couple of hours before the ship finally pulled away and... END SIDE I, BEGIN SIDE II

We really felt that that was cutting off ties with Japan.

Q: Do tell me your Mitsui story.

EC: Well, I guess I've said through our friends the Hardas we were introduced to a small tennis club, And I think we were the only Americans.
The Japanese were very cordial, very friendly to us. It was property that was owned by Baron Mitsui, Mitsui Takakimi, who was the head of the Mitsui Clan. And his daughter and the two sons were active in the club. The two sons were, I guess probably twentyish, and they didn't seem to be spoiled. They worked very hard physically scraping the courts and doing work around the club. And on one occasion we had, there was a club party and refreshments had to be brought, drinks, I guess soft drinks, Coca Cola and this sort of thing. And I was asked if I would lend my jeep to the Mitsuis so that they could bring the supplies to the party. And I thought this really was a turn-about for me to have the Mitsuis borrowing my jeep.

Another of the funny things, I think, Baron Mitsui, who spoke quite good English and was obviously very sophisticated, telling how his friends in England had sent him a CARE package filled with all kinds of foods. And at this time actually I think the Japanese had more food than perhaps the British had.

But the Tennis Club was a lot of fun. We met a lot of interesting people. I'd played tennis in college and thought I played pretty well. But then I'd had the Army years with no tennis. I found myself on the court with a Japanese Davis Cup player who was about less than five feet tall. But boy, he ran circles all around me.

Q: I wonder if I could just ask a few more questions before we end. I don't know if you were reflecting as you left Japan in 1950 what this all would mean in your life. But when did you first get back to Japan and have a chance to see this in larger perspective? And what was it like to be back in Japan again? What were the changes? What were the biggest impressions on you?
blond hair. And wherever we went, people would stop and look. If we went out to the park for a picnic, we'd have a crowd of 30 or 40 people gathered around us looking at us, wanting to touch or hold the baby. If you went into the countryside in a jeep and stopped the jeep, kids would turn up out of nowhere. So that you were very conspicuous in the occupation and also quite spoiled at having special privileges. At the baseball stadium there was a section behind home plate set aside for Americans to watch. At any thing we wanted to do, any special occasion, we could almost arrange to have made available for us. And then to go back in 1963 and find that we were rather ordinary people, that there wasn't this excitement over Americans, that we weren't specially privileged and in fact were very often excluded came as something of a shock, I think. It required some adjustment.

I should say that back in the occupation days an awful lot of places were off limits to us. We wandered around. We'd wander down to Shimbashi Station. We used to take the train from there very often, and all these mysterious looking places, with good smells coming out of the restaurants and exotic music and all this going on behind these closed or shuttered doors. And we used to think, "Oh, gee, wouldn't it be fun if we could go into some of these establishments that were open to Japanese but closed off to us."

One of the nice things about going back was that we were no longer excluded by law, although there were a lot of places obviously where Americans caused concern or confusion where people felt it would be awkward to have Americans walk in. But we weren't excluded automatically from many of the interesting places that previously had been off limits. You could go to interesting restaurants. Many of the inns during the occupation period, only approved
yokan were open for Americans. You couldn't go to any one that you wanted to. That was changed.

Q: From this vantage point, 1979, how do you see the occupation period in your own life and also in the life of the Japanese people and in Japanese-American relations? I know that's an awfully big question, but it's an interesting one to think about.

EC: In terms of my own life, I think that the day that I walked ashore at Wakayama my life was changed. The whole course of my life was changed. I'd spent the whole war, my Army career, which was overall—it worked out all right—but not a very happy period, wanting only to get back home and get back to normal life in America. And it opened my eyes. I hadn't been abroad before. I think the University of Rochester was rather provincial. Although I lived in New York, I had little sense of the world outside. And to suddenly be deposited in a country that was so strange, so exciting, where exciting things were happening, and I guess where Americans were somebody special, it had a great influence obviously. It changed the whole course of my career and all my interests.

And my son, who went to college and studied Japanese Studies and is now working in a job in which he's using that training. I think a lot of people had their lives affected that way. An awful lot of course didn't. For a lot of people it was just a place to go and a place to do their job and to come home and forget. But a lot of people had their lives changed. And overall, I look back on the occupation as something that with all its flaws, all of the errors, all of the frustrations, all of the bureaucracy, all of MacArthur's posturings, the concept was elevated, it was unusual, and it was a historic
happening, a historic thing. It worked out astonishingly well, I think. I think there was this very deep reservoir of good will for the Americans that emerged as soon as the war was over and the Japanese realized that the propaganda had not pictured Americans accurately, and as soon as the GI's realized that whatever the evils of the Japanese military activities overseas, the atrocities, the bad aspects, that essentially the Japanese as we saw them in post-war Japan were friendly, were hardworking, were people that we could get along with. My boss in the Army had been a movie actor and, it's funny, in several movies had played Shirley Temple's father. This aroused great interest among the Japanese, you know, "What about Shirley Temple? How is she? Is she grown up now?" this interest in America of five or six years earlier that came through, the questions that were asked by the people who wanted to establish social contact and be friends and to learn about America.

It's funny, when you meet Japanese and talk about those days, as a correspondent one of the questions I like to ask people, ask Japanese, "Are you glad or sorry that Japan lost the war?" People think and they say, "Well, I guess glad." Knowing that the occupation was a period for Japanese of great difficulty, you know, physical hardship, I think living in primitive conditions, lack of food, struggling. Mrs. Karoki, one of the women who worked in our office, she was the wife of a retired diplomat. He had worked in the office first and then he had been purged because he'd been in the Japanese diplomatic service. She was a former diplomat's wife and she had a family. She would come to work and after half an hour her head would be down on the desk. She was just so tired. I think she was exhausted trying to keep up the family and the home and an hour ride on the train coming to the office.
So I think that it was a very difficult period. And yet when you meet Japanese and you talk about the period, there's sort of a—I don't know how to put it, a good feeling about those years. Maybe I'm wrong, but the war was over. Even though there was a lot of hardship, the repression of the war and the stern code that people had to live by, all of this suddenly was lifted and there was freedom. We find if we get together with Japanese of our age and all you have to do is mention things like the ringo naute, and you know, you establish a bond with people, some of the postwar songs,

We have all these old records and we were up in Iwateken in three years ago with the family that David lived with. And the father in the family had been in the Japanese military and started talking about the period just before the end of the war and then the postwar period. Before we knew it, we were singing these songs.

The Korean generals, all the people who are now, well, and a lot of these people who had been junior officers in the Japanese Army, I'd get taken out to parties with these cabinet men and all. And there too, all you'd have to do would be to mention some of these old, these Japanese songs and you'd establish a common bond with them. I think they had these memories of their years in the Japanese Army and the comradeship. Well, this is getting into something else again, the Korean-Japanese relationship. But with so many people we found this feeling that perhaps we understood, that we were there during that difficult period and we shared it in a sense and that we understood something more about Japan perhaps than a lot of other people.

Q: Well, thank you very, very much.

END OF INTERVIEW