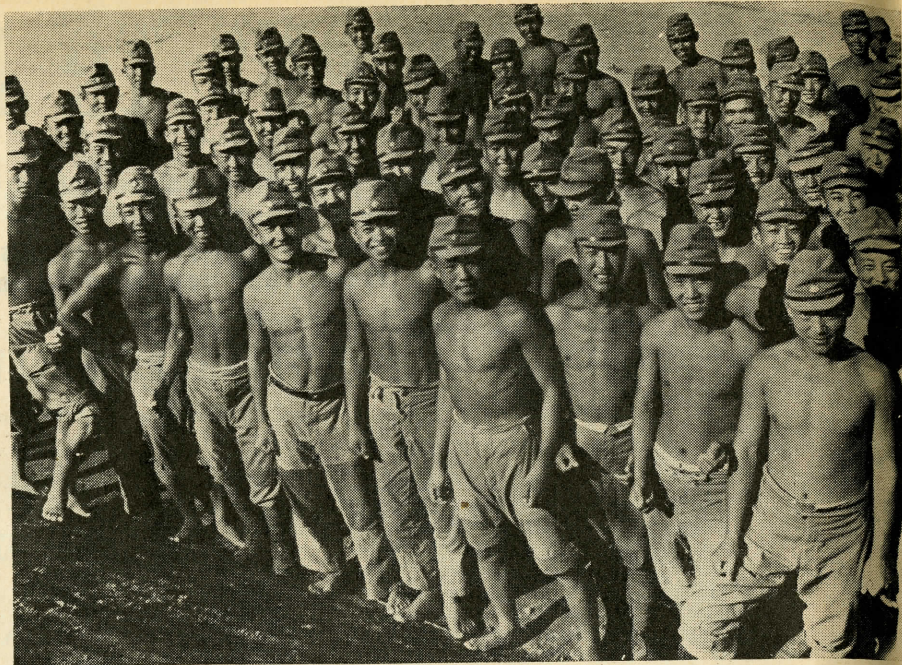




EUROPEAN PHOTO

"Asia for the Asiatics," say these signs in Japanese-conquered territory throughout the Orient.



THREE LIONS PHOTO

Crafty Jap overlords do not forget to make use of manpower reservoirs in occupied areas. These Koreans were conscripted for service in the Army.

HOW WE CAN WIN BUT

Will the Oriental peoples welcome us when we drive the Japs out? Don't be too sure! The Japs are sowing distrust while our counter-propaganda is failing

BY COLONEL CARLOS P. ROMULO

IN 1935, while I was passing through Japan on one of my frequent trips to the United States, Tsunero Takaishi, powerful Japanese publisher, said to me, "Only a union of the nations of the Far East can halt the exploitation of the Orientals by certain white nations. Japan realizes this and has been preparing for many years to assert the rights of the yellow and brown races in the Orient. When we are sure of our strength, when we are prepared to fight for a hundred years, then we will attack!"

I don't recall what reply I made to Takaishi. Certainly I voiced the dissent of the Filipino, who has seen his country prosper under the benevolent rule of the United States and who has learned to respect the ideals and practices of American democracy. Besides, Takaishi's remarks were not particularly unusual; the same patter was being mouthed by all Japanese throughout the Orient in the decade before Pearl Harbor.

Seven years later, in the tragic tunnel on Corregidor in Manila Bay, I was grimly reminded of Takaishi's words when we picked up Japanese broadcasts from captured Manila, Saigon, Hong Kong, Bangkok, and Shanghai, and heard the beginning—or rather, the opening of a new phase—of a clever and farsighted campaign to align the

yellow and brown races of the Orient against the white people in general and the "Anglo-American imperialists" in particular.

Today, two more years later, the United States and Britain are in the anomalous position of being certain of eventually destroying Japanese power throughout the Orient, but of then finding themselves unable to root out of the countries now in Jap hands the seeds of hate against the white people planted there by the Japs. Thus Japan will surely lose the war, but it might prove that the Western nations have lost the Orient!

To understand this paradox, it is hardly necessary to do more than examine the nature of Japanese propaganda in the Orient and the adroitness with which it is executed. The basic idea of this propaganda is simply "The Orient for Orientals," not fundamentally different in its appeal from the "America for Americans" slogan that has carried more than one backwoods politician into office in the United States. But the Japs work their theme in hundreds of different ways and with a craftiness and subtlety for which the politicians haven't the skill, facilities, or need.

As my conversation with publisher Takaishi suggests, the "Orient for Orientals" campaign of the Japs did not

begin on December 7, 1941. Pearl Harbor was simply the signal to the waiting Japanese propagandists to pull all the stops and move in behind the Japanese military as countries were conquered and all counter-propaganda squelched at bayonet point.

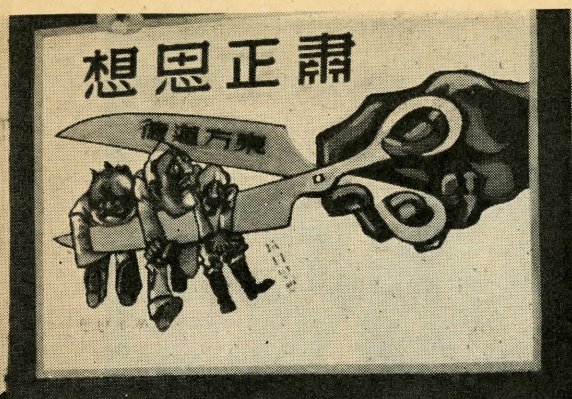
I first became familiar with the Rising Sun's low-pressure pre-Pearl Harbor propaganda while editor and publisher of several Philippines newspapers and managing director of two Manila radio stations. On Corregidor I was in charge of The Voice of Freedom, America's last propaganda outlet in the Philippines, where we monitored all Japanese broadcasts. When I escaped from Corregidor and rejoined General MacArthur in Australia, I either heard or read transcripts of the Japanese broadcasts being monitored by the American military.

The disturbingly significant thing about both the pre- and the post-Pearl Harbor propaganda is its racial appeal. The soil in which these seeds of hate are being sown is the one billion Orientals, and particularly the 144,000,000 in lands occupied by the Japanese. The Japs began tilling this soil long before Pearl Harbor. But the sins of white imperialism unwittingly fertilized it years before Japan began to dream of bossing the Orient.

Before the war I traveled widely through the Orient and talked to the people as one Oriental to another. There was a difference between us, however, because I came from the Philippines, the only Oriental country under white rule where the native population was happy, unexploited, learning and applying democracy, and looking forward with certainty to full independence.

Everywhere I went in the Orient the natives asked me if it was really true that the Filipinos governed themselves under white rule, were paid fair wages

LIBERTY



Jap propaganda harps on idea of eradication of foreign influence in Orient. Peiping billboard shows Nippon slicing Churchill, Roosevelt, and Chiang.



PRESS ASSOCIATION PHOTO

Burma's puppet ruler, Ba Maung, with pith-helmeted General Terauchi, country's conqueror.

STILL LOSE IN THE ORIENT

and owned the products they raised on their own land, went to schools built by Americans, had the right to vote, attended the same social functions as white people and generally mingled with them on a socially equal basis, and if white people were actually punished for crimes against the natives.

When I told them all these things were true of the Philippines, their ominous wonder easily suggested the bitterness, near-hopelessness, and smoldering fire behind their impassive faces.

White imperialism to these Orientals means a simple pattern of tyranny. In barest outline it means white people coming uninvited into their lands, by force of arms if necessary, looting the land of its natural resources, living lives of opulence, dissipation, and laziness, underpaying and overtaxing the natives, drawing an insulting "color line"—political, social, and economic—between the natives and their white bosses, and exhibiting a contemptuous attitude toward native customs, traditions, and habits of mind, an attitude best exemplified by trying to ram Western culture and civilization into the rigidly proud Orientals.

BEFORE Pearl Harbor, Nippon's busy little men continually reminded these Orientals of their slavery under white masters, suggested the hopelessness of their lot until the whites were destroyed or removed from the Orient, argued this could be accomplished only by a union of all Orientals under the leadership of Japan, harped everlastingly and effectively upon America's Oriental exclusion law and continually boasted of Japan's military might.

Thus, when the war came to the Orient these native populations—with the single exception of the Filipinos—either openly co-operated with the Jap conquerors or refused to hinder them. Granted, the natives of the invaded

countries never liked or trusted the Japs; but they hated the whites more. As the lesser of two evils, they chose a yellow imperialism rather than a white imperialism.

Incidentally, we should rid our minds of any idea that Japanese propaganda consists mainly of absurd claims of military and naval victories over American forces. Their adding-machine reports of American warships sunk defy logical explanation. But the other kinds of Japanese propaganda can't be laughed away.

When Singapore fell, Jap radio stations for days afterward broadcast in many languages and native dialects elaborate details of the abject surrender of the British commander in chief and of the great pains taken to assure the greatest possible humiliation for the British. They showed the Orientals how to treat the white people, saying, "Treat them like they treated you!"

The more positive side of Japanese propaganda is illustrated by the fanfare which accompanied the granting of "independence" to the Burmese and Filipinos. The establishment of the Philippines Republic last October 14 was ushered in with solemn ceremonies, including the lowering of the flag of the Rising Sun "with appropriate respect and veneration" and the hoisting of the Philippines flag (as altered by the Japanese military) by "Veterans of the Philippines Revolution." A Declaration of Independence was read, followed by one minute of silent meditation and prayer "in honor of the heroes and martyrs of Philippines freedom and for the success of the new Republic."

Of course, all this was well rehearsed and enacted under the persuasion of Japanese guns. I know the Filipinos too well to believe that any more than an inconsequential fraction were taken in by this mockery. Nevertheless, the Japanese broadcasts of these ceremonies

are bound to have a marked effect upon Orientals who do not know the Filipinos. Inevitably millions of them listened and said, "See, Japan has done in two years for the Filipinos what America did not do in forty years."

The Japanese have a decided advantage in their instinctive understanding of and sympathy with Oriental psychology, something Western nations seemed either incapable of understanding or unwilling fully to appreciate. Japs know the importance of "face" to the Oriental, recognize the subtleties of Oriental courtesy, and they encourage and turn to their own ends the Oriental's emphasis on spiritual contentment, family ties, racial pride, adherence to tradition, sacredness of feelings, dignity of spirit.

JAPANESE propaganda cites the achievements of Oriental scientists, poets, philosophers, scholars, and reminds readers and listeners of Japanese victories over white forces, even harking back to Japan's victory over Russia years ago. Woven through these outpourings are repeated plugs for the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere, the sweet-sounding name of Nippon's new empire. Every now and then a reminder is dropped that the pre-Pearl Harbor Atlantic Charter avoided any provisions for the relief or freedom of Orientals under white domination.

Unfortunately, what the Japanese are doing in the lands they occupy is more important than what they are saying. Obviously, they are developing every possible resource of these lands; that's why they conquered them. But they are doing it in such a manner, and supported by such smooth propaganda, that most of the natives actually think they themselves—and not the Japs—are doing the developing.

This is accomplished through the es-

(Continued on page 57)

HOW WE CAN WIN BUT STILL LOSE IN THE ORIENT

Continued from Page 19

tablishment of puppet governments. The puppets are natives who willingly play along with the Japs for the easy living and dubious honors they gain thereby. Nevertheless, there is a semblance of self-government—always under the strict supervision of Japanese civilians and military. But the native masses have not yet awakened to that fact, such is their elation over being rid of their white masters and their resurgence of national pride under the sure guidance of Japan's propaganda.

Meanwhile, the Japs pour into native ears the soothing syrup of "the Orient for the Orientals." "All Asia is now marching arm in arm except traitor Chungking," they say. They refer to the Chinese leaders of Chungking as "fratricidal," and remind the people that but for the Japanese they would "forever be the horses and cows of the Americans and English."

One of the most effective gestures Japan has made in the occupied territories is the turning over to the native "government" of numerous parcels of enemy property. The properties include English and American hotels, swank clubs, radio stations, mission houses, motorcar plants, packing plants, printing establishments, and other valuable items of real estate. The turnovers are accompanied by appropriate ceremonies for broadcast to all the Orient.

There is a steady stream of Japanese educators, medical professors, scientists, agriculturists, industrialists, and various cultural experts flowing between Japan and the occupied lands. These representatives lecture before native schools, attend scientific congresses, arrange for the exchange of Japanese and native literatures, compose songs dedicated to the "independence" of the lands conquered, spread the gospel of Greater East Asia, and generally ingratiate themselves with the natives.

PARTICULARLY significant for the immediate future are the Japanese-organized, -equipped, and -trained native armies in the captured countries, except the Philippines. The people are urged to support their national armies so as to defend themselves against the Americans and English. The Japs, of course, are thinking of the imminent Allied invasion of these lands.

When race riots broke out in Detroit and Harlem, Tokyo for days thereafter gave the Orient a lurid picture of racial war being waged in the United States. Such rioting plays beautifully into the hands of Jap propagandists, because they use it to prove what they have been telling the Orientals—that the white people have nothing but hatred for the yellow and brown.

Tojo's tub thumpers are quick on the pick-up. When Congress debated the repeal of the Chinese exclusion law, the Japanese excitedly broadcast quotations from the speeches of opposition congressmen. When Churchill stated, and months later reiterated, that as Prime Minister he was not going to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire, it was meat for the hungry Jap broadcasters.

When we consider the state of the pre-Pearl Harbor Oriental mind, plus the poison the Japanese have injected

during the past two years, then these extra shots of venom supplied the Japs by the American and British home fronts may be recognized for the ammunition they are.

One might suppose that the Filipinos' splendid record of allegiance to the United States would be an inspiration to Orientals. It was—until Japan invaded the Philippines. Then the people of the Orient said to themselves, "Now we'll see how loyal the Filipino is to the United States when it comes to actually fighting to defend the Stars and Stripes." And then they saw those Filipinos fight like madmen, die by the thousands, and hide away in the hills and continue to fight.

No doubt the Orientals should have been impressed. But it was not so simple as that. They shook their heads and said, "See, that's what happens when you stand and fight for white civilization. They let you down, you are conquered and tortured, and the white man is safe four thousand miles away!" Naturally, this counsel of despair was fostered with all the cunning of the Jap propagandists.

At first blush it might appear that the United States could easily devise effective counter-propaganda. Frankly, I don't know of any, except to proceed as quickly as possible with the destruction of Japanese military and naval power and the removal of every one of the smirking little creatures to his homeland.

Apparently the United States propaganda authorities feel pretty much the same way, because their broadcasts to the Orient from San Francisco and Chungking consist principally of straight news reports. These American broadcasts are in every respect honest in their reports of war news. For that very reason they remind the Oriental that after twenty months the United States is still punching away at the outer fringe of the Japanese Empire. The Orientals know that the Japs conquered and still hold Burma, British Malaya, the Philippines, the Dutch East Indies, Thailand, French Indo-China, Wake, Guam, and Hong Kong, Shanghai, and other parts of China. Little wonder Orientals consider that thus far Japan has won the war.

The most effective news the United States has been able to broadcast to the Orient is that concerning the repeal of the Chinese exclusion law. But even

this is not unqualifiedly valuable propaganda, because Chinese immigration has long been a source of agitation in many of the lands now under the Rising Sun. The Japs, incidentally, tell the Orient that the eleventh-hour repeal of this law by the United States is motivated solely by a desire to keep Chungking in the war.

An exasperating aspect of this seemingly insoluble problem of counter-propaganda is that the United Nations can use only the radio, whereas the Japs use radio, movies, newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, and public speakers—and in all the numerous Oriental languages and dialects.

Japanese slyness in the use of movies is illustrated by reports out of Manila. Aware that the Filipinos delight in American movies, the Japs run old American films and pack the house. But in between reels they put on short propaganda films—such as the bombing of Pearl Harbor, the surrender of the British at Singapore, the surrender of American soldiers on Bataan and Corregidor. America and Britain simply cannot answer this propaganda; they have no way of reaching the same audiences.

IT is puzzling to find the United States continually emphasizing that the Nip soldiers usually fight to the last man or blow their brains out rather than surrender. This may suggest to Americans that the Japanese have an Army of damn fools, but the iteration of it among the Orientals tends to build up the legend that the Japs are supermen—which they aren't. The Orientals are likely to conclude: "Ah, now the Americans will find out how bravely and with what fanaticism the Asiatics stand up to the white races!"

Moreover, what may be politely called the *oversights* of American and British propaganda are deeply resented by the Orientals. An example of this is that whenever Germany is rumored as preparing to use poison gas President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill promptly issue statements that such tactics will result in immediate reprisals. Yet the Japs used poison gas on Bataan and have used it repeatedly in China, but no comparable public indignation has been indicated.

Even the rodentlike Goebbels could learn from the Japanese by studying how they have succeeded in turning

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Service _____ Rank _____

His Home Address (Street) _____

(City) _____ (State) _____

His Exact Age _____ yrs. _____ mos. Height _____ ft. _____ in.

Weight _____ Is He Married? _____

If so, has he children? _____ How many? _____

How long in Service _____ months. Serving in U.S. _____ Overseas _____

Your Own Name _____

Address _____

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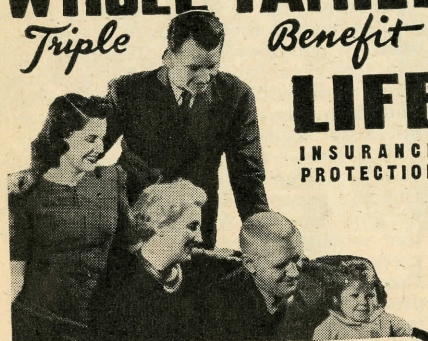


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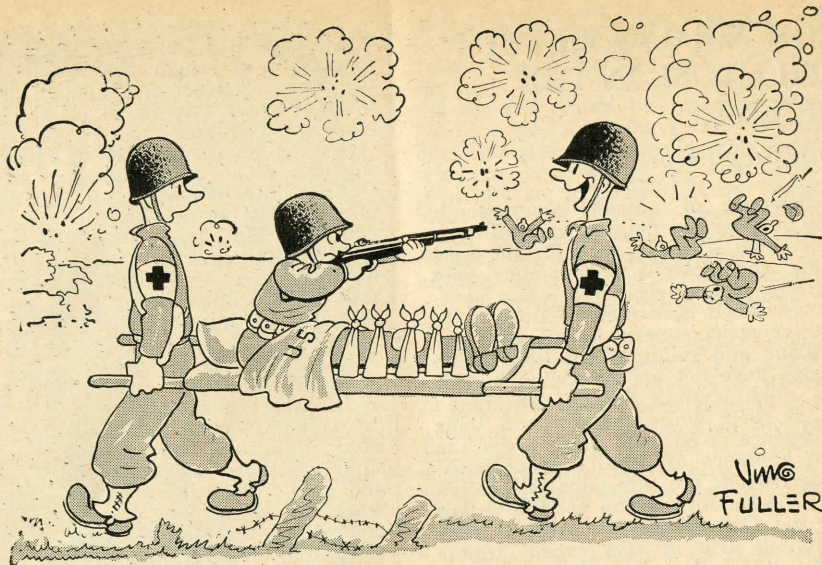
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"Patriotic little cuss, isn't he?"

Oriental against Americans by linking America with British imperialism.

The Japs are endeavoring to tie Philippine independence to Indian independence and thereby turn the Filipino against the United States by pointing to America's failure to contest England's attitude toward Indian independence. At the same time Japan is hopeful that she can breach the Anglo-American political front in the Orient.

When the Cairo pact between Britain, the United States, and Chungking failed to make any mention of Hong Kong, Singapore, Burma, and the Dutch East Indies, Japan was provided with more fuel for the fires she is building all over Asia. The Cairo agreement detailed how Japan was to be put and kept in her own back yard, but it failed to take a position on Western imperialism in the Orient.

The United States, therefore, now stands at an international crossroads. The longer she delays in deciding which road to take, the more vulnerable she becomes to Japan's devastating propaganda. Will America stand with the Filipinos and Chinese for true Asiatic democracy and against imperialism? The whole Orient is watching and waiting. It will not forget if America takes the wrong road.

Many Americans may attempt to laugh this off by refusing to believe that the Orientals can be anything but miserable under Japanese domination. No doubt they will be if Nippon is permitted to occupy their lands over a period of years. But for the present there is no indication of general dissatisfaction.

It must be remembered that the white rulers were resented by many of these people and that the Japanese have used that feeling to cement the Japanese Empire—under the name of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere. Moreover, as soon as the Japanese entered these countries they set about correcting the faults and defects of white administration. In every conceivable manner the Japs have been persuading the native peoples that under Japan's hegemony they may be proud of their race, traditions, customs, beliefs, and nationalism, and that their future prosperity and freedom from white domination lie solely in unity with the great Asiatic family under the fatherly guidance of the Rising Sun.

The Filipino alone remains unconvinced—but from the depths of his

allegiance to the United States he calls out for speed, speed, and more speed in removing the hateful Japanese heel from his neck. Meanwhile, his country's confidence in America is being assaulted daily by all the tricks of Japan's propagandists. The Filipino can make no reply. He can only wait for America to come through. If he has to wait too long he may succumb to the Jap poison through sheer exhaustion and disappointment.

That would be a severe blow to American prestige throughout Asia. The United States would have lost its best friend and greatest asset in the Orient. But no American would regret it more than the Filipinos.

Obviously, when Japan is brought to her knees by the Western powers she will have lost face with her fellow Orientals. And yet, because of the dirty work the Japanese have been so effectively engaged in, one may several years hence find them looking with a toothy grin upon an Orient that will never again permit a white people to dominate any part of it.

The only answer we can make now is to speed the victory over Japan. Every day lost is another day given Japan to complete her task of turning the East irrevocably against the West and thereby preparing the stage for a greater and more terrible war in the future.

THE END

*****★*****

Winston Churchill hailed a cab and told the cabbie to drive him to Radio Station BBC, where he was scheduled to make a speech to the world.

"Sorry, sir," said the driver, "ye'll have to get yourself another cab. I can't go that far."

Mr. Churchill, surprised, asked the cabbie why his field of operations was so limited.

"It hain't ordinarily, sir," apologized the driver, "but ye see, sir, Mr. Churchill is broadcasting in an hour, and I wants to get 'ome to 'ear 'im."

Mr. Churchill was so pleased that he pulled out a pound note and handed it to the driver, who took one look at it and said, "Hop in, sir. T'hell with Mr. Churchill!"

LIBERTY