

THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY
SCHREYER HONORS COLLEGE

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND RELIGIOUS STUDIES

JAPAN AND THE AMERICAN OCCUPATION: CASABLANCA AS A
DEMONSTRATIVE TOOL OF THE POTENTIAL FOR AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

KATHRYN ELIZABETH WELLER
Spring 2011

A thesis
submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements
for baccalaureate degrees
in History, International Studies and Asian Studies
with honors in History

Reviewed and approved* by the following:

Jonathan E. Abel
Assistant Professor of Comparative Literature and Asian Studies
Thesis Supervisor

Catherine Wanner
Associate Professor of History and Religious Studies
Honors Adviser

Jessamyn Abel
Lecturer in History
Faculty Reader

* Signatures are on file in the Schreyer Honors College.

ABSTRACT

This thesis will explore the impact of cinema in Japan after the end of World War II. With the end of the wartime regime and the arrival of Allied forces to begin a six-year Occupation, Japan was faced with a series of changes to its political, economic and cultural structure. Cinema in Japan before the end of the war had been tightly controlled by the government to present propagandistic national films meant to inspire devotion to the Emperor and encourage support of the war effort. After the war, the Occupation censors took control of the media industries to encourage support for Americans and their new policies. Hollywood's presence in Japan was used as a tool by the Occupation, to increase positive public opinion of Americans and to spread the idea that democracy had the potential to be great for Japan. Warner Bros.' *Casablanca* holds a unique place in the films screened by the Occupation. *Casablanca* was one of the earlier films released, but before its release, it underwent serious consideration by the censorship bureau as to whether or not it would paint a positive picture of America, and was edited accordingly. This thesis explores established themes throughout the film and their correlation to the goals of the Occupation, as well as the reaction of the Japanese people to the movie. *Casablanca's* overwhelming success in Japan was an important point in the struggle of the Occupation to establish a more democratic nation working for a better future.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES	iii
LIST OF TABLES	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
Introduction	1
Cinema In Japan	4
Hollywood in Japan	11
Supreme Command of the Allied Powers (SCAP).....	18
Democratization.....	25
<i>Casablanca</i>	35
Bringing Hollywood Back	35
Why Casablanca?	37
War	37
Resistance	42
Violence and Social Disorder	46
Race and Colonialism	52
Americanism.....	59
Conclusion	66
Bibliography	68

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1- SCAP directive from Autumn 1945	23
Figure 2- movie statistics from SCAP's <i>Summation of Non-Military Activities in Japan and Korea No. 10 July 1946</i>	26
Figure 3- <i>Motion Picture Library</i> , original censored script.....	27
Figure 4- Newspaper advertisement	30
Figure 5- Newspaper advertisement	30
Figure 6- Images from a censored edition of <i>Kinema Junpo</i>	32

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1- <i>Eiga no Tomo</i> “Public Opinion Poll” results	33
Table 2- <i>Eiga no Tomo</i> Annual Survey statistics.....	34

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to take this opportunity to thank the various people who, with their support and assistance, made this project possible. To my family, for sparking such an interest in my cultural heritage that when it came time to pick a thesis topic, there was no doubt that I would choose to investigate some aspect of the Allied Occupation of Japan. To Professor Jon Abel, for all his patience and useful knowledge on a variety of subjects. To the staff of the Prange Collection at the University of Maryland College Park for all of their assistance during multiple research visits. To the Schreyer Honors College for its aid in funding a study abroad in Japan during which I was able to complete a part of my research. And to my friends and roommate who endured the research notes scattered around the room and dropped into everyday conversation.

Introduction

“Well, Rick, you’re not only a sentimentalist, but you’ve become a patriot.”

“Maybe, but it seemed like a good time to start.”

One of the classic movie lines of all times is the final line of Warner Bros. *Casablanca*, as Rick and Renault walk off into the Moroccan night -- “Louis, I think this is the beginning of a beautiful friendship.” However, that is not the line that Japanese moviegoers left the theater contemplating during the Allied Occupation of Japan. Instead, Occupation censors edited the final scene and the last lines of dialogue were between Rick and Renault, discussing patriotism. Changing such an iconic scene was a calculated move by the Occupation censors, intended to play a larger role in the goal of democratizing Japan. The following chapters will explore what the Occupation did and perhaps why *Casablanca* was so successful in Japan. From all the similarities the film held to wartime movies, to the exploration of democracy, to the love story, *Casablanca* captured the interest of the Japanese people. The movie became a vehicle for democracy and American ideals in Japan, serving its intended purpose for the Supreme Command of the Allied Powers (SCAP) perhaps even better than could have been hoped for.

Cinema in Japan, both before and during World War II, had been heavily influenced and controlled by the government censors. During that period, there were a limited variety of filmic styles, almost all of them nationalistic in tone. Public expression was very restricted, and anything that promoted people’s rights or challenged the Imperial war effort was forbidden. Foreign movies were culprits in promoting ideals that did not conform to the war effort in the eyes of the

censors, and as such experienced strict limitations. Hollywood's presence in Japan suffered because of these restrictions, to the point where American studios pulled out of Japan in an effort to protect what they could of their assets.

With the end of the war and the beginning of the Allied Occupation, cinema began to return to Japan. Both foreign and domestic films returned to theaters, but there were many differences between the new films and the ones that had previously been screened. Although the arrival of the Allies and the establishment of the Supreme Command of the Allied Powers (SCAP) had eliminated the system of censorship that previously existed, a new system took its place. SCAP's system of censorship was focused on promulgating the goals and ideals of the Occupation, which included sponsoring democratic growth and fostering better relations between the Occupation forces and the locals.

Film became an avenue to promote change and cultural diffusion, using Hollywood films to depict American culture and Japanese films to illustrate changes in the post-war society. *Casablanca* was one of the films released as a part of this effort, and became a key part of the democratization and cultural assimilation of Japan. The themes in the film that had made it such a success in the United States, such as the love story between Rick and Ilsa, the tale of the heroic underdog, and the enduring fight for democracy, had translated well to the audience in Japan. Public reception was overwhelmingly positive to the film, which encouraged SCAP's efforts to promote other American films in the effort to democratize and Westernize Japan. Not only did the films work on a political and ideological level for SCAP, but they also provided an escape from the horrors of the war and the daily struggle to recover during the Occupation.

Casablanca's arrival in Occupied Japan was a signifier of the changes sweeping the nation. With the end of the 1939 Film Laws and the encouraged subjects promoted by the Occupation censors, the Japanese screen became a place of democratization and cultural growth, through use of Hollywood films and new domestic films. Throughout all of the films, SCAP's

intended message of democracy and pro-American relations could be clearly seen. The level at which the Japanese people adopted the films helped SCAP succeed in its stated mission for the recovery and reconstruction of defeated Japan.

Cinema In Japan

The censorship that faced films released during the Occupation was nothing new to Japanese producers and audiences. After a history of having productions tailored to fit an intended government purpose, the most important change was in the intent of the censors. The release of *Casablanca* was no different, as it was released in an edited form with the intent of encouraging democracy and showcasing American ideas, such as romance and freedom of thought and speech. This was a key change from the nationalistic propaganda produced during World War II in Japan.

From its beginning in Japan, the film industry had always been monitored by the government.¹ As foreign films were introduced into Japan, they also brought with them foreign ideas, such as the concepts of democracy and socialist ideas. These ideas were something that the government was wary of, because of the fear that they could incite a rebellion of the people against the Emperor and the current status quo. The film industry was monitored and controlled through local governments, officially starting with the Film Control Regulations in 1917. The beginning of the new regulations coincided with growing troubles in Russia, mainly the Russian Revolution and the fall of the Tsarist autocracy.² The possibility of a popular movement, especially Leftist movements, bringing an end to the Emperor system was something the Japanese government wanted to prevent.³ The government exerted control over foreign films through

¹ Kyoko Hirano, *Mr. Smith Goes to Tokyo: Japanese Cinema under the American Occupation, 1945-1952* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992), 13

² "The Russian Revolution," *The Times*, March 16, 1917, Accessed 13 April, 2011, http://archive.timesonline.co.uk/tol/viewArticle.arc?articleId=ARCHIVE-The_Times-1917-03-16-07-002&pageId=ARCHIVE-The_Times-1917-03-16-07

³ Peter B. High, *The Imperial Screen: Japanese Film Culture in the Fifteen Years' War, 1931-*

censoring scenes and changing the scripts read by the narrators, or *benshi*. The first national law on film regulation was adopted in 1925. The new film law came at the same time as other major changes in Japan, such as the 1925 Peace Preservation Law.⁴ At the same time, the National Diet government granted universal suffrage to all Japanese males. Japan was in conflict between its Imperial system and the growing thoughts of socialism and democracy. In an effort by the Imperial government to maintain its power, the Peace Laws were strictly enforced. For cinema, the Censorship Regulation of Moving Pictures implemented controls such as age restrictions and gender separation in theaters as well as government approval of the material in the films.⁵ As Japanese cinema developed, these regulations were applied to Japanese films as well as foreign films. Censorship of cinema in Japan had always been in response to swells in foreign and democratic thoughts.

By the time the United States entered into World War II and engaged Japan in the Pacific theater, Japan had already been fighting for the better part of a decade throughout the Pacific. The Japanese were already low on supplies and morale was not at its highest. The government was engaged in various methods of gaining public support and keeping the war effort afloat, and those methods ranged from public media campaigns to outright intimidation of the people by police forces.⁶ Groups such as the government's Special Higher Police, or "thought police," strictly monitored general trends in public thought in order to ensure that there were no violations of the 1925 Peace Preservation Laws. These groups held a great deal of sway over public expression, mostly through fear of the consequences for thinking independently. As tensions grew and the war effort intensified, it became easier to conform than to rebel. This change in attitude was seen

1945 (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2003) 17

⁴ Andrew Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa Times to the Present*, Second Edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009) 170

⁵ Hirano, *Mr. Smith*, 14

⁶ Hiroshi Kitamura, *Screening Enlightenment: Hollywood and the Cultural Reconstruction of Defeated Japan* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2010) 16

in the public arrest records. In 1933, there were 14,622 arrests for violating the Peace Preservation Law. Yet in 1941, there were only 823 arrests for violating the same law.⁷ The Japanese people were censoring themselves in avoidance of violating the strict laws on what they were and were not allowed to express. The punishments for breaking the laws were far worse than self-imposing restrictions in media and literature as well as public expression.

As the war effort took over daily life in Japan, the government began to take a stronger role in the media and its regulation in an attempt to support the war effort. Beginning in 1933, the government began making “suggestions” to the film industry about material and production, all of which were geared toward a more nationalized political scene.⁸ The regulations were particularly harsh concerning any proletarian ideals. In 1939, the government instituted the Film Law, which gave censors more complete control over the subject matter and production process of films.⁹ The Film Law was focused on increasing the production of “national education” films, as well as making sure that studios were aware of what subjects were taboo to include in films.¹⁰ Under the new law, “Filmmakers were expected to manufacture ‘cinema of the national population’ (*kokumin eiga*), which represented a mixture of ‘deep artistic taste’ and ‘high-minded national ideals’ that could reinforce the Japanese government’s expansionist agendas.”¹¹ Amongst the subjects prohibited by the law were “those that might profane the dignity of the royal family or undermine that of the empire; those that might inspire questioning of the Imperial Constitution; those that might damage the political, military, diplomatic, economic or other interests of the empire; those that might hamper the enlightenment and propaganda basic to the exercise of national policies” and others of a similar intent.¹² The overall goal was to promote nationalist

⁷ High, *Imperial Screen*, 323

⁸ Kitamura, *Screening Enlightenment*, 16

⁹ Hirano, *Mr. Smith*, 15

¹⁰ Hirano, *Mr. Smith*, 15

¹¹ Kitamura, *Screening Enlightenment*, 17

¹² Hirano, *Mr. Smith*, 15

thought, and “As far as the government [was] concerned, the movie theater [was] a kind of classroom or spiritual training center.”¹³

Censors also took great interest in making sure that there were no scenes in any films that reflected the breaking of laws, or any content that negatively depicted the war effort.¹⁴ Any scene that could be construed as having an anti-Imperial tone or went against the wartime policies was deleted. The censors encouraged scenes that brought about feelings of national pride and encouraged dedication to the war effort. The 1941 film *Horse (Uma)* and the 1944 film *Army* were examples of the censors encouraging nationalistic thought and civilian support of the war effort. The films reflected the expected emotional responses and attitudes toward the fighting of a community contributing to the war effort, from honor that they were able to assist the Empire to exhibiting a dedication to remain strong and not weep as the soldiers left, which encouraged solidarity amongst the people.¹⁵ The censors also routinely cut anything they deemed to be “Anglo-American,” although the criteria for what qualified as such seemed to be arbitrary and was decided by the censors on a case-by-case basis.¹⁶ Sometimes the scene that would be cut would be a romantic interlude or a western tradition, such as a grand-scale birthday party. Other times, the censors would not edit out things such as a score by John Philip Sousa.¹⁷ The decision on whether or not something was “Anglo-American” enough to be cut was tied to how well the film or scene expressed nationalistic ideals in the eyes of the censors.

Another consideration in the censorship of films was how to monitor and influence the public opinion on the war. The government was interested in promoting a certain mindset that would demonize the “other,” for instance, America, and would promote the Japanese cause.¹⁸ The

¹³ High, *Imperial Screen*, 70

¹⁴ Hirano, *Mr. Smith*, 17

¹⁵ Hirano, *Mr. Smith*, 18

¹⁶ Hirano, *Mr. Smith*, 21

¹⁷ Hirano, *Mr. Smith*, 22

¹⁸ High, *Imperial Screen*, 422

censors were interested in encouraging the belief that the Pacific War, while a battle for Japan's expansion of its Empire, was also a metaphorical struggle between Japanese spirituality and American materialism.¹⁹ By portraying the Japanese people as more spiritually advanced and divinely blessed than the enemy, the censors hoped to encourage blind patriotism, which would encourage fanatic devotion to the cause of the Empire.

After the Japanese surrender at the end of the war, the Japanese film industry had a long road to recovery. Not only was there a shortage of the physical materials needed to make movies, but there was also a need to re-conceptualize ideas about the war, what it meant to be Japanese and what possible future Japan had under the Occupation. After the arrival of the Occupation forces, the old censorship code was abolished. It was replaced by the Information Dissemination Section (IDS), which later became the Civil Information and Education Section (CIE). The CIE worked in conjunction with the Civil Censorship Detachment (CCD) to screen Japanese films before release to make sure that everything followed the Occupation policy line of pro-American and democratic relations. Japanese studios and directors were encouraged to include certain themes in their films, such as democratization, kissing and sexual expression, promotion of the new constitution, women's liberation and Japanese receptiveness to those ideas and to SCAP.²⁰ Themes that the Occupation censors prohibited were militarism, xenophobia, antisocial behavior, the atomic bombs and war crimes.²¹ The shift in what would be censored was reflected in the works of Japanese directors. Some directors who produced wartime propaganda films did not make any films under the Occupation censors. Others managed to work with both censors and produce notable films. One of the directors who was able to make the transition from wartime censorship to Occupation censorship successfully was Kurosawa Akira.

¹⁹ Hirano, *Mr. Smith*, 23

²⁰ Hirano, *Mr. Smith*, 147

²¹ Hirano, *Mr. Smith*, 48-49

Kurosawa toed the government line during World War II, as indicated by the censoring of his films *The Most Beautiful (Ichiban Utsukushiku)*(1944) and *The Men Who Tread on Tiger's Tail (Tora no o o Fumu Otokotachi)* (1945)²². The films were made under the wartime censors and were part of the propaganda campaign for the war effort. *The Most Beautiful* was a film about young girls working in a factory producing glass lenses for the war effort. Throughout the film, the girls struggle against great odds to continue to produce optical lenses. Each girl overcomes injury, illness or family trouble to work at the factory, striving to produce the most perfect lens. The film is clearly propagandistic, focusing on devotion to the war effort and encouraging national pride. *The Men Who Tread on Tiger's Tail* is a retelling of a traditional *kabuki* and *noh* story of a daimyo and his samurai retainers. The men are traveling through a forest and have to avoid an enemy checkpoint, disguising themselves as monks to avoid scrutiny. The period film was representative of the traditions of Japanese society, including the feudalistic daimyo system and the loyalty of the samurai to their lord. This devotion corresponded to the expected devotion to the Emperor during the Pacific War. While these films met with the approval of wartime censors, the post-war Occupation censors did not approve of the militaristic and nationalistic themes in the films and subsequently banned them from general circulation.²³

Kurosawa's first post-war film under the new censors was *No Regrets For Our Youth (Waga Seishun Ni Kui Nashi)* (1946). The film came to be representative of the democratization of Japan, as a film that met the Allies' criteria for post-war cinema.²⁴ The film follows the story of Yukie, the daughter of an outspoken professor whose ideals do not match with those of the government. The film begins with Yukie and her interactions with some of her father's students, some of whom later become very active in speaking out against the government, which results in their arrest. Yukie later marries one of the men, and the movie follows her struggle to support her

²² High, *Imperial Screen*, 419

²³ Hirano, *Mr. Smith*, 32-33

²⁴ Hirano, *Mr. Smith*, 179

husband's aging parents in their remote country home, where she faces the shame of her husband's arrest and the accusations of treason as well as the hardships of country living. The film encapsulated many of the subjects that American censors were interested in positively promoting during the Occupation. Yukie's character was an unusually independent and strong woman, one who knew what she wanted and was willing to work for it. Her actions throughout the movie supported the American goal of women's liberation. The story of Yukie's marriage to Noge is a romance rather than an arranged marriage, an idea that promotes more freedom of sexual expression in films. The story of Yukie's father and his students' struggle for more academic freedom as well as their protests against the war encouraged receptiveness amongst the people to the new ideas of democracy and the new constitution of Japan. Yukie's continued perseverance in the face of the overwhelming amount of work to do on her on-laws property, and the belief that by working hard, she could make the situation better was also a striking image. The near-insurmountable reconstruction that faced defeated Japan was daunting, and if SCAP were to succeed in its goals, the people could not give up.

Hollywood in Japan

Casablanca was released early in the Occupation, before the surge of Japanese democratization films such as *No Regrets For Our Youth*. It captured many of the goals the censors had for Japanese movies, from democratization to expressions of love. In addition, it also expressed some of the prohibited topics, such as the war, at the same time it countered others such as xenophobia.

As the United States gained power on the international level in the wake of World War I, the potential market for Hollywood films grew as well. As an institution, Hollywood was an American conception of bright lights, big names and complex storylines. With the growth of a strong domestic market, American filmmakers were not as reliant as they had been on European companies for products and distribution. American films began to spread more widely overseas, gathering more attention than they had before the First World War. After World War I, American companies flourished and film production underwent some changes. The process became more vertically integrated, with one company handling all the steps from film production to distribution to exhibition.²⁵ With the growth of the film industry and the increasing popularity of movies, some entrepreneurs took advantage of the situation and formed the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America (MPPDA) in 1922.²⁶ The MPPDA was an oligopoly, controlled by a coalition of the eight major production studios in Hollywood, including Warner Bros., RKO, Paramount and Universal, amongst others.

²⁵ Kitamura, *Screening Enlightenment*, 3

²⁶ Kitamura, *Screening Enlightenment*, 3

Before its release in Japan, *Casablanca* had been a huge success at home. The relatable wartime romance starring Humphrey Bogart and Ingrid Bergman was a product of U.S. society at the time. Both in filmic style and the content expressed in the film, *Casablanca* reflected the relationship of Hollywood with the American people and with government officials. Even before SCAP's censors had manipulated it for its goal of democracy, *Casablanca* had been angled to promote the American cause.

As the movie industry continued to grow, the MPPDA was active both domestically and internationally in promoting its films, and in an effort to maintain public support, the Production Code Administration (PCA) was established in 1934²⁷. The PCA was a self-censorship group that tried to maintain certain moral standards and political representations on the Hollywood screen. As Hollywood became more popular overseas, the MPPDA worked with the United States government to generate higher trade returns and encourage relations with the countries where the films were successfully screened.²⁸ The process of "Hollywoodization" benefited both the film industry and United States' international relations, and it also encouraged a spread of American culture and ideals worldwide.

This global spread of Hollywood and its culture did not skip over the Asian market. As Japan's own film industry began to flourish, there was also a growing interest in the international film market. While Hollywood was still developing, American films were being distributed on the international market through European companies in Japan. When Hollywood grew into its own, however, it began to operate independently in Japan.²⁹ Universal Film Corporation was the first Hollywood studio to open an office in Japan, and its doors opened in Tokyo in 1916.³⁰ After

²⁷ Clayton R. Koppes and Gregory Black, *Hollywood Goes to War: How Politics, Profits, and Propaganda Shaped World War II Movies* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987) 14

²⁸ Kitamura, *Screening Enlightenment*, 5

²⁹ Kitamura, *Screening Enlightenment*, 9

³⁰ Kitamura, *Screening Enlightenment*, 9

Universal was met with success, other studios followed and established offices in Tokyo and other cities, such as Osaka, Kobe and Aomori.

With the arrival of Hollywood studios in Japan also came a change in advertising techniques. Not only did U.S. studios distribute flyers about the films, they also capitalized on the marketability of their films. The advertisements played heavily on the star power of the leads in the films, as well as the categorization of films into genres. By labeling each film as a Western or a romance or an adventure film, Hollywood could capitalize on the films that sold best to the Japanese audience. Although Hollywood was interested in expanding into and capitalizing on the Japanese movie market, it faced some difficulties. One of the major obstacles that U.S. companies faced was in exhibiting the films. Movie theaters in Japan were owned and operated by individual studio companies, and U.S. companies had to negotiate to secure showtimes for their own films.³¹ This affected the distribution of American films, and was especially problematic during the initial SCAP releases of Hollywood films in the post-war period, including *Casablanca*. Another obstacle facing Hollywood studios was the restrictions imposed on American films by Japanese censors beginning in 1935.³² With the new restrictions, the number of imported U.S. films dropped drastically, from 235 films in 1935 to only 41 in 1941.³³ The Great Depression also impacted the studio business, as did the widening technological gap between advancing U.S. production methods, including the use of sound, and the unchanging Japanese presentation format.³⁴ With the harsh crackdown of Japanese censors on imported American film in the late 1930s also came the formation of the Greater Japan Motion Picture Association, the formation of which put the independent U.S. studios at a greater disadvantage.

³¹ Kitamura, *Screening Enlightenment*, 15

³² Hirano, *Mr. Smith*, 25

³³ Hirano, *Mr. Smith*, 26

³⁴ Kitamura, *Screening Enlightenment*, 18

To try and counter this disadvantage, the independent U.S. studios came together to form a version of the MPPDA in Japan, which was called the American Motion Picture Association of Japan (AMPA).³⁵ As the war in the Pacific escalated and tensions grew between Japan and other western nations, the restrictions and censors on imported films increased. In short order, the AMPA was fighting just to keep a foothold in the Japanese market, as fewer and fewer films were being allowed to screen. The situation was not rewarding financially for the American studios, and as the Pacific war intensified, the profit margin decreased.³⁶ By 1941, it became clear that the situation was not going to resolve favorably for American companies, and they began to gather their resources and pull out of Japan. However, before all the assets could successfully be moved back to the United States, the attack on Pearl Harbor occurred, and the movie trade was suspended.³⁷ Hollywood studios lost their property and a great deal of their assets.

Aside from the obstacles it was facing in Japan, Hollywood was also experiencing changes on the home front. The focus of movies was shifting from the more lighthearted entertainment of the interwar years to a more focused war effort. Hollywood was also caught up in part in the propaganda efforts of the Office of War Information (OWI).³⁸ The MPPDA and PCA and OWI worked together to create films that encouraged American support of the war, as well as in creating a marketable image of the American ideal. That is not to say that there were no films produced during this time period that were anti-war or dealt with matters removed from the current politics. However, a great deal of the public focus was on the fighting going on in various theaters of war around the world, and those events inspired American filmmakers. Many films walked a fine line between patriotic and propagandistic in the late 1930s and early 1940s.³⁹ OWI was careful with its overt propaganda campaigns in regard to concern over public reaction to

³⁵ Kitamura, *Screening Enlightenment*, 19

³⁶ Kitamura, *Screening Enlightenment*, 20

³⁷ Kitamura, *Screening Enlightenment*, 21

³⁸ Koppes and Black, *Hollywood Goes to War*, 58

³⁹ Koppes and Black, *Hollywood Goes to War*, 48

propaganda, usually focusing on a pro-American tone, because “access to information is crucial to democratic citizenship; hence Americans have usually regarded propaganda, with its connotations of tainted information, with suspicion.”⁴⁰ Because of this concern, OWI avoided blatant propaganda most of the time, instead relying on more subtle images and mentions here and there in speeches or in the news media of information that could be construed as propaganda. Even with the concerns about propaganda and information control, bureaucratic agencies were concerned with the movies’ relation to the war effort.⁴¹

Part of the film industry’s contribution to the war effort became defining America, to showcase what it was that soldiers were fighting to defend. Films such as *An American Romance* (1943) captured aspects of American industry such as the production line and other modern amenities.⁴² Images of daily American life and snippets of domesticity were detailed in films such as *Since You Went Away*, capturing a sense of the American dream and conjuring up sentimental attachment to the symbols of America.⁴³ There were other films that captured the sacrifices on the home front that went into the war effort, such as the women who left their homes to work in factories and on assembly lines while the men were off fighting in *So Proudly We Hail*.

At the same time as Hollywood was creating an idealistic version of the American home front, it was creating movies that villainized the enemy. Movies such as *Lifeboat* cast the Nazis in a bad light while capitalizing on the bravery of American soldiers. *Watch on the Rhine* and similar films captured the dangers of Nazism and Fascism, as well as the idea that not all Germans were Nazis.⁴⁴ Kurt Müller’s fight against fascism and the Nazis in *Watch on the Rhine* was just one example.⁴⁵ In contrast to the Hollywood films that allowed for the potential of there

⁴⁰ Koppes and Black, *Hollywood Goes to War*, 48

⁴¹ Koppes and Black, *Hollywood Goes to War*, 59

⁴² Koppes and Black, *Hollywood Goes to War*, 148-149

⁴³ Koppes and Black, *Hollywood Goes to War*, 156

⁴⁴ Koppes and Black, *Hollywood Goes to War*, 284

⁴⁵ Koppes and Black, *Hollywood Goes to War*, 285

being both good and bad Europeans involved in the war, films about Asia and Japan grouped all the people together as the enemy. Frank Capra's *Know Your Enemy-Japan* and other propagandistic films such as *Menace of the Rising Sun* and *Manila Calling* all vilify the Japanese and create the idea of one faceless, subhuman enemy.⁴⁶ This was achieved through the use of terminology such as "Japs" and "yellow monkeys."⁴⁷

One of the more memorable propaganda campaigns was run by OWI and recruited Frank Capra and Robert Riskin to make a series of films that could be used to indoctrinate soldiers.⁴⁸ Capra's series was titled *Why We Fight* and Riskin's was *Projections of America*. *Why We Fight* was released as a series of seven documentary-style films, using newsreel footage to create a picture of enemy that needed to be defeated. In contrast, *Projections of America* was more like a mainstream film, with scenes drafted and shot for the express purpose of making the movie.⁴⁹ Both were used to excite feelings of patriotism in Americans, and especially in the soldiers.

With the end of the war in the Pacific and the beginning of the Occupation, there was a shift in Hollywood films, especially in regard to how the Japanese people were presented. While Hollywood films that were shown in the United States were not as concerned with discussing some of the horrors of war, such as war trophies and the tragedy of the atomic bombings, those topics were ones that were not to be discussed in films approved for release by the Occupation forces.⁵⁰ Censors after the war were more concerned with maintaining positive Japanese receptiveness to America than they were with monitoring what the American public was viewing at home. *Casablanca* had many of the traits SCAP censors were looking for in post-war releases,

⁴⁶ Koppes and Black, *Hollywood Goes to War*, 254

⁴⁷ Koppes and Black, *Hollywood Goes to War*, 256

⁴⁸ Peter C. Rollins and John E. O'Connor. *Why We Fought: America's Wars in Film and History* (Lexington, Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 2008) 243

⁴⁹ Rollins and O'Connor, *Why We Fought*, 249

⁵⁰ Rollins and O'Connor, *Why We Fought*, 259

from star power to being unrelated to the war in the Pacific to championing America and American ideals, such as democracy and freedom of expression.

Supreme Command of the Allied Powers (SCAP)

The efforts to promote American films and, by extension, American ideals was part of the larger Occupation effort. From the outset, the Allies set out to promote peace and democracy through all means available to them, whether that be through law or media and suggestions. In general, most Hollywood films of the time could be used in some way to assist SCAP in its goals of democratizing Japan, as the films had been produced for an American audience interested in seeing democracy triumph over Nazism and Fascism. However, *Casablanca* was important because of how well it captured Allied goals and fears, as well as the fortuitous timing of its release.

As tensions mounted and the expenses of World War II continued to grow, it seemed that the tide was turning against the Axis Powers by 1945. In July 1945, the Allied Powers drafted the Potsdam Declaration, a document that detailed the terms of surrender for the Japanese Empire. The Potsdam Declaration was issued as an ultimatum to Japan, stating that if the terms were not accepted, Japan would face “prompt and utter destruction.”⁵¹ When Japan did not heed the warnings in the Declaration, U.S. President Harry Truman followed through on the threat of utter destruction with the dropping of the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki on August 6 and 9, respectively.

⁵¹ “Potsdam Declaration.” July 26, 1945 (*National Diet Library*, Accessed February 17, 2011) <http://www.ndl.go.jp/constitution/e/etc/c06.html>

On August 15, 1945, the Emperor read the Imperial Rescript on the Termination of War, or *Gyokuon-Hoso*, during a radio broadcast.⁵² The Rescript announced that Japan was surrendering to the Allied powers because the war had turned against its favor and, as Japan had entered the war with the intentions of securing a better future for all of East Asia, the best way to still work toward that goal and avoid further damages to the Japanese people or land was to surrender to the Allies.⁵³ The Emperor's announcement put the burden of defeat on his own shoulders, and implored the Japanese people to carry on and make a new future so that not everything the war had been for would be lost.

Following the announcement, the Japanese people were left to try and build a new life after everything familiar had been stripped from them. For many of the people, the radio broadcast of the Rescript had been the first time they had ever heard the Emperor's voice.⁵⁴ The broadcast had been done in the formal language of the Imperial household, a language that the everyday person could not understand. The national radio broadcast was an indication of the growing presence and importance of media in the lives of everyday people. It also stressed the importance of using accessible language to express important concepts to the people. SCAP's censors aimed to have a clear expression of the Allied goals in the media, and film scripts such as *Casablanca* were no different.

The Allied Occupation of Japan began on August 28, 1945, and ended with the signing on the San Francisco Peace Treaty in 1951 and the subsequent departure of Allied forces by April 1952. Over the six years of the Occupation, Japan developed and changed in many ways, mainly due to the influences of the occupying nations. The Occupation of Japan was a joint effort by the

⁵² "Imperial Rescript on the Termination of the War." August 14, 1945 (*National Diet Library*, Accessed February 17, 2011) <http://www.ndl.go.jp/constitution/e/shiryo/01/017shoshi.html>

⁵³ John W. Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1999) Chapter 1

⁵⁴ Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 33

Allied Nations, yet this multi-national oversight was not wholly reflected in the composition of the Occupation forces, which were composed mainly of American soldiers and civilians contracted through the army.⁵⁵ There were some other foreign forces as well, such as the Australians, the British and the French, but an overwhelming majority were from the United States.

One of the key figures of the Allied Occupation of Japan was General Douglas A. MacArthur. MacArthur was an American general who had headed the U.S. Army Far East division during the war in the Pacific, and he is the one who accepted Japan's surrender at the end of the war. He was the official leader of the Allied Occupation from 1945 until 1951, holding the title of Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers. SCAP set up headquarters first in Yokohama and then in Tokyo, where they stayed for the duration of the Occupation. The offices belonging to SCAP were known as the General Headquarters (GHQ) and many directives came either from the desks of "SCAP" or "GHQ" over the years of Occupation. While MacArthur held the reins of SCAP in Japan and made many of the policy decisions, there was an oversight committee that also had some input into how the Occupation was run⁵⁶. The Far Eastern Commission was involved in the Occupation, mainly through the War Crimes trials in Tokyo.⁵⁷

One of the points of the Potsdam Declaration that became an integral part of the Occupation stated, "We do not intend that the Japanese shall be enslaved as a race or destroyed as a nation, but stern justice shall be meted out to all war criminals, including those who have visited cruelties upon our prisoners. The Japanese Government shall remove all obstacles to the revival and strengthening of democratic tendencies among the Japanese people. Freedom of speech, of religion, and of thought, as well as respect for the fundamental human rights shall be

⁵⁵ Eiji Takamae, *The Allied Occupation of Japan* (New York: The Continuum International Publishing Group Inc., 2003) 52; Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 35

⁵⁶ Takamae, *Allied Occupation*, 95-96

⁵⁷ Kitamura, *Screening Enlightenment*, 123

established.”⁵⁸ One of the major steps that SCAP took in ensuring that this point would become reality was in the drafting of a new constitution for Japan. SCAP requested that the Japanese government draft a new constitution that reflected the ideals that the Allies had stipulated in the Potsdam Declaration, but the Japanese officials were reluctant to change some of the fundamental tenets of the Imperial system, such as the status of the Emperor and the status of the people.⁵⁹

This reluctance to instigate the changes that SCAP and the Far Eastern Commission demanded resulted in General MacArthur’s office drafting its own version of a new constitution for Japan. The SCAP draft of the constitution incorporated many ideals from Western countries such as the United States. One of the more recognizable changes in the constitution was in the status of the Emperor. Before the Occupation, the position of Emperor had been sacrosanct and the Emperor had been the divine sovereign, ruling over the Japanese people with impunity. With the new constitution, the Emperor’s divinity was renounced and he was no longer sovereign and divine. Instead, the people were sovereign, and the government became more about what was best for the people than the aristocracy.

Another lasting and noticeable change in the constitution was Article 9, another stipulation of the Potsdam Declaration. Article 9 states that “(1) Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes. (2) In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized.”⁶⁰ As Japan was being rebuilt by the Allied Occupation, there was a whole new foundation to support the growth of the nation.

⁵⁸ *National Diet Library*, The Potsdam Declaration

⁵⁹ Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 392

⁶⁰ “The Constitution of Japan.” November 3, 1946 (*National Diet Library*, Accessed

As sweeping changes were being made in the government, civilian life was also undergoing changes. During the war years, there had been a shortage of supplies, and combined with heavy government control of public media, Japanese culture had been regulated. In the post-war era, the opportunity for new forms of expression became available to film studios and broadcast sources such as newspapers and radio stations. With the elimination of the harsh wartime offices of censorship and the announcement that SCAP did not want to control public thought, there was an opportunity for media to express everything it could not during the war.⁶¹ However, SCAP was not interested in complete freedom of all media sources, especially at the beginning of the occupation.⁶² SCAP was interested in using any means available to it to encourage the democratization of reconstructed Japan, including “democracy by intervention.”⁶³ MacArthur said, “We could not simply encourage the growth of democracy, we had to make sure it grew.”⁶⁴

SCAP established its own offices to monitor and control what information was being released, as well as exactly how the information was being presented. While concerned with how America would be seen by the Japanese public, SCAP acknowledged that it was unrealistic to think that it could completely suppress any information, and instead settled for the fact that it could monitor and control what information was released.⁶⁵ The Civil Information and Education section was one of the main branches that dealt with censoring the media.⁶⁶ In addition to radio and print media, the CIE dealt with Japanese film as well as American film. In October of 1945, SCAP repealed the 1939 Film Law that had held such a firm grasp on Japanese cinema during the

February 17, 2011) <http://www.ndl.go.jp/constitution/e/etc/c01.html>

⁶¹ Kitamura, *Screening Enlightenment*, 34

⁶² *Summation of Non-Military Activities in Japan and Korea, No. 1 September-October 1945*. 159. NARA II.

⁶³ Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 69-72

⁶⁴ Kitamura, *Screening Enlightenment*, 33

⁶⁵ Kitamura, *Screening Enlightenment*, 35

⁶⁶ Kitamura, *Screening Enlightenment*, 34

war years.⁶⁷ While repealing the 1939 laws eliminated some of the harsher restrictions on film content, SCAP replaced the law with its own directives and recommendations on what should or should not be in films.⁶⁸

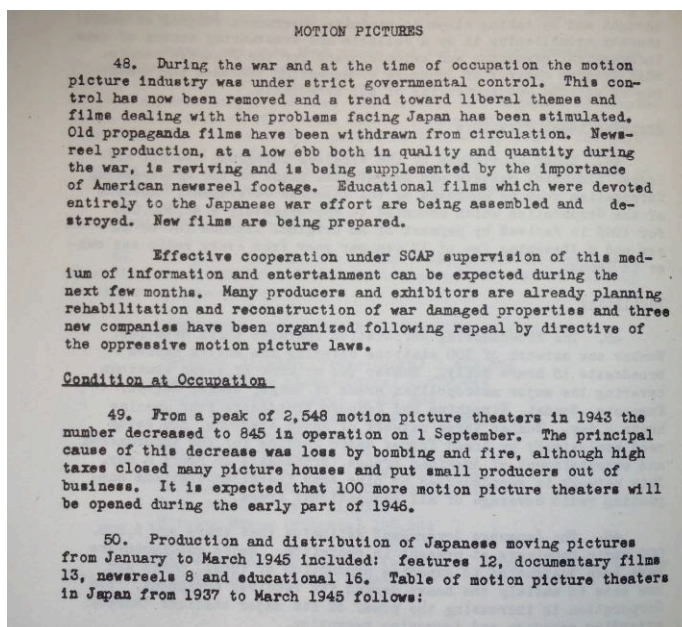


Figure 1- SCAP directive from Autumn 1945⁶⁹

During the Occupation, SCAP helped reboot the Japanese cinema business as well as reintroduce Hollywood films to the Japanese market. While CIE and the CCD could be involved in the censorship process from the start with Japanese films, they were only able to edit American films post-production.⁷⁰ In an effort to reintroduce American culture and ideology to the Japanese people, CIE worked with the Motion Picture Authority (MPA) and U.S. studios to begin reintroducing a sampling of American films that were produced in the years when American films

⁶⁷ Kitamura, *Screening Enlightenment*, 35

⁶⁸ CCD to CIE SCAP Records, Box 8603, May 1946. NARA II.

⁶⁹ *Summation of Non-Military Activities in Japan and Korea, No. 1 September-October 1945*. ARC ID: 648492, MLR #UD: 295, Record Group 331, Boxes 5-9. Archives II Reference Section (Military), The National Archives at College Park, Maryland. 158.

⁷⁰ Kitamura, *Screening Enlightenment*, 67

were not shown on the Japanese market. The “Forty Programs” campaign was a part of this initiative and consisted of five films selected by each of the major film companies for distribution based on their success in America and the themes and ideas that each film represented.⁷¹ The reintroduction of Hollywood films was an attempt to use Japanese fascination with the culture of America as that of the “superior” nation that defeated the Japanese empire.⁷²

During the initial stages of the occupation, it was hard to find the supplies and theaters to encourage people to go to movies, but that changed as SCAP grew more secure and Japan started to recover.⁷³ Over the course of the Occupation, the number of theaters screening American films increased.⁷⁴ This increasingly widespread reach of American movies was beneficial to SCAP’s efforts to foster Japanese receptiveness to the changes that were being implemented. Across the nation, Japanese citizens were developing an interest in American cinema and in taking up SCAP’s ideal as their own. The founding of the American Movie Culture Association (AMCA) was just one example of the increasing power of American culture across the nation.⁷⁵ One of the members of the AMCA stated that “American motion pictures [were] an important social force in edifying the Japanese nation. By presenting aspects of American democracy in a way we can all understand, these films are giving our people a better understanding of America and an insight into the better way of life in a democratic society.”⁷⁶

⁷¹ Kitamura, *Screening Enlightenment*, 40

⁷² Kitamura, *Screening Enlightenment*, 89

⁷³ Kitamura, *Screening Enlightenment*, 115

⁷⁴ Kitamura, *Screening Enlightenment*, 132

⁷⁵ Kitamura, *Screening Enlightenment*, 134

⁷⁶ Kitamura, *Screening Enlightenment*, 134

Democratization

An important part of the Occupation had been the focus on changing Japan from an Imperial empire to a more modern democratic nation. From the new Japanese constitution to changes in public policy, SCAP was putting forth its best effort to mold Japan into a more modern society similar to the United States.⁷⁷ While there were cultural differences that would prevent complete similarity, there was nothing to stop SCAP from shaping a government and economy that the United States could work with. However, in the turmoil after the end of the war and growing concerns about the political climate in other countries such as Russia and China, as the Occupation progressed there were concerns about exactly how democracy and other American ideals were being promoted in Japan.⁷⁸ SCAP and the CIE worked together throughout the Occupation to control the spread of information and exactly how that information was disseminated to the people. There was a very specific idea of America and democracy that SCAP was interested in showing to the Japanese people, and the censors picked and edited films accordingly.⁷⁹ It also did not hurt if a film had star power, as *Casablanca* did with Humphrey Bogart and Ingrid Bergman.

At the end of the war and with the Occupation of Japan set in motion, Hollywood saw an opportunity to break back into the Japanese market. They were willing to work with SCAP and the CIE to begin anew in Japan with American films. The major production companies in the United States were asked to compile a list of films that they wished to have considered for distribution in Japan by SCAP. Each of the nine major companies picked five films that they

⁷⁷ *Summation of Non-Military Activities in Japan and Korea, No. 2 November 1945*, NARA II, 173

⁷⁸ Kitamura, *Screening Enlightenment*, 47

⁷⁹ Kitamura, *Screening Enlightenment*, 66

wished to release in Japan during the first months of the Occupation.⁸⁰ Most of the films were picked for the idealized America that they captured, or the image of democracy they presented. Another sensitive subject in picking the first run of feature films was the concept of the war, especially anything to do with the Pacific theater. *Casablanca* was one of the five films picked by Warner Bros. for initial distribution, but it was also one of the films that caught the eye of the Occupation censors for war content and a closer scrutiny of its democratic ideals. After scrutiny and some changes by the CIE, *Casablanca* was released to the general public in July of 1946, four months after the Allies had reopened movie theaters and had begun screening the initial wave of American films.

American Films

47. Since 28 February the Central Film Exchange of SCAP has distributed 18 American feature films for showing to Japanese audiences. At first showings were limited to metropolitan areas but are now extended throughout Japan. The distribution of theaters showing these films is as follows:

<u>Locality</u>	<u>Showing American Films</u>	<u>Showing American Films Exclusively</u>
Kanto	137	35
Kansai	86	25
Nagoya	29	9
Kyushu	21	6
Hokkaido	<u>18</u>	<u>7</u>
Total	291	82

Educational Film Exchange

48. Ten documentary films were shown throughout Japan to a total audience of 326,736. One hundred ninety-nine prints were used and 178 shows were given.

Figure 2- movie statistics from SCAP's *Summation of Non-Military Activities in Japan and Korea No. 10 July 1946*⁸¹

The version of *Casablanca* released in Japan in 1946 did not differ too much from the American release, aside from the obvious need to have the dialogue in Japanese. One of the few

⁸⁰ Kitamura, *Screening Enlightenment*, 40, 198

⁸¹ *Summation of Non-military Activities in Japan and Korea No. 10 July 1946*, NARA II, 250

changes made between the original American script and the Japanese script that the Japanese Motion Picture Library published was in the final scene of the movie. The American version of the film ends with Rick and Renault walking away as the plane with Lazlo and Ilsa flies off, talking about their plans to leave Casablanca and with Rick’s iconic line of “Louis, I think this is the beginning of a beautiful friendship.” The Japanese release of the film ends at an earlier point in the scene, with the final lines of the film being Renault commenting “Well, Rick, you’re not only a sentimentalist, but you’ve become a patriot,” and Rick’s quip of “Maybe, but it seemed

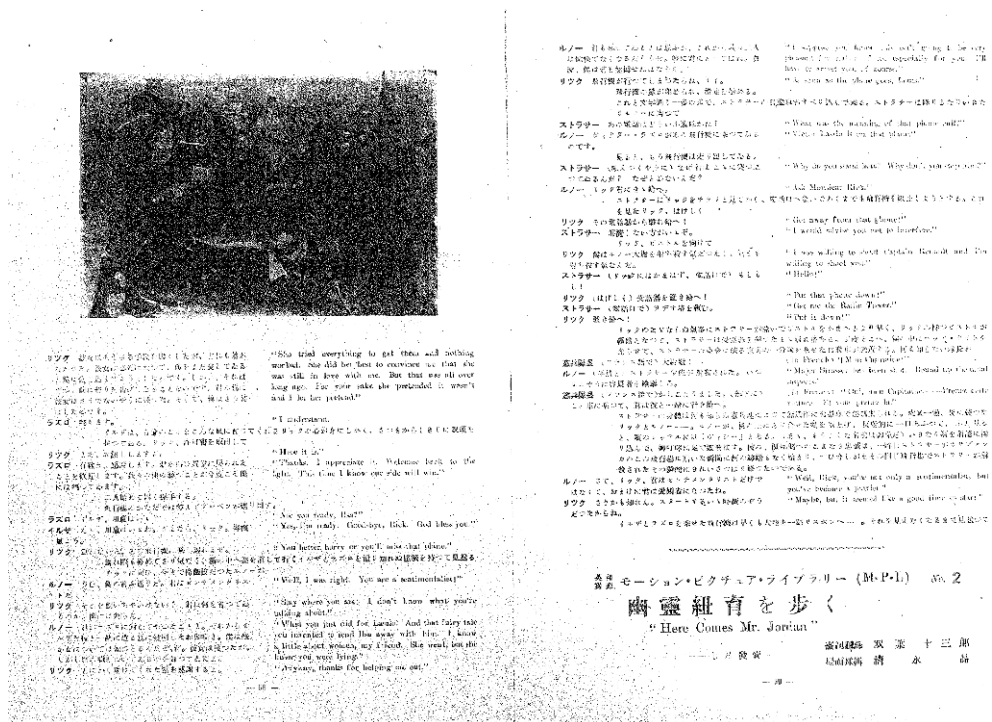


Figure 3- Motion Picture Library, original censored script⁸²

like a good time to start.” While the idea of the two men going off to continue the fight for freedom and democracy somewhere else was a fine message to bolster spirits and encourage support during the war, it was not necessarily a message that would help in a post-war society.

⁸² “Kasaburanka.” *Moshyon Pikuchya Raiburari (MPL)*. June 20, 1946: 60. M578, Microfiche Collection, Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland at College Park, Maryland.

Rather than focusing on continuing struggles and encouraging dissent and the undermining of authority, the Occupation wanted to draw attention back to Japan and have people begin to focus on what they could fix at home.⁸³ Rick's patriotism could translate into acts of community by Japanese citizens, and SCAP would welcome any effort and cooperation in pursuing its goals. SCAP's goals were not mutually exclusive to what the Japanese people wanted, either. Both parties were concerned with the availability of necessary supplies, such as food and adequate housing. By encouraging patriotic acts, SCAP would have fewer worries about the Japanese people resisting their efforts to democratize the nation.⁸⁴ If people were praised for taking action in a way that would benefit the general population, not only would it encourage others to take action but for any dissenters, there would be a general social pressure to not act out in the event that it would threaten the peace that was slowly being rebuilt. Even if someone did not support America or the Occupation, if SCAP was able to garner general public support, there would have been enough general disapproval of actions that could jeopardize tentative friendships between SCAP officials and the locals.

One of the few scenes in *Casablanca* that directly deals with the struggle between democracy and Nazism and other totalitarian systems is in Rick's Café when the German forces clash with the French patrons and other residents of Casablanca who hold no love for the Germans. As the German soldiers start singing "Water on the Rhine," the other patrons in the Café quiet down and listen in awkward recognition of what the song represents in the face of their own plight. As the Germans begin singing, Lazlo takes great offense and marches over to the band and demands that they play "La Marseilles," the song of Free France. After the band gets permission from Rick, they begin to play and Lazlo leads the crowd in a rousing rendition of the

⁸³ "New Constitution," *Nippon Times*, November 3, 1946.

⁸⁴ *Summation of Non-Military Activities in Japan and Korea, No.2 November 1945*, NARA II, 172

song. As more and more people join in with Lazlo, the Germans try to sing louder and overpower them, but the crowd gets so loud that the Germans are forced to sit in sullen silence as the crowd finishes with chants of “Viva la France!” and “Vive le democracy!” excitement and emotions running high. An important part of the scene was in the translation by the censors. In other scenes in the movie, the term democracy had been translated as *minpon shugi* or *minsei*, terms that were rife with political leanings in Japanese society. *Minpon shugi* carried with it the connotations of democracy being a government of the people. *Minsei* held the connotations of a civil government.⁸⁵ Yet in the scene where Lazlo led the singing of La Marseilles, the chant at the end of the song was translated as *demokurashi*.⁸⁶ The use of *demokurashi* was a conscious choice by the censors, perhaps because of the non-politicized nature of the word. By using any of the Japanese terms, there would be an association with certain groups. However, by introducing *demokurashi*, SCAP was able to project its own interpretation of democracy as it wanted for Japan.

Such fervent support of democracy in the movie was reflected in the growth of local grassroots campaigns in support of the changes to the government that SCAP was initiating.⁸⁷ When given the opportunity, the Japanese people were willing and interested in the type of changes that SCAP was making to the Diet and to the Emperor system. These changes were reflected in the political scene as well as in the cultural scene. Movies such as *Casablanca* gained popularity as they were shown across Japan, and the response of the Japanese people to the films and their messages proved SCAP’s goal in distributing the movies initially.

⁸⁵ Yoshino Sakuzo. “*Kensei no hongu o toite sono yushu no bi o nasu no michi o ronzu.*” January 1916.

⁸⁶ “Kasaburanka,” *Moshyon Pikuchya Raiburari (MPL)* June 20, 1946: 1-60.

⁸⁷ Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 278

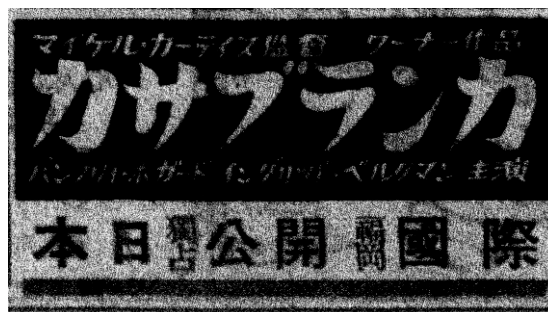


Figure 4- Newspaper advertisement⁸⁸



Figure 5- Newspaper advertisement⁸⁹

Articles and advertisements about the newest Hollywood films graced the pages of many newspapers across the nation, starting with the papers in major cities such as the *Asahi Shinbun*

⁸⁸ *Nishi Nihon*, July 31, 1946.

⁸⁹ *Nishi Nihon*, August 5, 1946.

and *Nishi Nihon*, and eventually spreading to the more local papers such as the *Kyushu Times*.⁹⁰ Magazines also played a large part in encouraging people to go see the new films. Publications such as *Eiga no Tomo (Friend of the Movies)*, *Kinema Junpo (The Movie Report)* and *Kindai Eiga (The Movie Times)* featured images, outtakes and articles about Hollywood films and stars.⁹¹ As Japan regained its footing after the war, more and more people began to go to the movies.⁹² The economic recovery also allowed for more theaters to be opened in more cities, increasing the number of people who came into contact with Hollywood films. As the fan base became larger, the circulation of the magazines increased, and American culture was disseminated to the Japanese people in the form of popular entertainment.

In the case of *Casablanca*, all of the major magazines included at least some mention of the film. The July 1946 issue of *Eiga no Tomo* had a multi-page spread covering the movie, including screen captures and translations of some of the dialogue. Also included was a summary of the film with a brief recommendation that it was well worth the viewer's time to go and see.⁹³ This issue of the publication was also the only *Casablanca* material in print that was censored by the CIE. While the actual description of the film and the script translation were deemed acceptable and favorable with regard to SCAP's overall mission, the censors were concerned with the images selected by the publication. The scenes that the censors marked for consideration included the scene between Rick and Ilsa in Rick's apartment, when Ilsa was trying to bargain for the transit papers. It is possible that the censors were not comfortable introducing a sexual scene in a magazine so early in the process of reconstruction. The scene where Strasser and Renault were sitting together drinking was also marked for consideration. Overall, the goal of the censors

⁹⁰ *Kyushu Times*, June 8, 1946.

⁹¹ *Kindai Eiga*. August 1, 1946: 22-23.

⁹² Kitamura, *Screening Enlightenment*, 133

⁹³ *Eiga no Tomo*. June 5, 1946: 6-9, 15.

seemed to be to create a sense of *Casablanca* as a film about a generally receptive response to occupation, and not in support of the Nazi campaign during the war.



Figure 6- Images from a censored edition of *Kinema Junpo*⁹⁴

Other magazines contained summaries of the film, images such as the scene at end of the film where Renault is signing the transit papers for Ilsa and Lazlo, and translations such as that of the lyrics of “As Time Goes By.” Each source had a generally receptive tone toward the movie and the ideas contained within it. *Kindai Eiga* often contained summaries of the movies with a review at the end, recommending the film or not to its readers based on everything from the quality of acting to the message of the movie. *Kinema Junpo* kept abreast of policy and goings-on in the film industry, as well as actors in the industry.

⁹⁴ *Kinema Junpo*. June 1, 1946.

The February 1947 *Eiga no Tomo* contained a poll of its readers in regards to the public opinion of Hollywood stars and movies in Japan. Ingrid Bergman was by far the most popular female star in this poll, and *Casablanca* was the Best New Release.⁹⁵ The audience of *Eiga no Tomo* that was being polled was composed of a variety of society members, but the majority seemed to be school-aged boys in metropolitan areas (see Tables 1 and 2). As *Eiga no Tomo* grew in popularity, it became a key part in fostering positive reception of American films, and it encouraged discussion in communities about the films.⁹⁶ Not only were the plots of the movie analyzed, but the quality of acting and the techniques used by the actors and directors were also observed. The group discussions of the film, and the community's conclusions were sometimes published in the newspapers as well, to encourage others to go, or to advise them to save their money for another film.⁹⁷

Most Popular Male Star	
1. Gary Cooper	1,968 votes
2. John Payne	1,878 votes ⁹⁵
3. Gregory Peck	1,783 votes
Most Popular Female Star	
1. Ingrid Bergman	3,598 votes
2. Greer Garson	2,889 votes
3. Claudette Colbert	1,677 votes
Best New Release	
1. <i>Casablanca</i>	2,102 votes
2. <i>Going My Way</i>	1,644 votes
3. <i>Madam Curie</i>	1,133 votes
Best Prewar Production	
1. <i>Gone with the Wind</i>	2,807 votes
2. <i>Rebecca</i>	441 votes
3. <i>Fantasia</i>	370 votes ⁹⁶

Table 1- *Eiga no Tomo* “Public Opinion Poll” results⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Kitamura, *Screening Enlightenment*, 164

⁹⁶ Kitamura, *Screening Enlightenment*, 171

⁹⁷ Kitamura, *Kyushu Times*

⁹⁸ Kitamura, *Screening Enlightenment*, 164

Table 2-1. Statistical Data of Eiga no Tomo's Annual Surveys

	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954
Occupation								
Student	No Data	858 (19.7%)	1,575 (63.3%)	No Data	1,391 (55.7%)	8,359 (68.3%)	4,127 (64.0%)	4,237 (66.1%)
Office Worker	No Data	683 (15.6%)	409 (16.5%)	No Data	455 (18.2%)	1,759 (14.4%)	631 (9.8%)	830 (11.8%)
Other	No Data	2,824 (64.7%)	503 (20.2%)	No Data	653 (26.1%)	2,118 (17.3%)	1,691 (26.2%)	1,982 (28.1%)
Sex								
Male	No Data	No Data	1,784 (71.7%)	2,284 (68.5%)	1,869 (74.8%)	8,343 (68.2%)	4,331 (67.2%)	4,672 (66.3%)
Female	No Data	No Data	661 (26.6%)	1,049 (31.5%)	630 (25.2%)	3,893 (31.8%)	2,692 (32.4%)	2,318 (32.9%)
No Answer	No Data	No Data	42 (1.7%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	26 (0.4%)	39 (0.5%)
Region								
Tokyo	No Data	No Data	844 (33.9%)	1,164 (34.9%)	754 (30.2%)	4,102 (33.5%)	2,063 (32.0%)	2,327 (33.0%)
Major Prefectures	No Data	No Data	461 (18.6%)	659 (19.8%)	420 (16.8%)	2,054 (16.8%)	1,341 (17.7%)	1,229 (17.4%)
Other Prefectures	No Data	No Data	1,182 (47.5%)	1,510 (45.3%)	1,325 (53.0%)	6,080 (49.7%)	3,245 (50.3%)	3,493 (49.6%)
Total	8,777 (100.0%)	4,365 (100.0%)	2,487 (100.0%)	3,333 (100.0%)	2,499 (100.0%)	12,236 (100.0%)	6,449 (100.0%)	7,049 (100.0%)

Source: Eiga no Tomo. "Major Prefectures" consist of Hokkaido, Aichi, Osaka, and Fukuoka; they housed CMPE's regional offices.

Table 2- Eiga no Tomo Annual Survey statistics.⁹⁹

⁹⁹ Kitamura, *screening Enlightenment*, 166

Casablanca

Bringing Hollywood Back

In the first few months of the Occupation, SCAP made many changes across Japan in an effort to democratize and reconstruct the war-ravaged nation. As part of an effort to build a favorable rapport with the Japanese people, SCAP in conjunction with the Motion Picture Export Association (MPEA) began to bring Hollywood films back to Japan. While not immediate, film came back to screens across Japan near the beginning of the Occupation, both Hollywood films and Japanese films. By February 1946, the Occupation had established itself enough that they began to reintroduce Hollywood films in Japan as part of SCAP's efforts to "democratize" and "enlighten" the Japanese people.¹⁰⁰

Casablanca was released in Japan in July of 1946, through the system established by the CIE and MPEA.¹⁰¹ It was a part of the "40 Programs" campaign, a joint effort between the MPEA and CIE, an effort to reintroduce Hollywood and American culture into Japan in a manner that benefited the occupiers.¹⁰² The program began in late February 1946 with *Madame Curie* and *His Butler's Sister*, the first two Hollywood films to be released in Japan since the American Motion Picture Association of Japan (AMPA) left Japan in the wake of the attack on Pearl Harbor.¹⁰³

The war had been hard on Japan, and the film industry reflected that. During the war years, there was less and less disposable income and government policy strictly controlled

¹⁰⁰ Hirano, *Mr. Smith*, 147

¹⁰¹ Kitamura, *Screening Enlightenment*, 36

¹⁰² Kitamura, *Screening Enlightenment*, 40

¹⁰³ Kitamura, *Screening Enlightenment*, 42

the type of films allowed. There was also a shortage of supplies, as camera film was not a high priority of the war-time production industry.¹⁰⁴ Between a lack of audience and a shortage of supplies, many theaters were forced to close. When the Occupation reignited the film industry, it had to overcome the shortage of theaters as well as learn and overcome the intricacies of the traveling theater industry. While trying to enforce regulations about the hygiene of the theaters, control what the theaters were showing and re-introduce American films to Japan, SCAP was also struggling with reforming the government, rebuilding the nation and feeding the people. Film, once again, proved to be a valuable tool in connecting with the general populace, a tool that SCAP wielded to its advantage in its democratizing campaign.

Going to the movies was a cultural escape from the horrors faced on a daily basis by the recovering nation, and it became an enlightening experience for many moviegoers as well. The movies, while pre-selected and edited to send a specific message to the audiences about the benefits of democracy and the wonderful American way of living, also contained upbeat storylines and spoke of better times. Movies such as *Tall in the Saddle* (1944) and *Kitty Foyle* (1940) were quite popular, as were films such as *Madame Curie* (1942) and *Watch on the Rhine* (1943).¹⁰⁵ The spectrum of movies shown and encouraged by SCAP also captured a wide variety of viewers. While many of the moviegoers were younger people, in their late teens and early twenties, they were certainly not the only movie goers.¹⁰⁶ The cultural elite were not the only audience members, either, as SCAP strove to make films more accessible to more people, both in physical availability and in subject matter. The more people who were able to view the films SCAP had selected, the farther the intended message of democracy and good will toward America spread.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ High, *Imperial Screen*, 418

¹⁰⁵ *Eiga no Tomo*, July 1946

¹⁰⁶ *Eiga no Tomo*, July 1946

¹⁰⁷ Kitamura, *Screening Enlightenment*, 132

Why *Casablanca*?

In selecting the first Hollywood films to be screened in Occupied Japan, the CIE and CCD had some very strict requirements about themes that should and should not be present. For Hollywood films, the censors were mainly concerned with the major themes of war, violence and social disorder, race and colonialism, and Americanism.¹⁰⁸ When making their film selections and, later, choosing which scenes to edit, the censors were looking to send a message about the “right” kind of democracy, as well as to portray Americans and America as something other than the hated and feared enemy of wartime propaganda. The 1942 Warner Bros. film *Casablanca* made the list of films to be considered both because of its filmic content and because of its popular success in the United States. There was some question in the CIE and CCD about whether or not to choose *Casablanca*, because the censors were not fully convinced that the film showed democracy in the “right” light, but they did decide to screen it, and *Casablanca* became a great success.¹⁰⁹ During the process of approving *Casablanca* for screening in Japan, the CIE and CCD made some edits to the film, including changing the ending of the movie.¹¹⁰

War

There was no way to deny that the film had a definite war theme, as it was set in occupied Casablanca during World War II. Yet the film did not seem to glorify war and killing in the way that other Hollywood films did. Another bonus to the Occupation censors was that *Casablanca*

¹⁰⁸ Kitamura, *Screening Enlightenment*, 66

¹⁰⁹ Kitamura, *Screening Enlightenment*, 68

¹¹⁰ “Kasaburanka,” *Moshyon Pikuchya Raiburari*, 60

was set in the European theater rather than the Pacific theater. By not being set in Asia, the film eliminated some of the censors' worries over unwanted implications.¹¹¹ The film conveyed many messages aimed at American audiences during a time when their country was actively engaged in fighting the enemy in Europe, but that message was also one that could be reverse engineered to illustrate to the Japanese people why the Axis powers had lost the war.

One of the prominent and recurring themes throughout the film is the Nazis as the enemy. Although Casablanca was technically unoccupied France, it was still answerable to the Vichy government. When the Nazis marched into Paris, the Vichy government essentially became their puppet. Major Strasser is the representative of the Third Reich in Casablanca, and through him the audience is exposed to the wider philosophies and goals of Hitler's Reich. These goals were the same ones that the Japanese had allied themselves with by joining the Axis powers, although Hitler's practice of sending undesirables to concentration camps had not been adopted in Japan.

Strasser's arrival in Casablanca and his first interactions with Renault set the tone for much of the movie, with stilted interactions between the Germans and the rest of the residents of Casablanca. From the beginning, Renault was always very aware of what he was saying, and made careful comments that could have been taken as barbed insults to the Reich. This awareness and self-censorship was a practice that had served the Japanese people well during the war, and it stood to reason that it would do so during the Occupation as well. Renault was very aware of his position and how much he stood to lose in the face of getting on Strasser's, and by extension the Reich's, bad side. The war in Europe was moving heavily in the favor of the Germans, as the Allied Powers kept losing ground, so the wisest course of action for Renault was to do what the Germans suggested of him. This concession to the stronger power in order to avoid a worse fate mirrored the surrender of the Japanese Emperor to the Allied Powers.¹¹²

¹¹¹ Kitamura, *Screening Enlightenment*, 75-76

¹¹² Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 36

Strasser came to Casablanca as a representative of the Reich, and to investigate the death of two German couriers who had been carrying letters of transit. Casablanca was a stopping point for many people trying to flee Europe as the Nazis spread their control farther and farther, and as such the letters of transit were a very valuable commodity. The residents of Casablanca ranged from natives to refugees fleeing Nazi purges to the foreign occupiers, and the Reich had a vested interest in keeping some of the refugees from making it to America or other free countries where they could continue their fight against the Nazis. The presence of Germany in unoccupied France was a threat to the fight for freedom and democracy. As the Allied forces began arriving in Japan, they were wary of any sympathies to the Axis powers' cause, as well as the fact that there had been people who had spoken out during the war and were imprisoned and punished for their challenges against the Imperial doctrine.¹¹³

The presence of Germany in Vichy France was also a threat to the Allied powers and their values. When the Germans marched into Paris, it signaled a terrible loss for the Allies. Paris and the whole of France had been one of the last holds the Allies had on the mainland of Europe, and its loss was both a tactical and political problem. France and England had been fighting on the side of democratic ideals against Hitler's Nazism and Mussolini's Fascism. With the fall of Vichy France to the Axis onslaught, there was a justified fear for the continuance of democratic thought and people's rights in Europe. The flashback scenes in *Casablanca* where Rick and Ilsa are in Paris together in the days leading up to the arrival of the German army in Paris are not particularly friendly to the Nazis. In the café, Rick and Ilsa and Sam are drinking and listening to the approach of the German army, and Rick mentions that the café owner told them to drink all the champagne, because "he would rather water his garden with it than let those Germans drink

¹¹³ "Purge of Undesirables," SCAPIN 550, January 4, 1946, NARA II Group 331.
http://www.ndl.go.jp/modern/e/img_1/M006/M006-0011.html

it.”¹¹⁴ These scenes, while reflecting an attitude that was not entirely receptive to the Allied Occupation, captured a real fear of the Occupation as they arrived in defeated Japan.¹¹⁵

Ilsa believed she had already lost one love to the Nazis -- Victor Lazlo. Lazlo, her husband, was Jewish and very outspoken against the Nazis and the actions taken by Hitler and his Reich, which made him a target for them, and it is what eventually landed him in a concentration camp. Ilsa was told that Lazlo had died in a concentration camp, but he managed to escape and make his way back to Paris. Lazlo had published many anti-Nazi materials before his capture, and after his escape, he continued to work with the underground movement to subvert and upset Nazi campaigns and actions. Throughout the entire film, Lazlo works to undermine Nazi power and German authority, as when he leaves his house arrest to attend the meeting of the underground movement in Casablanca. He refuses to be intimidated by Strasser and his threats, never letting the fear of what might happen stop him from doing what he believes is right. While the drive to implement positive change was something SCAP wanted to encourage, they were also wary of differences in SCAP's definition of change and the Japanese definition. Lazlo's drive to defend democracy, however, was something SCAP wanted to encourage.

The film's overall negative opinion of the Nazis would have been extremely beneficial to the Occupation government, which was emphasizing how Japan needed to move away from its wartime commitments and methodologies.¹¹⁶ As Japan was a part of the Axis powers, it sided with Fascism and Nazism during the war. Japan itself had an imperial system that had been in place for centuries, and while the Meiji Restoration had changed some of the age-old traditions, the basic tenant of a divine emperor was unchanged. By showing *Casablanca*, SCAP could use it

¹¹⁴ Julius J. and Philip G. Epstein. *Casablanca*. Directed by Michael Curtiz. United States: Warner Bros., 1942.

¹¹⁵ *Summation of Non-Military Activities in Japan and Korea, No.1 September-October 1945*. NARA II

¹¹⁶ “MacArthur's Three Basic Points,” February 4, 1946. *National Diet Library*. http://www.ndl.go.jp/constitution/e/shiryō/03/072/072_002r.html

as an educational tool, giving an example of the rest of the world's opinion of dictatorships that cared little to nothing about their people.

Lazlo's unending campaign for basic rights and liberties that the Nazis were stripping away from certain populations could be read as a parallel to the struggle SCAP was facing to reform the Japanese empire into a more democratic society.¹¹⁷ There were many grassroots movements across the country in support of changing the constitution and making Japan a more democratic nation.¹¹⁸ A huge push in SCAP's governmental reform was the sovereignty of the Japanese people being paramount, emphasizing that the people had rights and that public concerns mattered as much as political debates. While *Casablanca* was heavily laced with political overtones, mainly American distrust and dislike for Hitler's Germany, the general message that what the Nazis were doing was wrong, on many levels, was clear. Because Japan had sided with Germany during the war, it had essentially agreed with the policies of Hitler's campaign for a master race and was guilty of some horrible atrocities against human rights over the course of the war. By screening a film that does not overtly condemn the enemy for the actions taken against others, it leaves the chance for redemption on the table. This possibility at building a better future and overcoming hardships of the past was a very important mindset that SCAP wanted the Japanese people to adopt.¹¹⁹ American and Japanese relations had been strained before the Pacific War, and had completely deteriorated during the fighting. There were hard feelings on both sides, and in order for the Occupation to succeed, all parties involved had to be engaged in building a better, solid future. Using *Casablanca* and other films to influence the general populace and plant the idea for better relations was an early and important step on the

¹¹⁷ Takamae, *Allied Occupation*, 347

¹¹⁸ Takamae, *Allied Occupation*, 261

¹¹⁹ Takamae, *Allied Occupation*, Chapter 5

road to recovery. SCAP was interested in the manipulation of available media to encourage the response it was looking for in the people.¹²⁰

Resistance

Another important aspect of wartime relations addressed in *Casablanca* is the idea of resistance and using the chance to do something good that will benefit society at large. In the film, many of the characters are not ones you would expect to be where they are. Rick's "Café Americain" was owned by Rick, an expatriate American, who was on the run from his past. His steadfast friend was Sam, the gentle-souled and well-intentioned black musician. The main staff in the dining hall and at the bar were Carl, a German fleeing from Nazi persecution and Sascha, a Russian with nowhere else to go. The ragtag crew that Rick assembled to operate his café was composed of people who held no love for the Nazis or any respect for German ideologies. While coming from such different backgrounds, the group managed to come together and form a working relationship that was beneficial for all involved.

Carl was a part of the underground movement in Casablanca as well, a movement which was bolstered by the arrival of Victor Lazlo in Casablanca. Lazlo had been a prominent figure in the European underground movement, and he was a symbol of hope and a chance at a better future for everyone suffering from the Nazi injustices. The idea that a bunch of seemingly nobodies, just everyday normal people, could come together and actually make a change that impacted the world around them was an idea that was beneficial to SCAP. One problem with the idea was the fact that the resistance operation was intended to overthrow unwanted rulers, which SCAP could be considered. There was no way to solidify a place in the eyes of the Japanese

¹²⁰ SCAPIN 1945-1951, Box 2350, Folder 1602, SCAPIN 1693. NARA II.

people where SCAP could be viewed as a benevolent force, and as such there would always be a threat of an underground movement intended to undermine SCAP's authority and threaten its goal of reconstructing Japan in a way that would benefit both the Japanese people and American interests.¹²¹ Although this had the potential to create more problems for SCAP than it would solve, the Occupation censors left the scenes intact. Of all the possible reactions to SCAP, an underground movement in support of democracy was not the worst.

Rick's history as a freedom fighter and his status as an expatriate speak to a grandness of American ideology that would not hinder SCAP's goal of presenting a new side to America, one that would help relations between Japanese citizens and American soldiers. While the Rick that owned the café in Casablanca was a jaded individual who was most concerned with ensuring his own good fortune and continued existence, the flashbacks and stories told by other characters told a different tale. The Rick that Ilsa knew in Paris before the Germans came was more open and free, and deeply in love with her. The same commitment and passion that he had in their relationship was what had him on the German's wanted list of known troublemakers. It was also the same kind of ideology that had made Rick a gunrunner during the fighting in Spain. Rick was the kind of guy who would fight for the underdog, because the underdog's cause was usually better for the people, rather than for the government. Again, SCAP would have been wary of encouraging any sort of subversive movements or actions against its Occupation efforts.¹²² Encouraging people who have the means and the dedication to work for a cause to step forward and take an active role in building a better future, especially in the war-torn ruins of post-war Japanese society, would be beneficial to SCAP's efforts across the country.¹²³ While SCAP was centered in Tokyo, its directives applied to all of Japan, from Hokkaido to Okinawa, and in order

¹²¹ Takamae, *Allied Occupation*, 295 (Chapter 7)

¹²² *Summation of Non-Military Activities in Japan and Korea, No. 11 August 1946*, 264.
NARA II.

¹²³ "Kenpo Mondai Chosa Iinkai Shian," *Mainichi Shinbun*. February 1, 1946.

to achieve all of its goals, there needed to be competent people with a vested interest in making the reconstruction work across the country. The Allied forces could only be a part of the process, as they were hindered by language and cultural barriers. Because of these difficulties, Allied forces relied heavily upon community members and Japanese Americans to communicate their plans and enact their directives.¹²⁴

A major part of the film that would serve as both a concern and as a benefit to SCAP was the fact that *Casablanca* was based around the story of occupation by foreigners. The film takes place in Casablanca, a city in Morocco that is under the control of Unoccupied France, but is still at the mercy of the Vichy government and, by extension, Nazi politics. This scenario ran parallel to the fact that Japan was under occupation by the Allied forces, but SCAP was running mainly on American objectives. While the occupation of Casablanca was shown in a light that did not favor the French government, there was no overt hatred by the people of Casablanca for the occupiers. There was the possibility of SCAP being viewed to be on some level the same as Nazi Germany, and this was something SCAP wanted to avoid. The presence of pro-democratic ideals and American characters in the role of the hero would hopefully offset any negative parallels that could be drawn.

Louis Renault was a character of questionable integrity who was willing to use his office to his advantage, and at the expense of the people he was supposed to be looking out for. Even so, the people of Casablanca did not want Renault out of office or dead; more to the fact, they were resigned to the fact the while Renault was an extortionist, he still helped them after he got what he wanted from them. The scene that captured this aspect of Renault the best was in Rick's café the night Strasser arrived. Rick was approached by a young girl who asked him about Renault's moral character, and if his word was good when he promised aid in exchange for a favor. Rick supported the fact the Renault could be counted upon to follow through on his word,

¹²⁴ Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 347

even though Rick disapproved of the favors the Renault demanded of those he would help.

Although Rick felt bad for the young girl and circumvented Renault's plan by allowing the girl's fiancé to win in the gaming room, it still stands that he spoke to the worth of Renault's word. The fact that Renault held enough of Rick's respect for him not to undermine his image and authority spoke to the nature of the occupation of Casablanca.

While in many cases an occupying force would not be looked upon kindly by the native peoples of the regions under foreign control, this is not always the case. This point would have been very important to the Allied Forces and SCAP, as a positive public reception was vital to their success in reforming and rebuilding Japan. A first step in winning the support and approval, or at least not outright hatred from the occupied people, would be to make sure that public figures such as politicians were seen demonstrating support of and belief in both the Occupiers and their goals.¹²⁵ Another important image of occupation is to make sure that the people understand that the officials they come into daily contact with understand their plight far better than the far-off officials who issue the general directives, and are willing to make an effort to interpret the directives in a manner that will most benefit the people. With the Allied Occupation of Japan, many of the troops on the ground were Americans, as were the top SCAP officials. However, the Far East Commission was an oversight committee comprised of members from all the Allied Nations, and they had a say in how the Occupation was structured and what actions were taken as well.¹²⁶ The Far Eastern Commission and SCAP did not always see eye to eye, and often MacArthur would override any orders from outside SCAP so that the Occupation could continue on the course he had initiated.¹²⁷ While *Casablanca* was released in the early stages of the Occupation when there was less conflict between American and Allied interests, there was still a sense of American priorities in enacting any directives.

¹²⁵ Takamae, *Allied Occupation*, 266

¹²⁶ Takamae, *Allied Occupation*, 95-96

¹²⁷ Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 300

This ability of an occupying force to choose how it carries out its orders is seen through the interactions between Renault and Strasser throughout the film, but most specifically in a scene in Rick's café. Renault and Strasser were having a conversation about where their allegiances and loyalties lay, and Renault was not kowtowing to the Nazi party line as Strasser had expected him to. When Strasser called him on his unwillingness to carry out every Nazi order and questioned whether Renault was really interested in the success of the Axis Powers, Renault informed him that he was willing to support whoever was in the strongest position at the moment. "I have no conviction, if that's what you mean. I blow with the wind, and the prevailing wind happens to be from Vichy." "And if it should change?" "Surely the Reich doesn't admit that possibility?"¹²⁸ Renault's willingness to interpret orders and try to help at least some people in Casablanca, for whatever questionable motivations he may have had, could have given the Japanese people a sense of hope, that the Allied Occupiers could actually be beneficial rather than just an unwanted burden to an already demoralized and defeated society.¹²⁹

Violence and Social Disorder

In the immediate aftermath of the war, the country was facing a great deal of turmoil and change. There was a shortage of almost all goods across the nation. Tensions were running high, both between the Occupiers and the Japanese, and amongst the Japanese citizens. There was a very real threat of violence between soldiers and citizens because of high emotions and lingering

¹²⁸ Epstein, *Casablanca*

¹²⁹ Kitamura, *Screening Enlightenment*, 134

tension from wartime propaganda, and a major priority for SCAP was to maintain peace so the Occupation's goals could be better achieved.¹³⁰

One of the major problems facing the Occupation as it was first getting started was the shortage of goods. Japan was an island nation with few natural resources, and it had been fighting since the early 1930s, so in 1945 when the Occupation began, there was little for it to work with. Many supplies had to be brought in by U.S. aid agencies, such as food, clothing and medicine.¹³¹ Because there was such a high demand for a variety of goods and very little supply, black markets became a growing source of goods from food to clothing to household items such as pots and pans.¹³² While black markets were illegal and should have been shut down by proper authorities any time they were discovered, SCAP tolerated them because it had many other concerns facing it in the daunting task of reconstructing Japan. Black markets were able to provide the people with goods that they desperately needed, even if they were being charged extortionist prices. The food rations being provided by the government were not enough to comfortably sustain daily living immediately after the end of the war, and black markets capitalized on the fact that people were willing to pay almost anything for certain luxuries that reminded them of better times. As Japan's infrastructure was slowly rebuilt, the prevalence of black markets became less and less, until people could buy almost all of what they needed on the open market.¹³³

The blind-eye approach to black markets taken by SCAP was reflected in *Casablanca* as well. As Lazlo and Ilsa try to obtain transit papers to escape from Casablanca, they encounter the city's own thriving black market. While Lazlo was in the Blue Parrot café trying to barter for transit papers, Ilsa was wandering through the open-air market outside. As she was looking at some fabrics for sale, the stall owner began telling her about the goods and naming prices. When

¹³⁰ "Manual for Censors of the Motion Picture Department," August 1946. Group 331, Box 8603, Folder 7. NARA II.

¹³¹ Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 87

¹³² Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 116

¹³³ *Summation of Non-Military Activities in Japan and Korea, No. 27 December 1947*

Rick spotted Ilsa and walked over to talk to her, the stall owner said that there was a price reduction for “friends of Rick”. As Rick and Ilsa’s conversation took a more personal turn, the shopkeeper tried to use it to his advantage by offering an even lower price for “special friends” of Rick’s. Meanwhile, Lazlo had been trying to arrange for transit papers, which were in high demand and extremely limited quantity. Prices were exorbitant for just one visa, and Lazlo was trying to obtain two, which was proving to be a near impossible task. Although the black market was technically illegal, Renault knew of its existence and he did not put much effort into stopping people from trying to buy their way to a better future. Rather, the existence of the black market assisted Renault by providing a way for the people to get what the government could not supply in a manner that did not outright compromise public opinion of the officials in charge.

This approach to the black market as being a necessary evil was one that would serve in SCAP’s favor during the initial years of the Occupation, when there was not nearly enough to go around.¹³⁴ While SCAP and the Japanese government declared black markets to be illegal, they were not blind to the fact that the markets could provide the people with goods that the government could not. This was reflected in their actions in patrolling the markets, and how long it took for black markets to be disbanded during the Occupation.¹³⁵ The fact that the black market potential for transit papers was so high and in the end helped Lazlo and Ilsa was a message about the positive effects of allowing such an activity to continue throughout the war-torn nation to help it get back on its feet. In *Casablanca*, if Renault had actually tried to stop the black market trade of transit papers and visas, people such as Ilsa and Lazlo would have been trapped in Casablanca, unable to move on and do better, grander things with their lives. To crack down on black markets would have meant that SCAP was essentially condemning parts of the Japanese population, and

¹³⁴ “Kasaburanka no Yami Ichi.” September 1, 1946. *Shyokou*. S2091, Microfiche Collection, Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland at College Park, Maryland.

¹³⁵ *Summation of Non-Military Activities in Japan and Korea, No. 11 August 1946*, 262. NARA II.

that would not have a positive effect on interactions or on achieving the Occupation's goals. The presence of the black markets was something that was necessary for the people to survive, yet SCAP was forced to patrol its existence because it was illegal for the markets to exist.¹³⁶

One of the major commodities in *Casablanca*'s black market was transit papers out of Casablanca. Throughout the film, the most prominent set of transit papers are the ones stolen from German couriers at the beginning of the movie. Ugarte, one of the many con men in Casablanca, was the one who stole them, and in the process killed the two couriers. While supposedly no one knows for sure who has the papers, there is an unspoken acknowledgement amongst people such as Renault, Rick and Signor Ferrari that Ugarte was the one who had them. This knowledge is what led to the arrest scene in Rick's café. Strasser was concerned with finding the criminal, and Renault had commented that they already knew who it was. Immediately, Strasser wanted to make the arrest, but Renault held him off, saying there was no need to rush because everyone would be at Rick's later and they could make the arrest there.

That evening, Ugarte gave the letters of transit to Rick to hold for him in case someone searched for them. After the exchange of the papers, Ugarte was gambling, and Renault signaled that it was time to make the arrest. When the police approached Ugarte, he panicked and ran, leading to the police having to pursue him. The pursuit ended with Ugarte's death, as the police shot him when they caught up with him. This willingness of the police to shoot first, and maybe ask questions later was seen in an earlier shot when the police had been checking to make sure people had valid paperwork. Those who didn't were to be arrested and deported. One man was reluctant to hand over his papers because they had expired and when the police tried to bring him in, he ran. Instead of pursuing the man, the police instead shot him. To the police, many of the people in Casablanca were expendable, as there was always someone else to take their place.

¹³⁶ *Summation of Non-Military Activities in Japan and Korea, No.5 February 1946, 276.*
NARA II.

With the arrival of SCAP and Allied forces to Japan, there was an uncertainty of where the Japanese people stood in relation to the new occupiers. This uncertainty was also related to the punishments that Japanese people would face for actions they took, whether criminal or political.¹³⁷

As the Occupation forces began to arrive in Japan, they had years of propaganda and fear to overcome, and their presence as a military force was not going to help alleviate those feelings. Not only were the Allies facing years of propaganda that had depicted them as demons and an enemy to be greatly feared, but there was also the shadow of the Japanese police and the strict punishments that they had meted out to any who had stepped out of line during the war. While the scenes in *Casablanca* showed a very harsh and unfeeling police system, officers such as Renault gave the sense that there was a chance for good to come out of the violence. Also, Renault did not seem to take the position of police chief too seriously, as he quipped to Strasser about “rounding up twice the usual number of suspects” when searching for the person who had attacked the couriers.¹³⁸ The idea of someone in the police force being corrupt and out to make personal profit was not a new idea, but SCAP could benefit from the portrayal of Renault and his growth throughout the film. As Rick, Lazlo and Ilsa struggle to escape Casablanca, Renault does not try too hard to hinder their activities, and eventually plays a key role in helping them flee to start a better life. The potential of a police force that will work for the people rather than exploit them gives a sense of hope for the future, a hope expressed in the final scene of the film between Rick and Renault. Planting the idea that an Occupation security and police force would be vested in actually serving the people was important to SCAP as well, to increase the communication and cooperation between locals and officials.¹³⁹

¹³⁷ *Asahi Shinbun, Kyushu Timesu*, August-September 1945.

¹³⁸ Epstein, *Casablanca*

¹³⁹ Takamae, *Allied Occupation*, Chapter 4

Another major change facing Japan was the complete overhaul and restructuring of its government. The wartime regime that had been in charge for years was stripped of its power and autonomy, and all decisions had to be run by SCAP officials.¹⁴⁰ The most important change was the adoption of a new constitution by the Diet, which radically changed the basic tenets of Japanese government, the most important being the democratization of the imperial system and the importance of the Japanese people in the decision making process. A major function of SCAP initially was to oversee the actions taken by the Japanese government during reconstruction, as well as carry out SCAP's own initiatives across the nation.¹⁴¹ The parallel in *Casablanca* to the current situation in Japan was striking, and it was important the general sentiment toward the Occupiers be, if not positive, at least receptive. The occupants of Casablanca and their attitudes toward French officials such as Renault were favorable, and the occupation of Morocco by France was not portrayed as a hopeless situation. While people did not always approve of Renault's methods in Casablanca, there were no outright challenges to his authority and the underground rebellion in Casablanca was focused on the German threat, which posed a far greater danger to the future of freedom and democracy than Renault's political maneuverings. The problems in the occupation of Casablanca came from the orders that Renault's offices received from Vichy France and Nazi Germany. This sentiment of interference from outsiders who do not fully understand or appreciate the situation can be seen in MacArthur's conflict of wills with the Far Eastern Commission.¹⁴² Faced with a choice between being occupied by a force that was at least there and aware of problems and willing to try to resolve them, or being run by an absent commission that did not understand the situation and therefore could not generate directives that would help resolve the problems, the better choice would be SCAP, just as the people of

¹⁴⁰ *Summation of Non-Military Activities in Japan and Korea, No.1 September-October 1945*. NARA II.

¹⁴¹ "Incoming Message to CINCAFAC [MacArthur] from Washington," *National Diet Library*. http://www.ndl.go.jp/constitution/e/shiryō/03/053/053_001r.html

¹⁴² Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 178

Casablanca's best option was Renault. The Far Eastern Commission was removed enough from the situation to not care about the day-to-day effects of their directives on the people, and the commission had goals that did not always match up with those of SCAP.¹⁴³ Strasser was very similar in that his motivation and reasoning behind taking action were focused on what would benefit the Reich rather than what would be best for Casablanca and its inhabitants. The film showed that the Occupation officials were struggling to work things out and help the people as well, which could have generated sympathy amongst the people and encouraged cooperation as the end goals of the Occupation and the Japanese people had many similarities.¹⁴⁴

Race and Colonialism

It is undeniable the race and racial prejudices played a vital role in the Second World War. From Hitler's campaign against Jews and others in Europe to the high-strung tensions raging in the Pacific theater, racial issues compounded the situation. The fighting in the Pacific theater was intense, brought about by propaganda techniques used by governments to dehumanize the enemy to make it easier to attack and destroy them.¹⁴⁵ The techniques that had been so useful in encouraging troops to fight so ruthlessly to defeat a terrible foe created a dilemma for the peacetime activities of SCAP at the end of the war. They had to overcome the idea of Americans as heartless demons intent on destroying Japan and instead try to build an image of people who were not all that different and were interested in building a mutually beneficial future. The Allied Forces were faced with a similar dilemma with re-imagining the Japanese people as a group

¹⁴³ Takamae, *Allied Occupation*, 96, 266

¹⁴⁴ *Asahi Shinbun*, July 3 1946

¹⁴⁵ John W. Dower, *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (New York: Pantheon, 1987) Chapter 2

worth working for and with. In order for the Occupation to succeed, old ways of thinking and prejudices would have to be overcome¹⁴⁶.

The Nazi persecution of the Jews and others is present throughout *Casablanca*, most clearly through the interactions of Strasser and Lazlo. Lazlo had been held in concentration camps for his outspoken dislike of what the Nazis were doing to the people of Europe. The division of people along arbitrary lines of race, religion or physical bearing was detrimental to society as a whole, as well as morally questionable. Casablanca was composed of a hodgepodge of people from all different places who managed to come together and form a life for themselves. The fact that they came from all walks of life helped society rather than harmed it. By utilizing people from various backgrounds, societies are able to grow and flourish. Change threatens the power of those in positions of authority, however, and they often try to remove any instigators from society. Strasser's dedication to capturing Lazlo and putting him back in a concentration camp, or ensuring that he is trapped in Casablanca, unable to do anything to challenge or threaten Nazi aims in Europe, is an example of authority figures trying to contain or eliminate threats to their social order. There was a clear divide between the Germans and those loyal to them in Casablanca, and those who were more sympathetic to Unoccupied France and other victims and opponents of the Nazis.

While Japan had been allied with Germany during the war, it had not adopted the party line of persecution of Jews and other so-called "undesirables." However, there was an underlying sense of Japanese superiority that grew from the mytho-history of Japan and the Japanese people being created and blessed by the gods.¹⁴⁷ The idea of the "Yamato Race" pervaded much of

¹⁴⁶ Dower, *War Without Mercy*, Chapter 11

¹⁴⁷ Donald Keene, *Anthology of Japanese Literature: From the Earliest Era to the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (New York: Grove Press, 1955) 20.

Japanese history and was the motivating factor in many of the attempts to expand the Empire.¹⁴⁸ Along with ideas of expansion and divine rights, the idea that Japanese people were superior to others created tension between Japan and other nations, and led to persecution of foreigners in Japan. After the Sino-Japanese wars and the Japanese colonization of Korea, tensions were extremely high amongst the Asian countries, and there was persecution in Japan of people of Chinese or Korean ancestry. There was also the distrust and fear of European foreigners that had evolved from the arrival of Dutch traders in the 1600s and eventually Commodore Matthew Perry's arrival in 1853 that opened Japan to the West.¹⁴⁹ Upon its arrival in Japan, SCAP had to overcome the firmly delineated lines in Japanese society about where foreigners stood in the scheme of things. With SCAP came many American ideals, including the practice of equal rights. In order to try and level the footing for all people in the country, SCAP had to try to dismiss the ideal of the Yamato Race and instead create the ideal of a more global society, where different people could come together and work for a common goal.

The fact that Casablanca was composed of people with different ideals and beliefs who managed to work together and form a cohesive society was an image that would benefit SCAP. The fact that such different characters as Renault, Rick and Ferrari could put aside their differences, at least for a time, in order to achieve a common goal was a positive message about the Occupation and its chances for success.¹⁵⁰ The dynamics between Rick and Lazlo were also a positive commentary on putting aside differences to work for a specific end. Both Rick and Lazlo loved Ilsa, and they wanted to do what was right for her. Even though both men wanted to be the one to escape Casablanca with Ilsa, they both were willing to let the other man be the one if that

¹⁴⁸ Dower, *War Without Mercy*, Chapter 10

¹⁴⁹ John W. Dower, "Black Ships and Samurai." Massachusetts Institute of Technology. 2008. Accessed December 23, 2010. http://ocw.mit.edu/ans7870/21f/21f.027/black_ships_and_samurai/bss_essay01.html

¹⁵⁰ *Summation of Non-Military Activities in Japan and Korea No. 4 January 1946.*
NARA II.

was what Ilsa wanted. Rick's possession of the transit papers gave him a great deal of power over the situation, which for much of the movie made it seem as though Rick would run away with Ilsa at the end. Instead, Rick deferred to Lazlo, wishing them both good luck and a better future. The idea that Rick was an American willing to selflessly help someone else was also not a bad reflection on SCAP.

The fact that America itself was very similar to Casablanca's hodgepodge of people from different backgrounds who forged a strong and prosperous society was an important image. While race played a vital role in American history and in the war in the Pacific, *Casablanca* did not utilize race as a determining factor for the future. The employees in Rick's café were just one example of this. Rick employed people from all over in his café, from locals to refugees to old friends, regardless of where they came from. Instead, Rick judged them based on their personal character. One clear contrast between assessment by race and by personal character in Rick's café was seen in Rick's reaction to two different Germans. The first was Carl, the maître de at the café, someone who Rick trusted and liked, possibly from their common history of fighting for the underdog. Rick had once been a gunrunner for a revolution, and Carl was part of the underground movement to subvert the Nazis. The other was a German officer who had come with Major Strasser, who walked into Rick's with an air of entitlement because he was an officer of the Reich. When he wasn't allowed into the gambling room, he took great offense and asked if Rick knew who he was. Rick's response was that yes, he did know that the man was a German officer and that he was lucky he was even allowed service at the bar. The idea of judging based on personal character and not relying on stereotypes would have been very important in SCAP's goal of overcoming wartime propaganda.¹⁵¹ While dangerously hypocritical, Rick is judging the German soldier based on political affiliation rather than personal behaviors. Instead, he looks past the front that is presented to see if the person beneath is of good character.

¹⁵¹ *SCAPIN 1945-1951*. SCAPIN 6591, Nov. 1946 Box 2350. NARA II.

Another important dynamic seen throughout the film is the relationship between Rick and Sam. Rick and Sam had been together for years, from Rick's flight from New York to his escapades in Spain, through his time in Paris with Ilsa and all the way to Casablanca and Rick's Café. While the idea of a white man and a black man being friends may have been a bit novel at the time, it does emphasize the benefits of working across societal boundaries instead of allowing society to dictate what friendships are acceptable. Due to the depth of their friendship, Sam is able to be there for Rick when he needs it, knowing what to say or how to help the situation. The scene after hours in the Café the night Ilsa and Rick reunite demonstrates the importance of their friendship. Rick was sitting by himself in the dark, drinking and wallowing in self-pity when Sam sat down with him to try and distract him from how bleak everything appeared to be. As they sat in the dark, Sam ended up playing "As Time Goes By" on the piano as Rick reminisces about his time with Ilsa in Paris. While Sam cannot do much more for Rick than be there and offer a shoulder to lean on, his presence also confirms that Rick is not alone.

The idea that a deep friendship could grow between two people of such different backgrounds spoke to the possibility of SCAP officials becoming more than just the tolerated Occupiers. As time went on, the officials experienced more of the culture and community of the Japanese people.¹⁵² This increased connection to the people of the country they were rebuilding could only be beneficial. The fact that Sam was there for Rick, while also experiencing some of the same pain and difficulties, paralleled SCAP's struggles throughout the Occupation. The officials first on the scene in Japan after the end of the war were living in the same conditions as many of the Japanese people, before reconstruction efforts had begun. While American troops did have more supplies available to them, they were by no means living in luxury. While some more upscale buildings in Tokyo were claimed for the headquarters of SCAP and the upper officials

¹⁵² Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, Chapter 8

had adequate housing, there was not enough to go around at first.¹⁵³ The shared hardships created a starting ground from which to build the friendships that could be so crucial to the success of the Occupation, as Sam and Rick's friendship was to the story of *Casablanca*.

Another change to the Japanese empire was the fact that the end of the war also saw the loss of all the countries they had colonized, from Korea to islands in the Philippines.¹⁵⁴ This removed not only a majority of the natural resources that Japan had utilized to wage its war, but it also dealt another blow to the ideal of the Yamato Race. For a nation that had once viewed itself as the strongest nation in Asia, fit to be the leader of the Great Pan-Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere and equal to the Western powers, to be defeated and occupied was a blow to the nation's morale. Colonialism had once been a foundation of society, but with the end of the war, Japan's empire was to become a thing of the past.

Strasser and Renault's discussion on the continued future of the Third Reich and its efforts to take over the countries of Europe ran parallel to the fate of Japan. While Germany was a mighty nation and fully convinced of its superiority, its ambitious efforts to take control and build its wealth were straining the hold it had on its current territories. Although in 1941, when the movie was set, Germany was on the march and seemed unstoppable, there was always the looming possibility of overextension and defeat. Strasser's presence in *Casablanca* and his concerns with Lazlo's efforts were proof of an awareness of fallibility. The Japanese empire, too, had extended itself too far and it had suffered defeat for its underestimations of the enemy. Although colonialism had worked in favor of strong nations in the past, the world was changing and colonies were becoming harder and harder to maintain and control. Germany's struggle to maintain its hold throughout Europe was just one example of this.

¹⁵³ Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 173

¹⁵⁴ "Treaty of Peace with Japan." September 8, 1951, accessed February 18, 2011.
<http://www.taiwandocuments.org/sanfrancisco01.htm>

Another scene that speaks to an end of colonialism is in the final sequences of the film. After Rick has Renault sign the transit papers and Lazlo and Ilsa have boarded the plane to leave Casablanca, Major Strasser arrives at the airfield to try and stop them. As he attempts to call the air traffic control tower to order them to ground the flight, Rick shoots him to stop him. Renault orders his men to, once again, round up the usual suspects in the investigation of the murder of Major Strasser, rather than arresting Rick for the crime. As the plane takes off, Rick and Renault are left to contemplate what the future holds in store for them. Walking away from the airfield, Rick and Renault discuss leaving Casablanca and making a new life for themselves, in a place free of the restrictions of Casablanca and wartimes regimes. Just as Rick took hold of the moment and set off to make a better future for himself, so to could the Japanese people rebuild from the ashes of war-ravaged Japan.¹⁵⁵

The death of Major Strasser was a symbolic blow against colonialism and Nazi power over European countries. His inability to enforce German policy in Casablanca, and also his inability to prevent Victor Lazlo, an enemy of the Reich, from escaping Casablanca to continue his fight from elsewhere, were examples of the fading power of Germany. The struggle between Strasser and Lazlo throughout the film had been a symbol of the struggle of democracy against the rising tide of Nazism and Fascism in Europe during World War II. Lazlo was the shining ideal of democracy and equal rights for the people in the face of Hitler's march against the basic rights of anyone he deemed to be less than perfect. The death of Strasser at Rick's hand, and the continuation of life afterward, was an idea that worked in favor of the Occupation. While America was a shining symbol of democracy and hope for freedom, the shadow of Nazism had presented a threat to those ideals.¹⁵⁶ In the end, America dealt a lasting blow to Hitler's forces and the Axis powers began to collapse. As Rick walks away from the scene with Renault, he presents

¹⁵⁵ *Kinema Junpo*, July 1, 1946.

¹⁵⁶ Koppes and Black, *Hollywood Goes to War*, 258

the chance of building a future, one set around the people and people's rights rather than colonialism and imperial edicts. Japan was in the midst of changes like these, and those changes were being forced upon them by the American Occupation forces. Any positive reaction to the Allies' changes would have been beneficial and were, in fact, encouraged.¹⁵⁷

Americanism

The setting for most of the movie was Rick's Café Americain, a little place where everyone could go for good company and good times. The name of the establishment is just one of the indicators of its unique place in Casablanca. Of all the establishments in Casablanca, Rick's is owned by an American who seems to have no motivation other than running a business establishment, which is a far cry from the French government or other businessmen like Signor Ferrari in Casablanca. As Renault says, "Everybody goes to Rick's," mainly because it is a fairly neutral establishment. Rick does not engage himself in the politics of Casablanca, and he keeps himself aloof from the customers in his bar and gambling room. While he presents a cool exterior, uncaring of the rest of the world as long as it doesn't affect his profit margin, Rick does care about the fate of the people that visit his establishment. His willingness to extend a helping hand can be seen in various actions throughout the film, from the staff he hired to work in his café to the young girl and her fiancée who he helped win enough in the gambling room to be able to afford visas so they could escape from Casablanca.

If even the seemingly self-serving Rick was willing to help someone less fortunate than himself, there was hope for others that they, too, could one day encounter such an individual.

¹⁵⁷ "Kenpo Mondai Chosa Iinkai Shian," *Mainichi Shinbun*, February 1, 1946.

Maybe there would be someone in SCAP who, after looking past the gruff exterior, was willing to help a Japanese citizen who approached with a plea for aid. As SCAP officers began to arrive in Japan and begin the long process of rebuilding everything, an image of Americans as people who took an interest in those they could help would not have gone astray.¹⁵⁸ Even though the Occupation officially began in August of 1945, there was not an immediate dissemination of officials to all parts of Japan. The spread of media and movies helped introduce the foreign occupier to the more remote areas, sometimes even before the people of the region came into contact with SCAP officials.¹⁵⁹ Any reinforcement of positive images of Americans would have aided in SCAP's efforts nationwide.

The idea of Rick being able to put aside his own personal desires in order to do something that would benefit a "greater good" was also captured in his willingness to let Lazlo and Ilsa be the ones to flee Casablanca using the transit papers. While Rick had remained removed from the politics of most of the film, when there was a very real threat to someone he cared about, he took action. Rick's path echoed the course of America's role in World War II. While taking an interest in events in terms of profits and which side had the "right" ideas, America had remained mostly removed from the scene until the December 7, 1941, attack on Pearl Harbor. Only after there was direct violence against them did America mobilize its troops, to continue to protect its ideals and the direct threat to its power. A country firmly committed at least to the idea of democracy and equal rights was not the worst thing that could have faced Japan in the aftermath of its defeat. A country that could instill in its citizens ideals and character as seen in Rick had the potential to aid and reshape the war-ravaged country. The view of America as a benevolent occupier as opposed to a foreign demon come to oppress the Japanese

¹⁵⁸ *Summation of Non-Military Activities in Japan and Korea, No. 6 March 1946*, 137.
NARA II.

¹⁵⁹ Kitamura, *Screening Enlightenment*, 132

people was a definite change in the wartime and post-war propaganda campaigns.¹⁶⁰ A benevolent occupier would hopefully lower the resistance of the people to the changes the Occupiers hoped to carry out throughout the country, including an end to the Emperor system as the sovereign governing line and the installation of a democratic system.

The ideas being proposed by SCAP captured the ideals many people held about America being a land of plenty with a democratic government and happy citizens.¹⁶¹ A government that listened to the people and acted in their interests, an economy that allowed Japan to sustain itself and begin to get a foothold in the global market and a more equal social structure were just some of the ideals. Many of these ideals were reflected in *Casablanca* as well, part of the reason people flocked to the theaters to see American motion pictures.¹⁶²

The prospects of going to a place where anyone could work to achieve their dream seemed almost too good to be real in the face of the hardships facing people in war-torn Europe or stopping places such as Casablanca. Ugarte and the transit papers represented this goal and the price people were willing to pay to achieve it. While Ugarte himself was not interested in using the papers to get out of Casablanca, he knew that almost anyone else in the town would pay a pretty price for those papers. From the black market sale of the papers, Ugarte would likely have made enough money to live happily in Casablanca, and if not there, then he would have enough to buy his way to another locale. Ugarte was not able to realize his own dreams, but with his death the papers passed to Rick, who used them to fulfill someone else's dream. While there was little hope of any Japanese citizens making it to America to live the dream, with the arrival of SCAP came the opportunity to live a part of the American dream in Japan.¹⁶³

¹⁶⁰ Dower, *War Without Mercy*, 278

¹⁶¹ *Eiga no Tomo*, June 1946

¹⁶² *Kindai Eiga*, August 1946.

¹⁶³ Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 227

Lazlo was a dreamer, focused on the goal of democracy and rights for all of society. His dream was being crushed by the German advance through Europe and he wanted to go to America where he felt he would be able to continue his fight, and where he would be better able to assist the resistance. From America, Lazlo would be able to network as well as keep printing his protests against Nazi ideology and actions. Also, while still fighting for his cause, Lazlo would be able to insure Ilsa's safety as well as his own. The safety that America promised in relation to the extreme Nazi persecution of Jews and others was a huge draw for many of the people in Casablanca, many of whom had fled persecution in their home countries. During and before the war, there had been sub-par treatment of foreigners in Japan, especially Chinese or Koreans living in Japan. SCAP, with its policies on democracy and equality, offered the possibility for change and more equal treatment in society.¹⁶⁴

The realization of the dream of reaching America was also seen in *Casablanca*, in the scene between Carl and two German patrons at Rick's café, Mr. and Mrs. Leuchtag. As the married couple sat at a table and Carl brought over some brandy for them, the couple began talking excitedly about the fact that the next day they were leaving Casablanca for America. After proudly proclaiming that because they were soon going to be in America and trying to blend into society, they would speak nothing but English. To prove this to Carl, the two began a conversation about the time, which went, "Liebchen, uh, sweetness heart, what watch?" "Ten watch." "Such much?"¹⁶⁵ Carl's response was to nod along and tell them that he was sure they would "get along beautifully in America." This scene emphasized the fact that while many people wanted to get to America, they had this dream in their head of what it would be like but no real concept of what they would face. While an optimistic attitude would take them far, they were woefully unprepared for the cultural and linguistic differences between their homes they were

¹⁶⁴ Toshio Nishi, *Unconditional Democracy: Education and Politics in Occupied Japan, 1945-1952* (Stanford, California: Hoover Institution Press, 1982) Chapter 3

¹⁶⁵ Epstein, *Casablanca*

fleeing from and the America they were seeking, which was not always the America they would find upon their arrival. The troops arriving in Japan were experiencing a similar disconnect, as most U.S. soldiers spoke no Japanese, and the Japanese people did not speak English. The troops were also being thrust into a new culture, one very different from that at home, as well as different from the culture that had been described to them through wartime propaganda.¹⁶⁶ The America that the Japanese were experiencing through the Occupation was not always the one portrayed on Hollywood's screen, as evidenced by the occurrence of crimes and other flaws that were kept from the screen.¹⁶⁷

The dream of a better, peaceful life that was often a foreigner's dream of America also held some sway in Japan. After Japan had been opened to the west, and goods and culture began to filter into the society, an appreciation of and desire for Western ways of life began developing.¹⁶⁸ The Japanese idea of America did not necessarily involve going to America but rather bringing all the best parts of America and the West to Japan. The arrival of American forces took the decision to bring American ways into Japan out of the hands of the Japanese, but there was at least a receptiveness for the Occupation to build upon. While some of that had been worn away by the propaganda demonizing the West and America, many more people were so tired and exhausted from the years of fighting that they would welcome any peace and improvement to their daily life.

American ideology and material culture were not the only things that the Occupation brought to Japan. Along with the American soldiers moving to Japan for the long-term Occupation came a need to house and entertain the soldiers. One type of entertainment came in the form of musical performances, most especially jazz bands.¹⁶⁹ Music provided a way for some

¹⁶⁶ Dower, *War Without Mercy*, Chapter 4

¹⁶⁷ Kitamura, *Screening Enlightenment*, 35

¹⁶⁸ Gordon, *History*, 232-236

¹⁶⁹ Shunya Yoshimi, "Expo Syndrome: Postwar Politics and Cultural Struggle in

of the locals to earn a little money or some food, it kept the soldiers occupied with harmless forms of entertainment, and it created a means of cultural exchange. Not only did the musicians have to learn a new style, but many of the lyrics were in English, so in order to perform the songs, people had to begin learning at least some basic English. SCAP assisted in the efforts to learn English by producing pamphlets with simple phrases and pronunciations in them.¹⁷⁰

Music as a bridging tool was seen in *Casablanca* as well, most memorably in the scene where Ilsa asks Sam to play “As Time Goes By” for her as she sits in Rick’s café. Rick had forbidden Sam from playing that song after they left Paris, because of the painful memories associated with it, but when Ilsa requested it, Rick told Sam to play it. Listening to the song brought back all the old memories and allowed Rick to confront Ilsa about why she had left. Aside from the memories the song held for the characters in the movie, the lyrics themselves were very important. Much of the song was about the struggles to maintain a relationship through turbulent times, but other lines such as, “It’s still the same old story, a fight for love and glory, a case of do or die,” spoke of a larger struggle to survive in the world. While it would not always be easy, there would always be something worth striving for, worth living for, and that message was one that the Japanese people could cling to as they began to rebuild their lives after the war.¹⁷¹

Casablanca was not only a tale about war and politics but also it was a story about love. Rick and Ilsa’s story was wrought with hardships but it was also very touching because it was clear how much the two cared about each other. Equally evident were the feelings between Lazlo and Ilsa. The love story in *Casablanca* was a far cry from much of the wartime propaganda and films that the Japanese people had previously had, films that had emphasized love for the Emperor and a willingness to die for the honor and glory of the empire. The story of people who were willing to take action for those they loved was not common in Japanese cinema. The idea of

Contemporary Japan.” (*Chikuma Shobo*. 2005)

¹⁷⁰ Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, Chapter 3, 165

¹⁷¹ *Kindai Eiga*, August 1946

wanting to do something for someone because you cared about them, and wanting to affect change on a grander scale to make a better place to live in, were grander social ideals that fit with SCAP's agenda of reforming Japan. Such a large-scale reformation would only work with the aid and cooperation of the people, and if those people had a reason to care, something to look forward to and work toward, the process would be much easier. There would always be some level of resentment and a wariness of these foreigners who were changing the basic components of life as the Japanese had known it, but by showing that the Occupiers were human, too, willing to work hard but not above making mistakes, there was common ground to start the rebuilding process. Commonalities, such as Rick's compassion or Renault's ability to do something good, would hopefully ease the changes and make people more receptive to the Occupation forces. The very fact that *Casablanca* was a love story broke from the wartime censorship of anything romantic, and instead encouraged one of the CIE's goals of democratizing Japan through enlightenment films.¹⁷²

¹⁷² Kitamura, *Screening Enlightenment*, 147

Conclusion

As *Casablanca* gained in popularity amongst the Japanese people, it fit right into the role SCAP had intended for it. Not only had the film provided an escape from reality in the war-ravaged nation, but it also encouraged new thoughts amongst the people. From growing support for democracy to an increased interest in America and American films around the nation, SCAP's occupation goals seemed more attainable than when the Allies had first arrived in Japan in August of 1945. By 1951, when the San Francisco Peace Treaty was signed, Japan had come a long way from the demoralized, devastated country it had been at the beginning of the Occupation. The infrastructure of the nation had been rebuilt, economic recovery was under way and the government was operating under a new democratic constitution.

While not the only factor in cementing a future for democracy in Japan, *Casablanca*, along with the other initial-release films, was instrumental in setting the tone at the beginning of the Occupation, allowing SCAP future opportunities to build on the foundations laid by the initial films and the public's welcome reaction to them. With such positive public reception to SCAP's early initiatives, the pressure for the success of the Occupation lessened. The Japanese people taking up the causes that SCAP championed encouraged more self-reliance, and as the Occupation drew to a close, SCAP was comfortable handing over the reins of the newly reconstructed Japan back to the people that had adopted the foreign constitution and directives as their own.

The level at which Japan fully embraced and adopted the culture and democracy presented to them by SCAP through new initiatives and through movies is still seen in Japan today. The constitution drafted and promoted by SCAP remains the main governing document to

this day, and it has undergone no major amendments. That a piece of foreign legislature adopted by Japan in a time of high stress has remained virtually untouched and is fiercely valued by the people is a testament to the lasting efforts of SCAP to encourage democracy and foster better relations with Japan.

Even with an understanding of *Casablanca*'s relevance to the democratizing of Japan, there are still avenues of research to be explored pertaining to the fluctuations in the popularity of American films in relation to domestic films during and immediately after the Occupation. If the readers of *Eiga no Tomo* were administered a similar poll in 1953, after the end of the Occupation, would *Casablanca* still have rated as high in the popular films category? Would other American films have taken its place? Or would the rise of domestic production have relegated American films to another category, one less popular than current Japanese films? Were there echoes of *Casablanca* in later Japanese films of the period, or even in more modern films today? Democracy is still a topic for discussion in Japan today, and the difference in expression of ideals and the people's reaction is surely different. However, there are most likely still echoes of the past in modern expressions, and *Casablanca* was an important part of Japan's democratic past.

Bibliography

English Language Sources

- Augé, Marc. *Casablanca: Movies and Memory*. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press. 2009.
- Dower, John W. "Black Ships and Samurai." Massachusetts Institute of Technology. 2008. Accessed December 23, 2010. http://ocw.mit.edu/ans7870/21f/21f.027/black_ships_and_samurai/bss_essay01.html
- Dower, John W. *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc. 1999.
- Dower, John W. *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War*. New York: Pantheon. 1987.
- Epstein Julius J. and Philip G. Epstein. *Casablanca*. Directed By Michael Curtiz. United States: Warner Bros.: 1942.
- Gordon, Andrew. *A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa Times to the Present, Second Edition*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2009.
- High, Peter B. *The Imperial Screen: Japanese Film Culture in the Fifteen Years' War, 1931-1945*. Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press. 2003.
- Hirano, Kyoko. *Mr. Smith Goes to Tokyo: Japanese Cinema under the American Occupation, 1945-1952*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press. 1992.
- Keene, Donald. *Anthology of Japanese Literature: From the Earliest Era to the Mid-Nineteenth Century*. New York: Grove Press. 1955.
- Kitamura, Hiroshi. *Screening Enlightenment: Hollywood and the Cultural Reconstruction of Defeated Japan*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press. 2010.
- Koch, Howard. *Casablanca: Script and Legend*. Woodstock, New York: The Overlook Press. 1973.
- Koppes, Clayton R. and Gregory Black. *Hollywood Goes to War: How Politics, Profits, and Propaganda Shaped World War II Movies*. Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1987.
- McDonald, Keiko I. *Reading a Japanese Film: Cinema in Context*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2006.
- Nishi, Toshio. *Unconditional Democracy: Education and Politics in Occupied Japan*,

- 1945-1952. Stanford, California: Hoover Institution Press. 1982.
- Nolletti, Jr., Arthur and David Desser. *Reframing Japanese Cinema: Authorship, Genre, History*. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press. 1992.
- Richie, Donald. *A Hundred Years of Japanese Film: A Concise History, with a Selective Guide to DVDs and Videos*. New York: Kodansha International. 2005.
- Rollins, Peter C. and John E. O'Connor. *Why We Fought: America's Wars in Film and History*. Lexington, Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky. 2008.
- Sorensen, Lars-Martin. *Censorship of Japanese Films During the U.S. Occupation of Japan: The Cases of Yusjiro Ozu and Akira Kurosawa*. Lewiston, New York: Edwin Mellen Press. 2009.
- Takamae, Eiji. *The Allied Occupation of Japan*. New York: The Continuum International Publishing Group Inc.. 2003.
- Weekly and Monthly Summations of Various Activities, compiled 1945-1948*. ARC ID: 648492, MLR #UD: 295, Record Group 331, Boxes 5-9. Archives II Reference Section (Military), The National Archives at College Park, Maryland.
- Yoshimi, Shunya. "Expo Syndrome: Postwar Politics and Cultural Struggle in Contemporary Japan." *Chikuma Shobo*. 2005.
- Yoshimoto, Mitsuhiro. *Kurosawa: Film Studies and Japanese Cinema*. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press. 2000.
- The Confusion Era: Art and Culture of Japan During the Allied Occupation, 1945-1952*. Washington, DC: The Smithsonian Institution Press. 1997.
- "Exclusion of Undesirable Personnel from Public Office." SCAPIN 550, January 4, 1946. *National Diet Library*. Accessed February 17, 2011. http://www.ndl.go.jp/modern/e/img_1/M006/M006-0011.html
- "Imperial Rescript on the Termination of the War." August 14, 1945. *National Diet Library*. Accessed February 17, 2011. <http://www.ndl.go.jp/constitution/e/shiryo/01/017shoshi.html>
- "Incoming Message to CINCPAC [MacArthur] from Washington (War)." 28 December 1945. *National Diet Library*. Accessed February 17, 2011. http://www.ndl.go.jp/constitution/e/shiryo/03/053/053_001r.html
- "Instrument of Surrender." September 2, 1945. *National Diet Library*. Accessed February 17, 2011. <http://www.ndl.go.jp/constitution/e/etc/c05.html>
- "MacArthur's Three Basic Points." February 4, 1946. *National Diet Library*. Accessed February 17, 2011. http://www.ndl.go.jp/constitution/e/shiryo/03/072/072_0021.html

- “New Constitution Holds Rosy Future, Atcheson Declares.” November 3, 1946, *Nippon Timesu. National Diet Library*. Accessed February 17, 2011. http://www.ndl.go.jp/constitution/e/shiryu/04/002_42/002_42_001r.html
- “Potsdam Declaration.” July 26, 1945. *National Diet Library*. Accessed February 17, 2011. <http://www.ndl.go.jp/constitution/e/etc/c06.html>
- “The Constitution of Japan.” November 3, 1946. *National Diet Library*. Accessed February 17, 2011. <http://www.ndl.go.jp/constitution/e/etc/c01.html>
- “Treaty of Peace with Japan.” September 8, 1951. Accessed February 18, 2011. <http://www.taiwandocuments.org/sanfrancisco01.htm>
- “The Russian Revolution.” *The Times*, March 16, 1917. Accessed 13 April, 2011. http://archive.timesonline.co.uk/tol/viewArticle.arc?articleId=ARCHIVE-The_Times-1917-03-16-07-002&pageId=ARCHIVE-The_Times-1917-03-16-07.
- CCD to CIE SCAP Records*. May 1946. Box 8603. Archives II Reference Section (Military), The National Archives at College Park, Maryland.
- General Record of SCAP, compiled 1945-1949*. ARC ID: 1374061, MLR #UD: A1 1080, Record Group 4B, Box 1. Archives II Reference Section (Military), The National Archives at College Park, Maryland.
- SCAPIN, compiled 1945-1951*. ARC ID: 363010, MLR #UD: 1446, Record Group 331, Box 2490. Archives II Reference Section (Military), The National Archives at College Park, Maryland.
- SCAPIN, compiled 1945-1951*. ARC ID: 361040, MLR #UD: 1419, Record Group 331, Box 2350. Archives II Reference Section (Military), The National Archives at College Park, Maryland.
- SCAP-CIE Field Unit, Fukuoka*. ARC ID: 413035, MLR #UD: 5180, Record Group 331, Box 5180. Archives II Reference Section (Military), The National Archives at College Park, Maryland.
- SCAP-CIE Field Unit, Nagoya*. ARC ID: 413036, MLR #UD: 5180, Record Group 331, Box 5180. Archives II Reference Section (Military), The National Archives at College Park, Maryland.
- SCAP-CIE Field Unit, Kure*. ARC ID: 413039, MLR #UD: 5180, Record Group 331, Box 5180. Archives II Reference Section (Military), The National Archives at College Park, Maryland.
- SCAP-CIE Field Unit, Tokyo*. ARC ID: 413042, MLR #UD: 5180, Record Group 331, Box 5180. Archives II Reference Section (Military), The National Archives at College Park, Maryland.

SCAP-CIE Field Unit, Sapporo. ARC ID: 413038, MLR #UD: 5180, Record Group 331, Box 5180. Archives II Reference Section (Military), The National Archives at College Park, Maryland.

SCAP-CIE Field Unit, Osaka. ARC ID: 413037, MLR #UD: 5180, Record Group 331, Box 5180. Archives II Reference Section (Military), The National Archives at College Park, Maryland.

Program for SCAP-CIE, GHQ Regional Youth Officers, 1945-1952. ARC ID: 430605, MLR #UD: 1701, Record Group 331. Archives II Reference Section (Military), The National Archives at College Park, Maryland.

CIE GHQ SCAP – IFEL, 1948-1950. ARC ID: 422883, MLR #UD: 1682, Record Group 331. Archives II Reference Section (Military), The National Archives at College Park, Maryland.

Intra-SCAP Committee: Summary of Major Research Problems of the PO % SR Branch, CIE, 1946-1951. ARC ID: 429119, MLR #UD: 1700, Record Group 331. Archives II Reference Section (Military), The National Archives at College Park, Maryland.

Japanese Language Sources

Azami. August 1, 1946. A541, Microfiche Collection, Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland at College Park, Maryland.

Eiga no Tomo. July 5, 1946: 17. E47, Microfiche Collection, Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland at College Park, Maryland.

Eiga no Tomo. June 5, 1946: 6-9, 15. E47, Microfiche Collection, Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland at College Park, Maryland.

Eiga no Tomo. May 5, 1946: 3. E47, Microfiche Collection, Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland at College Park, Maryland.

Imamura, Shôhei. *Senso to Nihon Eiga: Kouza Nihon Eiga 4.* Japan: Iwanami Shoten. 1986.

“Kenpo Mondai Chosa Iinkai Shian.” *Mainichi Shinbun.* February 1, 1946. *National Diet Library.* Accessed February 2011. http://www.ndl.go.jp/constitution/e/shiryo/03/070/070_001r.html

Kindai Eiga. April 1, 1946: 6-7. K1079, Microfiche Collection, Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland at College Park, Maryland.

Kindai Eiga. August 1, 1946: 22-23. K1079, Microfiche Collection, Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland at College Park, Maryland.

Kinema Junpo. August 10, 1946: 20-21. K1093, Microfiche Collection, Gordon W.

- Prange Collection, University of Maryland at College Park, Maryland.
- Kinema Junpo*. July 1, 1946: 7-8. . K1093, Microfiche Collection, Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland at College Park, Maryland.
- Kinema Junpo*. June 1, 1946. K1093, Microfiche Collection, Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland at College Park, Maryland.
- Kyushu Times*. July 25, 1946. NK-2799: Ky654, Microfilm Collection, Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland at College Park, Maryland.
- Kyushu Times*. July 30, 1946. NK-2799: Ky654, Microfilm Collection, Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland at College Park, Maryland.
- Kyushu Times*. June 8, 1946. NK-2799: Ky654, Microfilm Collection, Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland at College Park, Maryland.
- Kyushu Times*. August 1, 1946. NK-2799: Ky654, Microfilm Collection, Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland at College Park, Maryland.
- “Kasaburanka.” *Moshyon Pikuchya Raiburari (MPL)*. June 20, 1946: 1-60. M578, Microfiche Collection, Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland at College Park, Maryland.
- “Kasaburanka.” *Shinario*. October 15, 1946: 45. S1288, Microfiche Collection, Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland at College Park, Maryland.
- “Kasaburanka.” *Shin Eiga*. April 1, 1946: 6-7. S1329, Microfiche Collection, Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland at College Park, Maryland.
- “Kasaburanka no Yami Ichi.” *Shyokou*. September 1, 1946. S2091, Microfiche Collection, Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland at College Park, Maryland.
- Nishi Nihon Shinbun*. July 31, 1946. NN-1096: Ni224, Vol. 1445, Page 2. Microfilm Collection, Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland at College Park, Maryland.
- Nishi Nihon Shinbun*. August 6, 1946. NN-1096: Ni224, Vol. 1451, Page 2. Microfilm Collection, Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland at College Park, Maryland.
- Nishi Nihon Shinbun*. December 25, 1946. NN-1096: Ni224, Vol. 1590, Page 2. Microfilm Collection, Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland at College Park, Maryland.
- Nishi Nihon Shinbun*. December 29, 1946. NN-1096: Ni224, Vol. 1594, Page 2. Microfilm Collection, Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland at College Park, Maryland.

Ryokuchi. October 1, 1946: 18-22. R524, Microfiche Collection, Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland at College Park, Maryland.

Sakuzo, Yoshino. "*Kensei no hongji o toite sono yushu no bi o nasu no michi o ronzu.*" January 1916.

The Boxing. December 15, 1949. B151, Microfiche Collection, Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland at College Park, Maryland.

The Cinema Art. August 15, 1946: 53-54. E56, Microfiche Collection, Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland at College Park, Maryland.

VITA

Kathryn Weller

Permanent Address

17 Brookside Drive
Huntington, N.Y. 11743

Current Address

422 Atherton Hall
University Park, Pa. 16802

E-mail: kew5117@gmail.com

Education:

Pennsylvania State University
Schreyer Honors College
Majors: History, International Studies and Asian Studies
Minor: Japanese
Expected date of graduation: May 2011

University Park, Pa.

Experience:

Saint Michael's College-Kanazawa Technical College Exchange Program

Winooski, Vt.
Summer 2008

- Worked in the classroom as a student assistant, helping teach English and acting as a conversation partner.
- Chaperoned the 52 students on trips, introducing them to American culture

IES Tokyo Study Abroad
• Studied at Kanda University

Chiba, Japan
March 2010-July 2010

Quinipet Methodist Camp and Retreat Center
• Camp counselor responsible for children age 5 to 17

Shelter Island, N.Y.
Summer 2009, Summer 2010

Barnes and Noble College Booksellers
• Work as a cashier and as a customer service representative

University Park, Pa.
February 2009-present

Huntington-Cold Spring Harbor United Methodist Church
Assistant Director of Sunday School

Huntington, N.Y.
Fall 2006-Spring 2007

Awards and Accomplishments:

Phi Beta Kappa Honor Society	2011
Phi Kappa Phi Honor Society	2011
Phi Alpha Theta History Honor Society	2009
Golden Key International Honour Society	2008
Dean's List	<i>All semesters</i>
Girl Scout Gold Award Recipient	2007
National Merit Corporate Scholarship (four years)	2007

Schreyer Scholarship for Academic Excellence (four years)

2007

Activities:

United Methodist Youth Fellowship	<i>2000-present</i>	Huntington, N.Y.
The Three Broomsticks, a Harry Potter Club	<i>2007-present</i>	University Park, Pa.
T.A.R.D.I.S., a Doctor Who Club - Officer, Webmaster	<i>2008-present</i>	University Park, Pa.
Penn State Fencing Club	<i>2008-present</i>	University Park, Pa.