

MacArthur, however, Norman considered the Emperor a "puppet" and not personally responsible for the war. He did not advocate his removal.

Norman favored the break up of the huge industrial complexes. He also advocated land reform to give the peasants a stake in the system, and an incentive to resist collectivisation. His suggestions for constitutional reform in 1948 consisted only of an increase in the voting weight of the lower chamber of the diet at the expense of the upper. After ensuring that the obvious evils of the old militarist Japan had been eliminated, he advocated leaving the maximum leeway to the Japanese to develop democratic institutions in their own way, and to have the right to learn by their own mistakes. The enormous appeal to the Japanese of Norman's writings and statements lay in good part in his focus on historical figures like Ando Shoen, who had developed an indigenous democratic philosophy. Writing a book about Shoen obviously gave Norman great personal satisfaction and it encouraged the Japanese to look to the best in their own traditions. He was scathing, however, in his judgment of contemporary Japanese politics - "a bleak and desolate swamp." Common to all the leaders were "chicanery, opportunism, collusion and ruthless ambition."

Barros has suggested that Norman diminished the image of General MacArthur; he did slip in a few gentle digs about the General's vanity, loquaciousness and apparent inconsistencies, but Norman also displayed enormous respect, admiration and affection for the General. He generally agreed with his policies - until MacArthur himself retreated from them. There was no one in sight with "the right sized feet" to fill the General's shoes, he wrote. When MacArthur used his near absolute power to forestall several large strikes, Norman reported that the aim was clearly to help the population, not the occupation, and he praised the General's explanation as "wise and sober."

As the Cold War intensified, and occupation policy shifted in emphasis from democratisation to converting Japan into a bastion of the "Free World," Norman's reports revealed regret rather than anger or opposition. He did not argue against the necessity to resist the North Korean invasion of the South, and he showed understanding for such measures as the closing down of the Communist press and the purge of the Party leadership even though the net, he thought, had been cast too wide. Early on Norman and the General had agreed that the Japanese Communists were not taking orders from the Soviet Union, and might well become in time socialist and democratic. Even before the Korean War, however, Norman had reported that the Communists were losing support because of their "toadying