DECLASSIFIED E. O. 12065 SECTION 3-402 / NNDG NO. 775015

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ITEM 11 Poor Policies and Oracular Principle - Magazine: Sekai Hyoron (Monthly) - Mar 48. Translator: K. Osawa. (RL)

401.1

Full Translation:

Japanese political parties are notorious for the poverty of their policies. What is the cause of this poverty? Is it not because all political parties announce so many policies in their election campaigns? In regard to number, the campaigns advanced by political parties of other countries may not surpass those put forward by Japanese political parties. The greater their number, the poorer they become.

In this respect, the Japan Social Democratic Party is similar to the others. Although the Socialists and their party may have forgotten it, the general policies announced by the party's Standing Executive Committee on 23 Sept 1946 covered 11 branches and contained 103 items, such as politics, diplomacy, finance, economics, labor, agriculture, social problems, young men, women, education and culture. In regard to these numbers, no other political party can surpass the Social Democrats. They gave birth to many programs, but took no efforts to implement them, which is consistent with the high Japanese death as well as birth rate.

It is doubtful if Japanese political parties are conscious that these policies should be brought to fulfillment. The problem is divided into two parts: One is the technical side which calls for logical formulation of prospective policies with accurate fundamental data. The other part is concerned with the finishing touches given to them in order to achieve practicability by inviting the criticism of democratic public opinion. In this case public opinion means the opinion of Diet representatives and the common citizens.

These two divisions are both unsatisfactory in present-day JAPAN. Fist, there is insufficient reliable data and not enough effort being put into, the collection or preparation of such material. Moreover, the drafters do not have sufficient technical knowledge. The logical sequence between Plans A, B, C, and D, is often treated with indifference.

Secondly, such hasty plans are presented without awaiting public criticism, as if they were sufficiently authoritative and no consideration need be taken as to whether or not they were effective or workable. In short, the first draft is submitted as if it were the last one.

Drafts of policies drawn up by political parties should be most accurate and minute, and should result from as many deliberations as possible. They should be the result of pains-taking efforts of experts, based on fundamental data. Even then the resultant plans should not be enforced at once, but should be published as the party's policy plans. The published report should contain an appendix, showing all data on which the plans are based. This publication then will have the modest purpose of being criticized by the public. Of course, this does not mean that the plan should be bound to public opinion; on the contrary, its real object is to form correct public opinion.

This is the way to set up policies in a democratic state. Nothing is more dangerous than the isolation of political parties from the general public which, except when receiving a priestly oracle, cannot be satisfied with the mere presentation of items.

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ITEM 3 Government May Call Political Holiday - Tokyo Shimbun - 5 Jan 48.
Translator: H. Akutsu. (DD)

401.1

Full Translation:

With the turn of the new year the political situation has come to a temporary lull in an atmosphere fraught with the anticipation of the great political battles for the life or death of the Katayama Cabinet. In this lull the Government is trying its utmost to take the offensive in strategic positions.

The Government held consecutive cabinet meetings toward the end of last month and discussed basic problems for the compilation of the 1948 fiscal year budget. A conference between the Economic Stabilization Board, the Finance Ministry, and the political affairs investigation committees of the three parties is scheduled for 8 Jan, through which the Government expects to draw up a concrete program for the budget compilation. The Government, however, is keenly aware of the necessity to strengthen the solidarity of the three government parties before these conferences begin.

The proposed Labor and Farmer Party, meanwhile, is understood to have decided to inaugurate its organization on 15 Jan. The new conservative party movement is expected to take a step further toward its realization around 10 Jan, when the New Conservative Party Organization Promotion League will be established as a result of the active movements of the Doshi Club. The Government, it is considered, will have to take some adequate measures to cope with the uprising of these new parties. Thus, it can be predicted that the lull in the political situation, will be broken before many days of the new year have gone by.

In this event, the question most worthy of attention is HIRANO's purge. Despite the repeated decisions of the Screening Appeals Commission to clear HIRANO of the purge, Government quarters consider it unlikely that HIRANO will be freed due to various other circumstances. It is anticipated that the steps which the Government will take to stabilize the political situation will be based along the lines of this observation.

Government Plans 20 Percent Reduction of Personnel

The Government, as Premier KATAYAMA declared, is planning to respond to the public opinion for the recovery of production with a long range economic recovery plan. Following the decision on the compilation policy for the 1948 fiscal year budget, the Government disclosed a detailed explanation of an administrative adjustment plan aiming at a flat 20 percent reduction of personnel. The disclosure will serve as an inducement for the adjustment of industrial enterprises. The Government is trying to enact a law designed to forbid the government field workers to enter into labor disputes, in an attempt to curb the progress of the labor offensive.

It must be noted that the Government recently hinted at its scheme to strengthen the three party coalition. In order to achieve this, the Government intends to call a political holiday before the foregoing measures are carried out, with the idea of concentrating political power. The calling of the political holiday is the Government's trump card to forestall the new party formation movement by the opposition parties under the leadership of the Liberal Party. But objections are being raised as to when and how to call the holiday, and moreover, it is held almost impossible to hope for the realization of the political holiday. Still, the Government appears to believe that the calling of a political holiday can be a measure held in reserve to meet the political situation arising during the new year holiday season.

Since the end of last month the Government has had the firm determination and conviction that it can weather the political situation and, consequently, it intends to work out measures to cope with the situation. It is likely that the enforcement of the measures will bring about disturbances in the political situation.

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ITEM 3 Expert Committee to Plan Administrative Reorganization - Jiji - 12 Jan 48. Translator: R. Aoki. (JJY)

401.1

Full Translation:

To complement the six-minister council on administrative adjustment which will commence detailed discussions tomorrow, the Government is now considering administrative reorganization. It will set up an Administrative Reorganization Committee in the Cabinet to deliberate the matter in a concrete manner.

Organization of such a committee has for some time been under study by State Minister SAITO, president of the Administrative Research Department. SAITO favors the plan because, with over-all revision of the Administrative Agencies Law in view, the Government must carry out rational reorganization of government systems, doing away with ministerial sectionalism. For that purpose a powerful committee of experts must be established. Actual plans for the committee are now under consideration by the Administrative Research Department. A bill covering this, after approval by the Cabinet, will be submitted to the Diet when it reconvenes.

The ARD's draft embodies these points: (1) The committee as a formal government committee will be subject to the jurisdiction of the Cabinet; (2) The committee will be composed of seven members representing the Government and the people; (3) The chairman will be the Premier, and the remaining six members will include three cabinet members and three private citizens; (4) The committee will make over-all plans and give decisions on government reorganization plans.

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ITEM 10 Abolish Internal Strife - Tokyo Times - 7 Jan 48. Translator: H. Furukawa. (GBS)

~~Total~~
4011

Summary:

There is a recent tendency among the people to declare themselves to be completely separated from the Communist Party. They seem to consider that they are entitled to enjoy the freedoms of speech and action as long as they have proven the fact that they are not members of the Communist Party and are free from its influences. The Communist Party today, however, is a legal party, and there is no restriction upon the study of communism. Whether or not one should support the communist Party should be determined by the needs of the country.

In the general election last spring, the Communists suffered an unexpected defeat. Since then, they are said to have been concentrating on underground movements instead of on parliamentary tactics. The general public seems to believe that the communistic fractions are behind the labor strifes, although the Communist Party and the labor unions deny this fact.

The world today is being divided into two camps through the controversies and struggles over the question of perfect democracy. Since the antagonism caused by divergent ideologies has already developed into an international political struggle, it has important relations with the postwar reconstruction of the world. EUROPE has already been bisected, and CHINA, which holds the central position in ASIA, is proceeding the same way. The situation in CHINA is of utmost concern to our country, since her fate has close relations with our economy and culture. It is natural, therefore, that the grave situation of our country is frequently mentioned by intellectuals in connection with the Chinese problem.

It is all-important for us to suppress internal strife and act in concert if we are to recover from the wounds of defeat. In reality, however, the domestic conditions of our country are far from satisfactory. The political parties are struggling only for power in the Diet, the Government lacks administrative ability, and the officials are insisting upon their rights without fulfilling their duties as public servants. The selfish tendency in officialdom is spreading among the workers in private concerns. If these lamentable conditions continue to exist, the work in both public and private enterprises will not progress, communication and transportation will stop, production will fall, and the internal strife will become more intense in the midst of social chaos. Does anyone want such a situation to come about?

The Japanese Communists are said to have no relation with the Cominform. We hope that this is true. We must frankly recognize the actual situation of Japanese politics and economy and find a way to reconstruct the country without causing further destruction. The Communists and the left-wing Socialists must realize that they can never win the people's support if they adhere to the policy of destruction when the nation is facing the task of reconstruction.

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ITEM 2 Premier Clarifies Government's Position - Mainichi - 24 Jan 48.
Translator: Y. Akabane. (FST)

Full Translation:

Yesterday's plenary session of the House of Councillors was opened at 1000 hours. The chairman reported on the death of two councillors, KINOSHITA, Morio (Liberal from NAGANO) and HORIUCHI, Itaru (Socialist from KUMAMOTO), followed by memorial addresses by KIUCHI, Shiro (Democrat) and AKAGI, Masao (RYOKUFUKAI). The House then proceeded with the order of the day: Interpellations on the Premier's administrative address to the Diet on Thursday.

401-1

MATSUSHIMA, Kisaku (Liberal): 1. The meaning of the three party coalition of the Katayama Cabinet has already disappeared. At this time when the four-party policy agreement was abolished at the recent Socialist Party convention, on what foundation will the cabinet base its policy? 2. What are the Government's preparations for funds and materials required for the expansion of production which is the prerequisite for economic reconstruction and the prevention of inflation?

Premier KATAYAMA: Through the development of the situation since the formation of the cabinet, the four-party policy agreement has subsequently become the three party agreement, along which administration has been carried on. What is currently an issue in the Socialist Party is a part of this three-party policy agreement; namely the question of the suspension of war bond interest payment, but the major portion of other items are being pushed forward along the lines of the agreement as a whole.

Finance Minister KURUSU: I think the prevention of inflation lies in a faithful execution of a sound budget.

SHIMOJO, Yasumaro: 1. To save the nation from the impending crisis, it is of paramount importance for the Government to drive its policy forward courageously toward its conviction. Is the Government fully prepared to carry out socialistic policy?

Premier: In view of the prevailing situation, the realization of the two-party theory is difficult, so I think it desirable to continue the coalition cabinet for some time to come. Accordingly, there are some instances in which difficulties will arise in the complete execution of the policy based on socialism. However, the Government intends to carry out effective policies for the expansion of production and impartial distribution.

As a supplementary reply to the interpellation of MATSUSHIMA, Kisaku, Commerce-Industry Minister MIZUTANI stated as follows:
1. Although the rationalization of various enterprises is absolutely necessary from the existing situation, it should not be by unilateral coercion of the Government as during the war. Instead, it must be based on a deep mutual understanding between capital and labor. 2. The increased coal output during December is entirely attributable to the earnest efforts of workers. The goal of 36,000,000 tons for the 1948-1949 fiscal year must be attained at all cost and the Government is now making all its preparations for this purpose.

MORISHITA, Masaichi, (Socialist): 1. The reduction of various enterprises and the scarcity of money, accompanied by labor unrest, will bring about a serious economic crisis during the period from March to May. What are the Government countermeasures? 2. The Government has already betrayed the nation's confidence. Already eight months have elapsed but the national life has not improved a bit. It is now up to the Government to make public a second economic white paper and clarify its accomplishments and failures during these eight months to the nation.

Premier: To tide over the current crisis, the nation's co-operation is absolutely important. The Government has a firm determination to carry out its policy positively, standing on this foundation.

Labor Minister YONEKUBO: As countermeasures for labor unrest, top priority will be placed on the enhancement of production, so as to raise the working will of the working masses. The unemployed appearing from the impending administrative readjustment and enterprise adjustment are estimated at about 1,000,000, of whom 500,000 will be absorbed in public works and the remaining 500,000 will be subject to unemployment insurance and other facilities.

The reply of Director-general WADA of the Economic Stabilization Board is mentioned under a separate heading; the Finance Minister also answered this interpellation. The session ended at 1228 hours.

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ITEM 9 Leaders of Three Political Parties (by ABE, Shinnosuke) - Magazine: Sunday Mainichi (Weekly) - 4[illegible]r 48. Translator: N. Toyota. (UG)

401.1

Summary:

Erring Katayama

If someone whould ask me what I would do if I were in KATAYAMA's position, I would not hesitate to reply, I would quit the post.

KATAYAMA declared at a Diet members conference of the Socialist party that he has no intention of relinquishing his post. According to his convictions, to give up is to shirk responsibility. He seems to be determined to work harder to prove his capability to those who accuse him of incompetency.

His reasoning appears cogent, but which is more irresponsible, to retreat or to remain idle? That is hard to determine.

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POLITICAL SERIES: 2189 (Continued)

ITEM 9 (Continued)

Diet member KIMURA of the Socialist Party hit the nail on the head when he said that a coalition cabinet was the worst type of cabinet, because intra-party conflicts were bound to interfere with the execution of policies. Such a pernicious type of Cabinet, he continued, must be overthrown; but, when we think of the succeeding cabinet which will be all the more worse, we must endure, support the coalition cabinet, and co-operate as much as we can with the Socialist Party.

How unfortunate we are to find ourselves in such a predicament—to choose the worse or one worse still! If we are lucky, we shall have to endure the worse. But what can that be, which is worse than this? KIMURA must have had a capitalistic cabinet in mind. It may be the worst from a socialist's standpoint, but not necessarily so from the standpoint of the citizenry.

Whatever the socialistic theory, we the masses are extremely tired of dull socialistic practices. What we desire is not logic; we want skilled politics. I also do not expect much of a prospective cabinet, which may not be able to do more than the KATAYAMA Cabinet, just as the latter was unable to do more than the YOSHIDA Cabinet, which was denounced mercilessly as a sample of incompetency.

As long as there is no change in the situation, whoever holds the reins of the state, KATAYAMA may declare there is no need for him to hasten with his resignation. I think quite to the contrary. As the succeeding cabinet obviously will not last long, KATAYAMA must go in time to prepare himself for the opportunity to follow.

It is desirable in this respect that he give up the post at once. Experienced gamblers do not play when luck is against them. Prime Minister KATAYAMA can be likened to a poor gambler who continues to play against odds, only to lose more heavily.

High-class ASHIDA

Were I ASHIDA, I would also "take a powder". The Democratic Party is more unpopular than the KATAYAMA Cabinet. I sympathize with the party for its participation in the coalition cabinet and because it nurturdd some hope. It, however, is not too late to realize through its experiences in the hazardous Diet session of 200 days, that the party's dream will never come true under the present situation.

It must realize that modification of capitalism does not mean a thing to socialism. It is unnatural for the party to remain in the KATAYAMA Cabinet. It is only folly to share the unpopularity of the Socialist Cabinet, and in a greater proportion at that!

The Democratic Party has been losing more heavily than the Socialist Party. Its merits are of a passive nature, consisting of shelving some insignificant cabinet measures or modifying them. It has never been active in pushing its own program through.

According to newspaper reports, the Democratic Party has been planning to substitute ASHIDA for KATAYAMA when the latter is compelled to resign. Leaving the matter of political responsibility aside for a moment, it may be logical to expect the second party to come into power. But the Democrats were so absorbed in the disputes over the problem of state supervision that it fell to the rank of a third party. This logic is no longer cogent; it ceased to be applicable. It surely was too bad for the Democratic Party to suffer such a great loss.

The SHIDEHARA group withdrew from the party primarily on account of the expulsion incident, but its real intention apparently was to form a new conservative party. ASHIDA group emerged as a high-class party, but the one now being planned is to emerge as a rough-neck party.

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ITEM 9 (Continued)

We cannot but be startled by the tremendous change within the past 12 months. Nonetheless, whatever change may take place in this world, the masses will never support a new party reminiscent of the one which existed before the war.

Unpopular YOSHIDA

If I were YOSHIDA, Shigeru, I would also give up the attempt, though I have no one particular in mind who is capable of shouldering the burden of the state other than these three party thieves; and I am quite sure none of the three will ever relinquish his ambition in response to my admonition.

The reason why I urge YOSHIDA to give up his ambition is because he is not at all prepared to head the state. To navigate the government through a rough sea, he needs appropriate machinery, instruments and personnel. To assume the onerous and arduous post of premiership is not like taking a walk.

In such a state of mind, he would not be able to do anything and if he did, the people would only be exasperated. His party machinery is old and rusty, unfit to operate a state.

To install new machinery and renovate that existing, a maneuver was launched to form a new party. That is to say, to be prepared to head the state. But merely combining with SHIDEHARA will not form a new party. It may be essentially a conservative one, but it must be reinforced with new machinery and instruments. It must have something in its personnel and policies which will appeal to the men of this new era.

Herein lies the difficulty in forming a new party. That is more, new party maneuverers are unable to find a proper man to take the post of chief. SHIDEHARA is too old, physically and mentally, while YOSHIDA keeps too aloof from the masses and is unpopular even among the journalists.

Newspapers report that it became all the more difficult to form a new party after the Diet session and predict a political upheaval, while university professors forecast a great earthquake and warn the people to be prepared for it. Joining in in their chorus, I urge the party leaders to run for their lives.

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ITEM 9 Our Political Expectations of the New Year - Seiji - 11 Jan 48.
Translator: H. Furukawa. (RL)

401.1

Summary:

The aspect of the political world in the new year is very stormy. The new party movements, which were started last December by conservatives and a group of minor political parties, have advanced toward materialization, resulting in 16 members of the HIRANO faction bolting the Socialist Party.

If the new parties succeed in collecting their anticipated number of Diet members, they will be able to pass a non-confidence resolution against the Katayama cabinet when the Diet reopens. On the other hand, the critical attitude of the Socialist left wing faction toward the party is undermining the cabinet, and there is a possibility that the left wingers will take control of the Socialist Party by defeating the KATAYAMA-NISHIO combination in the party's coming national convention.

If the left wing faction assumes leadership of the Socialist Party, the present cabinet will lose support of the Democrats, who have been vigorously opposing Socialistic policies. Thus the political situation in the new year is facing a crisis, and the public is keenly watching for future developments.

Another issue which is even more important than the new party movements is the activity of the Illegal Property Transactions Investigation Committee set up by the Diet. The so-called "Zeko case" disclosed that vast quantities of former military goods were disposed through illicit transactions at the time of the surrender, and funds from this source poured into the treasuries of some of the political parties.

As the investigation advances, it is expected that important political figures will be found to be involved in the scandals. President ASHIDA of the Democratic Party suggested the possibility of a great political change due to development of this problem.

The Japanese political world has never been purged because the traditional feudalistic connections and monetary relations have been more potent than policies or principles in determining party affiliations. The special Diet committee's investigation of shady property transactions by politicians at the time of postwar confusion will be the first step toward purging politics. It may be contrary to human nature to disclose the crimes of one's colleagues and superiors, but political renovation requires courage.

The joint statement by KATO, chairman of the special investigation committee, and MATSUOKA, speaker of the Lower House, at the inception of the committee, and the report of the Hoarded Goods Investigation Committee caused great repercussions among the people. We fervently hope that the committee will act bravely to meet the people's expectations.

Although the problem of illegal property transactions seems to have assumed a minor role due to the prevailing political unrest, it holds the key to the changing political situation, and may wreck all party movements now under way.

It can be said, therefore, that the sound actions of the Illegal Property Transactions Investigation Committee is our principal political expectation of the new year.

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ITEM 5 Negative Adjustment Should be Turned to Positive Utilization - Tokyo Shimbun - 17 Jan 48. Translator: A. Akabane. (JJY)

401.1

Summary:

The fundamental policy of administrative readjustment has been fixed. That the Cabinet has decided its policy for administrative readjustment is welcome news, even if it was spurred by public opinion. It is necessary for the nation to keep its eyes fixed on the Government hereafter until the policy is actually put into execution.

In any case, it is an honest intention of the government authorities to avoid administrative adjustment as much as possible. This accounts for the nominal personnel slashes in successive administrative readjustments in the past.

When we are informed that seven citizens are sustaining one government or public official and his family members, we can easily understand how JAPAN is supporting its large number of officials. They have been so apathetic in their dealings with official business that 'redtapism' is their personification. They have been notorious for their disregard of practical administrative ability and efficiency, thereby causing no small inconvenience in our national life.

In the light of the actual conditions of state finance, even if only small savings are realized by an administrative readjustment, its effect is by no means small when it contributes to the increase in wages for a small number of officials and to the simplification of routine, thereby enhancing efficiency. Moreover, the current administrative readjustment has close connection with the adjustment of business management including fictitious employment in private enterprises. Hence, the contemplated administrative readjustment must not end as the usual nominal adjustment.

Fictitious employment in private enterprises is said to total 2,500,000 persons. For private enterprises to conduct relief work for the unemployed on behalf of the state is unreasonable in itself. During these two years since the end of the war, production barely reached 30 percent of prewar days, whereas no sizable change is seen in the number of workers employed. It is quite natural that normalcy in enterprise management cannot be hoped for. Herein lies one reason for the diversion of materials to blackmarkets and of products to illegal channels. Such disorder in the regular flow of commodities, in turn, is responsible for productive deterioration.

Judged from every angle, Japanese economy must be adjusted fundamentally this year. Administrative readjustment will cause enterprise adjustment and simultaneously lead to the adjustment of fictitious employment.

Such adjustments do not mean simply personnel cuts. They must be aimed at promoting efficiency of the administrative structure and at reconstructing civilian enterprises, thereby preparing for the coming participation in international economy. It is, therefore, most idealistic if sacrifices are small, but even in this case, it is incumbent upon the nation to make its utmost efforts to establish speedy countermeasures. It is to be added that mere personnel retrenchment is not the objective of administrative readjustment; adjustment of fictitious employment must be an integral part of the program for positive production.

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ITEM 3 Beginning and End of Political Confusion - Dai Ichi - 9 Jan 48.
Translator: M. Ohno. (UG)

401.1

Summary:

With the secession of the Hirano faction from the Socialist Party, a political storm is looming over the horizon.

It appears to be the tactics of the HIRANO faction to secede from the Party before the Central Screening Committee announces its decision on the qualifications of HIRANO. The people can easily understand HIRANO's attitude, taking into account that he seceded from the JAPAN Farmers Union in 1926, and brought about disunion in the Japanese proletarian front, and was active as a leader of the Imperial Way Society (the KODO HAI) during the war.

His secession from the Socialist Party is outstanding inasmuch as it will afford an opportunity to reform politics, and will have a great bearing upon the future of the Katayama Cabinet.

International politics is beginning to split into two clear-cut factions. It is only natural that Japanese politics must be reorganized along this trend. Political parties are now busily engaged in planning the formation of new parties.

President YOSHIDA of the Liberal Party envisages a new conservative party founded upon the leading figures of the Liberal and Democratic parties. The Doshi Club is bent on the unification of conservative factions. Minor parties advocate a new political council.

In the Socialist Party, leftist OYAMA is trying to organize a new political party. A new democratic socialist party, under the leadership of KATAYAMA, NISHIO, INUKAI, NARAHASHI, WADA, TSURU, and a certain leader of the Metropolitan Police Board, is also rumored.

The people are not entirely in favor of these maneuverings, because present corrupt politicians will be unable to save the Japanese people under any form of unification. Even the Socialists have marked resemblance to members of past political parties.

From this point of view, there is no other way than to dissolve the current Diet in order to effect a reorganization of politics in 1948.

opposition - taking advantage of the present political unrest, has launched upon enrolling members under the banner of "a new conservative party."

The present line-up of political parties is quite different from that of last March (TN Presumably April), when we went to the polls. At that time we were advised to choose a political party before an individual candidate. The present Socialist, Democratic or Liberal Party, we are sorry to say, is not the same party as it was a year ago.

Party members may not secede from a party for money's sake, but it is true that representatives often neglect the will of their constituents after being returned.

The Socialist Party, our one hope a year ago, has proven a failure, and this betrayed hope is undeniably at the bottom of the present political unrest. Reorganization of political parties must not be arranged for individual ambitions but must keep in line with public opinion. Therefore, if reorganization is found to be necessary before the peace treaty, a general election is likewise needed.

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ITEM 8 Has the Democratization of Japan Progressed? - Kokusai Times - 10 Jan 48.
Translator: H. Konishi. (GBS)

401.1

Summary:

The changes JAPAN is undergoing are the barometer of her democratization. They are closely related to the Japanese peace treaty, JAPAN's future relations in the family of nations, and her future foreign policies. This nation, which has made a new start from the beginning of the year, must seriously reconsider the direction she is taking. Democratization is apt to be forgotten among the Japanese.

JAPAN, which was under imperialistic philosophy for half a century, cannot be expected to be democratized within a short period. The problem is whether or not the Japanese people are seriously considering this democratic revolution, and whether or not the people, as individuals, are aware of their position in a democratic state and are willing to assume their obligations and fulfill their responsibilities.

General MacARTHUR stated in his New Year message that the design of a remodeled and reconstructed JAPAN is nearing completion, and the future lies in the hands of the Japanese people. He further stated that success or failure rests on the actual practice of the simple, yet transcendental, principles which modern civilization demands. The key note is whether or not the results of democratization have neared a satisfactory point. Whether or not democracy has permeated the minds of the individual to influence his grasp of new knowledge, and aid him in the operation of his busines offers much for reflection.

We cannot ignore the economic pressure on our livelihood, and there are old views, and actions reminiscent of previous days still rampant because of the aggravated international relations. If the Japanese people who are striving for democratization still have the spirit expressed in the affidavit of defendant TOJO, the restoration of imperialism which CHINA fears is not groundless. In regard to this, Mr BRINES, chief of the AP Tokyo Bureau, pointed out that there has not been sufficient change in the Japanese way of thinking. BERLIN special correspondent, Mr KASA of the Asahi newspaper, has similarly stated that there are no other people more blindly obedient to authority than the Japanese. The most prominent feature of the Japanese is that they live by watching the other countries, consequently, the standard of living is foreign and not domestic. Thus, the Japanese are more concerned about other people than themselves. Those who are extreme in their criticism of the changes that have come over JAPAN say that the dance craze is the complete embodiment of democratization.

Be that as it may, progress is evident in the people's realization that JAPAN is a member of the family of nations, and that future JAPAN must be a cultural and a peaceful nation. Furthermore, it is imperative that the people realize their responsibilities in democratic living, and reflect on their daily actions.

Mr BELL, ENGLAND's representative who has come to JAPAN to inspect the labor situation, warned that unless a high standard of knowledge and culture is achieved, democratic unions cannot be organized. When we consider the complicated internal movements of Japanese society, we cannot deny that the old ideas are still influential. Consequently, we cannot say that the Japanese people have fully co-operated and strived for democratization. This is the reason why foreign criticism is not always favorable. In view of this, the democratization of JAPAN can be achieved only by cultured people. The Japanese must be a citizen of the world and JAPAN a responsible nation of the world. Here rests the raison d'etre of JAPAN. The Japanese people must fully realize that the results of the Japanese peace conference rest upon the new growth of JAPAN.

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ITEM 1 Economic Outlook for the New Year - Doamond Nippo - 6 Jan 48.
Translator: C. Ida. (RL)

Yol:1

Summary:

It is no easy matter to predict how the economic situation will develop in the new year. The Government and the people are unanimous in their desire the check to increase of currency in circulation, and at the same time to stabilize the economic situation and people's living by means of increasing production, and curbing the inflationary price spiral. However, no one really expects all conditions to progress as he wishes.

The gravest problem concerns inflation, which is the general manifestation of all economic ills. No one doubts that the tempo of inflation will become accelerated; there are some who even believe the amount of Bank of JAPAN note issue will reach 500 billion yen by the end of this year.

The Government is now compiling the budget for the 1948 fiscal year, and it is reported that the total for all ministries is estimated to reach 500 billion yen. Even if it is reduced to about 70 percent of this estimate, it will remain at 350 billion yen, three times the so-called ISHIBASHI Budget for the fiscal year of 1947. Moreover, we may face the necessity of formulating a supplementary budget, judging from last year's experience.

The Government, adhering to the policy of so-called "sound finance", is expected to make every effort to increase revenue and balance the budget by imposing new taxes, raising existing tax rates, and abolishing household rations of tobacco and wine. It is all too clear that such measures will only serve to oppress the people's living and create exorbitant deficits in the national finance.

Thus a budget of 500 billion yen, enormous deficits, and inflation seem to be an inevitable result. Besides this, we must also consider the question of how the economic situation will develop.

If coal production declines as the result of enforcement of the Coal Mines Control Measure, as some asserted, we can only reconcile ourselves to a period of economic stagnancy. Aside from the effect resulting from this measure, this spring and summer, when the possibility of attaining the coal production goal of 33,000,000 tons is in prospect as planned and the electric power situation becomes better, a new upward production trend in various industries might become evident.

In such event, the problem of shortage of raw materials will arise. From this point of view, we agree with those who maintain that the acquisition of foreign funds and material is the key to JAPAN's economic recovery. Because this will entail various conditions relative to utilizing the Export-Import Revolving Fund, giving rise to the question of whether this can be realized in time, we cannot expect too much along this line.

Even if production shows an upward trend, a sharp increase cannot be expected. We should be content with a slight increase over the corresponding period of last year. The same factors can be said of foreign trade. Our needs in imported goods are enormous, but JAPAN has nothing to export. Therefore, if foreign trade this year exceeds the figure of the several months following its reopening of last year, it should be considered a great success.

Taking these factors into consideration, it cannot be said that the coming spring and summer do not warrant opitimism. However, the problem which causes us the greatest anxiety is the delay and stoppage of staple food rations, which can give rise to another labor offensive and obstruct the increase in production.

Concerning labor offensive, a February crisis lies ahead of us. Linked with this is the problem of establishment of a new wage system demanded by Government and Public office workers. The problem of reduction of personnel, resulting from enforcement of the Administrative Readjustment and Enterprise Readjustment, can also further aggravate the situation.

Once they arise, labor disputes will occur one after another, spurring the inflation onward. It is feared that neither the economic situation nor livelihood of the people will be stabilized this year.

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ITEM 6 The Abolition of Intermediary Organs - Provincial Paper: Minami Nippo (Kagoshima) - 6 Jan 48. Translator: Translators: M. Minato and Y. Kuniyasu. (GBS)

401.1

Summary:

The Public Foodstuffs Distribution Corporation Law was promulgated at the end of last year, and the intermediary controlling organs which had been targets of public censure were absorbed by this corporation. As a result, all the affairs connected with staple food supplies, such as purchase, transportation, rationing, with the exception of collection, will be operated by the Distributior Corporation alone.

The Government, which had long turned a deaf ear to public censure, finally abolished intermediary organs. This was because it was driven by necessity to effectuate rationing control on staple foods, together with the issuance of the Production Adjustment Decree. At any rate, however, the abolition is an improvement over the bureaucratic attitude of the past. However, whether or not the past defective operation in food control will be improved and intermediary exploitation eliminated through this reform is quite a different problem. Both producers and consumers must keep strict watch over the activities of the Distribution Corporation, so that the reform will not be emasculated.

Today when almost all industrial production is placed under control, the inefficiency of the government officials as well as the poverty of natural resources and decreased production is the greatest factor which hinders JAPAN's economic reconstruction. The Katayama Cabinet has declared that it will enforce administrative readjustment to reduce appropriations by 20 percent by the beginning of the 1948--1949 fiscal year. However, administrative reorganization for reducing appropriations were frequently discussed by the preceding cabinets, but this has not once been realized. In a country like ours where over-population and feudalistic tendencies to esteem government workers prevail, the staff of the Japanese government offices have swollen excessively. Moreover, affected by the law of diminishing return, the efficiency of government offices has decreased while the staff has been enlarged.

In the current administrative readjustment, the reform of local governments is being considered. However, under the present economic situation, the realization of social policies suitable for the stabilization of the people's livelihood must be aimed in that direction. Its speedy realization may depend upon the zeal and conviction of the government authorities to enforce administrative readjustment. Therefore, financial measures alone are not sufficient. Along with this, readjustment of the structure and personnel of local administrative organs must also be carried out.

In this connection, the existence of local agencies of the profectural governments as intermediary organs must be reconsidered. Although they may be convenient to prefectural administration, if they are troublesome to towns and villages, some appropriate measures must be taken. Are sufficient appropriations made for them so that they can function satisfactorily? If not, there is no reason for their existence. If they are essentially needed, they must be strengthened. If not, they should be abolished.

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ITEM 4 The Five Year Economic Reconstruction Plan and National Livelihood - Provincial Paper: Shin Iwate - 6 Jan 46. Translators: K. Kawanabe and T. Urayama. (GBS)

(401.)

Summary:

It is reported that the Government will disclose a five year plan for the rehabilitation of Japanese economy by the middle of January and will introduce it to the Diet for discussion in the coming session. The necessity of this long term economic plan is keenly felt, especially under the present circumstances where increased inflation, tightening of the food situation around the end of the harvest year and labor offensives on a larger scale are easily anticipated.

The lack of a scientific rehabilitation plan during the three years since the surrender has deprived most Japanese people now under the yoke of living difficulties of their bright hope towards

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the future. From this point of view, the five year plan is deserving a warm welcome by the public.

However, upon close examination of the details of the plan and a thorough study of its political meaning, we must caution the Government to take great care in its actual practice. First, we must point out that the plan is aiming by 1952 to bring our national economic standard to the same level as that which existed during 1929-1933. Although the plan may have been based upon the 1929-1933 level set by the Far Eastern Commission last April, this standard cannot be applied to the organizational structures necessary for economic recovery, national incomes and labor employment under the present situation. It is clearly evident that the five year plan will never bring on a stable economic life for the 83,000,000 Japanese people which are expected to comprise the national population by 1952 if the present social structure is left unaltered. The production goal of the plan in its last year is fixed at 90 percent of the average production in 1929-33, while the living standard of the people is aimed at 80 percent of the average standard of 1929-33 in consideration of the expected increase in our population.

The figures of important mineral and industrial production in 1952 as compared with those of 1929-33 average production are as follows:

	1929-33 in average		1952
Coal	31,172,000	tons	42,000,000
Ordinary steel	2,235,000		1,700,000
Ordinary Pig iron	1,250,000		1,000,000
Calcined soda	105,000		170,000
Sulphuric Ammonium	305,000		1,600,000
Cotton Yarn	1,158,000,000	Pounds	800,000,000

However, for the attainment of quantity production of these goods, the natural resources of our country are insufficient. Consequently, we must import cotton, wool, salt, kerosene, coal, iron are and scrap iron from abroad. Moreover, under the plan to secure three Go (0.95 pints) rice ration per day per capita, food imports amounting to about 2,500,000 tons (computated in wheat) per year are required. Accordingly, in the fiscal year of 1952, a fund reaching approximately 600 million yen will be needed for the food imports alone. Presupposing the possibility of these imports, the Government is now taking into consideration not only the revolving fund for imports and exports amounting to 200 to 350 million dollars but also foreign assistance for the economic rehabilitation of our country provided for in the Marshall plan. However, this five-year reconstruction program has a defect in that the rehabilitation of production has not been basically deliberated in relation to the circulating process of funds. That is to say, no plan has been conceived to provide the funds necessary to carry out a long-range program.

Under the present situation of JAPAN, it is necessary that a long-range economic plan be drawn up scientifically and executed vigorously in order to stabilize equally the people's livelihood. This is expected of the Katayama Cabinet, but if the five year plan was projected to disguise the failure of the Emergency Economic Measures and for the

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prolongation of its life to the next coalition cabinet, the people would not boost the plan, and think that the Economic White Paper was a mere imitation of ENGLAND's white paper and that the five year plan was devised after the Russian example.

In conclusion, we would like to point out that in order to carry out the five year plan earnestly, adequate consideration should be given to the question as to how to deal with those who gained great profits out of the last war. As to this, there is the Special Illegal Dealings Investigation Committee in the prefectural assemblies as well as in the Diet, but inasmuch as our prefecture (IWATE) has been visited twice by the exposure team, the Special Committee in our prefectural assembly should make a thoroughgoing inquiry into this matter, and the citizens should assume the responsibility of keeping watch over the committee. If the economic reconstruction program is carried out mechanically from the fiscal year of 1948, it will merely bring undue pressure to bear upon the people.

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ITEM 1 Diary Should Be Filled with Rich Contents - Mainichi - 23 Jan 48.
Translator: S. Ota. (FST)

401.1

Full Translation:

There is no passage in Premier KATAYAMA's speech on administrative policies whose power impels us to loud applause. This, however, does not constitute reason for blaming him, since the current situation is not the type which inspires the applause of an excited audience.

Premier KATAYAMA explained in his speech numerous policies covering several tens of items. However, they do not include socialistic policies in their formulistic sense. This, too, cannot be a reason for our dissatisfaction, since, if we recognize correctly the actual situation of our devastated economy, formulistic and unrealistic socialism cannot be called the best remedy. There is only one measure that solves the problem; that is, one which, transcends political parties and doctrines and fits the actualities. Those policies which are moulded by a fixed principle will be, in many cases, rather harmful. Not one of the various policies advocated by KATAYAMA is wrong in its objective.

Nevertheless, we cannot but be discontented. Although many objectives were shown, the methods of attaining them were not referred to. In other words, no guarantee has been given concerning fulfillment of the Government's promise. The address was nothing more than an array of wishes. Herein lies our greatest dissatisfaction.

A few exceptions must be admitted, however. For example, KATAYAMA stated that the workers' income tax rates would be reduced in the coming fiscal year. Moreover, according to him, the food delivery system would be drastically revised so that responsibility will be definitely shared, both by the farmers and the Government; the former held responsibility for rice delivery, the latter for distribution of bonus commodities. If this statement is accepted literally, the farmers will be responsible for 100 percent delivery only when the Government has fulfilled a 100 percent distribution of materials. Thus, lack of confidence in the Government for failures to keep its promise will be completely removed and, at the same time, the Government will have to assume clear-cut and serious responsibility.

Materialization of those policies hoped for by the Government will be guaranteed by making such a definite promise. Otherwise, any administrative principle will be fruitless. If Premier KATAYAMA is truly confident of carrying out his principles, why did he not guarantee every one of the advocated policies? Of course, the political capacity of the Katayama Cabinet will neither be enriched by the abundance of policies advocated nor by increasing the number of promises. This can be done only by carrying out those policies whose materialization can be guaranteed.

The political objectives advocated by successive governments in the past were, without exception, mere promises. While accusing the government of nonfulfillment of promises, the nation accepted it as inevitable. We expected the Katayama Cabinet, with its "new" character in every sense, to advocate, at possibly its last chance in power, such policies, though small in number, that can be executed without fail. We have hoped that a new precedent will thus be set. To our regret, our hope has ended in disappointment. We believe in the sincerity of Premier KATAYAMA. However, another important factor is the power to put policies into practice.

Every policy must now center around anti-inflation, rehabilitation of devastated economy, and revival of production. This was emphasized also in the Premier's speech. He hoped, as his objective, that the production of basic materials, such as coal, electric power, and iron, would increase by 40 percent over that in the past year. He stated, "The year 1948 will be truly a historic one for our country. It should be a year of economic rehabilitation and industrial construction." To this end, political dispute as well as rivalry

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between labor and capital will have ended to achieve increases of production.

Last year, at the formation of his Cabinet, KATAYAMA stated, "Life or death of our country will depend upon the half year or the year to come." Since then, during the eight months, which way has the present Cabinet led the nation? It may be too extreme to say that it has been toward ruin. However, we cannot say that the present Administration has fulfilled adequately its duty as a guide toward prosperity. In fact, the greater part of the time, which the Premier himself deemed most important, has been wasted. It seems that the time now left for the Katayama Cabinet is not long and the time left for our economy, even shorter: the eight months have been passed in apathy. The present Cabinet should not leave the pages of its diary unfinished. We hope that it will fill it with complete records.

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ITEM 5 Backing for Administrative Address - Tokyo Shimbun - 23 Jan 48.
Translator: M. Okajima. (TK)

401.1

Summary:

The secession of ex-Agriculture-Forestry Minister HIRANO and his 16 subordinates resulting from the Hirano purge affected the seemingly solid foundation of the Socialist Party, to say nothing of the general political situation. The Hirano purge, although it appears to have been settled, obviously leaves some trouble for the future, and this will affect the political situation in some way or other.

Meanwhile, the Socialist Party annual convention ended with unsatisfactory results for the fate of the party since the abrogation of the four-party policy accord may possibly bring about grave consequences. At the same time, we cannot tell what course of action the Democrats, one of the government parties, may take.

To make matters still worse, a Liberal Party group is attempting a new conservative party, calling upon all non-Socialist parties to participate. How these factors combining together may affect the future political situation is yet to be seen. At any rate, it is clear to every one that the current situation lacks stability.

The Second Diet has convened under such peculiar circumstances. Who can deny the possibility that Diet dissolution or a general election may take place during the five months of the current session?

What we have stated above deserves our attention. Especially judging from the grave situation confronting JAPAN and now that it is time for us to map out practical plans for national reconstruction so that these may be translated into practice immediately, it is incumbent upon the supreme legislative body to show the public what route this gigantic task should follow through its deliberations and sanctions. Above all, that economic rehabilitation will get first priority is undeniable. Precisely for this reason, it is quite natural that the Premier's administrative address has drawn attention from the two foregoing points.

Although his address is too general and abstract to pass our judgment on minute points, we must say that he has justifiably stated that the Government envisages making the people's potential abilities equal to their direct participation in the international economy through the execution of effective measures under a long-term economic rehabilitation program.

It is quite natural that the Government, as is stated in the Premier's speech, has earnest intentions of halting the ever-spiraling inflation which is impeding economic reconstruction, making administrative readjustments, revising the taxation system in order to be fair to all taxpayers, stabilizing the price and wage structure, and channeling the labor movement toward economic rehabilitation.

It is not what course of action will be taken but how these policies can be carried out practically and effectively that matters for the present. The part of the projected long-term program to be carried out in the first year 1948 is revealed in the Premier's speech, but budget estimates for the year are not clear. There are still many other factors which may obstruct the program.

The course of action to be taken and policies to be pursued are all important, but what is still more important is whether the Government possesses sufficient executive ability. Otherwise, any program, however cleverly it may have been undertaken, will inevitably end in failure. This point can be clearly seen from the pending question of administrative readjustment. The question as to inviting the labor movement into production rehabilitation will not be settled merely through revision of regulations.

We expect Diet members to carry out deliberations quite independent of the political situation. At the same time it is sincerely requested that the Premier's administrative address be backed by strong governmental political ability.

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ITEM 3 Is Government Confident of Realizing Programs? - Asahi - 23 Jan 48.
Translator: J. Ide. (FST)

401.9

Summary:

In the face of the aggravation of inflation, the Government's approach to the situation is being watched by the entire people with acute interest. In his administrative address at the outset of the Second National Diet, Premier KATAYAMA stressed the economic rehabilitation program. As compared with his insistence on a high standard of democracy in his address in the first Diet session, this fact is most outstanding. Though the content of the address has nothing to be criticized, it gave the public the impression that it lacked a firm stand for coping with the difficult crisis. Therefore, it is doubtful whether the Government can realize expected results.

We have often stressed the necessity of establishing a long-range economic rehabilitation program. Therefore, it is of pivotal importance that Premier KATAYAMA took up this principle and disclosed the goal of the first year. Nevertheless, realization of a 36,000,000-ton coal output annually is indeed a difficult task. Therefore, the effective utilization of the Emergency State Coal Control Law is being watched with much expectation. If the goal of the nation's coal output for this year is not achieved, the entire program will fail. In this sense, positive measures should be taken to realize the expected results completely, lest the coal program become a mere scrap of paper.

Moreover, difficult problems lie in electricity and transportation. The present situation of electric supply in our country is scandalous. Furthermore, the nation's transport is likely to repeat the failure of electricity, since the capacity of transportation facilities has now reached its limit. Considering the fact that herein lie the weak points of the long-range plan, the Government should take more positive measures to surmount the crisis.

We are sure that the most serious defect of the control system lies in the fact that the output of all mineral and manufactured goods has not increased as much as the output of coal. Under these circumstances, it is of utmost importance that a supreme economic council composed of representatives of various circles be organized on a nation-wide scale, lest the ESB-drafted program prove an arbitrary desk plan.

At a time when the last hope for checking inflation has been placed on increased industrial production, the most urgent problem confronting the nation is to increase real wages and realize a setup in which those who are working have the right to live. Since the attempt to establish a regulated flow of commodities has not yet materialized, by what measures will the Government face this grave situation? Priority treatment for laborers, as stressed by the Premier, is quite reasonable. However, the emergence of friction between laborers and other people as a result will prove a social problem too serious to be ignored. Under these circumstances the Government should do its best to enforce relief measures for those who lag behind the progress of the inflation.

Thus, the Premier's intention is to check the progress of inflation gradually by curbing the over-issuance of currency, while relying on the rehabilitation of the nation's industrial production. His thought is indeed commendable, but both administrative and business adjustments are imperative to check the over-issuance of bank notes. For this purpose, the Premier will establish an administrative adjustment committee. However, such a formal attitude suggests the Government's negative stand toward the dismissal of government officials. On the other hand, the Premier did not touch on business adjustment. With such an abstract policy, can the goal of "preventing the loose issuance of industrial funds" be realized successfully?

It should be kept in mind that the Government should let our economy enter into the process of liquidation in the latter half of this year, when the proposed increase in production takes positive shape. Confronting the crisis of a runaway inflation, the Government should assume responsibility for implementing a long-range program, not rest content with formulation of splendid plans. However, the success or failure of the program is closely connected with the political power of the incumbent Government.

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ITEM 4 Formal Administrative Readjustment Should Be Avoided - Tokyo Times - 18 Jan 48. Translators: W. Hayashi and Y. Kuniyasu. (DD)

~~Hotel~~ 401.1

Summary:

In regard to the pending administrative readjustment, the authorities of the Ministry of Finance advocated to dismiss 30 per cent of the fixed maximum number of officials, while the Administrative Investigation Section of the Cabinet asserted to dismiss 20 per cent, and a compromise plan for the dismissal of 25 per cent has finally been decided upon. Since the actual number of the Government officials is less than the fixed maximum number of officials allowed in the budget, the number to be dismissed by this plan will be about 13 or 14 per cent of the present officials, and about five billion yen will be saved by this plan. However, since the appropriations for the next fiscal year demanded by the Government offices will amount to more than 500 billion yen, the people cannot approve of the plan if the sum saved is so small compared to the stupendous appropriations.

According to the Government's program, the officials who are slated for dismissal will be allowed to continue in office for six months as extra workers, and the local public officials also will be dismissed in proportion to the Central Government's program. However, not only ensuing serious repercussion from the labor unions, but also the fact that the savings will amount to less than one per cent must be considered. How can we understand such a plan? The Government asserts that it will set an example for the adjustment of private enterprises by this plan and arouse the people's attention to the present national economic plight. However, the administrative readjustment desired by the people is not such a temporizing, and inconsistent one.

The Government offices which were expanded during the war and have become useless since the war must be reduced drastically, those offices insignificant under a democratic government must be liquidated completely, and new administrative structure must be established by carrying out these measures. This is what the people desire. In order to reconstruct the country by our hands, controlled economy must be continued long in the future, and its enforcement will necessitate the increase of officials. However, in order to maintain sound finance in consideration of the tax-bearing capacity of the people under the inflation, we must check the expansion in the number of officials as far as possible.

The solution of this contradictory gap between the expanding number of the officials and the curtailment of State expenditures is solely dependent on the elevation of the efficiency and sense of responsibility of the officials. The Government's plan cannot meet the people's desire since it merely aims to carry out the reduction of the number of the officials without taking these vital points into consideration.

If the Government really desires to enforce an administrative readjustment in line with the demands of the people, it must be prepared to face a serious clash with the bureaucrats. The Government has hitherto paid too much attention to trifles, and this is evidence that the power of the Government has been slighted by the bureaucrats. If such is the Government's attitude, we naturally presume that it will carry out the mass dismissal of officials on one hand and attempt to retain bureaucracy by establishing various public corporations on the other hand. We can predict this by the fact that the Bureau of Decorations and the Bureau of Pensions are still retained with a huge number of employees.

If the Government has no decisive resolution, it may be a wise step to carry out radical reforms of the administrative structure first of all, and avoid the appointment of new officials when the number of officials shows a natural decrease due to redistribution of the workers and other factors. We cannot support mere formal and fruitless measures.

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ITEM 6

401.1

Improvement of Domestic Setup - Tokyo Shimbun - 16 Jan 48.
Translator: Y. Akabane. (FJY)

Although the current year is beset with as many harships as the previous year, some are expecting it to be a year with many opportunities for a favorable turn. They expect that economic stability will be realized to a certain extent in the latter half of the year, because of the conclusion of a peace treaty, the appearance of practical effects of the trade revolving funds, and the possibility of the absorption of foreign capital. Of these three items, the first two are not yet definite, allowing no optimistic forecast, but it is true that things are taking a course favorable for their realization, affording us a bright prospect for the year.

We are not sure whether such a forecast will come true, but the fact that such hopes have been created must be taken seriously. It is quite natural for Japanese politics and economy to prepare to accept such foreign aid. For instance, the necessity for attracting foreign capital to reconstruct JAPAN is presently recognized alike by the Government and all political parties and by capitalists and labor unions. To be more precise, they are rather hoping that this will be possible. Be that as it may, we doubt if they are really earnest in arranging domestic affairs to accept foreign capital.

The attraction of foreign capitals is a question extremely delicate and is at once an economic and political problem. Setting aside the investment of foreign governments, the introduction of private capitals from foreign countries will be out of the question if Japanese enterprises are not operated normally.

Normal operation of enterprises does not simply mean profitable production. Particularly in the case of JAPAN, enterprise monopolization must be prohibited, economic concentration eleiminated, and enterprise democratization and socialization pushed on.

Following World War I and with the institution of a new constitution in GERMANY, many scholars actively advocated enterprise socialization, and labor unions struggled under that banner. However, their movements ended in failure, as the scholars were intent on advancing abstract and theoretical disputes whereas labor unions had no exact idea of the concrete details of socialization. In the meantime, capital rapidly ran out abroad, reflecting domestic political uneasiness, with the result of incurring economic collapse due to inflation. The prevailing conditions in JAPAN may not be the same as those of GERMANY at that time, but no one can guarantee that misinterpretation of socialization and democratization is not preventing the normal operation of enterprises.

It is a well known fact that various enterprises in JAPAN are not operated normally these days. Among government enterprises the state railways and communications services are entirely in disorder. There may be many causes for this, but it may be pointed out that respective unions are misunderstanding the meaning of democratization, utterly forgetting they are in charge of public utilities.

The abnormal operation of these representative government enterprises will become the focus of foreign attention as a measure of credit for enterprises. The recent upward trend of coal output, if it proves not a temporary phenomenon but a step toward normal coal operation, will surely serve to enhance foreign confidence in our industry.

In conclusion, we emphasize that inasmuch as the introduction of foreign capital is necessary for the reconstruction of JAPAN, it is of paramount importance for capital and labor to co-operate.

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ITEM 6 Fundamental Stand on Policy (by Suzuki, Mosaburo) - Shakai Shimbun - 16 Jan 48. Translator: H. Furukawa. (UG)

401.1

Summary:

(The author is the chairman of the Socialist Party's Political Affairs Research Council)

The Japanese nation is now faced by a catastrophic inflation and production crisis which were incited by the selfish policies of the ruling class. On the other hand, JAPAN's participation in world economy is approaching, and her postwar economy, which has been characterized by inflation and blackmarketing, must be reconstructed this year.

In the face of the grave situation, the conservative parties still adhere to capitalist ideas and scheme to carry out economic reconstruction at the expense of the laboring masses. Over against the move of the conservatives, our Socialist Party must establish the prerequisites for a democratic revolution, and become the vanguard of JAPAN's reconstruction with the support of the laboring class.

For this purpose, our policies for this year should be concentrated on economic matters, and utmost efforts must be made to surmount the impending economic crisis. Since the livelihood of the masses are already on the verge of collapse due to the inflation policy which has been dominated by class interests, resolute steps must be taken to stabilize the people's livelihood by securing the daily necessities and solving the housing question, together with the policy to ease the financial burdens of the Government.

To overcome the crisis, a composite plan should be established with an anti-inflation and production rehabilitation programs as its backbone. In other words, a democratic and efficient economic structure must be set up to mobilize all economic powers for surviving the crisis. To overcome the inflationary trend, the sources of inflation must be cut off by eliminating deficits in the budget and regulating bank loans.

The principle of production first must be adopted in regard to expenditures, and the heavy burdens of the masses should be eased by democratizing the taxation system. In short, a policy to overcome the inflation at the sacrifice of the profiteers must be set up.

For the regulation of bank loans, it is necessary to place banking institutions under state control, and operate them in a democratic way. As regards the policy for production rehabilitation, basic industries such as the coal and power plants must be given top priority.

To prevent the bad influences of inflation upon industries, state control of power and fertilizer industries must be enforced in the pattern of the coal industry.

As to the existing wage base, we admit the necessity of its revision. Under the limitation of the present Japanese economy, however, we must request the enforcement of socialistic policies which will enable the laborers to gain increased real wages. An all-out revision of commodity prices must be postponed for the time being, and those enterprises which cannot pay the cost of production should be placed under state management.

Enterprise readjustment, which has been pushed by the Government, is aimed only at the improved financial condition of enterprises. We must oppose its enforcement which imposes sacrifice of the laborers, when the Government is unable to provide any effective plan to combat inflation.

To carry out the above-stated policies, it is necessary for farmer and laborer organizations to recognize the actual economic situation of JAPAN, cast off their selfish aims, and establish themselves as the supporters of the Socialist Party with an accurate knowledge of the way to a peaceful revolution. It is impossible to safeguard the interests of the people, when the party has no actual connection with the organized masses.

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ITEM 3 Selfish Politicians - Seinen - 14 Jan 48. Translators: E. Sato and Y. Kuniyasu. (GBS)

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401.1

Summary:

The movements for forming new parties are now in full swing. It is reported that the Liberals are approaching all Diet members except the Socialists and Communists with a proposal to form a new conservative party. It is also said that HIRANO, Rikizo and his associates, who bolted from the Socialist Party, are planning to organize a new labor-farmer party in collaboration with some members of the People's Co-operative Party. The left-wingers of the Socialist Party, who professed themselves to be an opposition faction within the party, are now presenting a united front against the right-wingers of the party. Should they lose, it is a matter of course that they will secede and form a new progressive party. We wonder if the Diet members are disgusted at the wilful maneuvers of some of their fellow representatives who change their party lineup and organize new parties.

The aim of politics lies in obtaining the greatest happiness for the greatest number. Parliamentary government is a political system under which the will of the majority of the people is expressed by Diet members entrusted with legislative power by the people, and state affairs are administered in accordance with the will of the people. Therefore, Diet members must not shift their standing wilfully, but must conduct themselves according to the people's will.

Usually, in electing representatives, most of the people cast votes with keen interest in their own political party rather than for the man. Therefore if the political party does not meet with their expectations, it is natural that the people will support some other party in the next election.

Generally speaking, Diet members, once elected, are proud of being representatives of the people, but forget their duty as public servants. Ignoring the fact that they were elected to serve the people, they feel that their election was due to their own greatness. They ran for the election only in order to acquire a wide reputation or to profit through political power. In short, they are self-seekers. In most cases, such men coolly victimize others to their own advantage. As a result, various disgraceful conflicts always arise among them. In actuality, political powers are abused, opportunistic actions are taken in electoral districts, and unprincipled compromises in the interests of the capitalists are made.

Such being the situation, Diet members can act to satisfy their personal interests only in times of political stability. When the political situation starts to change and the general election draws near, they become flustered and start their old forms of tactics and manœuvers to get re-elected. Japanese politics have repeatedly gone through such confusion under a variety of different self-seekers. We hope the youths of JAPAN will seek the cause of this deplorable situation and correct the wrongs.

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ITEM 1 How to Readjust Operating Personnel? - Yomiuri - 20 Jan 43.
Translator: S. Ota. (FST)

401.1

Summary:

The Government has been formulating a plan for administrative readjustment to curtail expenditures. In this connection, it is reported that special consideration will be given to readjustment of operating personnel in government enterprises, such as railways and communications services. However, in view of the tremendous deficit created in these enterprises despite endless raises in charges and rates, we consider that the nature of government enterprises themselves should be investigated anew.

The entire nation is dissatisfied with the unimproved service of government enterprises despite drastic tariff increases. The Government should rationalize the operation of public enterprises on this occasion of administrative adjustment. Of course, it is not easy to carry out this task, since government enterprises are monopolistic, nationwide in scale, and backed by organizations of more than 1,000,000 employees. Moreover, their business is characterized by close relations with the nation's life. The problem is further complicated by the fact that various equipment, for instance, those in the government railways, are so worn out that a vast amount of materials and capital are urgently needed for their repair and replenishment. Nevertheless, regulation of government enterprises is a task which must be executed at all costs for the reconstruction of our country.

Concerning readjustment of operating personnel, the Government has reportedly planned to regulate the number of employees so that it will not exceed the rational number computed on the basis of efficiency. This method is justified. However, in view of the Government's sluggishness in the past, it is a prerequisite that such a computation be expedited.

It is obvious that present government enterprises, especially the government railways, have vast numbers of surplus personnel. The solution of the problem solely depends on political power for materializing the readjustment plan. The nation can no longer afford to bear the heavy tax burden resulting from loose management of government enterprises. Every enterprise, be it governmental or private, must pay its own costs. At the same time, it should not neglect service to the public.

The present system in government enterprises is considered a remnant of the Meiji government which attempted hastily to form a modern state. Therefore, we must urge that the Government drastically reform the system itself: not only from the viewpoint of regulation of enterprises. In short, strong political power alone can solve the problem.

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ITEM 5 State Minister Saito Blasts Thoughtless Resignation - Yomiuri - 22 Jan 48. Translator: U. Futonaka. (JJY)

Full Translation:

State Minister SAITO, Takao, yesterday released an announcement entitled "The Political Outlook," asserting that the Government's resignation should be determined by trends in the Diet and that transfer of government power by rotation through maneuvers for a new party should by no means be permitted under the new Constitution. With talk of moves for a new Ashida party spreading, this declaration by a Democratic cabinet member is regarded as significant. The gist of his remarks follows:

"In the midst of speculations apparently rampant as to the possible course of the political situation, the Government should base its actions upon the true purport of a coalition Cabinet, consider the three government parties' policies with reference to the current status of the nation, and submit for Diet approval plans which are in its independent judgment practicable. If the Diet votes for such policies, it is of course well and good. If they are voted down, dissolution of the Diet and a general election in an appeal to the people will become inevitable. The outcome of the election will determine the steps to be taken by the Cabinet.

"If, however, regroupings of party men dissociated from the people's will are attempted in order to create an artificial majority party in a move to take over government power, it will certainly introduce what may be called blackmarket political deals or rotational political transfers. This is nothing but the blind action of old-line politicians lost to the spirit of the new Constitution.

"Political parties entitled to assume government responsibilites under party rule must be those enjoying the people's trust. In the previous election the trust fell to the Socialists and the Katayama Cabinet ensued. Should policies be turned down in the Diet, therefore the House of Representatives must be dissolved first to decide on what party administrative power is to devolve. Resignation without definite reasons would be an act of infidelity betraying the trust of the people."

ITEM 8 What is Free Economy? - Sekai Nippo - 9 Jan 48. Translator: H. Arai. (GBS)

Summary:

It seems that the Liberal Party will adopt the principle of free economy as the platform of the new conservative party. What is free economy?

If it means a policy of economic laissez-faire based on natural law or utilitarian philosophy, capital should, as a rule, refuse state protection and aid as well as state interference. However, Japanese capitalists have coveted state protection and aid, while rejecting state interference. We wonder if the Liberal Party has the courage and ability to abandon its state protective policy? Is the party convinced that defeated JAPAN's economy will be reconstructed democratically and peacefully by this exclusive and exploiting economic let-alone policy which is based on the principle of "profits first"?

However, judging from the Liberal Party's opinion that a minimum scale of control is absolutely necessary for the time being, the party also seems to avoid control, instead of taking up the let-alone economic policy. However, we would like to point out that the Liberal Party carried out the priority production system of coal, iron and steel at the sacrifice of other general industries. Is this the meaning of a minimum scale of control which the Liberals advocate? We also know that it was the Liberal-headed Cabinet which restored control over fresh vegetables and fish that was once withdrawn in 1945.

These facts show that control is inevitable under the present economic circumstances and, at the same time, that from the practical point of view, control is control and its scale is beside the point. For this reason, the Liberal Party's free economic principle, aiming at a minimum scale of control and a maximum standard of economic freedom, is nothing but a play of ideas.

On the other hand, the socialistic force contends that nowadays the real meaning of free economy is to get Japanese economy out of the yoke of capitalism. This can be regarded as a representative form of socialism, but even the capitalists should appreciate these words. Judging from this remark, the Liberal Party's general idea of free economy plainly runs counter to the name. In conclusion, we cannot understand at all what the Liberals mean by free economy. We demand that the party study the question a little more thoroughly.

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ITEM 1 People Shoulder Financial Burden - Magazine: Diamond (Weekly) - 11 Jan 48. Translator: S. Shiina. (UC)

401.1

Summary:

According to the "Financial White Paper" made public by financial authorities, our state finance totals about 430,000,000,000 yen or 48 percent of the national income when estimated at 900,000,000,000 yen, and the financial burden which will be imposed on the people will be 190,100,000,000 yen (total of all taxes, stamp, revenue, and profits by government monopolies) or 21 percent of the total national income.

This will become as large as 33 percent when the special accounts and expenditures for local finance are added. In GREAT BRITAIN, before World War I, when capitalism was at its height, this averaged 10 percent.

Even after this war, when a labor government, which like the Katayama Cabinet of JAPAN, did not have a majority in the lower house. was in power, the ratio between state finance and national income did not exceed 10 percent.

On the other hand, it was generally 15 percent in JAPAN, and this five percent difference between that of JAPAN and the advanced capitalistic country of GREAT BRITAIN indicates the peculiarity of Japanese capitalism.

But, aside from this, it is obvious that such high rations as 48 or 33 percent cannot be understood unless we study this from another angle.

It can be assumed, and the people are given to understand, that the Government is striving to reconstruct Japanese economy democratically through a policy of modified capitalism, but the serious inroads made into national economy by such excessive rates indicate a great inconsistency in this policy.

Of course, probably not one person will hesitate to co-operate in the campaigns for a 100 percent tax collection and to increase savings as requested in the Financial White Paper. But, at the same time, it is necessary for the Government to reconsider its financial policies.

In short, whether the Government follows the line of modified capitalism or the American type of New Deal in pursuing its economic reconstruction plan, the ratio between state finance and national income must be corrected in accordance with whatever policy it may adopt.

ITEM 4 Both Houses Name Interpellators on Premier's Speech - Nihon Keizai - 22 Jan 48. Translator: Y. Sato. (TK)

401.1

Full Translation:

Interpellators on the Premier's administrative address from each party in the Lower House will include: Liberal--YAMAZAKI, Takeshi; in case he cannot attend the House tomorrow due to a cold, UEHARA, Etsujiro will take the floor in his place; Peoples Co-operatives--MATSUBARA, Kazuhiko; Doshi Club--ORIHATA, Tokuya.

As a result of an Upper House interparty meeting to confer upon allocation of interpellators on the Premier's administrative address, it was decided yesterday that five members from the RYOKUFUKAI, two each from the Democratic, Socialist, and Liberal Parties, and one from the Independent Club would take the floor with a time limit of 30 minutes per member as in the first Diet session.

The interpellation order is as follows: First day--Liberals, RYOKUFUKAI, and Socialists; second day--RYOKUFUKAI, Democrats, and Liberals; third day--Independents, Socialists, and RYOKUFUKAI; fourth day--RYOKUFUKAI, Democrats, and Liberals.

MATSUSHIMA, Kisaku and HIRAOKA, Ichizo will represent the Liberals, MAENOSONO, Kiichiro and FUKAGAWA, Tamie the Democrats, and KIMURA, Kihachiro and MORISHITA, Masaichi the Socialists.

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ITEM 5 Nature of the 5-Year Plan for Economic Reconstruction - Nihon Keizai - 24 Jan 48. Translator: Y. Kurata. (TK)

40-1

Summary:

Premier KATAYAMA, in his administration policy speech before the opening Diet session, outlined the long-range program for the nation's economic rehabilitation while singling out the year 1948 as the first year for the people to carry it out. Meanwhile, the five-year economic reconstruction plan is reportedly being considered by the ESB; and its principal objective is believed to be to stabilize the people's livelihood on the prewar level by 1952.

JAPAN's postwar economic recovery, which is closely connected with reparations and peace-treaty problems, is entirely at the discretion of the Allied Forces. However it is necessary for JAPAN to set a tentative goal for her postwar economic rehabilitation. To set production goals for basic materials and daily necessities gives the people some hopes for the reconstruction. In this sense, the reported five-year plan is highly welcome. It must be kept in mind, however, that the Government still has far to go before it gets the plan under way.

The Premier failed to give figures regarding annual production goals in major industrial fields under the five-year plan. As a matter of fact, postwar JAPAN is greatly dependent upon international economy, but the present international situation is so complex that it is almost impossible to forecast the international circumstances five years hence. Thus there is little possibility that the five-year economic rehabilitation plan, although drawn up somehow or other, will become workable. This being so, both the Government and the people, fully aware of this fact, should not stick to the plan but revise it in accordance with the changing circumstances. It naturally follows that more emphasis should be placed upon the rehabilitation plan for the present year than the five-year plan as a whole. In this sense, the Government is required to move heaven and earth to attain the coal production goal of 36,000,000 metric tons for this year.

Generally speaking, either controlled economy or free economy can bring about the economic stabilization which the five-year plan aims at. However, the present economic controls have as its objective to stabilize the nation's economy. Therefore, they are to be removed as soon as the economy is stabilized. Actually, however, the Government is unnecessarily intensifying the existing economic controls, thus proceeding in the opposite direction of the planned economic stabilization.

In conclusion, we emphasize that the Government in carrying out the five-year plan must take the international economic circumstances into full account.

ITEM 10 Nishio and Asanuma Strive to Maintain Four Party Policy Agreement.- Yomiuri - 19 Jan 48. Translator: S. Sano. (DD)

40-1

Full Translation:

It has been decided to put the proposal for the abrogation of the four-party policy agreement and the suspension of the payment of interest on war bonds, which was approved at the committee meeting of the Socialist Party convention on the evening of 18 Jan, to a vote, together with other proposals, at the plenary session on 19 Jan. If the proposal is approved at the convention, a crack may appear on the coalition of the government parties, and a political change brought about.

NISHIO and other leaders of the party frankly recognize this point. According to the report of Chairman of the convention, INAMURA, at the committee meeting on the evening of 17 Jan, both he and NISHIO spoke as follows concerning its importance and strove to vote down the proposal:

> If the abrogation of the four party policy agreement is decided, a crack will appear in the present coalition cabinet and the cabinet will stand at the crossroad of either having to resign or dissolve the National Diet. Since it is very disadvantageous for the Socialist Party to hold a general election under the present situation, the abrogation of the agreement should be given up."

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ITEM 13 Government to Familiarize Officials With Regulation - Asahi - 16 Jan 48.
Translator: A. Kawamura. (DD)

401.1

Full Translation:

At a meeting of the vice-ministers held 15 Jan, the Government reached a decision to fully familiarize government officials with the Government Officials Regulations:
It is reported that after the plan is approved by the Cabinet it will be announced in the form of an order from the office of the Premier.

The Government had decided to mete out official discipline against the on-the-dot quitting of work at closing time, which had prevailed the year end among government employees. However, it appears that, in view of later circumstances, the Government will first strive to make the employees thoroughly understand the purport of the Government Officials Regulations and leave disciplinary action for later.

The main points of the familiarization instructions are:

(1) Sincere and honest performance of duties as the public servants of the people.
(2) Obedience to orders.
(3) Maintenance of the dignity of the office.
(4) Prohibition of non-authorized departure from the place of work.
(5) Maintenance of security.
(6) Resolute punishment for violations of the Regulations.

It is to be noted that although it does not directly touch on disputative acts or union acitivites of public servants, the Government has stipulated that punishment will be meted out for leaving the place of work without proper authorization.

It is regarded that by this the Government refers to the acts which it heretofore interpreted as acts of "sabotage" on the part of Government and public office workers.

ITEM 15 Big Change Due with Policy Agreement Abrogation - Seiji - 20 Jan 48.
Translator: K. Murakami. (DD)

401.1

Full Translation:

The abrogation of the four party policy agreement, which had been strongly insisted on by the left-wing Socialists, was finally decided at the Socialist Party's convention on 19 Jan. This is a matter of grave significance because the leftists had both implicity and explicitly taken the attitude that since the Katayama Cabinet has become a cabinet of Democrats, it should resign en bloc at once.

If the suspension of the payment of interest on war bonds, which is a main item of the agreement, is taken up as a policy of the Socialist Party, the Socialists will inevitably have a head-on collision with the Democrats and Peoples Co-operatives who have been strictly opposed to it. Yet, it also seems technically difficult to conclude any agreement among the three parties. The Democratic Party, on 19 Jan, held an extraordinary executive meeting to discuss the matter, but no conclusion could be reached.

In order to prolong the life of the cabinet, the ministerial parties may attempt to conclude a three-party agreement. However, it seems that as a result of the strong advance of the leftists, a big crack has appeared in the three-party government among the Socialists, Democrats, and Peoples Co-operatives, and the harmony among the three parties has reached its limit. If a half-hearted three party agreement is set up, the leftist faction will doubtlessly attack it at the sacrifice of the collapse of the cabinet. The possibility of a political change or the dissolution of the Diet has thus greatly increased.

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ITEM 2 Development of Organizing Activities (by Tsukada, Daizan) - Magazine: Zenei (Monthly) - Nov 47. Translator: M. Takagi. (UG)

401:1

Summary:

To increase our membership, attention must be drawn to two major internal party problems, inasmuch as we can make no progress without some self-reflection.

In the first place, have we been able to throw out the idea of placing great emphasis upon strikes and the policy of controlling labor unions through handling the leaders alone? We are prone to resort to tactics following the line of least resistance and to decline towards the abovementioned principles which give political elements to

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economic disputes.

But this idea of placing too much stress upon strikes means an assumption that the political situation will naturally develop without taking any action in this field. Such being the case, development of our political organizations and improvement of the political abilities of our party members cannot be expected, for our organizers and members cannot rid themselves of such tendencies.

Today, we have an excessive number of topics concerning political struggles -- food, housing, taxation, education, medical treatment, unemployment and repatriation problems, the search after war-criminals, detection of hoarded goods, culture for youths and women, relief of people on the flooded areas, and power shortages. These numerous examples typifying political oppression provide the most important means for political agitation.

Next, sectionalism gives rise to a second problem. This has not yet become apparent, but in view of internal and external national conditions, this will become a matter of political significance. Fearing the development of our party and the democratic forces throughout the world, the Japanese ruling class attempted to split our party systematically by the use of such spies as SANO, NABEYAMA, MITAMURA and KAZAMA and by pulling wires within the Socialist Party.

The fact that offices of our district and block organizations were raided and that important documents were stolen testifies to this. Moreover, they are attempting to introduce their spies into our party with a view to splitting it, these being their hackneyed tactics. In such a grave situation, it is clear that we cannot pass over sectionalism, no matter how trivial it may be.

Of late, their fraction activities were started in a certain district, but of course such an attempt was frustrated at once under the fine guidance of the central committee. Despite the difficult situation, they were opposed to absolute obedience to the direction committee of the party, to our strict discipline and to Bolshevik collectivism and acclaimed democracy within the party.

We must fight against such malicious sectionalism with unified ideas and organs. In some cases, members do not correctly understand the relations between the party and individual members. They make much of the party in word only, but actually their own interests come first. Fundamentally speaking, such individualism is the consciousness of the bourgeoisie.

This must be suppressed by the exercise of our systematic and unified consciousness. At the same time, it is necessary for us to seek the cause of such false sectionalism. Important to note is the fact that such a tendency is not entirely independent of the abovementioned idea of placing too much stress upon strikes and of controlling labor unions through the leaders alone.

As long as we overemphasize the strike and fraction activities, much cannot be expected in regard to the political enlightenment of party members. Unless the cells receive our constant advice and guidance, new members cannot become cognizant of the fact that our party is a politically and ideologically unified organ and will remain so inspite of the blunder of sectionalism.

Next, how can we form a communistic revolutionary, popular party through mass struggles, rather than a small communistic sect?

1) We must use our utmost endeavors to lead political struggles. To this end, the current direction committee for organizing activities should not be a special organ for leading fraction activities but must have directing power over district and block organizations and cells.

2) As criticized at the fourth general meeting of the central committee, it is essential that the activities of all organizations,

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particularly the cells should be multiplied. Much more stress must be placed upon taking good care of the people at large to enable them to meet their daily demands. Formal bureaucracy will appear, as pointed out at the fourth general meeting, if we attempt to lead the general public in a high handed manner, the result being that they will repel our party, which again will contribute greatly to the policy of the conservatives, ie, the cleavage of the party.

3) Despite the lack of personnel and poor finance, our district organizations are prone to have too many special organs, meetings and resolutions, chiefly because of the lack of planning ability. This results in the prefectural or district committees discussing great problems such as the principles of the central committee, in decisions being too abstract and in lack of ability to implement such decisions owing to the complicated nature of the problems. Since each prefecture and district has its own political and economic conditions and each committee has its own subjective conditions, our measures must be concrete and in accord with these conditions.

4) In view of the fact that neither central nor district organizations have educational institutes, it is clear that our educational and propaganda activities are poor. The reason why political propaganda has been ignored is that our struggles are not political and no emphasis is laid on the political activities of our cells. The February 1 strike which ended in failure despite our strong control over it, can be cited as a good example of this, which shows that the general public cannot be trained politically through economic struggles alone and that our educational and propaganda activities tend to become separated from actual struggles.

5) At present, educational activities through press and magazines in the district and prefectural organizations and cells are dull. One propaganda organ for every prefecture, at least, is necessary. Today, in each prefecture, there is one bourgeois paper through which the bourgeoisie and political bosses are attempting to make the people at large "bourgeois conscious". That we have no organ through which to fight against the bourgeoisie gives rise to our political defeat.

6) In reflecting on our failure resulting from the fact that the past struggles of the working people have not been related to those of the citizens, and farmers, emphasis has been placed upon the joint struggles of the farmers, citizens and workers. Needless to say, it is necessary for the workers to work with the citizens and farmers, but at the same time the farmers and citizens should be induced to support the workers. To this end, it is essential to strengthen and develop our cells in the farming villages, which hold only one fourth of the members belonging to industrial organizations.

The Bulgarian Communist Party totalling 490,000 is composed of 27 percent workers and 45 percent farmers. This is the strong point of that party. Unless we strengthen our cells in the farming villages and gain the support of the workers, a people's democratic government can hardly be established. We can no longer improve the farmers politically merely through economic struggles such as those centering around rice delivery.

As decided at the past meeting to consider agricultural policies, the activities of cells in the farming villages must be concentrated upon village administration. We should organize the farmers under the influence of our party through political struggles to ensure their daily demands, as in relation to agrarian problems.

Thus, only when the cells are established in the farming villages and a sound basis for our activities is laid down, can we mobilize the farmers in support of the workers and ensure success in a struggle engaging all the people.

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ITEM 7 Expose Irresponsible Government - Jimmin - 20 Jan 48.. Translator: I. Hotta. (GBS)

401.1

Summary:

Mr HIRANO has finally been purged. Some people are surprised, but others merely think that the step was justified. It may have been improper to purge Mr HIRANO for he was neither a cabinet minister nor a government official during the war. However, the prosecution of persons having had war responsibility is an important political task. It aims to eliminate the leaders of the militaristic and Fascistic movements in the past from the present influential circles so that they cannot again rise to power. Therefore, Mr HIRANO, who organized the Japan National Socialist Party in 1932, became the chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the party, and was also the chairman of the Farmer's Committee of the party, deserved to be purged.

This National Socialist Party was a Fascistic party which Mr HIRANO organized after becoming dissatisfied with the social democracy of the Social People's Party. Mr HIRANO proceeded to promote the farmer's movement as leader of this Fascistic party. Moreover, he caused a split within the Japan Farmer's Union soon after the war and attempted to revive the Fascist movement among the farmers.

These important facts have long been known to Mr KATAYAMA and Mr NISHIO. The Communists and some others often pointed out that Mr HIRANO was a man with war responsibility. Nevertheless, Mr KATAYAMA appointed him to the post of Agriculture and Forestry Minister and promoted the development of the rightist farmer's unions. This movement gradually came out into the open and clashed with the economic control policies, of the Katayama Cabinet. Therefore, Mr HIRANO was removed from office and was purged. However, the responsibility of the Katayama Cabinet for having appointed a person with war responsibility as cabinet minister and causing a split in the farmer's front cannot be absolved merely by these actions against Mr HIRANO.

There have been other cases of irresponsibility on the part of the Cabinet. The Katayama Cabinet is consciously neglecting its duty to purge all persons with war responsibility and is conducting an undemocratic administration. The Katayama Cabinet includes many Ministers who are fugitives from justice. Newspapers recently took up the war responsibility of new Agriculture and Forestry Minister HATANO, who was a member of the East Asia League (TOA REMMEI) and participated in behind-the-scene activities during the WANG, Ching-wei regime. We do not know why, but Foreign Minister ASHIDA, who was the president of the Japan Times during the war, has been exempted from purge, although the wartime presidents of other newspapers have been purged. Upon considering these facts, we keenly feel that the Katayama Cabinet is conducting irresponsible administration which contains no semblance of democratic government. Those who desire the democratization of politics demand a complete investigation of the Katayama Cabinet's irresponsible administration.

ITEM 3 Morito Calls Interest Suspension Crux of Party Accord Issue - Nihon Keizai - 26 Jan 48. Translator: H. Miyoshi. (JJY)

401.1

Full Translation:

Education Minister MORITO spoke at FUKUSHIMA yesterday, on the party agreement abrogation and other current problems: In sum, he said:

"The abrogation of the four-party policy agreement is reasonable. In its place a three-party agreement will be concluded. However, there will be no basic change in the contents of the agreement. New yen will not be refrozen. The crux of the problem is suspension of payment of war bond interest.

"Some time ago Chief Cabinet Secretary NISHIO declared that only under unavoidable circumstances would the Diet be dissolved. This means in case a nonconfidence motion against the Cabinet passes the Diet."

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ITEM 2 'Government is Continuing Efforts' Katayama - Tokyo Shimbun - 27 Jan 48. Translator: K. Higashikawa. (RBH)

401.7

Summary:

Premier KATAYAMA, in yesterday's Upper House plenary session, reaffirmed the determination of the present Cabinet to stay in power on the ground that the Cabinet enjoys the support of the Diet. Admitting that a grave economic crisis is now in progress, the Premier revealed that the Government is trying to map out various measures for overcoming the crisis, adding that the present Cabinet bitterly feels the responsibility of halting the present spiraling inflation from the viewpoints of currency and production. He also revealed the firm resolve of the Government to effect personnel cuts to rebuild the nation's administrative structure.

The House of Councillors sat in plenary session at 1025 hours yesterday, when interpellations on the Premier's administrative speech were continued. Replying to questions posed by Democratic MAYEZONO, Kiichiro last Saturday, Agriculture-Forestry Minister HATANO stated: "With the motherland now narrowed down, the importation of foreign food is now unavoidable, but considering the fact that the importation of industrial materials is very important for the national rehabilitation, the Government hopes to be able to limit the food importation to the minimum. The Government is now making studies regarding concrete measures for stepping up food production by 10 percent. The Government is also preparing new legislation for deciding rice delivery well in advance, and the new legislation will be presented to the current Diet session."

Councillor SASAKI questioned: "Rumors of an Ashida regime to succeed the Katayama Cabinet are afloat. In view of this, we desire the Government to clarify its attitude on the matter. Despite the fact that the Socialist Party at its recent national convention decided its policies, the political views of the Premier have shown no change. Present indications are that the Government in its labor policy is placing undue imphasis on the control of the labor movement. It looks as though the Yonekubo labor administration is going to fall into the category of police administration. A report has it that the Government contemplates revising the existing Labor Union Law and the Labor Relations Adjustment Law, which is designed to deal a far-reaching blow to the right of labor to strike and also upon labor's right to organize. What is the nature of these contemplated revisions? The present unregistered bank deposits are a means of tax dodging. Such means are liable to foment antitax sentiment among the people. What are the views of the Government in this respect?"

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ITEM 2 (Continued)

In reply Premier KATAYAMA stated: "Democracy is a parliamentary form of government. Inasmuch as the present Cabinet enjoys the support of the Diet in this sense, it is firmly resolved to stay in power."

Labor Minister YONEKUBO replied: "The labor movement in our country has made rapid strides following the war's end, and the existing Labor Union Law and the Labor Relations Adjustment Law have many flaws. For this reason the Government contemplates making revisions in these laws so that labor movements in our country will be truly democratized."

Finance Minister KURUSU replied: "For the collection of taxes the Government is adopting the democratic mode of income declarations by tax payers, and the Government is not adopting the policy of allotting taxes. If any amount is paid in excess, it will be refunded to the taxpayer. The Government encourages payment of taxes and also savings. It is not for the purpose of encouraging tax dodging that the Government permits the system of unregistered bank deposits."

Socialist KIMURA, Kihachiro interpellated: "Judging that an economic crisis is ahead of us, the Socialist Party decided policies to combat the situation, but the policies of the Socialist Party were not represented in the Premier's speech. Instead the Premier advocated the "production first" policy of the Democratic Party, giving us the impression that the present Cabinet is under the leadership of the Democrats. Differences in the policies of the Socialist and the Democratic parties are serving to bring about a deadlock in the policies of the Government, and we would like to know what are the views of the Government on the economic crisis. The Government has shown us a rehabilitation plan, but we would like to know whether the Government plans to increase production as a means of halting inflation or to halt inflation as a means of increasing production. What is the basic relation between the anticrisis measures and the rehabilitation plans of the Government? I am given to understand that before he became the Agriculture-Forestry Minister, Mr HATANO advocated the suspension of payment of interest on war bonds or placing limitations thereon. What are his present views in this respect?"

Premier KATAYAMA replied: "On the viewpoint that a grave economic crisis is now in progress, the Government is working out various measures to combat the situation. The Government feels bitterly its responsibility to stop the rising inflation from the viewpoints of currency and production. The Government is not attaching secondary importance to halting the spiraling inflation."

Economic Stabilization Board Director-general WADA stated: "I do not consider an economic crisis has already passed, but I think that the present crisis is of a different nature from that of the March crisis. It is very difficult to solve this matter by only taking into consideration the currency problem. We hope to accomplish a long-range rehabilitation plan with an eye to factors contributing to the spiraling inflation."

Finance Minister KURUSU stated: "The Government is optimistic over the possibility of absorption of the Reconstruction Finance Bank bonds, but it is the intention of the Government to limit the flotation of RFB loans as much as possible by taking into account various conditions."

Agriculture-Forestry Minister HATANO replied: "In the first session of the Diet, I stated to the effect that something should be done about the war bonds which are the result of the war. I still believe in this and am seriously studying the matter."

Commerce-Industry Minister MIZUTANI stated: "The Government is taking every possible step to prevent corruption on the part of economic officials by taking into consideration the prevailing conditions."

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POLITICAL SERIES: 2212 (Continued)

ITEM 2 (Continued)

Ryokufukai member AMASHITA, Yoshinobu, interpellated: "The attitude of the Government toward administrative reform is incomprehensible. Does the Government intend to reform the Economic Stabilization Board? Is the Government resolved to enforce official discipline and also to purge government officials who resort to corrupt practices? Has the Government any intention of abolishing the posts of minister without porfolio? Will it adopt the system of states?"

Premier KATAYAMA replied: "The Government is determined to effect personnel cuts. In the near future we will present out plan and rebuild our administrative structure."

Justice Minister SUZUKI stated: "All corrupt practices and illegal transactions on the part of any and all government officials will be strictly dealt with by the prosecution as soon as they come to the attention of the prosecution."

The Upper House plenary session was adjourned at 1345 hours.

DATE	TIME	NO.	FROM	TO	DATE	RADIO NO	OUTGOING RADIO SYNOPSIS	CLASS	FILED	# CYS
					9/10		ScAPin 1562	✓	✓	✓
							1564	✓	✓	✓
							3361-A	✓	✓	✓
							Application for Exclusion from Collation of Looted Autos	✓	✓	✓
							3367-A	✓	✓	✓
					9/11		Scapin 3366-A	✓	✓	✓
							3365-A	✓	✓	✓
							3364-A	✓	✓	✓
							3368-A	✓	✓	✓
							Shipments of Subsistence Stocks to Japan	✓	✓	✓
							Cotton Fabrics for Export to the N. East Indies	✓	✓	✓
							Import of Medical Supplies	✓	✓	✓
							Merchandise of Empire Fibre Company	✓	✓	✓
							Printing Removed from University of Philippines	✓	✓	✓
							Scapin 1560	✓	✓	✓
							1561	✓	✓	✓
							1563	✓	✓	✓
							1565	✓	✓	✓
							927/13	✓	✓	✓
							3362-A	✓	✓	✓
							3363-A	✓	✓	✓

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DECLASSIFIED E. O. 12065 SECTION 3-402 / NNDG NO. 775015

ITEM 3 Dissolution Depends upon People's Will, Premier Declares - Yomiuri - 27 Jan 48. Translator: J. Wada. (TC)

401 1

Full Translation:

Yesterday's plenary session of the Lower House opened at 1400 hours with continued questioning on the Premier's administrative policy address.

TSUJI, Kanichi (Liberal): "I think that administrative reorganization of the Transportation and Communications Ministries is a matter of urgent necessity. What is the Government's opinion?

"The purge cases of HAYASHI, Heima and HIRANO, Rikizo gave the people a very unfair impression. What does the Premier think of this point?"

Premier KATAYAMA: "There is a great divergence between the reports and the truth on the Hirano and Hayashi issues. This seems to have given rise to the prevailing misgiving among the people. I, as Premier, am resolved not to let the purge be utilized for political purposes.

"My opinion is that as long as the Diet continues to have confidence in the Cabinet, that fact must be esteemed as much as possible. The Diet should not be dissolved merely because a minority's factional opinion favors it."

Transportation Minister KITAMURA: "Rationalization of the government railways' management is to increase their incomes by strengthening transportation capacity. The problem of reassignment of employees is being considered. However, the yardstick must be different from those to be used for other government offices. I think that the watchmen numbering 30,000 must be decreased."

FURUHATA, Tokuya (Doshi): "The Premier says that the mineral and industrial field will see a 40 percent increase in production over the preceding year. The Premier has the duty of presenting sufficient data to the Diet."

"The Government is reported to be attempting to amend the Labor Relations Adjustment Law so that government employees will be prohibited from going on strike whether they may be operating or nonoperating. What is the Government's belief in this connection?"

"Electricity is as important as motive power source as coal. What is the Government's opinion on this point? What does the Premier think of the problem of political morality which came to the fore in relation to the Hirano issue?"

Labor Minister YONEKUBO: "Labor's rights of organization, collective bargaining and strike are recognized as fundamental human rights under the Constitution, I have never spoken such words as may be construed as intended to limit these rights. My consideration concerns only exercise of the right of strike. For example, the Labor Relations Adjustment Law has no clear provisions for the case when employees who have no right of strike have gone on strike."

Commerce Minister MIZUTANI: "In the coming year, electric power supply, hydraulic and coal-burning, will be increased to 31,200,000,000 kilowatt-hours by expanding and repairing generation equipment and by allocating more coal for generation purposes. The increased supply will be distributed to various departments on a rational basis, making the utmost use of the available amount."

"It is time for the Government to determine its attitude towards the Electrical Workers Union's proposal. As for democratization of the electrical industry which is one of the proposed items, the Government will form a committee comprising chairmen of the Upper and Lower House electricity committees and nearly 30 representatives selected from among private circles."

ORIHATA (Doshi): "The replies of the Premier and other ministers are generally insufficient to convince us. The other day, Chief Secretary TOMABECHI of the Democratic Party was compelled to leave the rostrum in the course of his speech because there wasn't a quorum. This is proof of the weakened influence of the government parties."

The session adjourned at 1717 hours, following TANAKA, Hisao's questioning and the ministers' replies to it.

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DATE	TIME	NO.	FROM	TO	DATE	RADIO NO	OUTGOING RADIO SYNOPSIS	CLASS	FILED	# CYS
							Export of Ammonium Sulphate	✓	✓	✓
							Import of Phosphate Rock	✓	✓	✓
							Sulphuric Acid To Korea	✓	✓	✓
							Books Belonging TO Weather Bureau	✓	✓	✓
					1/7		SCAPIN 3359-A	✓	✓	✓
							1559	✓	✓	✓
							3358-A	✓	✓	✓
							3360-A	✓	✓	✓
							3357-A	✓	✓	✓
							Property Owned By Karim Gulamhusain	✓	✓	✓
							Property Owned By Timothy Pitesch	✓	✓	✓
							1557	✓	✓	✓
							3350-A	✓	✓	✓
							3355-A	✓	✓	✓
							3354-A	✓	✓	✓
							3356-A	✓	✓	✓
							3342-A	✓	✓	✓
							3338-A	✓	✓	✓
							3351-A	✓	✓	✓
					1/10		Regarding Imposing Capital Levy Laws	✓	✓	✓
							3373-A	✓	✓	✓

DECLASSIFIED E. O. 12065 SECTION 3-402 / NNDG NO. 775015

ITEM 4 Premier's Speech on Administrative Policies - Tokyo Minpo - 24 Jan 48. Translator: S. Ota. (TK)

461.1

Summary:

Premier KATAYAMA's speech on his administrative policies, which was delivered at the opening of the second session of the Diet, has drawn attention from the public.

Through his address, it was first felt that the Government was trying to shift public attention from the serious problem of surmounting the present crisis by bringing to the fore the so-called long-range construction plan. Under this plan, the production goal for coal, electricity, iron, and staple food has been respectively set at 3,600,000 tons, 31,600,000,000 KWH, 1,000,000 tons, and 10 percent higher than the actual production last year. However, it will be impossible to attain this goal without halting the present inflation which has been infinitely accelerated.

In his address, KATAYAMA stated that the expansion of the currency issue would be checked by financial retrenchment, restrictions on deficit loans, promotion of tax payment, increase of deposits, and other formalistic measures. We wonder whether the Government, failing in all these measures last year, can succeed this year in the same measures.

The Premier also stated that the scale of state finance would be balanced with the actual economic capacity of the nation. However, the so-called economic capacity of the working masses entirely differs from that of the large-scale blackmarketeers. Even if the Premier appealed to the nation's sense of duty for tax payment, it would be impossible to promote tax collection without proper allocation of the tax burden. It was stated that the workers' income tax rates would be reduced in the next fiscal year. However, this will not compensate for the increased burden on the masses as a result of successive rise in the prices of government monopoly goods and in the rates in various government enterprises. It seems that those factors merely inducing higher prices of commodities lie not so much in raise in monetary wages as in the aforementioned measures of the Government.

Next, the Premier considered it a welcome trend that "very recently" a sound labor movement was aroused. However, it will be fortunate if this does not mean the encouragement of those elements which have attempted to split the labor union movement under the pretext of anticommunism. Moreover, he demanded from the working masses that they should avoid "confusing the social order and destroy economy on its way toward reconstruction." Such a lack of confidence in the workers seems to betray the anti-labor character of the Katayama Cabinet, and its fear of labor movements. Actually, however, the working masses prefer social order, a new order based on workers, to confusion. JAPAN's economy must be reconstructed with the workers as its basis.

DECLASSIFIED E. O. 12065 SECTION 3-402 / NNDG NO. 775015

ITEM 6 Way to Purify Politics - Tokyo Shimbun - 27 Jan 48, Translator: M. Yasutake. (TO)

4011

Summary:

It is reported that parties will offer to the present Diet a bill to prevent the corruption of parties and a bill for the revision of the Election Law to enforce elections in an inexpensive manner. Nobody will disagree with the purpose of these bills. Recently Liberal HARA quit his party as the result of his becoming involved in a hoarded goods scandal. This case must be put to thorough investigation. The so-called Seko case has not been investigated thoroughly enough to dispel the deep suspicions of the people.

We may well place hope in the activities of the Illegal Property Investigation Committee in its investigation of illegal properties. It has been established to dispel these suspicions of the people. The Procurators' Office brought the Hara case to the fore. If the establishment of the Illegal Property Investigation Committee is delayed or if the Committee engages in mud slinging, it will mar the authority of the Lower House. The Lower House will be able to regain the confidence of the people only when the committee promptly launches activities to purify the politics through fair means.

Along with the prevention of the corruption of parties by law, it is necessary to take measures to enforce elections in an inexpensive manner. It will be difficult for parties to reach agreement regarding the mode of election or the revision of constituencies, but when a draft is made, the opinion of the people must be consulted through a public hearing or other means. At the same time, the people, on their part, must not connect politics with privilege. After all, the political world can be purified through the thorough investigation of suspicious cases, the elevation of the political consciousness of the people and the holding of inexpensive elections.

DATE	TIME	PO.	FROM	TO	DATE	RADIO NO	OUTGOING RADIO SYNOPSIS	CLASS	FILED	# CYS
							Scapin 3302-A	✓	✓	✓
							Sensitive Instructions for Cotton Fabrics	✓	✓	✓
							Cotton Fabrics for ~~Export~~ to Malaya	✓	✓	✓
							Machinery and Consumer Goods for Ryukyus	✓	✓	✓
							Lorted Singer Sewing Machines	✓	✓	✓
							SCAPIN 1556	✓	✓	✓
							3331-A	✓	✓	✓
							3324-A	✓	✓	✓
							3325-A	✓	✓	✓
							3322-A	✓	✓	✓
							3320-A	✓	✓	✓
							Drafts Drawn by the Gunze Silk Corp.	✓	✓	✓
							3327-A.	✓	✓	✓
							3330-A	✓	✓	✓
							3328-A	✓	✓	✓
							3273-A	✓	✓	✓
							3333-A	✓	✓	✓
							1563	✓	✓	✓
							1555	✓	✓	✓
							3332-A	✓	✓	✓
							3329-A	✓	✓	✓

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DECLASSIFIED E. O. 12065 SECTION 3-402 / NNDG NO. 775015

ITEM 4 Unification of Administration and Morality - Tokyo Times - 28 Jan 48.
Translator: E. Sato. (DD)

4011

Summary:

The major defect of bureaucracy is the abuse of authority by Government officials. In view of the recent poor sale of cigarettes, the Monopoly Bureau is planning to stage a "cigarette promotion campaign" on a nation-wide scale and conduct a "Takara Kuji" (IN a lottery in which a fixed number of cigarettes are given with each chance purchased on monetary prizes) to sell cigarettes, in an effort to secure the estimated profit for the current fiscal year. The poor sale of cigarettes and blackmarket dealings in privately manufactured cigarettes can, no doubt, be ascribed to the marked rise in the official prices of cigarettes. However, instead of analyzing their own failures, the authorities are planning on tempting the masses to smoke more. Herein lies the defect of bureaucracy.

Under the existing circumstances, it is required that the masses cut consumption and endure an austere life. The Government is taking every available step to keep balance between prices and wages, to accumulate capital, and to increase production. Yet, a bureau within the Government is financing cigarette retail shops and encouraging the wasteful expenditure of the people's money under the name of "Smoke Promotion Campaign" in order to veil its blunder. How nonsensical and absurd!

Even while trying to impress the people with the importance of checking the inflationary trend, the Government, only from the standpoint of additional increase of its revenue, has boosted railway fares and postal charges which will cause prices in general to rise further. The Government is now at its wit's end due to decreased revenue in spite of raising the railway fares and postal charges.

The Government urges the masses to enhance their moral sense, and yet, it encourages lotteries by prefectural offices and civilian organizations. This policy is really inconsistent. If the people's payment of taxes shows poor results and the propaganda compaigns, similar to the Community Chest Drive, prove also fruitless, the Government may possibly try to increase its revenue by stirring up the speculative spirit of the people through all available measures like the TAKARA KUJI. It is a gross mistake if the Government intends to adopt speculation as a national policy in order to rehabilitate the nation.

All administration must be unified on the basis of morality and sincerity. Morality is essential to the welfare of the nation, which is the major objective of democracy. Neither economy nor culture can be free and normal without being founded on morality. Since the prevailing view of democracy is prone to be too materialistic and sceptical, setting morality at naught, it is natural that the evil customs of bureaucracy will never be broken down.

It is up to the Government first of all to establish morality firmly in administration.

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ITEM 5 New Policy Agreement with Conservatives Would Be More Trickery - Akahata - 21 Jan 48. Translator: K. Yasutake. (OD)

401.1

Full Translation:

NOZAKA, central committee member of the Communist Party, talked to the following effect on 19 Jan regarding the Socialists decision to abrogate the four-party policy agreement:

"The four-party policy agreement was formed by the conservative camps represented by the Liberal and Democratic parties to hold back the Socialist Party. The Socialist Party abandoned its policy on this pretext and yielded under conservative pressure. As a result the Katayama Cabinet has executed conservative reactionary policies under the cloak of socialism. Because of this, the people in every stratum were bitterly disappointed by the Socialist Party. To overcome this crisis the left-winger in the party proposed the abrogation of the four-party policy agreement at the recent convention, and this passed the convention after much parley.

"However, the question remains to be solved. The right-wing leaders regard the decision simply as an internal problem of the party that the cabinet is not obliged to execute. Informants say that some left-wing leaders entertain the same view. Most of the delegates, however who supported this proposal must have fought it out at the recent convention, taking their resolution for its word value. If the Socialist Party wants to continue its existence as a public party, it should categorically demand that the cabinet execute the resolution. Should the cabinet refuse to listen, the party should overthrow such a corrupt organ; and the left-wingers only are the ones to realize this.

"Here I have something more to say. At the recent convention, SUZUKI (Mosaburo) and some others slandered the Communists. This clearly betrays the fact that some left-wingers are assisting KATAYAMA and MATSUOKA in their anti-Communism activities. If the Socialists really intend to carry out a thorough democratic revolution, they should cleanly wash their hands of the conservative and reactionary camps and organize a close and common front with the Communists and other democratic bodies. As long as they do not take this step they are fundamentally on the same line with NISHIO, no matter how much they sound the praises of the left-wingers. I hope the Socialist masses will reflect on this point and appreciate what I mean.

"The Communist Party is as anxious to develop a common front with the Socialist Party as ever. To abrogate the four-party policy agreement and to newly conclude a three party policy agreement is clearly more trickery. To attribute all the past responsibility of misgovernment to the four-party policy agreement and newly co-operate with the capitalistic parties is fundamentally no more than a continuation of the former four-party policy agreement. How impossible it is to overcome the imminent political and economic crisis by such co-operation with or submission to the capitalists has been plainly shown in the results of the past half year."

DECLASSIFIED E. O. 12065 SECTION 3-402 / NNDG NO. 775015

ITEM 8 Keep Politics Fair - Seiji - 27 Jan 48. Translator: W. Hayashi. (RL)

Summary:

If the people cannot place confidence in their government, it is a great misfortune. They have no alternative than to protect their own livelihood by themselves, whereby egotism and exclusiveness will inevitably be fermented.

The government will lose the people's confidence when it irresponsibly breaks its promises to the public, when its political incompetency is revealed, and when its attitude lacks fairness. The much-welcomed KATAYAMA cabinet has lost the public's support only eight months after its formation due to its political incompetency. The lack of fairness in administration is another cause.

A good example was the recent issue of HIRANO's purge. All the people deplore that the proceedings of the Central Screening Committee in dealing with HIRANO's issue were questionable. It is already known that government pressure was behind the scenes.

Immediately after the committee's decision, IWABUCHI and OKOCHI, both members of the committee, tendered their resignation and expressed their dissatisfaction. In view of the committee's proceedings and activities of the committeemen, we think that the committee's final decision was dependent on the vote of Chairman MAKINO. It is undeniable that a shady transaction was conducted between the chairman and the government.

We must first of all denounce such an unjustifiable, dark step taken by the government. Although such a step may have been the device of some of his advisors, the responsibility must be placed on the premier. The only merit of good-natured Premier KATAYAMA was that he is a man of justice who rejects shady actions, and even this single merit is now at stake.

The committee's decision need not be accepted unconditionally, since the premier is authorized to give the final decision. Therefore, if the committee had decided that HIRANO does not fall under the purge directive, as it wished to do so, and then if the premier had decided on the purge, assuming the entire responsibility, his character would not have been injured, and public sentiment would have been different.

Since the situation daily is coming disadvantageous to the government, even prudent Premier KATAYAMA must have lost his calmness. The problem of HIRANO's purge was an outcome of his conflict with NISHIO, and NISHIO is now the victor. From an impartial point of view, everyone now admits that NISHIO's action was insidious and forceful.

Although NISHIO is called a rare great statesman of the day, he must conduct himself more prudently so that not only his own fame but also the high reputation of the premier will not be impaired. He may be a great statesman, but NISHIO is typical of the old statesmen who lack intelligence and prefer reality to ideals. Therefore, he is apt to prefer a realistic course in complete disregard of political justice and fairness, as evidenced by the fact that he is now engaged in the formation of ASHIDA's new party since he is well aware of the doom of the KATAYAMA cabinet.

The days of the KATAYAMA cabinet are numbered. However, to live up to just politics is more important than to protect the life of a cabinet. We hope that Premier KATAYAMA and NISHIO will give special attention on this point regardless of the disadvantageous conditions.

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ITEM 2 Action Expected of Each Party in Second National Assembly - Asahi - 22 Jan 48. Translator: S. Ono. (JJ)

Summary:

Starting off with Premier KATAYAMA's administrative policy speech on 22 Jan, the Second National Assembly will see the various political parties throwing questions at the Government. With the Socialists deciding to abrogate the four party policy agreement and with the Liberals actively working toward the formation of a new conservative party, the political situation is becoming tenser.

Reflecting this critical situation, the Government is attempting to hold its parties together, while all parties are carefully mapping out their respective courses of action. In the Governmental parties, the leftist Socialists are resolved to have their policy demands heard regarding the compilation of the next fiscal year budget, while the Democrats, in view of their stand of modified capitalism, will try to check the legislation of socialistic policies and at the same time keep an interested eye on the Liberal Party's projected new conservative party or one of its own. Thus, the Government may very likely find itself caught in the cross-fire of the Liberals severe and sharp offensive.

The conditions that prevail in the various parties are as follows: SUZUKI, Mosaburo has been chosen to represent the Socialists in questioning the Premier. With the party sharply split into two factions, the leftists and rightists are each expected to take separate action in the Assembly. While the rightists top the leftists in the newly-elected executive committee, the two are about equal in the party's Diet member group, hindering the adoption of a unified party action.

The Government is hoping to again take up each point of the now abrogated four-party policy agreement within the cabinet, as well as the question of the new fiscal year budget, and effect an understanding within the Government. The rightists are expected to support the Government on these issues.

Democrats feel a little better over the fact that the rightists still lead the Socialist Party. Regarding the new fiscal year budget, the Democrats expect that their assertions will be recognized.

Chief Secretary TOMABECHI will take the rostrum to question Premier KATAYAMA regarding the administration policy speech from the standpoint of modified capitalism with a view to purifying the political circles. The Democrats strongly favor aiding the activities of the Illegal Property Transactions Committee. Though some in the party are keenly interested in the efforts of the Liberals to form a new conservative party, the party leaders are not inclined.

Though President YOSHIDA's speech of the 20th shows Liberal views now more closely approach Democratic policies, failure to announce details regarding specific points discourages the immediate merger of the two.

The Democrats are more interested in increasing their own party strength by absorbing the Peoples Co-operatives and other minor parties in order to take over office in the event the Katayama regime collapses.

Liberal Party: The Liberals will take every opportunity at the Assembly to unseat the present Cabinet. As President YOSHIDA has declared at the Liberal Diet members meeting on the 20th, the Liberals claim that the Katayama Cabinet, especially in renouncing the four-party pact, is no longer qualified to cope with the present political situation, and they claim the Socialists should now make way for a conservative-merger power now being called for by the public.

Even if they fail to gather enough of the opposition elements to win the House majority, the Liberals are expected to present a nonconfidence motion against the Government and form a new conservative party through the new election.

The Hirano issue and the extension of financial aid to certain companies by the Government are expected to be utilized by the Liberals in flaying the Katayama regime. The Liberals will also attack the Government on the new fiscal year budget, the high commodity prices, and revision of the Election Law.

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ITEM 2 (Continued)

On the other hand, the leftists hold that the present Cabinet is not capable of compiling a budget strong enough to overcome the present economic crisis, and they will pull no punches in criticizing the Government. With the three Government parties arguing over policies, its own party split in two and relations between the party and the cabinet worsening, the party policy will have to await the situation prevailing at that time in the Diet.

Peoples Co-ops Go Along with Socialists and Democrats

Peoples Co-operative Party: It was decided at a meeting of its members of the two Houses that the Peoples Co-operative Party would, as a government party, act closely with the Socialist and Democratic Parties, while checking further advancement of the leftist Socialists. However, anti-Socialist feeling is increasing within the party and some are already for quitting the Socialists.

MATSUBARA, Kazuhiko will take the floor to question the Government regarding the four-party policy agreement, administrative readjustment, the 6-3 education system, reconstruction of disaster damages, labor policy and the purge. That the party expects to ask questions on the four-party agreement and the screening committee reflects the anti-Socialist atmosphere within the party. The party is also preparing a livelihood co-operative union bill for presentation to the Assembly.

Democratic Party: Though anxious about the outcome of the Socialists' decision to quit the four-party policy agreement, the Democrats feel a little better over the fact that the rightists still lead the Socialist Party. Regarding the new fiscal year budget, the Democrats expect that their assertions will be recognized.

Chief Secretary TOMABECHI will take the rostrum to question Premier KATAYAMA regarding the administration policy speech from the standpoint of modified capitalism with a view to purifying the political circles. The Democrats strongly favor aiding the activities of the Illegal Property Transactions Committee. Though some in the party are keenly interested in the efforts of the Liberals to form a new conservative party, the party leaders are not inclined.

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401.1

ITEM 7 Reorganization of Political Parties - Nihon Keizai - 31 Jan 48.
Translator: R. Shibata. (TK)

Summary:

Recent political instability stems mainly from the political-party reorganization movement centering around the problem of forming the so-called new parties. Evidently the movements for reorganizing political parties are being pushed along two lines: merger of conservative parties with the Liberal Party as the main body, and unification of middle-of-the-road factions centering around the Democratic and Peoples Co-operative parties.

The faction aiming at merging conservatives into a single party base their assertion on the fact that the existence of two big opposing parties is most normal for party government and that the parties based on capitalism or conservatism should naturally unite so as to cope in a group with progressives or the Socialist Party. Meanwhile, those who intend to consolidate middle-of-the-road factions maintain that under the present circumstances opposition between two big parties with completely different policies - socialism or progressivism versus capitalism or conservativism - is not to be welcomed and that existence of an influence ranking in the middle of them is appropriate and necessary. To which direction the political situation will move, emergence of two big opposing parties or of three parties with equal importance, is a matter of great concern to the nation.

Judging from actual instances in foreign countries, it may be admitted as a principle that party government in its final stage should be managed by two big opposing parties. In JAPAN, as well, politics should naturally be directed along this line, or toward management by two opposing parties, a capitalistic or conservative party on the one hand and a socialistic or progressive party on the other.

However, if the opposition between capitalistic and socialistic parties should result in the fundamental change in a guiding principle, from capitalism to socialism and vice versa, on every occasion of the shift of political power, social and economic confusion would be beyond our imagination. Herein exists the raison d'etre for a mid-party. It is necessary for such a mid-party to have a definite character based on such ideologies as modified capitalism and co-operativism.

On the other hand, aside from the matter of principle, socialistic and capitalistic parties do not necessarily collide in the light of present realities. In this regard, we have much to learn from the opposing relationship between the Labor and Conservative Parties in ENGLAND. In conclusion, whether a mid-party is, or is not necessary is to be decided by the policies of the two opposing parties and of its own. It is demanded that each party, after realizing the importance of its principle and policy, frankly bring the problem before public criticism by clarifying its policies while discarding tactics.

DECLASSIFIED E. O. 12065 SECTION 3-402 / NNDG NO. 775015

ITEM 5 Administrative Adjustment and Determination of Government - Nihon Keizai - 3 Feb 48. Translator: H. Yasutake. (TK)

1 401.1

Summary:

It is now the unanimous demand of the people to carry out a thoroughgoing administrative adjustment in a resolute manner so as to put finance on a sound basis, increase efficiency, and improve discipline in administration and rectify the undue expansion of the functions of government offices during and after the war. Spurred by this demand of the people, the Government repeatedly clarified its intention to carry out an administrative adjustment.

At a special cabinet meeting held on 27 January, the Government decided upon the general principles of the administrative adjustment. Resoluteness is absolutely necessary to solve such a problem as is apt to entail friction and opposition. Indecision only makes the problem complicated, delaying its solution.

Under the present conditions where annual expenditures are increasing due to the successive compilation of supplementary budgets while tax payments are showing poor results, it is not possible to put finance on a sound basis only by appealling to the people for aid. The expansion of the administrative machinery since during the war is now causing a drop in administrative efficiency, forming a big obstacle to the reconstruction of our country.

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The execution of an administrative adjustment is also necessary from the standpoint of the removal of the causes of the present defects in administration. The enlargement of the administrative machinery since during the war, accompanied by the increase of Government officials caused the lack of discipline and a drop in efficiency. It is impossible to rectify this situation by lukewarm measures.

The suspension of unnecessary business and the adjustment of the functions of ministries revealed in the recently decided administrative adjustment principles of the Government have been pending issues since the end of the war. Several months have already passed since the problem of the decrease of the local branches of government offices was brought to the fore. It is expected that only about 23,000 employees will be discharged in the execution of the surplus personnel discharge program, but this is far from satisfying the expectations of the people. The administrative adjustment principles of the Government are not substantial.

The Government states that the discharge of surplus personnel in the Transportation and the Communication Ministries will be considered separately, but judging from the enormous machinery and the number of the employees of these two ministries, how this problem will be disposed of will have a vital influence upon the over-all outcome of an administrative adjustment. We hope that the Government will take a resolute measure to solve this problem.

The Government must set a good example to an administrative adjustment in local autonomous bodies and the rationalization of private enterprises by carrying out its administrative adjustment program successfully. We hope strongly that the Government will not betray the expectations of the people in connection with the administrative adjustment.

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ITEM 7 Political Parties Should be Purified - Tokyo Tomin - 25 Jan 48.
Translator: Y. Kuniyasu. (GBS)

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Summary:

In the talk entitled, "Functions of Political Parties in Free Society," presented at a prese conference by a representative of SC.P's Political Section, there are many valuable instructions for the healthy growth of Japanese political parties. It was pointed out that major Japanese political parties today are greatly influenced by the new-yen class and the newly-risen capitalists through their illicit donations.

Japanese political parties, after a long struggle against the ZAIBATSU and bureaucrats, finally managed to establish party politics at the end of the Taisho Era under the old Constitution. However, from the beginning of the Showa era they gradually began to become corrupt and finally yielded to the influence of the military clique. This is still fresh in our memory.

The chief reason why real party politics has never existed in JAPAN is that political parties themselves placed more emphasis on party interests than policies. This weakness subsequently brought about their failure through conspiracy with the ZAIBATSU. In EUROPE and AMERICA, political parties were also exposed to such danger. However, through the full recognition of this peril by political parties and constant vigilance over party actions by the people, such a pitfall was avoided.

Plans for the establishment of a committee for the investigation of illegal property transactions is being formulated in the present session of the Diet. With the investigations which the committee will conduct, dubious party funds may become clarified. We sincerely hope that all illegal practices in the past will be disclosed and that political parties will launch a movement to purify themselves along the line of true democracy. Severing relations with newly-risen capitalists and other political opportunists will not be so difficult. This can be done by making party expenses public.

If the present political parties repeat the same errors as those committed in the early Showa era, the entire system of democratic politics will be fundamentally undermined. Present politicians should fully recognize this in view of their past experiences.

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ITEM 2 Policy Agreement Abrogation Issue Becoming Touchy Problem - Tokyo Shimbun - 25 Jan 48. Translator: K. Yasutake. (DD)

40/1

Full Translation:

The four-party policy agreement abrogation issue is regarded as most seriously affecting the management of the existing Cabinet. There was a discrepancy between the interpellation by SUZUKI, Mosaburo, representing the Socialist Party, and Premier KATAYAMA's answer at the plenary session of the Lower House on 23 Jan. This created a delicate stir in the internal affairs of the Socialist Party. The Socialist Cabinet members, headed by Premier KATAYAMA, interpret the existing coalition Cabinet as not being bound to adopt the abrogation of the four-party policy agreement and the suspension of interest payments on war bonds. Chief Cabinet Secretary NISHIO has already started a campaign led by NAGAE, Kazuo, of the former Japan Labor faction, against the so-called internal opposition aggression by the leftwingers.

The leftwingers, on the other hand, are going to take up this problem, which was the only fruit they had won at the third Socialist convention, and attempt to win the leadership in the party by making a direct attack on the rightwingers. The representative interpellation was braved by SUZUKI, Mosaburo, despite all dissuasions by the rightwingers. He indicated deep discontent with the vague answers and interpretations made by the Government. The leftwingers want to win all the important posts in the party, beginning with the Political Affairs Investigation Committee. They intend to clamp down on any mischief-making of the rightwing leaders and may not even compromise though it may mean the overthrow of the Cabinet.

The party's internal situation has improved the leftists' chances of winning the vacant seat in the central executive committee, which had been left open for the time being. It has practically been decided to appoint TANAKA, Toshio, so the leftists' voice within the party will be even further strengthened; and the Cabinet's position in connection with the four-party policy agreement abrogation issue will inevitably become more awkward.

The Democrats attach special importance to this issue. Chief Secretary TOMABECHI, who interpellated on the Premier's speech on 24 Jan in the Lower House, said concerning this issue:

"The four-party policy agreement is the basic policy of the Katayama Cabinet. Therefore, the Socialist Party's assertion that they will abrogate it in order to execute their socialist policies is unjustifiable from the standpoint of the continuation of the Cabinet. There is no need of abrogating it. Especially, another freezing of the new yen or the suspension of interest payments on war bonds will only lead to increased inflation. There can be no encouraging of savings. It will only lead to shaking the people's faith in our currency. We are categorically opposed to these two measures. The Socialists are insisting on the freezing of the new yen and the suspension of interest payments on war bonds, and yet, on the other hand, they are insisting on the floatation of reconstruction bonds. This reveals a contradiction in their policies."

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ITEM 4 Two Movements in Political Situation - Mainichi - 4 Feb 48.
401.1 Translator: Y. Akabane. (JJ)

Summary:

The shopworn talk of reorganization of political parties has suddenly come to the fore with recent political moves, but neither of the rumored reorganizations centering around the Liberal Party and the Democratic Party is appealing to the majority of the nation. It is regrettable that such movements seem to be the customary moves of political parties aiming to take the reins of government.

President YOSHIDA of the Liberal Party is said to be contemplating a grand merger of conservatives with as its center the main currents of the Liberals and the Democrats. It would surely contribute to political stability if a sound and unified conservative party were to be formed with the complete combination of these two parties. It will mean a welcome advancement of party politics, but the possibility of the emergence of such a merger has been doubtful from the outset. What is the main obstacle?

As is seen from the stand of these two parties throughout the coal mine control debate, a fairly big gap exists between their policies, although both advocate capitalism. This is not necessarily an outcome of the difference of their standpoints as government and opposition parties. Unless the two parties have zeal to make a perfect amalgamation, there is little hope for their merger. It would, therefore, be natural if the current situation is again reverted to the course of combination along Yoshida and Shidehara lines.

Against this trend, there has come to the surface the idea of a center party sponsored by the Democrats, purporting to form a renovated central political party comprising Liberal left-wingers and Socialist rightists, with the Democratic and Peoples Co-operative parties as its center. If such a party is formed, it will play an important role in stabilizing the political situation, but its rationality and realization are doubtful, as it contains some elements contrary to common sense.

It is thought likely that the counteroffensive of the Democrats against the Liberal offensive has caused this development. If it is necessary for the Government and government parties to take countermeasures to maintain the existing Cabinet, the only right way is for them to try to carry their policies by appealing courageously to the discussions and criticisms of the Diet. If such a step cannot be taken because of interparty dissension, there may be no alternative left but to dissolve. Hence, to solidify the combination of the government parties is the foremost requisite.

Frankly speaking, we are not satisfied with any of the political parties. Despite this, we also strongly oppose a selfish reorganization of political parties in defiance of the will of the constituents. Even in changing party affiliation, a single Diet member should consult his constituents. If the matter concerns the reorganization of political parties, it must, with stronger reasons, be carried to the electorate through a general election.

For this reason, we hereby express our sincere desire on behalf of the nation that the current political movements will not prove a repetition of the traditional and constant changes in political parties, with their policies and demands put in a secondary place.

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DIPLOMATS TRAINED BY FOREIGN OFFICE

401.1

State Seeks Younger Men in Preparation for Resuming Ties with Other Nations

The Foreign Office has now seriously started preparations for the resumption of diplomatic relations with foreign countries and has commenced the training of new diplomats, reports the Asahi. With the suspension of diplomatic relations, the activities of the Foreign Office have been limited to liaison affairs with the Occupation Forces.

Diplomats who were active during the war have been purged, while diplomats of the prewar period are now too old to undertake any active work. Thus the future diplomacy of the country must depend on younger men.

The Diplomats' Training Institute, therefore, was opened in March, 1946, to train young men in the new diplomatic principle of peace and at the same time give them knowledge in banking, trading and other practical business matters, as well as in arts, music and culture. The student-officials are taken to Kyoto and Nara to study ancient arts. Beginning this year they will be sent to business firms and banks to gain practical knowledge of business transactions. The period of training is now extended by one year, local classes are newly opened, and the correspondence training is expanded.

Secretaries of the Foreign Office are sent to various districts to deliver lectures on diplomatic subjects and to gain better grasp of international and diplomatic situation. At the present time more than 400 officials have been sent to make such lectures.

The foreign affairs round-table conference was held six times already on reparations, purge, foreign trade, demobilization and world situation. The conference was held by 17 representatives of the Foreign Office headed by Foreign Vice-Minister Katsuo Okazaki, and 17 representatives of various public circles. At the same time the structure and organization of the General Affairs, Treaty, and Investigation Bureau have been greatly expanded.

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ITEM 1 Effects of Administrative Readjustment - Shin Hochi - 5 Feb 48.
Translator: E. Sato. (RL)

401.1

Summary:

A basic administrative readjustment plan was decided upon at a recent cabinet meeting.

Aim of the administrative readjustment plan, formulated by the Administration Investigation Department (GYOSEI CHOSA BU), is to readjust the government table of organization. Under this plan, 25 percent of the 406,000 workers presently employed and carried on the general accounts of the budget will be thrown out of employment.

Since the budget figures on the number of persons employed and the number of persons actually working greatly differ, it is estimated that only 10 percent of the workers will actually be dismissed even if the general accounts show a 25 percent dismissal figure.

According to the administrative readjustment plan, ministries in the general accounts of the budget will draw up a readjustment scheme. Government enterprises under the special accounts will also readjust their tables of organization to the extent that maximum efficiency can be maintained and superfluous workers can be dismissed.

We wonder if such an administrative readjustment plan can achieve the desired results. First, as aforementioned, the number of personnel to be actually dismissed in the general accounts will amount to only 10 percent or so of the working personnel. Furthermore, unless the tables of organization of government enterprises carried under the special accounts are drastically readjusted at least on the same scale as the ministries in the general accounts, it is only proper to say that the administrative readjustment will be partial, and will not bring about satisfactory results.

Next, since personnel designated for dismissal can remain in office as extra employees for six months after the readjustment takes place, necessary expenses will have to be appropriated in the budget. The retirement allowance, equivalent to 10 months in wages, which will be given to those slated for dismissal, will also have to be added to the budgetary expenses. In addition, a loan fund must be created to provide dismissed personnel if they wish to go into business. It can be concluded that the retrenchment of expenditures in the budget for the next fiscal year will be well-nigh impossible.

The government is determined to carry out its administrative reorganization plan and its superfluous employees dismissal program to show private enterprises in general how they too can set themselves in a healthy state of affairs. Labor Minister YONEKUBO has declared in the Diet that the number of unemployed in the next fiscal year will be around one million. It is very questionable, however, whether the number of unemployed will not exceed this figure after civilian enterprises launch their readjustment plans.

Even if the labor minister's prediction should come true, it is undoubtedly a partial and unfair step to reduce the number of working government personnel by only ten percent.

We wish to touch upon the problem of administrative reorganization. In his administrative speech given at the national Diet plenary session, Premier KATAYAMA declared that the government will appoint a Council for the Reform of Administrative Organs (GYOSEI KIKO KAIKAKU SHINGI KAI). Purposes of the council will be to investigate and study the readjustment of central organs, the transference of their authority relating to local affairs to local governments, the readjustment of local administrative organs, and the enlargement and strengthening of local autonomy, as well as personnel reduction in both central and local government offices.

This is a wise plan. However, unless curtailment of budget expenditures is realized to some degree through the government personnel reduction, the council's investigation will not answer its purpose.

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ITEM 3 What Is Policy Accord? - Asahi - 23 Feb 48, Translator: T. Fukushima (TK)

Summary:

Since the Liberals refuse to participate in an Ashida-headed Cabinet according to their declared policy of "Yoshida regime or pure opposition," the success of ASHIDA's cabinet-making depends upon whether a satisfactory policy agreement can be arranged among the Democrats, Socialists, and Peoples Co-operatives.

The three-party policy accord is not only the key to the formation of the Ashida Government but its contents are the life of the regime, for if they are too poor to tide the nation over the present crisis, the Ashida Cabinet will not differ from the Katayama Cabinet in substance. What then should be the contents of the agreement? We believe that policies can be classified into three categories:

First, extremely abstract and principle-ridden policies which have no direct connection with the existing circumstances and consequently are utterly unrealizable without undergoing several processes of development.

Secondly, policies that are realizable to some extent but lack the sponsors' will to put them into effect.

Thirdly, policies which can be realized under the existing circumstances and are backed with the will to enforce them.

Policies enumerated by Japanese political parties in their platforms have been mostly of the first category, composed opportunistically in view of the trend of the times. Especially, policy agreements as a basis for a coalition regime belong to the first category. The four-party policy accord drafted by the Democrats is a typical one. The four-party accord concluded at the time of forming the Katayama Cabinet was one of the second class. The people want the third category, not the first or second categories.

To realize a policy agreement of the third class, ASHIDA should select as cabinet members, and especially as finance minister and director-general of the Economic Stabilization Board, those who have strong will to carry out policies contained in the agreement. One of the greatest causes of the fall of the Katayama Cabinet was that antagonism between the Finance Ministry and the ESB paralized the functions of the Government. ASHIDA should bear this in mind, if he really wants to fulfill the policy accord to be arranged by the ministerial parties. If he chooses his cabinet members in consideration of partisan interests, he will face severest criticism from the public.

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ITEM 4 Purification of Politics - Shin Hochi - 20 Feb 48. Translator: K. Ueda. (JJY)

401.1

Summary:

It is scarcely two years since parliamentary politics was revived in this country, but scandals are already being spread about the ugly dealings of party politicians. The accommodation issue involving the Showa Electric Company is an illustration. The formation of the special committee in the Diet for the investigation of shady actions of Diet members will most eloquently attest to the existence of political corruption.

This development may be viewed from two different angles: as a phenomenon common to society in general, and as a phase peculiar to politics. It would be too much to ask for purity in politics when abominable incidents and atrocities are constantly occurring in society. The debased morality of general society, however, does not afford us any ground to permit politicians' black dealin s. Political corruption should be remedied no less quickly than social evils. As to corrupt dealings peculiar to politics, something should be done to rectify them.

Since parliamentary politics is based on numerical superiority, almost all moves of politicians are directed toward the acquisition of further support, and this gives rise to frequent shady transactions.

In addition, so much money is needed for winning success in a general election that candidates and their parties are frequently compelled to resort to unlawful courses in order to raise election funds. Some measure is necessary to reduce election expenses. Then the greater part of the evils peculiar to the political field will be done away with.

It is reported that a bill for revision of the Election Law will be introduced to the Diet. In this age of inflation, ordinary citizens cannot afford expensive election campaigns. Unless something is done, there is a great probability of the Diet posts being mostly occupied by blackmarketeers and newly risen millionares to the exclusion of able leaders. This would be fatal to parliamentary politics.

The Government and the National Diet should exert their utmost for the purification of national politics, so that the people may repose full trust in parliamentary politics.

ITEM 4 Japanese Must Become Truly Democratic - Shin Hochi - 16 Feb 48. Translator: I. Hotta. (MM)

404

Summary:

Recently we have observed many incidents which are, or seem to be, undemocratic.

This is deplorable, especially when we consider that our country has a Constitution which is based on the spirit of democracy. In short, undemocratic incidents occur because the people of our country have not yet become truly democratic.

Whenever we hear or see things undemocratic, we keenly feel that we must make efforts to master the spirit of democracy. In order to do this we must, first of all, try to understand democracy. We should pursue democratic thoughts, ideas, and judgment in order that we may be able to realize what democracy is, and become truly democratic.

Actually, our action is sometimes contrary to the spirit of democracy, yet we remain unconscious of this difference. The mistakes which we make on our way to democracy, will be attended by various far-reaching effects. Recently, a SCAP spokesman issued an announcement on the basic principles of modern democracy. This announcement served as good advice to us, and in this sense, we appreciate the kindness of the spokesman. We hope that such advice will be given at appropriate times by our leaders so that we may become truly democratic and establish democracy in our country as quickly as possible.

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ITEM 10 The Course of the Next Administration - Kokusai Times - 12 Feb 42.
Translator: Y. Ebiike. (DD)

401.1

Summary:

Whon the Katayama Cabinet was organized, the Premier declared the Cabinet would be the friend of the working masses and would protect their interest before any other, taking the example from the Labor Party Cabinet of ENGLAND. However, on account of the special conditions in JAPAN, the restriction of the four-party policy agreement and inter-party discord, the Cabinet could not carry out its socialistic policies; besides the aggravating economic condition has gradually deprived the Cabinet of public support.

At the beginning of the Katayama Cabinet, some warned that it would fall a victim to the reactionary faction, unless it could form an influential unified democratic front. This prophecy now comes true. It is of course difficult to administer successfully under the predominant boss politics, the secret activities of conservative reactionary influence, and underhanded transaction of economic administration. Yet the Socialist Party is to blame for the aggravating economic and social situations with a view to protect the interest of the capitalists at the sacrifice of the working masses. The internal sharp discord of the Socialist Party is not only a factional struggle for influence but reflects the malcontent of the working masses, especially of the progressive organized laborers.

This is proved by the advance of the left-wingers at the annual convention of the Socialist Party in January, which introduced a fresh atmpsphere into the Party. But the Katayama Cabinet had, at that time, already faced its downfall, being unable to consolidate the Party or carry out its socialistic policies. When thus viewed, the true cause of the Cabinets' en bloc resignation came from the suddenly heated discontent of the working class against the capitalistic ruling class backed by the old influence, while the problem of the supplementary budget gave merely an impetus to the resignation.

To carry out socialistic policies with a view to protecting the interest of the working class is the marked postwar tendency in both occidental and oriental countries. In JAPAN, too, the next political power must go to a party that can faithfully protect the interests of the working masses for the sake of national economy and politics; otherwise JAPAN cannot be saved from the impending crisis. If governmental power were to be manipulated among the parties, it would hamper the sound development of free society.

In other words, the Liberal Party, which is commanded by political bosses and advocates free economy regardless of the present economic condition under which JAPAN is placed, is not competent enough to take administration in the days of the national crisis. As the impending crisis of JAPAN is so severe, the next cabinet must be organized by the most faithful representative of the general masses according to the basic principle of democracy.

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ITEM 2 Stick to Constitutionalism - Yomiuri - 21 Feb 46. Translator: Y. Kurata. (FST)

401.1

Summary:

The new premiership problem, having been twisted and turned for the past 10 days, will end with Diet designation today. We have insisted that the outgoing Katayama Cabinet be succeeded by the Liberal Party in the light of the necessity of establishing responsible politics. Nevertheless, political parties have failed to heed our opinion.

The principal reason for the current chaotic political situation lies in the fact that government parties, far from taking responsibility for the mass resignation of the Katayama Cabinet, have been seeking a chance to come into power again. Although there are no black and white provisions for the responsibility of politicians in the new Constitution, it is only natural that they be held responsible for their administrative failures. This is the fundamental principle of parliamentary politics.

Should the government parties, whose coalition cabinet resigned en bloc, succeed in coming into power again by dint of the majority they hold in the Diet, then the existence of opposition parties would be meaningless. Hence, provisions for Diet designation of the new premier, as provided for in Article 67 of the new Constitution, should not be interpreted in a perfunctory manner, but should be thoroughly examined in the light of the fundamental principle of parliamentary politics. Only thus is it possible for us to push parliamentary politics in their true phase.

In our opinion, parliamentary politics should be steered in such a manner that a cabinet, no matter how strongly it is supported by the people, turns over the administration to the opposition upon its collapse. Unless this can be done, there can be no political democracy. In short, if the government parties fail to adhere to the principle of parliamentary politics, the people's will would no longer be reflected in the Diet.

The reasons we emphasize the principle of parliamentary politics are that the Government is presently endowed with extensive authority to control the people's livelihood under controlled economy and that parliamentary politics are still in the stages of development. It is now high time for the government parties to set a good precedent in the transfer of administration in accordance with the fundamental principle of parliamentary politics.

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ITEM 11 Public Responsible for Government - Sekai Nippo - 15 Feb 48.
Translator: T. Fukizawa. (DD)

401.1

Full Translation:

The unco-operative characteristic of the Japanese people has often been discussed by the foreigners. The fall of the Katayama Cabinet is an example of this. The operation of a coalition cabinet is difficult even when it is united. All is lost if its central power crumbles. Mr KATAYAMA stated that "it is an unavoidable step in the political history of JAPAN." However, the matter is not so simple as he thinks. There may be a more fundamental meaning to this.

The Socialist Party, which failed to obtain co-operation, was compelled to compromise with the opposing powers and finally had to give up carrying out its original policies. As a result the laboring class, which had expected so much of the Socialist policies, deserted the party. In a coalition cabinet disagreement among the government parties is unavoidable. If their disagreement had been due to the sincere desire for the happiness of the public, the people would have complied. However, the disagreement was due to the selfish ambitions of politicians. Therefore, the Katayama Cabinet, after repeating compromise after compromise, left its original policies and turned into a mere compromising existence.

When the UNITED STATES started to split into the North and South, LINCOLN, who was a presidential candidate, made the famous statement, "a house will fall if split, but rise if united." He knew well that internal disputes would drive the country, which was less than a hundred years old, into great misery. He wanted to avoid disputes as much as possible, but he finally determined to fight when the South opposed to the last.

In politics, compromises are made to carry out a principle to the maximum extent. Any compromise at the sacrifice of principle is meaningless. The American Civil War lasted five years and was disastrous to the country. The reconstruction of the South required about half a century. Although the war was a sad one, the foundation of the UNITED STATES was established. If the states, which are like the branches of a tree, are cut off, the tree, the UNITED STATES, would perish. The states and the nation are indivisible.

People Must Change to Change Country

LINCOLN, who loved peace, determined to fight when he realized that the people were strongly in back of him. The people's support was deeply rooted in patriotism, without which it is useless to fight. It seems to me that Mr KATAYAMA, of whom so much had been expected, was powerless as a politician because he could not feel the true support of the people. The public is inconstant. They welcomed the Katayama Cabinet with much show. However, as soon as the cabinet started to function, the public began to criticize and denounce it instead of giving it constructive support. They regarded it indifferently and then even tried to overthrow it. How many people have admitted that they are responsible for the life and death of the cabinet?

If the people continue to remain as they are, JAPAN's situation will never be improved no matter who is elected premier, how often the cabinet is changed, how often the Diet is dissolved and how many times general elections are held. If such things are repeated, the day will come when the people will begin to think that only great fools or vain men want to be premier.

During the war, there was a motto "one hundred million people with one mind." But in reality a hundred million people had hundred million different minds. The co-operation of the people and burning patriotism is indispensable to the construction of a democratic country.

(The writer, SAKANISHI, Shiho, is a graduate of the University of Michigan.)

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ITEM 3 Policies for Power - Yomiuri - 20 Feb 48. Translator: M. Okajima. (FST)

4p.1.

Full Translation:

Possibilities of an Ashida-headed cabinet have greatly increased with closer understanding likely to be established between the Democratic and Socialist parties on tentative administrative policy submitted by the Democratic Party. However, that the former three government parties are so reluctant to hand the helm of government over to the Liberal Party in accordance with constitutionalism is strange to the eyes of sensible men. The Democratic policy has regrettably proved very far from the people's expectations.

Although the direct cause of the Katayama Cabinet's down-fall was the Socialist left-wingers' attitude toward the supplementary budget, still more fundamental causes were, as every one agrees, various emergency measures and other related policies which proved ineffective since June last year. This is the reason why the people in general eagerly await a drastic change in policy.

This drift began to be noticeable toward the end of last year. Apparently alive to this demand, the Democrats, in the capacity of a government party, proposed changing policies in the compilation of next year's budget and various other emergency measures. However, almost all items enumerated in their proposal, such as the production recovery-first principle, lifting complicated, unnecessary controls, and administrative adjustment, have proved to be many steps closer to what the Liberals put up as party planks. They are a wide departure from the so-called Yada policy under the Katayama Cabinet. Therefore, it is undeniable that the above has contributed greatly to the final fall of the Katayama Government. The left-wingers' accusation of the Kurusu policy as allegedly a mere extension of Ishibashi finance has played a direct role in the Cabinet's resignation.

The tentative Democratic policy submitted to former fellow government parties with a view to the formation of an Ashida-headed administration is truly nothing but a patched-up measure in utter negligence of past developments. It does not manifest enough sincerity or enthusiasm to win the full support of the people and it sets forth no new course of action attractive enough to gain popular support. Industrial rehabilitation, fight against inflation, and maintenance of a sound finance policy are nothing new in themselves and state control of key industries; imposition of high rate taxes on the inflation rich and blackmarket profiteers, and democratization of the administrative structure are policies to attract the Socialists. That they have been forced to take up desperate measures to attain this objective, injures the honor of political parties which exists for their own policies.

It is not surprising that the leftist faction of the Socialists is directing bitter criticism against the Democratic policy. At the same time, it is unknown to what extent the more practical measures which reportedly have been drawn up by the Socialist left group against the above Democrat policy will prove effective in combatting the crisis. However, we can say that the newly announced leftist policy is sensible enough to elucidate the Socialist position under prevailing circumstances. As against this, it is reported that the Liberals are preparing to forward their own policies to other parties in an effort to win the general support of conservative parties in the event of the formation of a Liberal Party government.

The question of Liberalism or Socialism will have only a nauseating effect upon the minds of the Japanese people. However, if this should contribute to division of the political world through real politics, with the sole object of coping with the current political and economic crisis, this question is welcome. We must prevent any possibilities of behind-the-scenes policy agreement under the false names of the "middle-of-the-road" or "national unity structure" for we are well aware of the fact that such unnecessary negotiations will waste much valuable time.

At this critical juncture, we are sincerely looking foward to the day when the major opposition party will succeed with practical policies in accordance with the principle of constitutionalism.

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ITEM 1 Reject Middle-of-the-Road Politics. Tokyo Minpo - 14 Feb 43.
Translator: H. Arai. (DD)

401.1

Summary:

In his statement on the en bloc resignation of his Cabinet, Premier KATAYAMA said, "I believe this is a large manifestation of the difficulties of the internal situation into which it is easy to fall particularly in the case of a coalition cabinet, and I further believe that this is one historical phase which is difficult to avoid under JAPAN's present situation." The Premier pointed out the weakness of a coalition cabinet and frankly admitted that therein lay the immediate cause of the resignation of his Cabinet.

However, in the latter part of his statement, Premier KATAYAMA also said, "JAPAN's democratic revolution cannot be accomplished unless the extremes of the right and the left are rejected and a middle course followed. Until the time that a party having an absolute majority comes into existence, a coalition cabinet is still necessary. This is one form of a middle-of-the-road government." The Premier still emphasized that our government should follow the middle road although his administration, based on this policy, was a complete failure. Many other persons, including President ASHIDA of the Democratic Party and Secretary-general NISHIO of the Socialist Party are also advocates of a middle-of-the-road government.

There is no distinct classification for the extremes of the left or the right. According to Mr MIKI, head of the People's Co-operative Party, extreme rightists are those who advocate extremely free economy and extreme left-wingers are those who advocate Marxian socialism. However, setting aside the problem of the degree of application to actual politics, both liberalism and socialism have sufficient reasons for existence.

In present-day JAPAN those who should be regarded as extreme rightists are the old leaders who supported militarism which led to a war of aggression. It is needless to repeat that the Japanese people must expel them. Marxian socialists should not come under the category of extreme leftists if their aim is peaceful democratic revolution instead of proletarian dictatorship through an armed revolution.

As mentioned previously, the advocates of middle-of-the-road government maintain that the extremes of the left and the right must be excluded. This opinion is readily accepted by the people but is merely a self-satisfied empty theory. They should clarify their own standpoint before criticizing other principles.

Since the end of the war no political strife deserving the name has developed and politics has followed the middle course. Since politics has been dominated by inconsistent principles, it has impeded JAPAN's democratization and intensified political confusion. All political parties should take advantage of the opportunity offered by the Katayama Cabinet's resignation and start a vigorous political struggle based upon clear party policies. At present this measures is most essential for the political enlightenment of the Japanese people, accelerating JAPAN's democratization, and clarifying politics.

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ITEM 12 Respect the People's Will - Shin Hochi - 17 Feb 48. Translator: T. Unayama. (UG)

40 1-1

Summary:

One week has already elapsed since the Katayama Cabinet resigned en bloc. Nevertheless, no decision has yet been reached on the designation of the next Premier. The secretaries-general meeting which was held after the four-party conference to settle the situation amicably broke down without reaching a concrete conclusion.

At a meeting held on 16 Feb, the House of Representatives' Steering Committee decided on the voting date for the new Premier. Accordingly, voting for the Premier in the Lower House will be carried out in a few days.

Following the normal course of constitutional government is strongly advocated for settling the political situation. Under the normal course of constitution government the reins of government is transferred to the Chief Opposition party in the Diet; in this case, the RYOKUFU-KAI of the House of Councillors has already agreed that the Liberals should assume the leadership of the next Government.

The Opposition groups, exclusive of the Communists, have also reached the same decision and submitted a formal proposal to the conference of secretaries-general of the four leading parties. Needless to say, the Liberal Party took the initiative to maintain the normal course of Constitutional Government and declared to the Democratic and Peoples Co-operative Parties that all conservative elements of the country must unite in organizing a new conservative Government under the spirit of national salvation. This attitude of the Liberals affords the key to saving the situation.

The Socialist, Democratic and Peoples Co-operative Parties are still refraining from disclosing their intentions. The Socialist Party, however, has now been placed in a position where it must clarify its attitude and answer the proposal presented by its Central Executive Committee. The Democratic and Peoples Co-operative Parties are in the same boat because of the proposal of the Liberal Party to join them.

Hereupon, the Democratic and Peoples Co-operative Parties will be urged to abandon their principle of political truce and designate specifically their candidate for Premier of the four party Government.

In parallel with the movement to meet the political situation, back stage manipulations are now in progress. As a result, a coalition cabinet led by ASHIDA, a second Katayama Cabinet and a four-party coalition cabinet in anticipation of a collapse of the Liberal Party have been suggested.

There are some persons who assert that it is not right to form a Liberal-led Cabinet under the principle of constitutional government in these days when so many small parties exist. In view of the fact that the Katayama Cabinet resigned en bloc because of policy disagreement, into which a coalition cabinet is easy to fall, the Socialist and Democratic Parties must positively refrain from assuming the leadership of the next Cabinet.

It would not be true to say that the current complicated political situation has arisen merely from the existence of so many small parties, inasmuch as the four major parties are holding the absolute majority in the Diet as the result of the last general election, and the Liberal Party was the staunchest supporter of the Katayama Cabinet.

The problem is therefore, very simple to solve. The Liberal Party must assume the leadership of the succeeding cabinet in order to pay due respect to the people's will which has been manifested in the last general election, and to stabilize the responsible government system.

It can thus be seen that President YOSHIDA will find difficulty in forming a coalition cabinet comprised of conservative elements alone, and, consequently, will decline the Premiership. That, however, is another problem.

DECLASSIFIED E. O. 12065 SECTION 3-402 / NNDG NO. 775015

ITEM 3 Jurists Speak: Minds on Constitutional Practice or Majority Vote - Mainichi - 20 Feb 48 Translator: J. Ide. (FST)

401.1

Summary:

Regarding the designation of the next premier, opposition parties stress that the Liberal Party, the nation's number one opposition, should take the helm of the next cabinet in accordance with so-called regular constitutional practice. On the other hand, the Democratic and Socialist parties cling to the opinion that the next premier should be appointed by majority vote in the Diet. Thus, the question centers around interpretation of the Constitution.

The nation's three prominent constitutional jurists, former State Minister and father of the new Constitution KANAMORI; Dr SASAKI, Soichi, and Professor MIYAZAWA, Toshiyoshi; of Tokyo University, have revealed their views on this problem. Both KANAMORI and MIYAZAWA agree with the fundamental rule that the premier be appointed by majority vote in the Diet; but they point out that this principle is checked politically. KANAMORI emphasizes that stress should be laid on public opinion, while MIYAZAWA warns that all statesmen should behave conscientiously. Meanwhile, Dr SASAKI points out the necessity of cultivating regular constitutional procedure while MIBUCHI, Tadahiko, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, suggests that a general election is the best measure to tide over the political crisis which compelled the Katayama Cabinet to resign en bloc. However, MIBUCHI refrains from making further comment on the problem because of his present position.

General Election is Best --- KANAMORI

"The so-called regular constitutional course is unbecoming to the present state of our country since the nation's politics are not yet controlled by two major parties. According to provisions stipulated in our Constitution, the nation's premiership is to be decided by a majority in the Diet, considering the matter for the sake of formality. Politically speaking, however, if the Cabinet has to resign because of maladministration, the Government parties should become the opposition for the time being. Nevertheless, if the mass resignation is caused for private reasons of the premier, the same parties may take the helm of State again. Although I do not know the reason why the Katayama Cabinet resigned en bloc, the Diet must not appoint KATAYAMA again as the next premier.

"ASHIDA is qualified to be appointed as the next premier since he has apparently no specific connection with the recent en bloc resignation. However, if the mass resignation has its origin in the maladministration of the outgoing Cabinet, it is better for him to refrain from running. The question of whether some members of the Socialist Party are qualified to be appointed next premier should be [illegible] to form the next Cabinet, is utterly groundless. In forming a majority group in the Diet, however, the end never justifies the means.

"For this purpose, we must rely on the conscience of statesmen. If there is no majority party in the Diet, there is no alternative except to create a federation of political parties capable of occupying a majority in the Diet. I hope that all Diet members will create such a federation as quickly as possible from national viewpoints by casting aside private interests to meet the expectations of the general public. If a majority federation should be formed under the leadership of the Liberal Party, those parties which will not co-operate with the Liberal-led cabinet in the future, should vote against the Liberal Party in appointing the next premier."

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decided by the relations of the party with the recent en bloc resignation. The nomination of YOSHIDA faces no objection constitutionally.

"Considering the present political change fundamentally, however, it cannot be denied that the en bloc resignation of the Katayama Cabinet is largely due to a change of political judgment on the part of the common people. At this juncture, therefore, a superficial consideration is far from being the most realistic political opinion. In this sense, the appointment of the next premier should be conducted by taking into account the progress of public opinion. However, such a view is very abstract and impracticable.

"Conclusively speaking, sound politics will not be created in the nation, unless a general election is conducted to sound out the judgment of the people. Therefore, the next cabinet should be a transitional one, whose mission is to make full preparations for the general election. I hope that the good practice of establishing a merely administrative Cabinet will be set forth at this time."

Next Premiership to Opposition --- Sasaki

"In carrying out the new Constitution, the most important problem is to establish so-called constitutional practice. Now is the best opportunity to take a long stride toward the establishment of this constitutional practice.

"When a Cabinet has to resign en bloc because it cannot preserve its own political position, the opposition party should assume responsibility for formation of the next cabinet. Once regular constitutional procedure is established, the political situation of the nation will be stabilized and international confidence enhanced."

Majority Party Should Be Formed on Basis of Political Consciousness --- Miyazawa

"Far different from that of the old Constitution, the regular constitutional course clearly provided in the new Constitution is that a majority party or a majority federation of political parties in the Diet is to take the helm of State. In this sense, the opinion that the opposition party, no matter how small it may be, is to form the next Cabinet, is utterly groundless. In forming a majority group in the Diet, however, the end never justifies the means.

"For this purpose, we must rely on the conscience of statesmen. If there is no majority party in the Diet, there is no alternative except to create a federation of political parties capable of occupying a majority in the Diet. I hope that all Diet members will create such a federation as quickly as possible from national viewpoints by casting aside private interests to meet the expectations of the general public. If a majority federation should be formed under the leadership of the Liberal Party, those parties which will not co-operate with the Liberal-led cabinet in the future, should vote against the Liberal Party in appointing the next premier."

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ITEM 7 Politician's Lack Principles, Says Baba - Yomiuri - 17 Feb 48.
Translator: K. Murakami. (DD)

4011

Full Translation:

(The following is an article on morality and politics by Critic BABA, Tsunego, one-time head of the YOMIURI.)

Since the resignation of the Katayama Cabinet, our politicians have wasted a lot of precious days in fruitless argument as to whom they should recommend as the next Premier. We can easily see by this that democracy in JAPAN has still a long ways to go.

Democratic government cannot be established by a people who lack moral sense. Since democracy means a principle that the people themselves are the masters of their government, it is based on the premise that the people must first have considerable sense of honor and judgment. Democracy is wasted in the hands of a society which is composed solely of those who know neither shame nor honor.

The Katayama Cabinet did not resign en bloc on account of illness or private reasons, but it did so because of its responsibility for political failure, -- the responsibility which must be borne jointly by all the Ministers, according to the Constitution. Merely replacing the Premier and keeping the same forces in power is like selling a bottle of rot-gut whiskey on which the original label has been replaced by a popular-brand label.

The Socialist Cabinet has committed a lot of errors, but the people have tried to overlook them because it was the first time the Socialists had held the reins of the State. However, when the Cabinet resigned, the people felt a great sense of relief. Yet, we see the ministers who retired through the front gate of the Cabinet now trying to slip back in through the rear gate. We must securely fasten the gates with the lock of the Constitution, now!

Deciding the succeeding Premier by vote at the Diet is, according to our Constitution the proper way. In general, the members of the Diet have in common a mentality of a great distaste for the general election and of not wanting to relinquish political power once they have it in hand. Therefore, if the majority of the Diet members had supported the Socialist Cabinet, they would, in an attempt to avoid facing a general election before their four-year term of office is up, again recommend a Cabinet to the comprised of the same group as its predecessor. If the clause in the Japanese Constitution stating that the National Assembly shall elect the Premier is interpreted literally, it will be difficult to escape having such a result.

Need For Revision of Constitution May Arise

Thus, the normal procedure in constitutional government whereby a new cabinet is formed by the opposition party in the event the current one collapses will not be followed. Thus, we will be forced to endure for four years administration by a group we do not like. This is a point which was thoughtlessly overlooked when the new Constitution was enacted; and because there exists this illogicality, there then may arise a call for a revision of the Constitution.

The way of doing politics at the time of the SEIYU KAI and MINSEI TO 20 years ago was also highly irregular. However, the politicians at that time at least had something of the old chivalry. Nowadays chivalry is practiced only by those who are relatively well off, and the politicians care neither about shame nor honor.

The accepted policy seems to be to voraciously extract all that can be extracted. Yesterday, they say they refuse to tolerate the Socialist leftists. Yet today, they shamelessly say let's form a cabinet with them. It's quite futile to talk about democracy with such people.

JAPAN is at present under the occupation forces, but this does not mean that the Japanese politicians may act with irresponsibility. They must still act with integrity, sincerity, and fairness. This is not only for the sake of impressing the occupying forces. Whatever may be the circumstances, the Japanese people must have principles. They must have conscience and pride. I would like to advise the politicians of the past cabinets to keep this in mind for the sake of the honor of the Japanese.

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ITEM 1 Mr Ashida and Mr Saito - Tokyo Times - 14 Feb 48. Translator: E. Sato. (DD)

401.J

Summary:

The political situation has become more complicated due to the rash and thoughtless activities of the leaders of the three major parties, the Democrats, the People's Co-operatives, and the Socialist left-wingers. They are possessed with the delusion to make Mr ASHIDA head the next Cabinet by all means. It appears that Mr ASHIDA himself is going into vigorous maneuvers to assume the next premiership.

In the past, JAPAN adopted constitutionalism and had the two-party system modeled after the English form. It was natural for her to make this British procedure the supreme political rule. Although the major parties are many and in opposition in JAPAN today, we cannot find it necessary for her to break such a fine rule in constitutional government.

Regarding the next cabinet, Mr SAITO, Takao, State Minister and veteran Democrat, stated that the reins of the next Government should be turned over to the Liberal Party, the biggest Opposition, and the National Diet should take a regular constitutional course so that no evil roots will be left in the first cabinet change under the new Constitution. He added that should ASHIDA be designated as the next premier, a brisk drive for defending constitutional government will inevitably be staged by the people. This statement of SAITO may be considered a timely warning for ASHIDA and other party leaders who are making maneuvers to acquire political power.

If Mr ASHIDA issues a statement that he recommends President YOSHIDA of the Liberal Party as the next premier, and this is a regular constitutional course, the political situation will naturally become stabilized, and YOSHIDA will be nominated as the next premier in the National Diet unanimously. It is no exaggeration to say, therefore, that it is a part of the Democrats who have brought confusion to the political situation. If they act according to the view of State Minister SAITO, their superior, ASHIDA will be able to continue maintaining his reputation, and the people will never launch a constitutional government defense movement.

Premier KATAYAMA first expressed his intention to turn over political power to the Liberals, but has recently stated that he will act according to the Diet decision. It can be said that he is too unprincipled as a stateman. He ought to express his belief openly on the problem of who should head the next Cabinet.

We cannot foresee whether, after the Diet's designation of YOSHIDA as the next premier, he will form a coalition cabinet or organize a new conservative party in an effort to form a single party cabinet. It is also beyond foreoast whether he will succeed in forming a cabinet or not. Should he fail in forming a cabinet, it is a matter of course that the succeeding government will go to the Opposition.

Those who contemplate getting out of the regular constitutional course, though defending themselves by making various excuses, are undoubtedly greedy for political power. Sensible people already recognize this fact fully. State Minister SAITO, who is a man of good sense, has also seen through the inclination of some Democrats.

We sincerely hope that the private transaction of political power will be liquidated immediately, and a just and fair government of power will be created.

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ITEM 1 Socialist Disunity Affecting Political Stabilization - Mainichi - 13 Feb 48. Translator: S. Sano. (DD)

4011

Full Translation:

At the Cabinet meeting held on 6 Feb, three cabinet members of the Democratic Party - HITOTSUMATSU, KURUSU, and KITAMURA - had demanded that Premier KATAYAMA expel the leftists from the Socialist Party; and, now, they suggest that the leftists may be invited into the Cabinet in the event an ASHIDA-headed cabinet is formed.

The three Democrat Cabinet members, who sharply opposed suspending interest payment on war bonds, seem not to mind one whit about suspending their political conscience. State inister SAITO advocates dissolving the Liberal and Democratic Parties and forming a new conservative party to take over the administration. However, much like the time when he made anti-military speeches, he is regarded as a heretic and is being given the cold-shoulder by the leaders of the Democratic Party, who are flushed at the prospects of forming an ASHIDA-headed cabinet.

If the Democrats fail in winning the premiership, there is danger that the party may split. Thus, the younger members, who support the party president, are desperately striving to get ASHIDA in as premier in defiance of all kinds of unfavorable criticism.

In the Socialist Party, NISHIO's plan is clashing with YONEKUBO's plan for the next administration. Since the formation of the Katayama Cabinet, Cabinet Chief Secretary NISHIO has received favors from the Democratic Party over the coal mines state control issue and other issues. He, therefore, is obliged to support ASHIDA for premier, and it is said for a fact that he has already promised his support.

Socialist Disunity Aid to Liberal-headed Cabinet

Labor Minister YONEKUBO, on the other hand, is in favor of forming a second Katayama-led cabinet, feeling that the leftists will not support an Ashida-headed cabinet. Thus, the leftist hold one key to the stabilization of the political situation. It is said that the leftists are split into those who agree to gaining the next cabinet, and those who insist on being an opposition. At any rate, the Socialist Party's internal disunity is responsible for the delay in deciding on the next Premier. It is also the factor which makes the formation of an Ashida-headed cabinet uncertain and the factor which aids the strong claim of the Liberals for a Liberal-headed cabinet.

The refusal of President YOSHIDA to participate in a conference of the heads of the four major parties has startled the political circles. It is rumored that FURUSHIMA, Kazuo persuaded YOSHIDA not to participate in the conference. President YOSHIDA's assertion to hold an immediate election in the Diet to decide on the next Premier seems like a move to discomfit the Democrats, who, though desperately trying to realize their plan, lack control of the necessary votes in the Diet.

At the press interview on 12 Feb, Premier KATAYAMA expressed his feelings by citing the following line from the famous Chinese poet, TO EN MEI: "I shall return to my country: my fields have long gone to weed." He plans to unify his Socialist Party, but, it is doubtful whether he will be able to effect this unification.

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ITEM 1 Speedy Nomination - Asahi - 19 Feb 48. Translator: S. Ota. (TK)

Summary:

Judging from the present situation, it is doubtful whether nomination of the premier will take place at the end of this week as scheduled. The Democratic Party's move toward formation of an Ashida-led cabinet, centering around the proposed policy agreement between the Democrats and Socialists, has been spotlighted on the present political stage. It is hardly comprehensible for the nation what theory underlies such a move of the Democratic Party as one of the government parties of the Katayama Cabinet which resigned en bloc by assuming political responsibility.

The statement issued on 16 February by this party may furnish us with a clue toward this question. According to the Democrats, it is contradictory to the spirit of the new Constitution to insist on appointment of a premier from the opposition party regardless of its numerical strength in the Diet, since Article 67 of the new Constitution stipulates that the premier will be nominated by a vote in the Diet. It is useless to discuss the Democrats' "belief" that nomination of ASHIDA will meet the expectations of a majority in the Diet. The problem, then, lies in interpretation of the aforementioned Article 67, or more generally, whether or not politics can be governed by mere juridical theory.

We believe, however, that a new political theory is necessary for the positive application of, or a political interpretation based on, the spirit of the new Constitution. From juridical theory alone, it is possible, though of course it will not occur actually, that the Socialist, Democratic, and Peoples Co-operative parties might associate themselves to form an overwhelming majority in the Diet, thereby forming a three-party coalition cabinet, first led by a Socialist, succeeded by a Democrat premier, and again led by a Socialist. Thus, the endless political round robin will continue until the term of the representatives expires.

If such a situation should arise, a crisis of despotism will be created in politics. This is not to say that we support the Liberal Party itself. However, we consider it most rational that, in the case of mass resignation of a cabinet, the leadership in formation of the next cabinet should be passed on to the first opposition party.

Some may question that, assuming resignation of a national cabinet, whether the next cabinet should be formed, for example, by an opposition party of only four seats in the Lower House. However, such a contention is nothing but a play of logic ignoring the limit of a theory set by common sense. When a national cabinet, for example, based on the coalition of the three major parties, namely the Socialist, Democratic, and Liberal Parties, fails, dissolution of the Diet should be chosen instead of cabinet resignation.

A "majority" required for nomination of the premier does not mean one forged by behind-the-scene maneuvers. A true majority should be based on a sound political theory acceptable to the nation. A cabinet formed on a forged majority will have to expect a rough voyage from its very start.

The nomination of the next premier should be carried out fairly before the eyes of the nation, and at the earliest moment possible put an end to the present suspended political situation.

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ITEM 5 Check Shady Dealings to Attain the Premiership - Tokyo Shimbun - 15 Feb 48. Translator: T. Nakano. (DD)

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401.1

Summary:

It is no exaggeration to say that democracy will become meaningless unless the principles of constitutional government are abided by. In present-day JAPAN, only those who are competent enough to tide over the present economic crisis are allowed to ignore the normal course of constitutional government.

Disregarding the principles of constitutional government, the Ashida faction seems to be maneuvering to form a cabinet headed by ASHIDA. However, it is evident that even if ASHIDA becomes the premier, the next cabinet will be as incompetent as the Katayama Cabinet, since the Democratic Party already revealed its incompetence to tide over the economic crisis during the past eight months.

The same can be said for a Yoshida-headed cabinet. It is not too much to say that antagonism between capitalism advocated by the Democratic and the People's Co-operative Parties and socialism advocated by the Socialist Party has brought about the collapse of the Katayama Cabinet. Since Socialist members will not be able to wield power in a coalition cabinet led by Democrats, it will make little difference from a Yoshida-headed cabinet without Socialist participation so far as labor offensive is concerned. There is no reason that an Ashida-headed cabinet must be formed regardless of the principles of constitutional government.

The Democrats who accelerated the overthrow of the Katayama Cabinet by demanding the purge of left-wingers in the next cabinet since they have realized that the votes of the leftists are essential in order to form a cabinet headed by ASHIDA. Although the attitude of Democrats is inconsistent, it is evident that the party is striving hard for political power.

As manifested in the resolution made by the RYOKU FU KAI on 12 Feb and in the assertion made by minor organizations on 13 Feb, it is obvious that the principles of constitutional government have come to be respected by the Diet members. Even Mr SAITO, Takao, a senior member of the Democratic Party highly advocates the normal course of constitutional government. The People's Co-operative Party seems to be discontented with the formation of an Ashida-headed cabinet. Since the split within the Socialist Party is so serious, it will not be settled even if the rightists compromise with the leftists by supporting the formation of a cabinet headed by ASHIDA.

Shady dealings to form a cabinet headed by ASHIDA must be brought to an end, and a solution must be sought on the basis of the principles of constitutional government harmonized with practical politics.

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ITEM 2 Where is Democratic Politics? Seiji - 18 Feb 48. Translator: W. Hayashi. (RL)

4071

Summary:

The definite trend of public opinion that administrative power should go to the Liberal Party as the chief opposition party is being disregarded in attempt to hand the premiership to Democratic President ASHIDA. Although various political maneuvers will be conducted until 21 Feb, deadline for the Diet's designation of the next premier, the possibility of an Ashida cabinet is increasing.

It is political common sense for the Socialist, Democratic, and People's Cooperative parties to assume equal responsibility for the Katayama cabinet's resignation and to be excluded from the next administration. We have been editorially emphasizing this fact since the Katayama cabinet's resignation, public opinion is also in accord on this point. However, leaders of the Socialist and Democratic parties insist that the Katayama cabinet's fall was caused by internal conflict within the Socialist Party. While openly advocating a national coalition cabinet, they are secretly plotting to form an Ashida Cabinet. Their maneuver to hand administrative power to ASHIDA was started while the Katayama cabinet was still in power. Since this shameful maneuver is being conducted in complete disregard of political theories and responsibility, the schemers must be well aware of public censure.

Our expectation that the majority of Socialists and Democrats would not support such a foolish plot proved groundless. However, we still believe that the plot is not being wholeheartedly supported by a majority since a group of young Democrats advocated a Liberal-led cabinet, and some Socialists strongly believe that they should become an opposition party. These dissidents are now likely to acquiesce in the scheme.

What, then, are the factors which cause the politicians to assume an abnormal attitude which disregards public opinion and political conscience? The first factor is their fear of the Diet's dissolution. Since the campaign expenses of a candidate in the last general election amounted to between 600,000 to 700,000 yen, expenses for the next election are estimated to be more than 1,000,000 yen. At this time, when loans are extremely difficult to obtain, few candidates can raise such a huge sum, which is the reason why they are striving to avoid the Diet's dissolution by advocating an Ashida cabinet and rejecting a Liberal cabinet which would dissolve the Diet.

The second factor is their endless aspiration for administrative power. A petty politician can easily become a state minister when his party becomes a government party. He also will have various priviledges and financial advantages. Once a politician experiences the advantages of being affiliated to a government party, it is only natural for him to be reluctant to permit his party to relinquish the reins of government. We deplore politicians who fear the Diet's dissolution since they may lose their seats in the Diet due to incompetence. We also censure political conspirators who attempt to realize their unreasonable desires by taking advantage of sincere party members.

Our politics are threatened with collapse by lack of principles and irrationality. Where are democratic politics?

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ITEM 1 What Is Asked of the New Government - Mainichi - 24 Feb 48.
Translator: M. Okajima. (TK)

401.1

Summary:

We expected that the Ashida cabinet would come into being in some form or other. However, the general impression is that of the postwar cabinets this cabinet is the most powerless and unstable. A cabinet of this character is to carry out policies conscientiously to its utmost ability. Factional ambition is the last thing that can be entertained, for this will merely have baneful effects upon the cabinet itself. In other words, the new cabinet should concentrate its efforts on some limited policies.

However weak, a cabinet is bound in duty to carry out its allotted task. First of all, anti-inflation measures must be taken. To break this down, there are such duties as budget formation on the basis of sound finance policy, revision of price and wage standards and preparation for the invitation of foreign funds.

The 1947 budget succeeded in removing deficits, a noteworthy step toward elimination of inflation. For this year the total sum demanded by the various government ministries reportedly exceeds 500,000,000,000 yen. It is not an easy task for a coalition government to compile a budget of a reasonable size out of such enormous demands. If the new cabinet should fail in it, inflation will surely make a fresh start.

It is enough to make both ends meet only technically. First of all, the new cabinet should bear in mind that no deficit must be incurred in this year's budget. The budget itself must also be contracted as much as possible with unnecessary and nonurgent expenditures curtailed.

Revision of price and wage standards comes next in importance. This is a pressing requirement for the present. This is greatly impeding the way toward production recovery. An upward wage revision for the government and public office workers is postponed on the grounds that a new price base requires priority attention. In the latter half of 1945, prices doubled, and in the same period of 1946, by five or six times the previous year, and in 1947, prices rose by about three times in the same period. This shows that the inflationary trend is gradually declining. This favorable situation must be maintained at all costs. What if it should be broken by the new cabinet?

So long as the Government can adhere to adequate policies with a good political conscience, Japanese inflation can be eliminated before it develops into serious proportions as was witnessed in GERMANY years ago. It constitutes one of the prerequisites for the invitation of foreign funds.

Socialist support caused the appearance of the Ashida cabinet. Realizing that it is best for the Socialists to support the Democrats to avoid long political turmoil or several months of political vacuum, the Socialists have decided to help the chances of the Ashida Cabinet. Now that they are determined to do this, the Socialists should not begrudge support to the new cabinet. They must remember that a difference of opinion in a minor policy may endanger the existence of a cabinet as is seen from the example of the Katayama Cabinet. The essential point is how to apply these important policies beyond the interests of their own parties.

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ITEM 3 Way to Political Stabilization - Yomiuri - 24 Feb 48. Translator: J. Ide. (FST)

4611

Summary:

Judging from the progress of the designation of the next premier, there is no alternative to the next cabinet being organized upon the basis of a coalition among the Socialists, the Democrats, and the Peoples Co-operatives. At this juncture, the most fundamental question is whether the new cabinet, which is controlled by left-wing Socialists, is capable of stabilizing the nation's politics. Unless the left-wingers co-operate with the rightists by giving up their class strategy, the future of the new cabinet is doomed.

It is rumored that ASHIDA has entertained much hope for the leftists' participation in the new Cabinet. However, the left-wingers will take advantage of their entrance in the cabinet for the purpose of developing the class struggle. To avert this tragedy, it is imperative to realize the leftist-proposed emergency program. This means, however, that the Democratic Party is to betray its public pledge that it is ready to check the effectuation of socialistic program.

Without taking either of the two measures, the stabilization of the next cabinet cannot be expected. Under these circumstances, the Ashida Cabinet cannot fulfill its political responsibility to the general public.

To stabilize the nation's economy, the first thing to be done is to stabilize the nation's politics. The most essential thing for our economy is the results of economic politics. Therefore, because of unreasonable cabinet formation, the new cabinet will suffer from and its political power will be much weaker than that of the former Katayama Cabinet.

The new cabinet will be characterized by the increase of the leftists' influence in the Government. It is very doubtful if the cabinet will be capable of surmounting the present crisis with such a loose setup.

The only way to stabilize the nation's politics is to conduct a general election to sound out the people's opinion. In accordance with the judgment of the people, the new cabinet should be organized. The only mission entrusted to the Ashida Cabinet is to conduct a general election as quickly as possible, rather than to concede to the left-wing Socialists.

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ITEM 7 Discussions on Current Politics by Reporters of Yomiuri (Part 1) - Yomiuri - 4 Feb 48. Translator: N. Tachibana. (DD)

4 CR/1

Summary:

Participants: AIKAWA, chief of the Political Department; TACHIBANA, chief of the Economic Department; SHIROGAMI, NAGAKURA, and ISA, editorial writers; and 20 other members of the Political and Economic departments assigned to the premier's official residence and to gathering news on political parties.

Chairman: YASUDA, chief of the Editorial Bureau.

Chairman: Public opinion polls sponsored by the YOMIRUI, ASAHI, and MAINICHI reveal that the people have lost confidence in the Katayama Cabinet and the Democratic Party since last autumn. In spite of this, however, ASHIDA has been named the new premier by the Diet in defiance of public opinion. This is the first subject of our discussion.

A: The only way to square the Diet with the public is to dissolve it. The Katayama Cabinet should have dissolved the Diet and appealed to public opinion.

C: I think the Katayama Cabinet was right to resign en bloc. The Diet should be dissolved only when the Government's policy meets opposition.

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ITEM 7 (Continued)

A: The internal complications of the Socialist Party were due to a failure in the enforcement of policies. The of the problem lay in the difference of opinions on policies.

C: Without the leftists' strong opposition the Katayama Cabinet could have continued.

D: Giving the premiership to the Democratic Party was a prearranged operation. Neither NISHIO, the so-called real premier of the Katayama Cabinet, nor the Democratic Party worked very hard to continue the Katayama Cabinet.

E: In short, the Katayama Cabinet reorganized itself deliberately by abnormal means.

F: The most important thing in a party cabinet system is the political party's responsibility to the people. The reason why public opinion is opposed to the manipulation of political power within a group lies in the establishment of responsible politics.

G: The constitutional normalcy theory in favor of transferring political power to the opposition party does not apply to the recent case since the direct cause of the political change was the left-wing offensive within the government parties, not the offensive of the Liberal Party and other oppositions.

Katayama Cabinet Had Disappointed People

Chairman: It was not due to the fact that the Liberal Party has gained more popularity. The Katayama Cabinet retired voluntarily because it had disappointed the people.

D. But the people feel that it is necessary to clarify the responsibility by becoming the opposition party.

G: Responsibility should be assumed when an impasse in the fixing of policies occurs. In this case the Cabinet did not fall because of the attack of the opposition parties.

Chairman: If a motion of nonconfidence in the Government had been presented, the Katayama Cabinet would have collapsed.

G: For this reason it is right to claim that ASHIDA should not assume the premiership following the resignation of the Katayama Cabinet. The fact that the leftists overthrew the Government, which should have been unseated by the Liberal Party, makes the question of the responsibility ambiguous.

G: If the Liberal Party had taken the initiative, President YOSHIDA would have won the premiership and overwhelming popular support.

Chairman: The Japanese are too fastidious to tolerate unwarrantable actions by politicians. That is why they bring up the question of responsibility.

F: It was unreasonable for the Democratic Party to team up with the leftists immediately after the overthrow of the Katayama Cabinet.

K: ASHIDA dreams of nothing but forming a cabinet. It matters little to him whether he co-operates with the Liberal Party or the left-wing elements of the Socialist Party.

Chairman: Why has the Socialist Party lost popular support?

H: It is due to the internal factional strifes.

O: The main cause lies in the lack of practical economic measures.

Chairman: During the election campaign last year the Socialist Party made bright campaign promises, while the old-time parties impressed the people unfavorably. However, the Socialist-headed cabinet failed to improve the conditions in JAPAN. The people had been disgusted with bureaucratic controls during the war. Under the Socialist regime the

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Economic Stabilization Board gained in strength and pushed buneaucratic controls strongly. These matters gave rise to the people's dissatisfaction.

J: You cannot express that in such terms because the ESB was set up under the Yoshida Cabinet.

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ITEM 7 What Is Meant by the Normal Course of Constitutional Politics? - Akahata - 20 Feb 48. Translator: W. Hayashi. (DD)

401.1

Summary:

Immediately after the Katayama Cabinet's resignation, many newspapers reported that public opinion is overwhelmingly in favor of Liberal President YOSHIDA succeeding to the premiership. How can the laboring people, who suffered so much under the old Yoshida Cabinet, welcome a new Yoshida Cabinet? The AKAHATA promptly exposed the so-called "public opinion" as a fake.

The people's living standard was lowered by the Yoshida Cabinet's inflationary policies, which were supported by the medium and small blackmarketeers. Since, despite the Socialist Party's public promises, the Katayama Cabinet worked for the establishment of the domination of the monopolistic capitalists by sacrificing the laboring masses and enforcing measures disadvantageous to the medium and small enterprisers, it finally lost the people's confidence. Therefore, the reported public opinion in favor of Liberal premiership is not the laboring people's voice but the desire of the medium and small enterprisers, especially the blackmarketeers, who welcome inflationary policies.

However, the present stage of financial inflation no longer allows the medium and small enterprisers, farmers, and fishermen to make excessive profits. Since they are ignorant of this fact, they are lured by the illusion of the Liberal Party's competency. Even if a Liberal cabinet is realized, the monopolistic capitalists will unmercifully oppress the medium and small enterprisers. The Liberal Party faked the public opinion by taking advantage of this illusion.

The YOMIURI and JIJI are now advocating the normal course of constitutional politics. However, was this not the set phrase used by the bourgeois political parties for justifying their selfish actions when the militarists and bureaucrats held absolute political power? The argument advocating the normal course of constitutional politics is nothing but a means to justify shady political maneuvers for grabbing political power. The Liberal Party is planning to mobilize its satellite minor parties and to gain the people's support by stressing the normal course of constitutional politics. What a ridiculous attempt this is!

The argument trying to justify a Liberal cabinet is nothing but a sophistication since it is based on the supposition that the two-party system exists in present-day JAPAN. Did not the Liberal Party participate in the four-party policy agreement and force the Socialist Party to enforce antipeople policies by co-operating with the Democrats from outside the Cabinet? Even if a new Yoshida Cabinet is realized, it cannot be a single Liberal Party cabinet. It must ask for the co-operation of the Democratic Party, which was not an Opposition party but a Government party under the Katayama Cabinet. Thus, there is no justifiable reason for the Liberal Party to demand the premiership. The designation of ASHIDA (or KATAYAMA) as the next premier by a majority in the Diet in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution is also unjustifiable.

The Liberal, Democratic, Socialist, and People's Co-operative Parties are not directly connected with the people's interests. Whatever form the next cabinet may assume, the reconstruction and independence of JAPAN will never be realized by these parties. Since the four-party policy agreement has plunged the nation into greater crisis, they must assume the responsibility and hold a general election by dissolving the Diet. We will strive to teach the people that only a government which works for the realization of the democratic people's front and is based upon it alone will be able to save JAPAN.

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ITEM 1 The Principle of 'Constitutional Politics' (Letter to the Editor by Chiga, Yasuji) - Mainichi - 19 Feb 48. Translator: M. Kawanabe. (UC)

Full Translation:

(The author is a member of the DOSHI Club of the Upper House)

In this column on 15 February, HOASHI, Kei expressed his views opposing the principle of "constitutional government."

His statement is so paradoxical that I fear it may have a harmful effect on society.

The direct cause for the resignation of the Katayama Cabinet was the internal strife of the Socialists. Therefore, dissolution of the Diet was avoided because it was considered more important to dissolve the Socialist party and appeal to the labor unions for a vote of confidence than to seek the confidence of the people by dissolving the Diet.

The belief that private matters should not interfere with public affairs was the first consideration. Another reason why such crafty means as the general resignation was undertaken is that the Government was flinching before the critical public opinion manifested in the movement for the formation of a new national salvation conservative party.

Thus, dissolution of the present Diet was avoided, with a secret agreement between ASHIDA and NISHIO for the next political leadership. This fact is clearly evidenced by the recent movements of the Democrats and Socialist right-wingers.

Mr HOASHI said that as long as the principle of 'following constitutional procedure' is in effect, and if and when a national unity government including the Liberals should fall, the successor to the Government would naturally be the Communist Party, even if it has only a few Diet members. This would come about because the latter is the only opposition party.

This statement is quite absurd. Is it possible to turn over the government to the Communist Party which is only a minor party? Further, he urged the need of forming a national unity Government.

At the beginning of the formation of the Katayama Cabinet, the Liberals openly demanded the purge of the left-wing Socialists. If the distrustful conduct of the Democrats shown in their abrupt change of policy today in admitting the left-wing Socialists can avoid national censure and does not muddle political morality, a national unity cabinet may be advocated. Otherwise, Mr HOASHI's opinion is in open defiance of the actual situation.

It is due to his ignorance of the existence of political parties that he insists on hearing the views of the respective leaders of the five political parties on administrative policies in order to settle the present situation.

I want Mr HOASHI to re-examine his ideas in the light of the sound arguments of the House of Counsillors on the principle of 'constitutional government.'

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ITEM 1 Policies Above Politics Urged - Yomiuri - 19 Feb 48. Translator: K. Kawamura. (RL).

Full Translation:

Politics based on class, rather than national benefit, will probably become increasingly evident no matter what form of government we may have next. However, it can be surmised that any party which establishes policies for the benefit of any one class will be a target of adverse public criticism and will not last long.

It is evident that the present unprecedently severe national crisis demands politicians who will conscientiously serve the people's national welfare and benefit.

What we desire now for the next cabinet is that it first will have a political conscience, which will induce the cabinet to do its utmost in overcoming such pressing economic problems as inflation and coal production in a manner with which most people would concur.

We hope that the cabinet, rising above its class consciousness, will do its best to encourage new production industries, which before long will increase national wealth and develop our cultural life. Such industries can be accomplished only by the efforts and enthusiasm of men of science who are now out of office. One of the serious faults made by our governments to date under the constitutional administration is that their politics has not been based upon science, and that politicians have largely ignored scientists and savant.

The function of politics in the future is to incorporate scientific knowledge into the cultural life of the people. This is a task of making the best use of science in our life. The adoption of such a fundamental attitude towards scientists by the government is the way to encourage genius as well as to develop scientific knowledge.

The creation of new productive industries in conformity with geographical land planning by a government will make that government significant even though it should fail to achieve any accomplishments while in office. These industries include afforestation, fruit growing, fish breeding, stock raising, agricultural betterment, water utilization, craft work, sightseeing enterprises, and similar fields.

We hope that the next government will utilize the opinions and techniques of scientists and men of culture, and that it will make untiring efforts to develop the type of undertaking mentioned here for the people's benefit.

(Contributed by M.TSUMOTO, Mitsuru, YOKOHAMA factory worker.)

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ITEM 3 Eliminate the Political Vacuum First - Seiji - 27 Feb 48. Translator: W. Hayashi. (RL)

Summary:

Since the ideological conflict between the Democrats and left wing Socialists, two ways are conceivable in reaching a policy agreement among the three future government parties.

One is to gain mutual understanding by discussing all controversial policies thoroughly and reach an over-all policy agreement so that there will be no trouble in the future. The other is to speed the cabinet's formation by reaching a general policy agreement, leaving settlement of details in regard to the agreement for a future date after the formation of the cabinet.

The former course is, of course, theoretically proper for consolidation of the coalition, but a lengthy period will be required, and the cabinet formation is apt to be delayed. Furthermore, impending problems, such as compilation of the budget for the next fiscal year and establishment of anti-inflation measures, will not allow the creation of a long political vacuum. Thus, it would be wiser to adopt the latter course.

It is fortunate that the leftist Socialists are also in favor of the latter course, and formation of the cabinet is showing good progress. Although settlement of the controversial issues between the Democrats and Socialists, such as suspension of the payment of interest on war bonds may be important, such matters can be discussed after the cabinet formation. The most urgent task for the next cabinet is to speed its formation, and strive to check inflation since price increases and the workers' living conditions will be aggravated daily if the present political vacuum continues.

Due to further aggravation of the workers' living conditions, labor disputes and walkouts are becoming more serious in nature. The National Federation of Government Railway Workers Union and the All-Japan Government Communications Workers Union are likely to launch new strikes. If the government cannot satisfy the government workers' demands, a critical situation will be created in the government railways.

For example the proposed 24-hour strike by HOKKAIDO chapter of the Railway Workers Union will greatly affect transportation. At this time when the output of coal is showing good results as a result of the cooperation between capital and labor, strikes in such coal producing areas as HOKKAIDO or KYUSHU must be avoided at any cost. Since determination of the new wage level is inseparable with revision of the price standard, the fundamental solution is solely dependent upon the cabinet's speedy compilation of the budget for the next fiscal year.

Unless the wage problem is fundamentally solved, the proposed strike of railway and communications workers cannot be averted. The only solution to the present economic crisis is to increase production, for which cooperation between capital and labor is most necessary. The major obstacle to cooperation between capital and labor is the spiraling inflation, which is greatly threatening the laborers' standard of living.

All government parties of the next cabinet must take note of this fact, relinquish their past dissensions, and strive to reach an immediate amicable policy agreement so that formation of the next cabinet can be facilitated and the political vacuum be brought to an end.

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ITEM 3 Measures to Stabilize Political Situation - Shin Hochi - 28 Feb 48.
Translator: M. Okajima. (TK)

4011

Summary:

With the Liberals' formal refusal to accept Premier-designate ASHIDA's four-party coalition cabinet invitation, the proposed cabinet is expected to be formed among the three former government parties.

Having failed in an attempt to seek collaboration from the conservative camp and having elected to stay out of power with the selection of ASHIDA as the next premier, it is quite natural that the Liberals should not join the cabinet under ASHIDA. This attitude of the Liberals may not be particularly surprising to the three cabinet partners. However, now that both government and opposition parties are equally divided in number in the Diet, the new cabinet should be fully prepared against possible difficulties that it will have to go through in the future. This fact will undoubtedly always place the political situation in a precarious state. Under such circumstances, it is quite interesting to surmise with what effective measures the forthcoming cabinet is going to parry the vigorous onslaught of the nonco-operating parties in the Diet and to tide over the difficult situation in the future.

In this connection, it would not be wide of the mark to anticipate that the government parties will seek party influence by attempting to split the opposition camp. Some rumors are already afloat that the Democrats are approaching the New Reform Party Preparatory Council centering around the National Farmers group and other minor political factions for this purpose and that some members are reportedly expected to bolt their parties to join the Democrats. At the same time, under the slogan of an all-party national coalition cabinet, the new cabinet partners are vigorously endeavoring to break up the Liberal Party.

The government parties have only a slight majority of less than 40 members in the House of Representatives. This margin must be made greater to place the new cabinet in a stable situation. Keenly awakening to this Democrat activity, the Liberals are in no less degree attempting to consolidate the opposition camp by mustering all antigovernment factions under their banner. If free rein should be given to this trend, no one can tell to what serious proportions it will develop in the immediate future. After all, struggles for party members will be an inevitable consequence. This trend will presumably lead Diet members to behave themselves incontinently, thus making politics impure and democralized.

We cannot by any means give consent to these desperate measures of the government parties however inevitable they may appear in nature. Parallel with this, all party members are requested to be very cautious in their own behavior. First of all, they should avoid such acts as are likely to run against the popular will. If the new government should inevitably be forced to crumble, the government parties should resort to a normal course of action, that is, Diet dissolution and general elections.

Even if the new government can successfully cope with opposition attacks in the Lower House with the measures referred to above, how can it go through the ordeal of the Upper House? The situation there is worse than in the Lower House with election results showing a margin of two votes in favor of the opposition. In deliberating political measures, Upper House members are very sincere and cautious, always acting with a superparty attitude. Even government party members tend to be rather critical of the government as was well experienced in the first Diet session. That the same attitude will be assumed by the Upper House can well be predicted. Moreover, with the opposition parties commanding a majority there, the Upper House will surely stand much in the way of the government interests. Is the government prepared to surmount the great difficulties foreseen in the forthcoming Upper House session?

We must repeat here that it will be next to impossible for the government to pass the ordeal of the Diet successfully. Unless proper and timely measures are taken, no progress can be secured in Diet deliberations with many valuable days wasted without passing measures. This will consequently worsen the political situation. When things have come to such an impasse, it is up to the new cabinet to disclose before the people the practical measures, if any, with which the government is going to tide over the present difficult situation.

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ITEM 5 Administrative Readjustment Desired - Yomiuri - 19 Feb 48. Translator: T. Terasawa. (MM)

Full Translation:

In reply to the question "What policies do you look for from the next cabinet?" TAKANO, Keizo, an official of the Cooperative Union in MANCHOU, made the following statement:

"Policies which are not carried out are useless. The general public's indifference to policies advocated by the parties cannot be helped because the people are nothing but tools used for party struggles. One sided policies are not suitable under the present conditions of our country.

"It can be safely said that policies carried out by the Liberal and the Socialist parties succeeded in the same sense that good care of a sick person aids in his recovery. They succeeded because they did not stick to principles or nominal policies. Excessive control hampers production and stops regular circulation of goods, while free economy causes the danger of vicious inflation.

"Excessive government expenditures should not be overlooked. The present way of collecting taxes drains the country's financial resources. Government expenditures must be cut down if there is little hope of collecting national revenue.

"The present Economic Stabilization Board should be reorganized. Arbitrary desk plans, forcibly carried out by placing the blame upon the people, will produce adverse results. Inflation should be held down with proper controls until the peace conference is held.

"Because livelihood security is most important, emphasis must be laid not only on distributing the scanty goods equally among the people, but also on increasing the income of the people. The first objective should be high efficiency and high wages according to the production-first principle.

"I propose that the following economic measures be taken: Strengthened control over daily necessities and abolition of other kinds of control; suppression of inflation to such an extent that it will not hamper production; rationalization of enterprises with high efficiency as the goal; drastic administrative readjustment; revision or abolition of bureaucratic control; and fair tax collection.

"I propose prevention of blackmarketeering by laying importance on production circles, promotion of medium and small businesses; establishment of facilities for helping the weak; finance based on production; proper timing of currency stabilization measures; and adoption of stabilized currency calculation."

ITEM 4 Conscientious Voting Demanded in the Diet (Sub-editorial) - Asahi - 25 Feb 48. Translator: I. Kuniko. (DD)

Summary:

In the showdown voting recently held in the Lower House for the designation of the next premier, eight votes were cast for Mr KATAYAMA and three for Mr TOKUDA. This result is not subject to criticism, because both are heads of political parties. However, the scattered votes in the Upper House are incomprehensible. Eleven votes were cast for Mr SAIONJI and one each for Messrs OZAKI, MATSUOKA, and X.

Last year, when Mr KATAYAMA was designated as premier, an independent received one vote in the Lower House, while in the Upper House Messrs OZAKI and SHIDEHARA received one vote each. Needless to say, a Diet member is free to express his will in the voting held for the designation of the premier, but he must vote conscientiously. Both Mr OZAKI and Mr MATSUOKA are respectable statesmen, but the designation of the premier is not a popular vote. When a Diet member disregards the existing situation and votes according to his own will, his action is not only politically insignificant but also harmful.

Although the vote for venerable Mr OZAKI is a departure from party politics, it manifests respect and affection. However, the single vote cast for a person who everyone considers as absolutely unqualified for premier can only be judged as a publicity stunt since it was signed.

Voting in the Diet should be considered a grave act since the will of the people is represented. We demand the Diet members to vote conscientiously.

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ITEM 9 Lessons from Political Change - Seiji - 22 Feb 48. Translator: W. Hayashi. (DD)

401

Summary:

The Diet has finally designated the next premier. However, the difficult task of effecting a policy agreement among the coalition parties and the task of alining the Cabinet Ministers are still pending. A full month elasped after the resignation of the Yoshida cabinet before KATAYAMA was designated as Premier to form a cabinet. Compared to that occasion, the recent premiership nomination was done in too hasty a manner. However, in view of the present delicate political situation and the internal conditions of political parties, the formation of the next cabinet is expected to take a long time. Taking advantage of this opportunity, we would like to comment on the lessons we learned from the political change.

While the decision on the next premier was pending, the political parties all revealed their ugly internal conflicts. This was the outcome of the irrational attempts of those who were responsible for the resignation of the Katayama cabinet to seize political power by completely disregarding the principle of responsible government. Furthermore, the statement issued by Premier KATAYAMA when his cabinet resigned was most regrettable. He declared that a middle-of-the-road coalition government is most preferable until the time when an absolute majority party appears. Such advice is utterly inappropriate from an outgoing premier. To refer to the form of the next government in such a public statement is by no means a modest attitude, and gives us the impression that a secret understanding concerning the next government was made beforehand.

Far more questionable was the attitude of the Democratic leaders who suddenly declared that they did not object to the participation of the leftist Socialists, although just prior to this statement, they had demanded Premier KATAYAMA to expel the leftists. The people were astonished at this diametrical conversion. This is evidence that the partisans will sacrifice their principle, their honor, and everything if they can seize political power. Thus, the political situation was further confused.

The people cannot understand the four-party coalition which the Democrats advocate. Since the Liberals have clarified their opposition stand from the very beginning, a four-party coalition is impossible. To start such impossible negotiations will serve only to confuse the situation, and cannot be called a democratic way.

The Democratic Party's statement denied the normal course of constitutional government to hand over the reins of government to the chief opposition party, and stressed the support by a majority in the Diet. This is nothing but a sophistication to rationalize their forceful attempt. If dictatorship by a majority is allowed in complete disregard of the principle of responsible government, it will undoubtedly result in an unconstitutional government. The fact that the Socialist Party was practically divided into the right and left factions, and the rightists supported the shifting of political power through compromise against the public's expectations was also regrettable. Liberal President YOSHIDA suddenly reversed his stand to have the Diet dissolved, despite his prior contrary assertions. Such an inconsistent attitude also must be criticized.

Party policy vital to political parties is now being readily slighted. We despise the attitude of the Democrats who sacrificed their party autonomy in reaching a policy agreement with the Socialists as though they were willing to accept everything to acquire political power. When we survey the political developments since the Katayama cabinet's resignation, the assertions and activities of all the political parties are not in keeping with their role as public parties. As long as this deplorable situation continues, the realization of democratic government will take a long time. The people have learned from the present political change that every political party will coolly reveal its egotistical character in order to realize its political ambition. A general election in the near future is inevitable, and in this election, the people will not fail to express their free will in accordance with the lessons they learned from the present political change.

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ITEM 5 Political Purification (Sub-editorial) - Tokyo Shimbun - 21 Feb 48. Translator: M. Minato. (DD)

401/

Summary:

Since it has been brought to light that the donations to political parties in connection with the military uniform fraud case amounted to an enormous sum of 9,000,000 yen, the Lower House Illegal Transactions Investigation Committee has decided to launch an investigation into the case. Needless to say, the investigation aims to question the political responsibility of the persons who are involved in this case, in order to clean up the political, bureaucratic, and economic circles.

The committee plans to interrogate Mr TSUJI, the man in question, and gain as much testimony as possible. Since it is expected that surprise big figures will also be revealed by the investigation, some politicians are getting quite jittery. We hear that political parties are primarily interested in taking over the reins of government in order to cover up their various violations.

Everyone knows that contractors and blackmarketeers have become financial supporters of political parties in place of the ZAIBATSU. However, the financial status of these supporters has recently taken a turn for the worse, and this change has caused various issues. For example, contractors are suffering from the scarcity of money, because the Government is making disbursement at official prices for public works and financial policies have been tightened. Moreover, blackmarketeers are restricted in their secret activities, due to the propaganda of the investigation into illegal property and the difficulty of transporting hoarded goods.

It is good news that room for blackmarket transactions has dwindled. The procurator authorities are reportedly resolved to conduct a clean-up of the nation by taking advantage of this opportune moment. It is provided, under Article 101 of the Imperial Ordinance, that if political parties and other organizations receive financial aid, they must report the name of the donor and the sum. Moreover, under the revision made on 20 Dec of last year, political parties are prescribed to report, by 15 Jan, financial assistance received during the last year. If the procurator authorities make a thorough investigation into the reports, they will attain the desired results with the Lower House Illegal Transactions Investigation Committee.

ITEM 4 Yoshida Support Not Too Strong In Upper House; Majority To Back Lower House Favorite - Minpo - 20 Feb 48. Translator: A. Kawamura. (DD)

401/1

Full Translation:

Matching steps with the House of Representatives, the House of Councillors is scheduled to hold an interparty negotiation committee meeting at 1300 hours 19 Feb, to set the day for the voting to decide the premiers ip. However, it is being said that the Upper House should be strongly warned against going too far; and thus it is believed that the Upper House will, in consideration of the mood of the Lower House, not decide on the date. The leanings within the Upper House regarding the question of next premier breaks down about as follows:

The Liberals and a part of the RYOKUFU KAI (Green Wind Society) back Liberal Party President YOSHIDA from the viewpoint of normal constitutional government procedure, while the MUSHOZOKU KONDAN KAI (Independent Discussion Group) is boosting MATSUMOTO, Jiichiro; and the rest of the members are expected to vote for whoever the majority of the Lower House favors.

The Liberals strongly insist that YOSHIDA should have the next premiership, while the RYOKUFU-KAI members, whose majority once favored the normal constitutional government procedure view, have begun to take warning against supporting this view because it is being urged by the group that had voted against the coal mine state control bill. At present, the number in this group backing YOSHIDA for the premiership is estimated at around 35 or 36. It appears that the rest will wait to see which way the Lower House will go and then vote accordingly.

The Democrats are boosting their party president, ASHIDA, for the post, but the faction within the party which was against the coal mine state control bill does not necessarily concur with this view.

The Socialists and the Communists are expected to go along with the Lower House. Therefore, it is expected that only about 80 members -- about 46 Liberals and 35 RYOKUFU-KAI members -- will vote for YOSHIDA; and at present it is not expected that YOSHIDA will prove a threat.

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ITEM 9 Juggling the Reins of Government - Mainichi - 25 Feb 48. Translator: M. Minato. (RL)

Summary:

In order for Democratic President ASHIDA to form a cabinet which can hold the numerical strength in the Diet, he has no other course than to form a coalition cabinet with the Socialist and the People's Cooperative parties. This would practically amount to the same thing as the Katayama cabinet, and the people may be call it "juggling the reins of government."

It must be noted that under the present chaotic political situation, no matter what party takes over the administration, juggling the reins of government is unavoidable.

Even if Liberal President YOSHIDA were designated as the next premier, it would be impossible for him to form a cabinet unless the Democratic or Socialist party cooperates with the Liberals. Unless two of the three major parties cooperate with each other, a cabinet cannot enjoy a long existence. As long as the two party system is not realized, juggling of the administration is unavoidable.

Under the present political situation of JAPAN, criticizing the practice of juggling the reins of government is of no avail. We earnestly desire that the three major parties, Socialist, Liberal, and Democratic, will cooperate to overcome the impending national crisis, abandoning their partisan spirit. This is no time for political parties merely to play with ideologies. The Japanese people who are plunged into a predicament must, with one accord, exert every effort toward surmounting the impending crisis.

(By TAKAISHI, Shingoro, Chiba Prefecture)

ITEM 10 Allotment of Portfolios and Policy Agreement - Tokyo Shimbun - 29 Feb 48. Translator: Y. Kuniyasu. (UG)

Full Translation:

Free democratization of Japanese politics cannot be attained as long as political parties continue to be prejudiced in claiming they cannot support a Cabinet in which no portfolio is held by their members.

Whether a political party supports a Cabinet or not is determined solely by its administrative policy. Herein lies the principle of parliamentary politics.

At present, however, policy negotiations are being advanced in proportion to the number of seats in the Cabinet. Therefore, it is difficult to ascertain which the political parties place more importance on the policy or the position.

It seems that a policy agreement among three major parties has finally been reached. However, the Democratic Party is likely to appeal to other political parties beside the Socialist Party and the Peoples Cooperative Party, leaving some portfolios open in an effort to concentrate political power.

If political unity such as the "Union Cocktail" in the Poincare French Cabinet is created in JAPAN to tide over the economic crisis, it will be highly appreciated. But, in view of the fact that the formation of the French Cabinet was possible only through the reputation of POINCARE and that the Cabinet did not last long, it would be a wise policy to form a three-party coalition cabinet.

To think that a cabinet will be strengthened merely the amalgamation of a number of parties is erroneous. It has been suggested, that an agreement among the four parties and five factions is attained, relations with the left-wingers can be readily broken off.

This would be the worst thing to do under the present situation. Mere accumulation of numbers would be to no avail.

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ITEM 2 Reasons for Struggle for Finance Ministers Post - Tokyo Minpo - 29 Feb 48. Translator: M. Okajima. (FST)

401.1

Summary:

"Wipe out bosses" has been a slogan long held by democratically-minded people. A cry against this evil is now strongly raised even among the common citizens who have suffered undue pressure or unfair treatment from those bosses, directly or indirectly. However, in most cases, the people are still not in a position to stand overtly against these men of influence, for if they should dare attempt to do this, they are sure to fall victims to the machinations and the ambition of the bosses. Therefore, though awakening to the necessity of precluding boss influences, the people usually resign themselves to this ill fate silently.

So long as such a state of affairs exists, the democratic reconstruction of our society will be impossible. To illustrate this evil practice, we enumerate some instances:

A member of a certain party, who runs a stall in a market, is experiencing great difficulties in his business because he has been deliberately impeded by the market proprietor who is Liberal Party member, on the ground that he did not co-operate in the last general elections.

Some shopping quarters were informed of police inspection through their boss previously and closed their doors. On that night, however, the police officials were reportedly entertained at the boss' store.

Cases of illicit business or over-charged taxes can usually be settled in favor of defendants if the local bosses are approached first. Nothing can be more favorably settled than by dealing through the leaders of the neighborhood.

What we want particularly to mention here is the fact that this evil practice is being openly committed in the course of the Ashida's cabinet formation activities. Desperate struggles are in evidence between the Democrats and the Socialists to seize the portfolios of the Economic Stabilization Board and the Finance Ministry. Why are they resorting to such severe struggles?

The reason is only because these posts are held most important, and directly dominating the financial world. The influence of a finance minister over business circles is very powerful because he has the Rehabilitation Finance Bank behind him. It is rumored that his letter of recommendation to a creditor assures him of a 10 percent commission.

The credit total of the Rehabilitation Finance Bank has already exceeded 50,000,000,000 yen. This means an offer of 5,000,000,000 yen as a token of gratitude. The rumor that Finance Minister KURUSU will stay in the post clearly indicates this possibility.

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ITEM 8 Discussion on Current Politics (Part 2) - Yomiuri - 5 Feb 48.
Translators: N. Tachibana & B. Ishibashi. (WM)

Summary:

(TN This is the second installment in a series of articles on a round-table parley held by Yomiuri reporters to discuss the present political situation).

Chairman: The people lack confidence in bureaucracy. Everybody admits the necessity of controlled economy, but the actual application and the results have been a far cry from the original theory. The Socialist Party merely proceeded with bureaucratic administration. This is another important reason why the Socialists lost popularity.

Chairman: I guess it would have been better if the Socialist Party had not taken over the political reins.

A: Existing political parties can do nothing without the bureaucrats.

L: Immediately after organizing a cabinet NISHIO summoned able bureaucrats and asked their opinions.

Chairman: The actual leaders in the Government are the bureaucrats. Political parties cannot implement their own policies if that state of affairs continues.

G: A two-major-party system must be established. Separate minor parties cannot control the bureaucrats.

Chairman: Is it possible for a two major party system to appear in JAPAN?

D: No, not for some time. Economic stability and clear-cut class distinction are the prerequisites.

A: It may be possible if a minor constituency system is adopted.

G: A two major party system appears when the economic and social conditions are stabilized. It will be difficult for this system to materialize in JAPAN for some time.

Chairman: In my opinion, JAPAN has now entered the stage where she must choose between capitalism and socialism. It is peculiar to JAPAN that beside the capitalist camp there exists an influential socialist camp, especially Marxism. About half of the members of the Socialist Party are Marxists and there are a number of Marxists among university professors. Leaders of labor unions are Marxists and it is safe to say that the press and the intelligentsia are generally dominated by Marxists. Marxism is a theory of class struggle and is incompatible with capitalism. Present-day JAPAN is split into two distinct camps with the above Marxist camp on one hand, against a majority of the people who belong to the capitalist camp on the other. This is true whether we like it or not. This is not the case in the UNITED STATES or ENGLAND. These two camps are not yet very apparent in JAPAN's politics because the Japanese people are still in a lethargic state brought about by the surrender and organizations based on co-operative unionism exist in farm villages. However, it is believed that the opposition between the two camps will gradually come to the surface, presumably in the labor movement first and then in the political scene.

A: As a result of the defeat, JAPAN has been confined to small islands. As long as she remains a small insular country there is no possibility of either capitalism or socialism developing in a pure form. It follows that some trend most suited for this country's neutral position will be established here in the future.

Chairman: No theory pure form at any time or in any place. Theories assume characteristics peculiar to the respective countries. Furthermore, there is no doubt that the way for JAPAN to make an imperialistic development has been absolutely closed. However, it cannot be denied that JAPAN will be most vitally affected by international developments. Be that as it may, I wish you would speak on the character of the projected Ashida Cabinet.

A: The Katayama Cabinet was often called a Katayama Democratic Party cabinet.

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POLITICAL SERIES: 2295 (Continued)

ITEM 8 (Continued)

To use the same expression, the projected cabinet might prove to be an Ashida Socialist Party cabinet. MIZUTANI revealed that when a party held the leadership in a coalition cabinet its policies could not easily be realized because of the necessity of securing cabinet unity and the assistance of the other government parties. From this viewpoint, he said that his party would have a good chance of realizing its policies in the Ashida Cabinet. The Democratic Party, on the other hand, will find itself in a difficult position because it has to join hands with the Socialists to preserve its political power.

S: An executive of the Democratic Party said that since the policy agreement was reached in too concrete a term, the cabinet would have a hard time realizing these policies.

C: The Ashida cabinet will soon have to face the problem of numerical strength in the Diet. This is the cabinet's first problem; otherwise its various policies cannot possibly be enforced.

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ITEM 5 Expectations of Policy Agreement - Tokyo Times - 29 Feb 48.
Translator: T. Nakano. (RL)

401.1

Summary:

Constitutionality of the procedure by which ASHIDA was designated as the new premier was strongly supported by Guy J SWOPE, chief of the National Government Division of the Government Section, SCAP. This support strengthens the position of an Ashida-headed cabinet, and it is a matter of satisfaction that an agreement has finally been reached on the political aspects of the proposed three-party coalition cabinet.

It was believed that the Liberal Party would not participate in the Ashida cabinet. The attitude taken by the Liberal Party is proper from the viewpoint of the basic principle of parliamentary politics since the Liberals' participation in the proposed Ashida cabinet will complicate the set-up of a coalition cabinet.

Reflecting upon the maladministration of the former cabinet, the Socialists, Democrats and People's Cooperatives must cooperate to form the cabinet as soon as possible. Considering the extenuating circumstances of the different parties, the possibility of arriving at an early agreement on all outstanding questions in complete accord seems difficult. Because of this, the prospect of the new cabinet seems darker than that of the former cabinet.

It is desirable for each party to cast off the tendency to adhere to impracticable and ideological policies. As everybody knows, the Socialists advocate socialism and the Democrats support realism, aimed at a middle-of-the-road policy between modified capitalism and socialism. In view of the present political situation, however, the prompt adoption of their policies in practical politics is hardly possible. According to socialistic principle, production must be nationalized.

It is obvious under the present circumstances that the prompt nationalization of production will contrarily bring about the bureaucratization of production, and production will be monopolized by some privileged classes. In order to nationalize industries so that they will benefit all people, theoretical and practical training is necessary for a considerable length of time.

Formulation of a long term program, based on domestic and foreign circumstances and faithful exercise of the plan, are imperative. All parties must refrain from struggling with each other for power by merely enumerating novel desk plans. This must also be taken into consideration when arriving at the new policy agreement.

ITEM 4 Saito's Attitude Watched with Keen Interest - Seiji - 27 Feb 48.
Translator: N. Tachibana. (MI)

401.1

Full Translation:

Public attention has been directed to State Minister SAITO's attitude since he failed to cast a ballot in the vote to designate the new premier.

At a general meeting of interested Diet members from the Democratic Party on 26 Feb, NIIZUMA, Saburo, said to the party leaders, "Our party tends to become smaller every time a serious question arises. We must form a stronger union. Various rumors are now afloat concerning SAITO, supreme adviser. What do you think of this?"

In reply Welfare Minister HITOTSUMATSU said, "As soon as the report came from the Liberal Party that SAITO had consented to join a new party, I visited him and ascertained his true intention. SAITO told me that he would find it difficult to secede because he was the chief organizer of the now-defunct Progressive Party, which formed the nucleus of the Democratic Party. He said that he would expel any person who advocated ousting him.

"He also pointed out that he was a Diet member elected from HYOGO Ken and that he would make up his mind after consulting his comrades at his native place.

"SAITO intends to leave for HYOGO Ken on the morning of 27 Feb and hold a round-table conference there on the next day. The other six Diet members from HYOGO Ken are concerned about the outcome of the conference and will also return to their native province on the morning of 27 Feb. I think, however, that SAITO will remain with the Democratic Party."

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ITEM 11 Political Realignment and Minor Parties Shin Hochi - 29 Feb 48.
Translator: T. Kitayama. (MI)

4014

Full Translation:

With the progress of the ASHIDA Cabinet formation, the Democrats are endeavoring to attract friendly members from the Liberal Party, the DOSHI Club (Fellowship), the National Farmers Union, and the Independents. They hope to establish a central new party consisting of these groups plus the People's Co-operative Party.

The Liberal Party's attempt to unite opposition parties and form a new conservative party is also becoming more forceful. These moves are now developing into a political realignment.

In the midst of these moves, how will such small factions as the People's Co-operative Party, the National Farmers Union, the DOSHI Club, the First Representatives Club and the Farmers Union behave themselves? Let us here review the political realignments and moves of these small factions.

Peoples Co-operatives Maneuver for Power

At the end of 1946, those members of the People's Co-operative Party who were antipathetic to Committee Chairman MIKI, formed a new political conference. At first, the conference aimed at the unification of the Representatives belonging to the third floor of the Lower House Building. Afterwards, because of unification within the party, the conference changed its course and aimed at combination with the new HIRANO party. The general trend of the party was immovable, however, and the plan ended in failure.

Then came the resignation en bloc of the KATAYAMA Cabinet, followed by the designation of ASHIDA as Premier of the next Cabinet. The plan to amalgamate with the National Farmers Union was reiterated. After discussions which continued until the night preceding ASHIDA's designation, OHARA, HAYAKAWA, and AKITA seceded from the party and went over to the Union. This move is attributed to the desire on the part of small factions to become more influential, while the party desires to become more influential it

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ITEM 11 (Continued)

has a strong point of being regarded on an equal footing with major parties because it holds a casting vote. The party desires to gain a better standpoint as well as to become larger. In this respect, the party's outlook is dark. Committee chairman MIKI and other party leaders, however, plan to assume ASHIDA's method of securing political power by gathering central influences. It is possible that, before the Diet Assembly is dissolved by the ASHIDA Cabinet, a central party may be created by amalgamation of the Democratic and People's Co-operative Parties. Its speedy realization, however, may be difficult.

Change in NFU Attitude Cited

With the exception of the Peoples Co-operatives, most of the minor parties supported President YOSHIDA of the Liberal Party when ASHIDA was nominated for Premiership. They supported YOSHIDA in order to observe the proper constitutional procedure, and expected a responsible administration. The National Farmers Union, however, supported YOSHIDA from a different standpoint. It wanted to gain a portfolio or two in order to lead the next electoral campaign advantageously if the Liberal Party formed the Cabinet. It is said that Diet members of the National Farmers Union entertained, at the same time, an under-current motive to purge NISHIO if possible. Their anguish is extreme now that a Democrat has become Premier.

The attitude of NFU Diet members, however, has changed completely. They now support the Democrats instead of the Liberals. Instead of developing a Diet strife by opposing the coalition cabinet of the Democratic, Socialist, and Peoples Co-operative Parties, we dare say that their true desire is to be a government party, to plan for prolongation of the Cabinet's tenure of office, and to return to the Socialist party when the opportunity is offered.

The NFU is now wishing the Democrats well and insisting upon the appointment as Agricultural Minister of either ASAMUMA or NAGAE, both of whom are rightwing Socialists. This may be regarded as its first step toward co-operation with the Socialist Party. It is even said that the NFU should become a government party to the Ashida Cabinet and return to the Social Party.

Minor Parties Reshuffle Seen

The movements of the DOSHI Club and DAIICHI Club (FIRST DIETMEN's Club) must also be watched. The former will join the Liberals and the latter the HOSHU (Conservative) and SHIMPO (Progressive) parties.

Except for the DOSHI Club, the minor parties will move at the first opportunity where the political world is reorganized. There is no way of knowing when this opportunity will come, but it is thought that it will come just before the dissolution, when the Peoples Co-operatives join the Democratic Party and NFU members join the Socialist Party.

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ITEM 8 Administrative Reforms Necessary (by Takashima, Koji) - Magazine: Shin Nippon Keizai (Monthly) - Feb 48. Translator: M. Takagi. (RL)

40/1/1

Summary:

It is not an overstatement to say that industrial rationalization, now being carried out in government and private industrial fields, is the key to our economic reconstruction.

From the viewpoint of today's expanded budget and checking inflation, it is quite natural that the Government should have seriously begun to study the problem of administrative rationalization. This is urgently required for the following economic reasons:

1. Since rationalization of enterprises is an absolute necessity in reconstructing our economy, the government must set an example.

2. Rationalization is inevitable due to the imperative necessity of financial retrenchment, which is the direct reason.

Generally speaking, there is no country, except JAPAN, which has so many government offices and officials. Such a tendency was unavoidable in the past when militarists and bureaucrats had control of the government. After the war, there was a trend toward a decrease in government offices and officials, but with the tightening of control and establishment of new controlling offices, a pronounced increase has been seen. As a result every seven persons must support a government official or a member of his family.

An analysis of this tendency leads to the conclusion that, in addition to these reasons, some unnecessary offices remain unabolished while at the same time, the Government has taken over the task of controlling closed corporations. It is essential that the Government carry out a fundamental reform by abolishing, amalgamating, or reducing relatively unessential offices.

The ESB and the Price Board, or the Cabinet Statistics Bureau and the Statistics Committee, should be unified. It is a strange fact that today, when the practice of bestowing medals has been abolished, the Decorations Bureau remains, and that the Pension Office still functions as an independent bureau. These are legacies of a bureaucratic Japanese Government, called a pension-ruined state. A study of the organization of various sections and departments of the ministries will make clear the fact that many offices must be abolished or readjusted.

The Transportation Ministry's Maritime Bureau cited as a good example. Despite the decrease in the number of ships to 20 percent of the wartime figure, the bureau still has as many officials and as large an organization as in the past.

It is hardly possible that the newly-established Legal Affairs Board cannot be operated without 15 bureaus and five directors of the vice-minister class.

The government must eliminate inefficiency based on the principle of efficiency as advocated in the National Civil Service Law. At the same time, it is necessary to adjust government affairs of little importance or necessity, and curtail as many sections, bureaus, and departments as possible.

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POLITICAL SERIES: 2284 (Continued)

ITEM 2 No Change in the Basic Capitalist Policy - Akahata - 25 Feb 48.
Translators: B. Ishibashi and A. Kawamura. (DD)

461

Full Translation:

In the policy agreement to be reached between the Democratic and Socialist Parties, how the former's tentative plan would be harmonized with the latter's plan, which is an amendment to the SATSUKI KAI (May Society) plan, is the key question. However, the Democratic Party believes that it could generally concur with the Socialist Party and reach an agreement. Frankly speaking, the Democratic plan is almost the same as the four-party agreement which, as the policy of the Katayama Cabinet, had been inflicting hardships on the people. The newly added items, such as the introduction of foreign capital, administrative readjustment, and reform of the Election Law were what financial capital had been urgently demanding for the past half year.

Although the Socialist plan seems to be representing a part of the demand from the wage earning masses it is equal in fundamental character with the Democratic plan. Its basic policy, for instance, pursues the line of "seeking positive assistance of foreign capital." The Democratic Party fully agreed with this policy and expressed confidence that the general plan on economic stabilization would be agreed upon. The original plan as formulated by the SATSUKI KAI included such phrases as "There shall be no revision of laws that would restrict freedom of labor union movement" and "Administrative readjustment and enterprise rationalization aimed at personnel cuts shall not be enforced."

However, in the final plan, which was formulated through compromise with the rightists, the following amendments were effected: (1) "establishment of a light property tax" was revised to that of national wealth research tax; (2) the word "national" was deleted from "a democratic national control of financial organizations"; and (3) the words "freedom of labor union movement" were deleted and provisions for prostituting labor laws were added.

Thus, the plan became more favorable to monopolistic capitalists than originally. The question lies in the "democratization of financial organizations"; "State ownership of electric power industries, democratic national control of fertilizer and iron industries; "suspension of interests payment on war bonds"; and "preparations for a third agricultural reform."

The Democratic Party is hoping to stick to its fundamental policy of satisfying the demand of monopolistic capitalists by taking the following attitudes:

(1) Suspension of interest payment on war bonds will be smothered by lowering interest rates.
(2) Nationalization of the Bank of Japan and democratization of financial organizations will be obscured by providing for establishment of a Consultative organ.
(3) Nationalization of electric industries will be effected only to the extent of setting up a state control organ for electric industries, declaring that nationalization of these industries would prevent introduction of foreign loans. Since the party cannot agree on nationalization of fertilizer and iron industries these two problems will be shelved by providing for institution of a consultative organ.

Democrats and Socialists Sympathetic in Readjustment Policy

(4) The Party will oppose the third farmland reform.
(5) Regarding the labor regulations, the party will not revise the existing Labor Union Law and Labor Readjustment Laws, but

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will try to catch any loopholes embodied in the Socialists' plan. By establishing a Labor Committee Law they attempt to crush labor disputes in public enterprises for at least two years hence.

(6) The Democratic Party faces difficulties in adjusting differences with the Socialist Party on administrative and enterprise readjustment issues, but fundamentally speaking, the Socialist Party too is not unsympathetic to this sort of readjustment policy.

The Socialist attitude toward the said proposals is that the right-wingers will, without a doubt, accept them unconditionally, but the left-wingers, splitting up into three factions, will not take a uniform attitude even among themselves.

The three factions are: (1) the recalcitrant left-wingers, strongly opposing the Ashida-led Cabinet, the Socialists' plan, and any compromises with the Democrats; (2) the Kato and Nomizo factions urging possible compromise with the Democrats and earnestly hoping to enter the new Cabinet; and (3) the Suzuki faction declaring that even though it voted for the ASHIDA Premiership it does not stand in need of agreeing to the Socialists' plan, which was worked out on their standpoint.

In his essay entitled "HITO-SUJI-NO-MICHI," (The Direct Path) in the December issue of "ZEN-SHIN", (Forward), ARIZAWA, Hiromi, who had concerned himself with drafting the plan proposed by the SATSUKI KAI, stressed that in order to overcome the pressing inflatirn there was no alternative but to reconstruct production by intensifying the labor front.

His opinions are being taken as a Bible of the Democratic capitalists belonging to the bureaucratic camp of the ESB and the KEIZAI-DOYU-KAI (Economic Friends Society).

This policy to tighten the labor front is in response to the policies which are being unanimously stressed by the Yamakawa faction backing up the NCIO Democratization League through the means of "ZEN-SHIN", and the SUZUKI-KATO faction, as well as the TAKANO-HOSOYA faction.

It is, at the same time, being bluntly emphasized in the controversial plan of the Socialists. It is, however, natural that SUZUKI, favoring the fundamental demands of the monopolistic capitalists, is taking an anti-Communistic attitude over the issue.

How the strong left-wingers will fight for the situation, and whether they will go to the Democratic front are being watched with keen interest.

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ITEM 1 National Coalition Move Opposed - Yomiuri - 29 Feb 48. Translator: M. Okajima. (FST)

401.1

Summary:

The Democrats, aiming at the realization of a national coalition cabinet, formally refused to join the Liberal invitation to join a conservative amalgamation. As against this new party formation drive, the Democrats are resorting to every means to induce minor factions and part of the Liberal Party to join the new Cabinet.

It is recalled that the abolition of political parties, following the Manchurian incident, was effected under the name of a national cabinet only to satisfy the avaricious desires of the military clique. We admit JAPAN has been placed in a grave position, but we find it difficult to understand why the Democrats are so eagerly bent upon the emergence of a national coalition.

It must be remembered that parties put up platforms more or less different from one another in the last elections. The Socialists won their policies which, in nature, widely differed from those upheld by the conservative parties. There is no reason why all parties should be united at present.

A political party depends for its existence upon the ideas it upholds and its measures and policies. The people can pass fair judgement upon the parties by their policies. Diet members are elected on the basis of those policies which attract the voters. To join a proposed national cabinet in disregard of policies is obviously not in line with the normal course of politics.

It is true that JAPAN has an important task of national reconstruction. Parallel with this great task, we are duty bound to develop the initial stage for a full play of party politics. Every party has its characteristics and there is naturally an unbridgeable gulf between the conservatives and the progressives. The people supported a certain party strictly because of their interests and principles. If a national coalition is called upon under the ambiguous name of national salvation, it is an infringment upon the popular will. There is, at present, nothing urgent calling for a national coalition at the sacrifice of parliamentarism. We can by no means consent to this Democrat design.

When a national coalition comes into being as is now intended, what will become of the function of the national Diet? Every bill submitted would pass with unanimous approval entirely devoid of deliberation and necessary criticism. As long as bureaucracy is still latently strong, we must retain a degree of critical faculty in the Diet's function.

We are not discussing the question of whether this move is against constitutionalism. Article 67 of the Constitution only too clearly explains that the premiership will be designated by majority support in the Diet. To transfer power among the ministerial parties through underhanded transactions should naturally be avoided by a responsible government. Why is it that the Socialists, who have caused the downfall of the Katayama Cabinet through their failure to save the situation, are again considering participation in the succeeding cabinet without setting things in order?

We are bitterly opposed to Democrat activities in connection with cabinet formation since we consider it more essential to establish democracy.

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ITEM 2 Policy Agreement and Impending Problems - Nihon Keizai - 26 Feb 48. Translator: J. Ide. (FST)

401

Summary:

The formulation of a policy agreement among the Democrats, Socialists, and Peoples Co-operatives has become the prime factor in forming the new Cabinet. If the parties cling to their own principles, there will be no room for compromise between the Democratic Party with its modified capitalism and the Socialist Party with its socialism. Under these circumstances, efforts for formulation of a policy agreement should stress the solution of impending problems.

Among various problems, most important are checking inflation and increasing industrial production. As far as the checking of inflation is concerned, the most urgent problem is formulation of the national budget for the next fiscal year. The most fundamental problem in compiling next year's budget is how large it should be in connection with future revision of the balance between prices and wages.

Regarding increased industrial production, the first problem is establishment of a production program for this year. There can be no objection to increased production with coal, steel, and transportation as its nucleus. The most important but most difficult problem in this field is the rationalization of enterprises and various labor problems in that connection.

The Socialist Party must not oppose rationalization of enterprises recklessly by trying to revamp the present situation. The mission of the friend of the laboring masses in the most strict sense of the word is to formulate positive measures for minimizing the sacrifice of the working class in accordance with the enforcement of the rationalization of enterprises. In the face of various impending problems, we venture to repeat again that the conclusion of a policy agreement should take these grave problems into consideration.

ITEM 3 Communists Work for Dissolution of Diet - Akahata - 20 Feb 48 - Translator: N. Tachibana. (UG)

401.1

Summary:

The people are indignant over the struggle for political power which is taking place among the Liberal Party, the Democratic Party, the Socialist left- and right-wings, the Peoples Cooperative Party, the Doshi Club (Comrades Club), the National Farmers Union faction and other minority factions.

The Democratic Party's policy agreement draft presented on 18 Feb and the Liberal Party's egoistic pretext at constitutional normalcy clearly reveal that these parties have no policy to overcome the national crisis.

If the present state continues as such, a reactionary government will be re-established. For this reason, the working masses have commenced action. On 17 Feb, 5,000 workers of the Horikawamachi Factory of the Tokyo Shibaura Electric went on a 24-hour strike and a demonstration against the Diet under such slogans as "Immediate dissolution of the Diet" and "Establishment of a democratic people's government".

The Communist Party is ready to launch a nation-wide drive in accordance with such slogans as: "Opposition to the manipulation of political power within a group", "Opposition to any conservative, anti-Communist government which is ruinous to the State", "Establishment of a government based on a democratic national front and immediate dissolution of the Diet" and "Formation of a democratic people's front".

At the head of the drive, the Tokyo District Committee will hold street forums staged by Secretary-General TOKUDA, Central Executive Committeemen NOZAKA, Sanzo; ITO, Ritsu; HASEGAWA, Hiroshi; ITO, Kenichi and KAMIYAMA, Shigeo and Investigation Department Chief KAZAHAYA, Yasoji, on 22 Feb at SUKIYABASHI, HIBIYA, SHIMBASHI, SHINJUKU, SHIBUYA, IKEBUKURO, KOTO, SANTAMA and other places.

The party is also preparing to hold indoor and open-air speech meetings on the political situation during the period from late-February to early-March throughout TOKYO.

This drive will serve to spur political interest among the masses and help to determine the next regime, dissolve the Diet and form a democratic front.

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ITEM 1 Socialist Plan and Political Situation - Akahata - 24 Feb 48.
Translator: S. Yokoyama (RL).

Summary:

A plan drafted by SUZUKI, chairman of the Socialist Political Affairs Investigation Committee, was announced on 19 Feb as basis of the Socialist Party's platform.

Upon comparing this plan with the Democrats' four-party policy agreement plan, it becomes apparent that Socialist right and left wingers have a secret understanding with the Democrats. The Suzuki plan has close relationship with the ideology of the ESB, and reveals their opinions of the present national crisis and what policy they would do to cope with it.

The Suzuki plan is based on the ESB's long range economic rehabilitation program. However, the Government machinery centered round the ESB has been busily drafting desk plans without any clear understanding of the actual state of the nation's economy.

The long range economic program advocated at present by the ESB is nothing but a desk plan, with the exception of the financial plan which will profit monopolistic capital and will further aggravate various contradictions involved in the crisis. Inasmuch as the Suzuki plan is based on this desk plan, it is also an impractical composition drafted with a view to preventing the people from forsaking the Socialist Party.

As to how to check inflation, the actual state of the world's postwar economy, as well as that of our country, is utterly disregarded. Although a fair distribution of tax burden is advocated in order to establish sound finance, readjustment of national expenditures is overlooked. In view of the fact that the coal control bill was mutilated in the cause of deliberation, the success of plans to place the Bank of JAPAN under state ownership and to enforce democratic state supervision of monetary institutions cannot be expected.

To make matters worse, such plans will be confronted with severe attacks from financial capital, which is far stronger than the coal miners. These plans can only be realized on the basis of the people's support, not, by no means, by forming a coalition cabinet with conservative parties.

The Suzuki plan is deficient in its production program since it overlooks essential points. It has no fundamental difference from the public pledges made by government parties to deceive the people. In order that production can be restored, the laborers must be freed from living difficulties. This point is entirely disregarded by the plan.

The plan stresses that the laborers' will to produce must be promoted by appealing to the laborers' voluntary cooperation, and that no revision of labor laws to restrict the freedom of union activities must be made. This entirely coincides with the Democrats' new four-party policy agreement plan, in which it is emphasized that labor disputes must be settled by negotiations between capital and labor, and that no legal steps which will impede the laborers' will to work be taken. This signifies that the Socialists and Democrats have a common purpose to change labor contracts and working regulations for the worse by refusing to give funds to aggressive unions, and by demanding the resignation of belligerent elements as a condition to comply with the unions' requests.

It is evident from these observations that plans of both the Socialists and Democrats are based on their secret understanding in regard to the formation of a Socialist-Democratic coalition cabinet, and that the Socialist left wingers do not defend the interest of laborers and farmers nor do they want economic rehabilitation for the people.

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ITEM 6 Toward Comprehensive Struggle - Seinen no Hata - 21 Feb 48. Translator: H. Furukawa. (DD)

Summary:

In October last year, the Central Committee of the Young Communists League decided on the policy of united action and concentrated attack on corrupt and inefficient authorities. Four months have elapsed and our League now enjoys the overwhelming support of all awakened people, especially the youth. Many cases show that the Young Communists League is leading the youth of other mass organizations in uncovering the goods held by the ruling class and exposing the shady connections between the bureaucrats, bosses, landlords, labor union officials, conservative political parties, and corrupt Socialist leaders. All the youths who have a sense of justice are now joining our fight against the corrupt rulers.

Through this fight we have solidified our League by acquiring a new militant spirit and mutual trust and by gaining the increasing support of the young people. The second anniversary of the foundation of our League was commemorated as a new starting point for further development by studying the experiences of the past two years. We must inform all the youth in the country of the significance of our campaign and rise to fight on a larger scale.

Firstly, we must admit that the relation of the slogan "Down with the Katayama Cabinet", which was adopted by a meeting of young men and women in TOKYO on 7 Feb, to all other struggles is not yet fully understood by the masses.

There is no doubt that all of the crisis confronting the nation are due to the administrative policies dominated by the Democrats, who would sell our country to further their class interests. Regardless of whether the Katayama Cabinet resigns or not, we must continue our campaign against the unpatriotic monopolistic capitalists and for national independence. We must also connect it with all other struggles by means of propaganda. If this necessity is not fully recognized our campaign will be reduced to a mere struggle for checking the misdeeds of the ruling class.

Secondly, it must be noticed that the results of our struggle could not be fully utilized due to the lack of realization that our struggle is an intrinsic part of the people's struggle against authority. Despite the careful preparations for mobilization and exposure we were not always successful in using the results of the drive for developing mass struggle. Since all the propaganda agencies are controlled by the reactionary forces, we must redouble our efforts to spread our slogan. Otherwise, our campaign must depend upon a small group of professional propagandists, the development of the backward elements within the League will be checked and the planned comprehensive struggle will end as a mere gesture. If the League falls into such a situation, the struggle to seize administrative power for the sake of national independence and the happiness of 95 percent of the nation will be ineffective. Therefore, we must be most careful about this point.

Thirdly, our campaign should not be limited to uncovering hoarded goods. The people can seize administrative power only when they make energetic and organized efforts to uncover all shady actions of leaders in every field of society. The struggle against the corrupt authorities can be conducted not only in large cities and industrial centers but also in every district of the country by taking up various problems of the people. It is this comprehensive struggle that creates the people's new power, new mode of life, etc.

Lastly, we must clearly state the policies for our movement of building a new society and a democratic, independent people's front. We hope that all patriotic youth understand that they must fight in alliance with the Young Communist League if they want to make the year 1948 a year of rebuilding the fatherland. Everything can be understood when we attack the weakest point of our enemy. Let us advance further by utilizing the results of past struggles and by criticizing ourselves.