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strongly intends to appoint the ministers of the new organized Labor and Construction Departments with new figures.

At any rate, facing the reopening of the 92nd Diet session, the YOSHIDA Cabinet expects the furious attack of the opposition parties; and while it is trying to strengthen its policies, it is also trying to enlarge its regime by reorganization with the Liberal and Progressive Parties. However, as to how far it can handle the present pressing situation is quite a problem.



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Item 5 The Yoshida Cabinet by Abe Shinnosuke - Magazine: Kaizo (Monthly)  
Jan. issue. Translator: F. Tsuneishi

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 Summary:

Since the two reasons why a dissolution of the YOSHIDA Cabinet would be disadvantageous to the Government are those prompting the Social Democratic Party to obtain such a dissolution, we can see why they oppose each other. The first of these reasons is that the purge in the provinces has led to the destruction of the governmental parties, and the second is that the labor offensive which began in early spring has not lost its power, still continuing to shake the foundation of the Government. Because of these conditions, now is the most opportune moment for the Social Democratic Party to take the lead. According to rumors, after a dissolution of the present Cabinet, this party has great confidence that they will win because of the fine results in their provincial campaigns. However, at present, votes cast for them are not quite in proportion to their popularity, but any rate, the purge of local officials has cleared the way for the Social Democrats.

I believe the greatest problem the YOSHIDA Cabinet has to face is the handling of the labor problem, for this Cabinet has not as yet become a cabinet for the people. This is their weak point, and a stigma they will bear as long as they remain in power. They may maintain that they are a cabinet for the people, for the majority of the members are from the two major political parties, which secured their present status as the result of election. But if they were truly a people's cabinet, they would have taken more forceful measures against those farmers who will not obey the Government's order to deliver rice because of self-interest.

In one of my recent trips through the provinces, I heard that the farmers of a certain district would get together to decide among themselves how much rice they would deliver, and after the delivery had been made, they would ignore completely the efforts of the prefectural authorities to negotiate. Even though conditions have improved, and the harvest is good, they will deliver only a small amount on the grounds that their crops were poor. If the Cabinet were a truly democratic one, such a condition would not be permitted to exist, for if such a situation were permissible, it would also be just as permissible for us to pay the amount of tax we wish to pay without regard for the taxation system.

The cabinet is so undemocratic because YOSHIDA himself can be more aptly termed a bureaucrat than a member of a party. The type of persons in the Cabinet alone testifies to the fact that this Cabinet is strongly opposed to the party system. According to the new Constitution, members of the cabinet must also be members of the national Diet, but neither YOSHIDA nor SHIDEHARA are Diet members. The director of the Economic Stabilization Board, a post which is acknowledged to be, in a sense, above the cabinet, is also a perfect stranger to political parties. Many other officials such as the Home Affairs Minister, the Education Minister, and the Agriculture and Forestry Minister are also bureaucrats. We cannot call this Cabinet a party cabinet, for it is actually a coalition of party members and corrupt bureaucrats.

The bureaucrats were supposed to have been purged along with the militarists. Therefore, there is no excuse for them to exist like parasites, clinging to the party in power. It seems that their idea was to adhere to the most conservative political parties where they would not be too noticeable. Happily for them, the election ended in a victory for the conservatives, and with SHIDEHARA, assuming the position of leader, the bureaucrats have



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recently become extremely active.

YOSHIDA has said that the question of whether he would resign or not was up to him, but I believe he would be wiser to either dissolve the Diet in accordance with the advice of the Social Democrats, or have the Cabinet resign on bloc, for the existence of the present Cabinet is contrary to the spirit of our new Constitution. We must have a government of the people. For YOSHIDA to remain as Premier, another election should be held. The problems of contemporary Japan cannot be solved by a bureaucratic government.

Even though I earnestly desire that the YOSHIDA Cabinet make a fresh start, I do not place my complete faith in the Social Democratic Party. This party seems to have some sort of a policy and seems to be for the people, but their greatest difficulty is that they lack men of high caliber, and many members of this party do not even know what socialism actually is. At the last election, all of their best men had already been placed. Therefore, if this party should come into power, this will necessarily increase the number of their members who will have active roles, and this in turn will mean that the degree of ability of the party men will drop greatly, for the character and ability of men cannot be changed in a day.

No cabinet has been more incompetent or weak than the present YOSHIDA administration. Its policies on price control and distribution are all haphazard and perfunctory. They cannot keep even the selfish farmers under control. However, we must give them credit for the great work they have accomplished which will place this Cabinet among history's greatest. They have brought about the greatest reform, since SHOTOKU TAISHI (TN: 8th Century). They have revised the Constitution, emancipated the tenant farmers by dividing the farm lands, and the workers through labor regulations, enacted the social relief bill, and solved the problems concerning the cancellation of war indemnities and the collection of property tax. Despite the fact that newspapers attack them as being inactive, as having no policy, and as being weak, we cannot be too harsh with them when we consider their achievements.

Personally, I would like to see them resign, for I desire to see a more democratic form of cabinet, as I do not believe a people's government can be set up by selfish individuals who work only for their own gain without assuming the responsibilities placed on their shoulders by the entire nation.



ITPM 5 The Premier's Conservative Belief - Mainichi Shimbun - 28 Jan 47.  
 Translator: K. Sasaki.

Full Translation:

The Premier's instructions in the gubernatorial meeting sounds as if the Government is the only one which is doing its best for the

rehabilitation of the Japanese industry, and the reason why its effort does not bring success is because of strikes and disputes in each industry. Whether the Government is doing its best is questionable, but we may admit that it is doing its best in its own way. If the Government is doing its best, it will not suffice unless its planning and policy are on the right track. For instance, Premier YOSHIDA says, "I hope both management and labor will understand the present situation and make it their first objective to increase production, and I sincerely wish that they will work with all their might for this purpose." Management and labor may wish to comply with his instructions and work hard, but how could they apply his principle in actual production?

It was May last year when the YOSHIDA Cabinet was organized, and it was the time when Japanese industrial activities appeared about ready to recover from its collapsed condition after the surrender. Although recovery of the basic industry was out of the question, still the production of consumer goods was fairly well under way. It was the opinion of all quarters then that continual consumption would soon exhaust the important materials in stock and the industrial activities would soon come to an end. Despite warnings already given at that time the Government has done nothing in the way of setting a definite program for industrial recovery but allowed the situation to develop into the so-called March crisis, exhausting important materials of the State for practically nothing. The fact that stocks of materials have been used up shows that private enterprisers have worked to a certain extent for industrial recovery according to their own plans. At the same time it shows that the Government did not make use of their activities for the rehabilitation of major industries.

Cancellation of war indemnities was followed by the readjustment of enterprises. The Government's policy in this connection was very conservative; in some ways it appeared to be even reactionary, but what measures did the Government take after its cancellation policy of war indemnities was decided? It does not seem to have been doing its best. However, let us assume that it has been working to its fullest extent. Under such an inefficient Government, what can private industrial circles do? They cannot tell if their own enterprises are to be stopped or encouraged; or, if they are subject to readjustment, in what manner they are to go through it. Under such condition, they can never exert their capabilities.

The reason why labor disputes and strikes are staged is because laborers cannot make their livelihood. In the course of a rapid democratization of the State it is natural that various matters can possibly become the cause of disputes and strikes. However, the present strifes are generally for increased wages. It is clear that these strifes have simply resulted from the prevailing inflation. The previous government enacted the financial emergency measures which were powerful and could be most effectively applied. The present Government has done nothing to make these measures a success. As a result, inflation has accelerated.

Along with the enactment of the emergency financial measures, the basic prices of commodities increased ten times; laborers were unable to maintain their livelihood, but the Government has taken no measures to help them out. It is only natural for the laborers to call a strike against the management of capitalists who pay no attention to their difficult existence and support such a conservative Government. If a strike is staged which cannot be rightfully understood, the Premier can call it an "interference with the recovery of industry". However, inability to maintain living is a good reason. There is no prospect of the present inflation stopping. Under such conditions strikes cannot be blamed



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as obstacles to industrial recovery. What really prevents the recovery is the Government which has caused the present situation. The YOSHIDA Cabinet has no right to ascribe the responsibility to anyone else.

In the face of the 1 February general strike, the Premier used a word which is oppressive in connection with the improvement of treatment of government and municipal workers and also their discipline. His use of the word "recalcitrants" caused a problem.

The cause of the projected strike by the Government and Municipal Workers Unions is the difficulty to maintain their livelihood. It is true, as the Premier says, that allowance to government and municipal workers differs in nature from the "dividends of profits in industrial enterprises". But this does not authorize the Premier to let the government officials starve. The allowance to government and public officials should be given "within the limit of the state's economic ability and the nation's financial ability relative to its income". This statement is correct in itself. However, their present demands cannot be declined because of this statement under the present situation. Under the present acute condition, what good is it to say, "Retrenchment in personnel should be made", or "People should endure poverty by sharing what they have among themselves." National discipline is really the key to national reconstruction, but it is rather difficult to encourage national discipline under a Government whose characteristics are such that the general public cannot rely upon it.



POLITICAL SERIES: 1556 (Continued)ITEM 12 What is Meant by Cabinet Reorganization?

Akahata - 4 Feb 47. Translator: M. Yasutake.

## Summary:

The YOSHIDA Cabinet, which failed in its coalition operations again, carried out its reorganization on 31 January and decided to manage through the coming Diet. The recent reorganization of the Cabinet is featured by (1) The Cabinet has come to show its "anti - people" character distinctly, (2) The Cabinet has left some room for another coalition operation.

The remaining in office of ISHIBASHI and his concurrent assumption of the post of the chief of the Economic Stabilization Board means the continuance of the ISHIBASHI financial policy which aims at the protection of monopolistic capital. ISHII, who was newly appointed the Commerce and Industry minister, belongs to the HATOYAMA group of the Liberal Party, which is strongly opposed to the coalition with the Social Democratic Party. The YOSHIDA Cabinet has established a structure to fight against the working classes.

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The position of the Transportation and the Education ministers were filled by a bureaucrat and a scholar, respectively, and no full time ministers were appointed for the Agriculture and Forestry and the Economic Stabilization Board posts. These facts indicate the secret intention of the Government of trying a third coalition operation to win the Social Democratic Party over to its side. The Social Democratic Party held the meeting of its Central Executive Committee on 31 January and discussed the political situation. It is quite clear, however, that the recent reorganization of the Cabinet or the possible formation of a coalition Cabinet will aggravate the present crisis. Now everything depends upon the future struggle of the working classes in the solution of the crisis.

The YOSHIDA Cabinet, which is making desperate efforts to remain in office in spite of the strong opposition of the working classes, is now losing the confidence of even its former supporters. The Cabinet which failed in the coalition with the Social Democratic Party has not given up its coalition plan and is still making secret maneuvers to win the Social Democratic Party over to its side. Premier YOSHIDA is quite ignorant of the objective circumstances and of the internal conditions of the Social Democratic Party. As long as the Liberal Party insists on Finance minister ISHIBASHI remaining in office, the coalition with the Social Democratic Party can never be realized.

The Premier bore his incompetence in handling the offensive of the unions of the government and the public offices employees. He denounced the members of the unions as "rebellious elements", in the course of his New Year speech, and it only heightened the inimical feeling of workers toward the Government and strengthened their unity. He turned down the mediation plan of the Central Labor Committee and thereby added spurs to the offensive attitude of workers. It goes without saying that Premier YOSHIDA should be accused of his incompetence, but the above-mentioned facts clearly show that the conservative camp itself is utterly incapable of coping with the present crisis. The working people should bear in mind that the dallying in the establishment of a democratic and popular Government will mean the delay in the reconstruction of our country and in the security of their well-being.



POLITICAL SERIES: 1556 (Continued)

ITEM 13 The Move Towards A Coalition Cabinet - Tokyo Shimbun - 4 Feb 47.  
Translator: F. Mitsunashi.

## Full Translation:

Since the beginning of the year, the political situation has been unsettled because of YOSHIDA's maneuvers for forming a new coalition cabinet with the Social Democratic Party, and these maneuvers ended in a failure. Out of sheer desperation YOSHIDA reshuffled the Cabinet in order to be prepared for the Diet, which is to be reopened shortly, and to surmount the coming economic crisis. However, the 1 February general strike, which would have been the greatest in our labor history, both in scale and in effect, was cancelled by a SCAP order, and the possibility of forming a new coalition cabinet mounted again.

On 31 January, immediately after the reorganization of the YOSHIDA Cabinet, young Diet members of the Progressive Party proposed to President SHIDEHARA that a new coalition cabinet be formed in order to save the nation. They have already started a movement to enlist the co-operation of the Liberal and the Social Democratic Parties.

Premier YOSHIDA, judging from the present political situation in our country, still believes that it is necessary to form a new coalition cabinet to survive the current crisis. The fact that, in the reorganization of his cabinet, YOSHIDA kept HOSHIJIMA in office and made the posts of the Agriculture and Forestry Minister and the Director of the Economic Stabilization Board concurrent positions, means that he still has hopes for his coalition plan. NISHIO, secretary-general of the Social Democratic Party, also has a strong intention of forming a new coalition cabinet. With the failure of the 1 February general strike, it is expected that the left wingers of the Social Democratic Party will lose influence and that the right wingers, who are in favor of the formation of a new coalition cabinet, will dominate the general trend of the party's Central Executive Committee.

After the reopening of the Diet, the trend towards the formation of a new coalition cabinet will probably develop more intensely than in the case of the first and the second coalition maneuvers.

ITEM 14 New Progress Society Makes Third Coalition Attempt - Yomiuri Shimbun - 4 Feb 47. Translator: H. Kuwata.

## Full Translation:

The movement for a coalition cabinet now being developed by the New Progress Society (SHIN SHIN KAI), formed by younger representatives of the Progressive Party, gained new momentum on the third with the party leaders' full support of the movement, making noticeable progress in the third attempt for coalition. The formal negotiations with the Liberal Party were started on the second, when HORI, KANAMITSU, HARA (Ken), and HOSOKAWA visited executive member OKUBO of the Liberal Party at his house, and ARAKI, TSUBOKAWA, KAWASAKI, GOTSUBO, and ZUSHI saw secretary-general ONO to submit their coalition proposal of the 31st. At this, Secretary-General ONO meaningfully replied that, aside from the coalition problem, he would favor holding a three-party secretary-generals' meeting for a political truce. Unmindful of the somewhat negative attitude of the Liberal Party, the New Progress Society opened negotiations with the Government on the third. At 1030 hours, KAWASAKI, OKABE, HOSOKAWA, and SHI KUMA visited Chief Secretary HAYASHI and FUKUDA, secretary to the Premier, at the Premier's official residence, and told them the Progressive Party's intentions. At 1300 hours, ARAKI, SHI KUMA, TSUBOKAWA, KAWASAKI, OKABE, and HOSOKAWA visited secretary-general NISHIO at the Social Democratic Party's headquarters and told him the Progressive Party's inclinations toward the realization of the coalition.



## POLITICAL SERIES: 1534 (Continued)

ITEM 8 Intricate Maneuvering behind the Failure of The Coalition Program -  
Asahi Shimbun - 18 Jan 47. Translator: J. Weiller.

## Full Translation:

904  
 The negotiations for a Liberal-Progressive-Social Democratic coalition have fallen through and NISHIO and HIRANO of the Social Democratic Party, who played important roles when the power was shifted from SHIDEHARA to YOSHIDA last year, saw their plans fall to the ground for the second time. The recent plan was the continuation of the tacit understanding between the Government and the Social Democratic leaders which took shape around the party's introduction of the vote of dissolution of the Diet during the previous session. When NISHIO met the Premier on 28 December the latter dropped the hint of offering the former the post of Commerce Minister, which NISHIO naturally refused. Subsequently when HIRANO saw the Premier, the latter asked him to convey his apologies to NISHIO. On NISHIO's coming back to TOKYO on the 8th, however, the Premier offered to the Social Democratic Party the ministerships of Commerce, Construction and Labor, and with this as a starting point, informal negotiations for a coalition were commenced. However the project met with failure much earlier than was expected because of the following reasons:

- 1 - The Social Democratic leaders themselves, who pulled the wires, are not sure of their status in connection with the purge if they were to join the cabinet.
- 2 - The Social Democratic Party's conditions for a coalition were to make Chairman of the Committee KATAYAMA the Minister of Non-portfolio, HIRANO the Agriculture Minister, MATSUOKA the Labor Minister, and MIZUTANI the Commerce Minister, and further as an absolute condition it demanded the retirement of Finance Minister ISHIBASHI and the choice of the Chief of the Economic Stabilization Board from among the "Professors' Group".
- 3 - To which the Government made a counterproposal of KATAYAMA as State Minister, NISHIO as Labor Minister HIRANO as Commerce Minister, MATSUOKA as Construction (new-tentative) Minister, ARISAWA (of the Professors' Group) as Chief of the Economic Stabilization Board and the present Agriculture Minister WADA's transfer to the Home Ministership. However, the Government emphatically refused to release Finance Minister ISHIBASHI.
- 4 - Neither YOSHIDA nor SHIDEHARA reacted favorably to MIZUTANI's assuming a cabinet portfolio, which also was one of the deadlocks as KATAYAMA persisted in accompanying him.

It was past noon when the Government's final plan was received by Secretary-General NISHIO, and after further futile negotiations with the Government, NISHIO called in KATAYAMA and HIRANO, and after deliberations among the three, the plan was given up as futile. The time required for the whole process was only about five hours. The reason why the Government was so firm to the last was that the Liberal Party made Finance Minister ISHIBASHI's staying in his post an absolute condition. Besides this, the Social Democrat's left wingers stubbornly opposed the coalition, and the qualification question of the ministerial candidates of the Social Democratic Party appear to be further causes contributing to the miscarriage. Even then, why did the coalition program minutely worked out by such old hands as NISHIO and HIRANO since the year end so easily fail? We will review it from the view of the behind-the-scene negotiations.

First, taking up the ISHIBASHI issue, there seems to be no mistake that HIRANO gave understanding to the Government that ISHIBASHI might remain as the Finance Minister. As to the discussion of policies for the coalition, both NISHIO and HIRANO held the opinion that no arrangement was necessary before the formation of the cabinet, especially since HIRANO decided for himself that the cabinet meeting itself would be tantamount to the Policies Agreement Committee meeting. As such information had been known to the Government, it naturally pointed out



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to the party its inconsistency when the latter requested ISHIBASHI's resignation. It is a unanimous opinion in political circles that HIRANO was rather over zealous for a coalition. On the other hand, Chairman of the Committee KATAYAMA was paying respect to the popular opinion that since the Social Democratic Party made the inflation a major political issue, it could not possibly join a cabinet where ISHIBASHI remained in power, and at the same time he regarded the policy arrangement as an important question. Granted there was difference in opinion between KATAYAMA on one hand, who took up the coalition as inevitable, and NISHIO and HIRANO on the other, who thought it preferable, the plan was doomed to be a failure from the beginning due to the lack of coherence in their thoughts. Furthermore, there were three decisive factors which rendered the success of the projected coalition virtually impossible.

The first of these was gross miscalculation in NISHIO-HIRANO's forecast. They thought that unlike the occasion of the previous political change, the leftists were weak and that KATO, Kanju and SUZUKI, Mosaburo had different political views between them; they therefore reckoned that SUZUKI would be easily induced to join the Government. According to their understanding, in view of SUZUKI's zeal in the Industrial Rehabilitation Congress, and his conciliatory inclination toward the capitalists with regard to the rehabilitation and his good knowledge of economy, he would better understand a political truce for the sake of economic restoration. They further argued that when the rightist leaders changed the non-confidence resolution to that of the Diet dissolution last year, SUZUKI more readily approved it than was expected and was conciliatory. Therefore, they thought that the solidarity of the left faction was undermined, making the matter much easier for the Central Executive Committee which is composed of an overwhelming majority of rightists. KATAYAMA, too, was made to understand in that way. The plan was being pushed on in an entirely mistaken manner, but the leftists, while consolidating their position by furthering a separate program through negotiations with Agriculture Minister WADA, bombarded the right faction, which only lightly considered the policy question, with the publication of the party's "Emergency Policies", which ought to have been done so with Chairman KATAYAMA's consent, and thus drove the party into a tight corner.

The second factor was that, besides the two sounding lines - KIMURA-HIRANO, and FUKUDA (Premier's Private Secretary) - NISHIO - which started activities since the year-end, the third line of WADA-SUZUKI, backed by the Premier came to the fore since the 8th and commenced confusing the two right wing lines. Since there was some difference of opinion even between NISHIO and HIRANO, who belong to the same faction, the appearance of the third line, and the interlocking of all these lines made the matter all the more complicated. On the Government side also, two lines of wires were being pulled, one by State Minister SHIDEHARA, through KIMURA, and the other by the Premier through FUKUDA, and to make the matter still worse, the Premier tried to induce the Social Democrat's leftists and the Professors' Group through Agriculture Minister WADA. Therefore, there is nothing to wonder at in the disruption of thought and conception under such circumstances. The coalition should have been never attempted, in view of the Premier's double character putting one foot on the Progressive Party and the other on the Liberal Party. That the left element of the Social Democratic Party relied on were organized labor and the farmers. Actually, the Labor Unions Friendly Conference (RODO KUMIAI KONDANKAI) was brought into existence for the purpose of overthrowing the YOSHIDA Cabinet, and moreover, the National Federation of Labor Unions, which is the party's affiliate, is decidedly against the coalition. This was why KATO strongly opposed the formula of the coalition. It appears that sensing the prevailing atmosphere, NISHIO, in the course of the process, gave up the coalition as a failure. Such was this false alarm which ended in a mere daydream for the coalitionists of the Social Democratic Party.



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One thing was made clear, however, by this incident, and that is, in spite of YOSHIDA and SHIDEHARA and their parties' cry for a coalition government for national salvation, as was seen in the intricacies of the negotiations, it was not conceived as a result of severe self-examination emanating from the political deadlock. Their aim in essence was a re-organization, and the coalition for them was enticing which resulted in the utilization of the workers' party. NISHIO and HIRANO created a current by themselves and were engulfed by it, and it can be said that the current was made to flow against the democratic revolution and was, therefore, a political action detached from the ideas of the working masses who are bent on democratically reconstructing JAPAN's politics and economy. Consequently, they are being accused by the leftists and organized workers that at this very critical moment, they, instead of rejecting reaction and feudalism, tried to compromise with such powers.

\* Although the Government appears to remain sitting tight, with what ideas and feelings do they propose to break through the situation in face of the labor unrest and economic crisis? They say that the Liberal and Progressive Parties are marching forward making their ties closer, which is quite heroic of them, but with what prospect and confidence of success are they going to cope with the situation? The confusion and instability do not seem to have been a bit removed. (SANO).



POLITICAL SERIES: 1549 (Continued)

ITEM 7 Government Coalition Effort Fails again - Asahi Shimbun - 30 Jan 47.  
Translator: Y. Akabane.

Summary:

904  
 Pessimistic speculation has been prevalent concerning the second coalition moves of the Government and the Social Democratic Party. This is due to the gaps existing between the claims of the Government and the Party regarding the question of retaining Finance Minister ISHIBASHI and some other items. Premier YOSHIDA, who has been exerting his best efforts at this final stage of the coalition, on 29 January invited the three top Party leaders to a conference to discuss ways and means of tiding over the impasse. The obstacles lying in the way of the Government and the Social Democrats, however, have not yet been overcome. Thus the Premier's second coalition attempt has met with another failure.

As the so-called "unforeseen obstacle", the Government is considered to be the direct cause of the failure of the first coalition effort. That is to say, the question of the eligibility of Social Democratic candidates for the ministerial posts was removed on the night of the 28th and the Government, judging the situation to be favorable, opened formal negotiations with the Social Democratic Party on Wednesday morning. Premier YOSHIDA, at 1000 hours, sent Chief Cabinet Secretary HAYASHI to KATAYAMA, chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Party, to accompany him to the Premier's official residence. There a conference was held for about two hours between the three party leaders. This is the first overture formally made by the Government to the Social Democratic Party. The Premier approached Mr KATAYAMA with the following conditions, which are not much different from those said to have been proposed before in the preliminary negotiations:

1. A coalition Cabinet shall preferably be formed, each party being on an equal footing; 2. Four ministerial posts will be offered to the Social Democrats; 3. Giving the portfolio to the Co-operative Democratic Party is hardly feasible at the present time; 4. Finance Minister ISHIBASHI will be forced to remain in office.

Mr KATAYAMA reserved his reply until after a consultation could be made with party members. The conference closed at 1240 hours.

The Social Democratic Party opened its Central Executive Committee meeting at the Diet Building at 1450 hours. It decided that the party cannot accede to (1) Finance Minister ISHIBASHI's remaining in office; (2) the Government's unilateral assignment of ministerial posts; and (3) the non-participation of the Co-operative Democrats in the new coalition cabinet. If these conditions were complied with the party holds that it would betray the understanding which now exists among the three opposition parties. It was also decided to ask the Government to resign en bloc and hold a five-party top leaders' conference, including the Co-operative Democratic and the People's Parties. Thereupon Mr KATAYAMA paid a visit to Premier YOSHIDA at 1730 hours. He formally replied, explaining the contents of the aforesaid decision of the party and, at the same time, he demanded that the Government reconsider the question of the five party leaders' conference for the formation of the forthcoming Cabinet. Premier YOSHIDA did not express any opinion.

Thus, the formal negotiations between the Government and the Social Democratic Party have come to a decisive stage, leaving a wide gap in the way of the successful establishment of a coalition Government. The Government's second move for a coalition regime has thus practically come to an end.

The Government, at 1830 hours on the same day, held an extraordinary Cabinet meeting to discuss impending problems of importance, including the counter measures to be taken for the impending general strike.



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However, the Premier returned to the Foreign Minister's official residence without attending the meeting. The Liberal and the Progressive Parties opened their respective leaders' conferences. The Social Democratic Party held an Executive Committee meeting at night to consult on the result of the YOSHIDA-KATAYAMA interview.

It seems likely that the Government will take some effective steps to revamp the political situation as soon as possible, now that it is pretty obvious that the coalition attempt will fail. Facing such a situation, the Liberals are strongly in favor of a speedy Cabinet reorganization, whereas certain persons in the Progressive Party are inclined to support the Government for some time to come. However, in view of the hopes which are still retained by a section of the Government and the pro-Government political parties to continue the moves for coalition with the Social Democrats, the question of a coalition will remain smouldering in the future. In this connection, Chairman KATAYAMA of the Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Party stated as follows:

"The contents of the decision of our party were reported to the Premier but he said nothing about them. The present Cabinet should resign en bloc and then a conference of the five top party leaders should be opened to form a new Cabinet. I cannot say whether the discussion between the three top party leaders has been ended or not. If further demanded by the Government, I will agree to see the Premier again."

The Liberal Party opened an urgent meeting of its leaders on Wednesday afternoon. As a result, it conveyed the reaffirmation of its attitude to support the ISHIBASHI financial setup. Chief Secretary ONO visited TANAKA, chief secretary of the Progressive Party to discuss the situation.

A fairly wide difference of opinion seems to exist between the Liberals and the Progressives. The Progressive Party insists that: 1. Stress be placed in the Cabinet reorganization, with the participation of the Social Democratic Party, so the reorganization by the Liberals and Progressives is meaningless; 2. Even if the reorganization is effected by the two parties, few suitable candidates for ministerial posts can be found; 3. An awkward reorganization would only result in weakening the Cabinet. On the other hand, the Liberals enumerate the following reasons why the Cabinet should be immediately reorganized:

1. Even though the coalition maneuvers with the Social Democrats failed, immediate reorganization should be made now for the purpose of renovating the line-up; 2. If the Social Democrats are not ready to accept our proposals, there is no other way open but to strengthen the Cabinet by the Liberals and the Progressives themselves; 3. Immediate reorganization is necessary to make the Cabinet purely political.

In view of the above, the future political situation will become more complex, political informants predict.

The major points of the contention of the Social Democrats have been pointed out already. They are unanimous in considering that the new overture of the Government is fundamentally the same as the previous one, with almost nothing instrumental to alleviate the deadlock we faced in the preliminary negotiations. Moreover, the Government's unilateral nomination of candidates for ministerial posts has incurred the ire of all members of the Central Executive Committee, except Messrs HIRANO, MATSUOKA, MORITO, and TAHARA, as it utterly ignored the Social Democrats' viewpoint. The Government's plea for the creation of the coalition Cabinet was unanimously rejected by the party's executive committee meeting, with the sole exception of Mr HIRANO. It was decided to stand put on the Party's decision of 23 January, which demanded: (1) the immediate resignation of the YOSHIDA Cabinet; and (2) the new regime should be created by means of negotiations among the five political parties. The majority of the Social Democratic leaders are emphasizing the cessation of the coalition operations.



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The left-wingers of the Social Democratic Party issued the following statement regarding the dispute of the Government and public workers: "The Government must take upon itself the responsibility for its negligence to take appropriate steps to prevent the crisis. We have done our best to avert the general strike. If the Government is not prepared to manifest sincerity, we are ready to demand the living stability of the masses by supporting the demands of the working masses."

The Co-operative Democratic and the People's Parties expressed their opinions to the Social Democrats representatives, as follows:

1. The forthcoming Cabinet should be formed along the lines the three opposition parties decided upon the other day. Creation of a five party coalition Cabinet is most preferable.
2. The Government should transfer the work of creating a new Cabinet to the conference of the five party representatives.



POLITICAL SERIES: 1535 (Continued)ITEM 9 Reorganization of Cabinet Will Not Be An Easy Task - Yomiuri Shimbun - 21 Jan 47. Translator: K. Yasutake.

## Full Translation:

Little or no progress has been made in Premier YOSHIDA's political move to save the present situation after his failure in forming a coalition cabinet. The Premier who had gone to his residence at OISO on 18 January did not return on 20 January. He seemed to be worried as to how to tide over the imminent crisis. On the other hand though both the Liberals and Progressives are moving towards a cabinet-strengthening drive, they do not seem to have reached a complete agreement. Therefore, the political situation is becoming very ticklish.

Both parties are moving toward an agreement to adopt more progressive policies, which reveals that the intention of the cabinet and the Government parties is to appeal to new and changed policies to tide over the present crisis. At the same time, this move was not started by Premier YOSHIDA. There is something ambiguous in this respect. Who, then, is going to tackle the difficult problem of facing the coming labor offensive, which was the biggest reason for YOSHIDA's coalition plan, and who, is to execute these policies, if progressive policies are adopted by the two major parties to strengthen the cabinet? When faced with this practical question, we do not wonder that a pessimistic conclusion that this drive may eventually end in a political downfall is fast gaining strength. It is said that herein lies the worry of the Premier.

There is a gap between the opinions of the two parties as to the method of strengthening the cabinet. While the Progressives demand a large scaled reorganization, the Liberals hate complicating circumstances. Chief Secretary ONO (Liberal) said he would see YOSHIDA and discuss the details of the above facts before the round table conference on 21 January, to which he has been invited by the Premier.

The trend of the political situation cannot be clearly seen. Informants rumor that the Premier has no confidence of being able to tide over this crisis with any cabinet reorganization supported by the two parties, and may resort to some other means. In that case, there would be no other way but to have the Cabinet resign en bloc and start anew to save the situation. Agriculture Minister WADA, who took an active part in the coalition movement, declared he would reveal where the responsibility for his failure lay. The ordinary session of the cabinet on 21 January is keenly watched as the Premier's intention will be revealed.

While the Cabinet and the Government parties are taking such steps, the poignant opposition between the rightist and leftist elements in the Social Democratic Party, has been rapidly coming to the fore, since the coalition move. Some influential leaders in that party stick to the opinion 1) that a non-Government party would hardly be able to do anything definite in the Diet with its internal state in such a turmoil; 2) that the internal condition of the party must be straightened out; and 3) that it must launch into the coming political situation as a people's party, clearly asserting its basic platform.

MIZUTANI, Chairman of the Party Policy Committee, conferred with KATAYAMA, Committee Chairman, on this problem on the afternoon of 20 January. On the other hand, SUZUKI and KATO, two leftist leaders in the party, are scheduled to interview KATAYAMA and explain the situation of the leftists on the night of 21 January. Committee Chairman KATAYAMA will call a meeting of the central executive committee as well as of the central committee for the sake of stabilizing the party attitude. Chairman of the Board of Affairs, NISHIO, MIZUTANI, MORITO, and SUZUKI will confer on the preparations for the meeting on 21 January.

Agriculture and Forestry Minister WADA, who played an important



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role as a brain trust of the Premier in the coalition movement with the Social Democratic Party and who appeared to be firmly resolved to resign because he considered himself responsible for the failure and because of the anti-WADA atmosphere prevailing in the party, will probably formally tender his resignation to the Premier when he comes to TOKYO on 21 January.

The following is a talk conducted between WADA and a reporter:

Question: Are the Liberals and Progressives going to tide over the present crisis with progressive policies?

Answer: In spite of all their audacity, they do not think it possible.

Question: Rumor says you are going to resign as a result of the failure of the coalition cabinet drive. Is it true?

Answer: Whatever I do I will make myself clear.

Question: Should you resign, I am afraid, it would affect the existence of the cabinet.

Answer: I cannot help it. The burden is too heavy for me.



ITEM 1 Premier Fixes Plan for Coalition Cabinet - Jiji Shimpoo - 26 Jan 47.  
Translator: S. Hirata.

Full Translation:

Following a talk with Professors NAKAYAMA, TOHATA and ARIZAWA on 24 January, Premier YOSHIDA had a talk with State Minister SHIDEHARA at 1100 hours on the 25th at the Premier's official residence. After holding an important conference for about an hour and a half with him, the Premier had another talk with OKUBO, manager of the Liberal Party, and at 1500 hours went to his villa at OISO for a rest. Also, State Minister SHIDEHARA, following his talk with the Premier, interviewed Education Minister TANAKA.

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Much importance is attached to the conference between Premier YOSHIDA and State Minister SHIDEHARA, for the Premier has been observing silence for more than ten days. It is believed that, on reaching a temporary conclusion, the Premier has asked for the opinion of SHIDEHARA in regard to the Premier's plan. It is expected that the Premier will clarify his final resolution after pondering his plan further during his stay at OISO. There is no doubt that the Premier's plan favors the formation of a coalition cabinet by resolutely carrying out a resignation en bloc. Judging by the facts that the Premier is not accepting the resignation tendered by Agriculture Minister WADA, the uncompromising advocate of a coalition cabinet, that the Social Democrats are preparing for the organization of the proposed coalition cabinet, that they are asking for the views of the professor group on policy issues, after frankly admitting the need of a coalition cabinet at the conference with the group, and that the Social Democrats are absorbed in sounding out the political situation in a thorough way, it is firmly believed that the Premier's plan heads towards the realization of a coalition cabinet.

Judging also by the fact that the Premier stated at the interview with the professor group, "It is not proper to conduct the provincial governors' conference under these conditions," the Premier is apparently hurrying to arrive at a conclusion. Indicating the general situation, Secretary-general TANAKA of the Progressive Party stated as follows:

"We believe that arrangements have already been made for coalition between the Government and the Social Democrats. As to the removal of unexpected obstacles that have since become issues, President SHIDEHARA is, as far as I know, doing his best to settle the issue." However, difficulties confronting the Premier in his maneuvers for a coalition cabinet consist in (1). the movements of the leftist faction of the Social Democrats. (2). the selection



POLITICAL SERIES: 1542 (Continued)ITEM 1 (Continued)

of portfolios for ministerial colleagues, (3). the issue concerning the resignation of Agriculture Minister WADA, and (4). the problem of the financial policy of Finance Minister ISHIBASHI. Taking into consideration his former failure in the coalition campaign, the Premier is assuming a cautious attitude in his present coalition maneuvers. The Premier's movements after the 27th will be watched with keen interest.

The Social Democrats dared to demonstrate their readiness to join the proposed coalition cabinet with the concrete political gestures manifested at the 23 January meeting of the Central Executive Committee, by a vote of 15 against 5 in favor of a coalition cabinet. They are now fully prepared for a coalition cabinet under Premier YOSHIDA's new plan. Since the Social Democratic Party has resolved to agree to the Premier's plan by drawing a definite line of demarcation between the rightist and leftist factions instead of by readjusting the complicated circumstances within the Party, it is believed, that there is something out of the ordinary in its enthusiasm and resolution in favor of the coalition cabinet, based upon the Premier's new plan.

The Secretary-general of the Social Democrats, KATAYAMA, revealed his firm resolution by stating, "Should the new coalition scheme snap, the Social Democratic Party would be ruined." Also, emphasizing again the conclusion of the Central Executive Committee which met on 23 January, that the five leading political parties should turn over a new page after the mass resignation of the present government, the secretary-general made the following statement with regard to the character of a coalition Cabinet:

"The coalition should not be a mere combination of factions, but a product of such a combination."

Although the leftist faction of the Social Democrats has been defeated by force of numbers, it is pondering on the tactics to turn the tide by a single stroke at the meeting of the All-JAPAN Central Executive Committee on 16 February. This faction has declared that, in the event that a concrete plan for a coalition cabinet is introduced before 16 February, it will do everything possible to spoil the coalition plan.

On the other hand, it is firmly believed by the right-wing members and the faction belonging to the old JAPAN Labor Union that even at the meeting of the Central Committee the simple opposition to the coalition by local executives may be suppressed by an overwhelming majority. Moreover, there are some members who have the extreme opinion that the Party should now rid itself of the leftist fast on whose existence is harmful to the Party. However, the general trend of the Party has undergone no change in its policy for realizing a coalition cabinet by persuading the leftist faction. Moreover, as borne out by the fact that in the recent negotiations for the formation of a coalition cabinet NISHIO has persisted to the last in recommending SUZUMI, Mosaburo for the post of Director of the Economic Stabilization Board, or that the disagreement of views between SUZUMI and KATO, Kanju was disclosed at the 23 January meeting of the Central Executive Committee, there is also a view that it is not necessarily impossible for the rightist faction to prevail on the left-wing members. In either event, the Social Democrats are still suffering from the helpless agony of being unable to carry on by mere numerical strength, which has been the weakness of the party ever since it was formed.

Before attending the conference of various political parties held at 1330 hours on the 25th at the reception room of the Speaker of the House of Representatives, TANAKA, Manitsu, the Secretary-general of the Progressives, visited the Premier's official residence, where he made the following statement: "I



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have come today to see President SHIDHARA, but as he is in conference I shall leave without seeing him. Both the Liberals and the Progressives have entrusted their respective Presidents with affairs concerning the present political situation. Judging from the political views of both Presidents, we believe that the financial policy of Finance Minister ISHIBASHI will never undergo a change, and that a cabinet under the leadership of the Social Democrats will also never be realized. We can easily foresee the impossibility of a Social Democratic Cabinet by examining the line-up of the candidates from the Social Democrats for the Cabinet posts. In this sense, we have left everything to the two Presidents. The Social Democrats have decided on; (1). instant general resignation and, (2). the formation of a succeeding cabinet by the three Opposition parties and the Liberal and Progressive Parties, at a meeting of their Central Executive Committee. This being a clear manifestation of will by the Social Democrats toward the present political situation, we shall have to attach some importance to the decisions. I admire the political ability of Premier YOSHIDA, who has carried on so far by calmly observing the situation. The Premier will arrive at a conclusion early next week, and the political situation will assume a definite aspect during that period."

Mr OKUBO, Tomejiro, manager of the Liberals, visited the Premier's official residence on 25 January, and talked with Premier YOSHIDA and Cabinet Chief Secretary HAYASHI, separately, for half an hour. Later, he stated as follows:

" I have just seen the President and informed him of the views expressed at the meeting of managers. Since the Premier is assuming a very cautious attitude in pondering a way out, I can not guess his true intentions. If the Social Democrats agree to our conditions it would be easy to cope with the situation. For the time being, however, the Premier is likely to carry on by a cabinet reorganization. If the Premier means to cope with the situation through a cabinet reorganization, the Liberals want to persuade him to carry out a drastic reorganization. I have come to see the Premier to inform him of this intention of the Liberals. In all events, no movement worthy of attention will be made by the 27th. Not until the close of the gubernatorial conference on the 27th will the political situation enter a new stage in a definite form."



ITEM 6 Yoshida Cabinet May Resign Today - Yomiuri Shimbun - 28 Jan 47. Trans-  
lator: K. Higashikawa.

Summary:

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Premier YOSHIDA held important conversations with KATAYAMA, chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Party at an undisclosed place at 1830 hours on 27 January, concerning conditions for organizing a coalition Cabinet. If an agreement is reached between them during these conversations, the YOSHIDA Cabinet will resign en bloc on 28 January. This will be followed by a meeting of the heads of the three major parties, and negotiations for the proposed coalition Cabinet are expected to make headway, observers said.

Success or Failure of Coalition Hinged  
on Allotment of Ministerial Posts

The Social Democratic Party disclosed its policy for resuming negotiations for a coalition Cabinet, which calls for a resignation en masse of the YOSHIDA Cabinet, a complete change in the ISHIBASHI financial policy, and a five-party discussion to include the Co-operative Democratic Party and the People's Party. Premier YOSHIDA and State Minister SHIDEHARA are believed to have exchanged views on the following three controversial points: (1) The ministerial posts to be allotted to the Social Democratic Party and their number; (2) The possibility and propriety of leftists within the Social Democrats joining the projected coalition Cabinet; and (3) The question of tenure of office by State Ministers affiliated with the Liberals and Progressives, and the question of replacing all present State Ministers. According to leaders of the Progressive Party, Premier YOSHIDA at this interview expressed his desire to effect a Cabinet reshuffle to meet the wishes of the Social Democratic Party rather than to effect a resignation en masse, while State Minister SHIDEHARA favored the idea of having State Ministers affiliated with the pro-Government parties remain in their present posts, and the two could not come to a definite conclusion on these controversial points at the said interview, the same source said. The failure of the first negotiation for a coalition Cabinet was due to the fact that the Social Democratic Party had demanded a change in the ISHIBASHI financial policy, the allotment of the posts of Finance Minister, Agriculture and Forestry Minister, Commerce and Industry Minister, Labor Minister and a Minister-without-Portfolio to the Social Democratic Party, and participation of one each of the members of the Co-operative Democratic Party and the People's Party. Although the Government has agreed to resignation en bloc, it claims the posts of the Commerce and Industry Minister, Labor Minister, Reconstruction Minister, and one Minister-without-Portfolio. The success or failure of the coalition negotiations now depends upon the compromise that can be made between the two factions in the allotment of the ministerial posts. The Social Democratic Party steadfastly supports the demand for a change in the ISHIBASHI financial policy in view of the fact that it strongly affects the anti-inflation and labor policies of the Social Democratic Party. However, there is a growing opinion that the Social Democratic Party is willing to yield on this point on the condition that a revision shall be made in other phases of the financial policy, if an immediate change in the ISHIBASHI financial



POLITICAL SERIES: 1545 (Continued)ITEM 6 (Continued)

policy would seriously affect financial circles and if the Liberals and the Progressives insist upon the continuance of the ISHIBASHI financial policy. NISHIO, secretary-general of the Social Democratic Party, recently voiced the opinion that the party must secure the posts of the Agriculture and Forestry Minister, Commerce and Industry Minister and Labor Minister, but as far as the post of the Agriculture and Forestry Minister is concerned, the loss of eligibility of HIRANO under the recent purge order is expected to become a controversial point. Considering the fact that the Social Democratic Party is suffering from a dearth of men of high caliber, it is generally believed that experts, such as TOHATA, may be selected for the post of the Agriculture and Forestry Minister. Professor ARIZAWA is also considered the most likely candidate for the post of the president of the Economic Stabilization Board.

With the coalition Cabinet line-up clear in his mind, Premier YOSHIDA proceeded to the Imperial Palace on 27 January and reported to the Throne on the latest developments in the entangled political situation. Following his visit to the Imperial Palace the Premier had informal negotiations with KATAYAMA. If an agreement was reached between them regarding the allotment of ministerial posts, the present Cabinet would resign en bloc on 28 January following the regular Cabinet session.

A meeting of the "Big Three"

Interviewed by the press at his office at SHIMBASHI on 27 January, KATAYAMA, chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Party predicted that a meeting of the "Big Three" will be held within the next day or two. He said, "Up to the present moment the Government, either officially or unofficially, approached the Social Democratic Party on the present political situation. However, judging from latest movement of the Government, a meeting of the 'Big Three' may be held within the next day or two. There has been no change in the policy of the Social Democratic Party that any negotiation for a coalition Cabinet must be preceded by a resignation en masse of the YOSHIDA Cabinet and that the settlement of the present political unrest shall be discussed jointly by the five parties, to include the Liberals, Progressives, Social Democrats, the Co-operative Democratic Party and the People's Party.

State Minister SAITO and UEHARA conferred with Premier YOSHIDA on 27 January at the latter's official residence for about an hour on the present political situation. Interviewed by the press State Minister, UEHARA and SAITO stated that they sounded the frank views of the Premier on the present political situation as the present political unrest cannot be permitted to continue. They said that the Premier explained in detail the proceedings of the present negotiations with the Social Democratic Party and that the Premier asked them to leave everything in his hands as everything will become clear within the next two or three days.

Premier YOSHIDA conferred with State Minister SHIDEHARA on the present political situation for about thirty minutes on 27 January at the Premier's official residence, prior to the gubernatorial meeting.

The Joint Policy Committee of the Liberals and Progressives, which has been meeting daily since 23 January, met again on 27 January in the Diet building. The discussion was focussed on the question of State control of the three key industries including coal, fertilizer, steel, and iron, and to the question of free sales of rice after full delivery is made. It is believed that the Liberals and the Progressives are withholding the announcement of their joint policy lest the announcement of such a fundamental policy as this become an impediment to the coalition negotiations with the Social Democratic Party.

On 27 January the Progressive Party held a meeting of its parliamentary members and decided to make the following representation to



POLITICAL SERIES: 1545 (Continued)ITEM 6 (Continued)

State Minister SHIDEHARA, president of the party: "Recently we left everything in the hands of our president with regard to the settlement of the present involved political situation. but political unrest still persists. In order to overcome the industrial crisis we attach primary importance to revival of industry and we staunchly oppose a general strike, for it would destroy the national organization and paralyse industry. For this reason we urge the speedy establishment of a regime which will enlist the support of the entire nation."

ITEM 7 Yoshida Cabinet May Resign Today or Tomorrow -- Mainichi Shinbun -- 28 Jan 47. Translator: K. Higashikawa.

## Summary:

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Upon his return to TOKYO from his private residence at OISO on 27 January, Premier YOSHIDA had important talks with State Minister SHIDEHARA at the Premier's official residence on the proceedings of the negotiations with the Social Democratic Party. Representing the State Ministers affiliated with the Liberals and the Progressives, State Minister SAITO and UEHARA had an hour's interview with the Premier on the same day, at which time they made the following representation:

"None of the Cabinet members consider the economic policy of the present Cabinet deadlock and they all feel that the present Cabinet can get along by itself. However, with the political situation as it now stands the Cabinet Ministers feel uncertain, and for this reason we want the Premier to decide speedily whether he wants a coalition or an independent cabinet." In reply, the Premier clarified his policy of settling the present involved political situation by stating that although the first attempt at coalition had failed because of unforeseen obstacles, the Social Democratic Party is now in a position to resume negotiations for coalition. For this reason, the Premier said, he will decide one way or the other in the course of the next few days.

Present indications are that the work of organizing a coalition Cabinet to include the Social Democratic Party, the Liberals and the Progressives, is making rapid progress. On 27 January the Government discussed with the Social Democratic Party the allotment of ministerial posts and sought the understanding of the pro-Government parties. If the negotiations with the Social Democratic Party and the pro-Government parties proceed smoothly and as scheduled, it is believed that a meeting of the "Big Three" to include Premier YOSHIDA, State Minister SHIDEHARA and KATAYAMA, chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Party, will be held on the morning of 28 January. Indications are that following this meeting the Premier will explain the situation fully to his colleagues at the regular Cabinet session to be held in the afternoon, and on that occasion he will receive the resignations of all the State Ministers. It is generally considered that the present Cabinet will resign en bloc irrespective of the strike situation, leaving it for the moment in the hands of the Central Labor Committee, until a national salvation coalition Cabinet is organized.

In the formation of the coalition Cabinet the Government will avoid NISHIO and HIRANO, of the Social Democratic Party, whose eligibility is being questioned, but will invite KATAYAMA, Tetsu, chairman of the Central Executive Committee, MATSUOKA, Komakichi, MIZUTANI, Chozaburo, IERITO, Tatsuo, and YONEKUBO, Mitsusuke, to join the coalition Cabinet, observers believe. Approximately five will be selected from the Liberals and probably an equal number from the Progressives for Cabinet members under the new coalition, and two or three others may be selected from among those who are non-party men. Justice Minister KIMURA, Transportation Minister HIRATSUKA, Agriculture and Forestry Minister WADA, State Minister ZEN and Commerce and Industry Minister HOSHIJIMA, it is believed, will tender their resignations, and for this reason a wide Cabinet shake-



POLITICAL SERIES: 1594 (Continued)

ITEM 13 Cabinet Administrative Officials Decided - Nihon Keizai Shimbun -  
21 Feb 47. Translator: S. Sano.

Full Translation:

On 20 February, the Government, after lengthy negotiations with the leaders of the Liberal and the Progressive Parties, decided upon the nomination of the following cabinet administrative officials:

- 904
1. The Foreign Ministry,  
Parliamentary Vice-minister:  
HONDA, Eisaku;  
Liberal; NAGASAKI Ken.  
Councillor:  
HARA, Kenzaburo;  
Progressive; HYOGO Ken.
  2. The Home Ministry,  
Parliamentary Vice-minister:  
HAYASHI, Ren;  
Progressive; TOKYO.  
Councillor:  
MIZUTA, Mikio;  
Liberal; CHIBA Ken.
  3. The Finance Ministry,  
Parliamentary Vice-minister:  
KITAMURA, Tokutaro;  
Progressive; NAGASAKI Ken.  
Councillor:  
TAKAHASHI, Eikichi;  
Liberal; EHIME Ken.
  4. The Justice Ministry,  
Parliamentary Vice-minister:  
KITAURA, Keitaro;  
Liberal; NARA Ken.  
Councillor:  
YOSHIDA, Yasushi;  
Progressive; KUMAMOTO Ken.
  5. The Education Ministry,  
Parliamentary Vice-minister:  
AOKI, Takayoshi;  
Liberal; AICHI Ken.  
Councillor:  
KAWASAKI, Hideji;  
Progressive; MIE Ken.
  6. The Agriculture-Forestry Ministry,  
Parliamentary Vice-minister:  
MORI, Kotaro;  
Liberal; SHIGA Ken.  
Councillor:  
HONMA, Shunichi;  
Progressive; MIYAGI Ken.
  7. The Commerce-Industry Ministry,  
Parliamentary Vice-minister:  
YASUTOSHI, Shigeru;  
Progressive; SAGA Ken.  
Councillor:  
ETO, Natsuo;  
Liberal; SAGA Ken.
  8. The Communication Ministry,  
Parliamentary Vice-minister:  
HANASHI, Shingoro;  
Liberal; IBARAGI Ken.  
Councillor:  
TSUBOKAWA, Shinzo;  
Progressive; FUKUI Ken.



POLITICAL SERIES: 1594 (Continued)ITEM 13 (Continued)

9. The Transportation Ministry,  
Parliamentary Vice-minister:  
AIZAWA, Hiroshi;  
Progressive; OKAYAMA Ken.  
Councillor:  
SUZUKI, Senhachi;  
Liberal; TOKYO.
10. The Welfare Ministry,  
Parliamentary Vice-minister:  
OGASAWARA, Yasomi;  
Liberal; AOMORI Ken.  
Councillor:  
TERAJIMA, Ryutaro;  
Progressive; CHIBA Ken.
11. The Board of Rehabilitation  
(non-official staff):  
TONODA, Koji;  
Liberal; ISHIKAWA Ken.  
NAKAGAWA, Fusajiro;  
Progressive; NARA Ken.
12. The Board of Economic Stabilization (councillors):  
MARUYA, Mitsue;  
Liberal; FUKUSHIMA Ken.  
TACHIBANA, Naoji;  
Progressive; TOYAMA Ken.

The reasons why the above-cited Diet members were selected are as follows:

## 1. The Liberal Party:

KITAURA, HONDA, OGASAWARA, HANASHI and MORI, Parliamentary Vice-ministers who belong to the former SEIYU clan, have been appointed to the position more than two times. They were nominated with consideration given to the election district in which they will run. AOKI was appointed to the position for the first time. He was the youngest candidate and made a good contrast to veteran OZAKI, the eldest, at the first general election held in 1928. In appreciation of his ability as a vice-chairman of the Political Affairs Investigation Committee, AOKI was nominated to the position.

All the councillors are new figures. TAKAHASHI and MIZUTA, promising members of middle-age, were recommended by the Chief-secretary. ETO, of the ASHIDA clan, became the councillor of the Commerce-Industry Ministry in view of his relation with the Progressive Party, although he was to be assigned to the Foreign Ministry by the earnest desire of the Premier. SUZUKI was recommended by NAKAJIMA and OKUBO. The councillors nominated at present are promising politicians of middle-age who will shoulder the leadership of the party in the future. It can be said that the decision will be proper in view of the election districts throughout the country.

## 2. The Progressive Party:

It is because of his long experiences in election campaigning in the Tokyo Municipal Assembly and in the face of the coming various elections that HAYASHI was nominated to the post of Parliamentary Vice-minister of the Home Ministry. Although the Liberal Party opposed the nomination of KITAMURA, Parliamentary Vice-minister of the Finance Ministry on the ground that he had no past experience in finance policy, the Progressive Party persisted in its opinion to the last.

Agriculture-Forestry Minister KIMURA promised YASUTOSHI, expert of finance of the ASHIDA clan, the post of Parliamentary Vice-minister in the Ministry. However, as the Liberal Party demanded the position, YASUTOSHI was assigned to the Commerce-Industry Ministry.



POLITICAL SERIES: 1594 (Continued)ITEM 13 (Continued)

It is natural that AIZAWA was given the position in view of his long experience as a Diet member. As for the councillors from the party, HONMA of the NARISHIMA clan was recommended by Communications Minister HITOTSUMATSU. YOSHIDA was selected for his wide knowledge on the legislation in the face of the enforcement of the new Constitution. HARA who is familiar with the liaison business was recommended by State Minister SAITO.

KAWASAKI is the representative of the group of the younger Diet members of the party. TERAJIMA of the KAWAI clan was recommended by Welfare Minister KAWAI. TSUBOKAWA of the INUKAI clan is the representative of the Progressive Diet members who joined from the Independents. NAKAGAWA who was assigned to the Board of the Rehabilitation is the representative of the middle-aged party members. TACHIBANA who became the councillor of the Board of the Economic Stabilization is one of the representative of the younger Diet member's group of the party.

ITEM 14 The "Facts" of the Five-Leaders' Discussion; Ishibashi-Morito Verbal Exchange - Shin Hochi - 22 Feb 47. Translator: K. Onishi.

412  
Full Translation:

The interpellation at the plenary session of the Diet on 19 February by Social Democrat SAEKI, Seiki, revealing the contents of the fourth coalition cabinet scheme, caused a hot debate between MORITO, Tatsuo and Finance Minister ISHIBASHI. At the plenary session of 20 February, MORITO explained his personal stand and again incurred the Finance Minister's hot counterattacks. The suspension of interest payment on war bonds and the taxation of the new yen class, which were the main points of their differences, will probably be the election issues in the forthcoming general election for the Social Democrats and the conservative parties. The exchange between MORITO and ISHIBASHI follows:

MORITO: In response to Mr SATAKE's interpellation yesterday, the Finance Minister touched a subject affecting my personal stand. Since I feel that his statement about me was not quite correct and also since his statement will seriously affect my personal position as well as that of the Social Democratic Party, I should like to take this opportunity to reveal the facts and clarify my stand.

As the head of the Political Affairs Investigation Committee of the Social Democratic Party, I participated in the Five-Leaders talk of 24 January. The talk was not stenographed but it was an open conference of the five parties. It was not a secret talk between ISHIBASHI and me. There were present at the meeting delegates from the Co-operative Democrats and the People's Parties, in addition to those of the Liberals and the Progressives. The conscience of those delegates will decide whether or not the Finance Minister's statement on this point was correct.

At the Five-Leaders talk, I expressed my objections to the draft of the convention, because:

First, the purpose in having the Social Democrats participate in the coalition cabinet scheme was really to gain the support of the working class. A coalition cabinet without this popular support would be meaningless even if the Social Democrats might be allotted four or five ministerial posts. The popular opinion supports a change of the ISHIBASHI policy, and his resignation is the prerequisite for that purpose. I have no personal grudge against him, but my insistence was that he should resign in order that the coalition cabinet may prove to be of service to the working class and to the people at large. His resignation is necessary for financial reasons, but it has also come to be a political issue.



POLITICAL SERIES: 1594 (Continued)

ITEM 13 (Continued)

It is natural that AIZAWA was given the position in view of his long experience as a Diet member. As for the councillors from the party, HOMMA of the NARISHIMA clan was recommended by Communications Minister HITOTSUMATSU. YOSHIDA was selected for his wide knowledge on the legislation in the face of the enforcement of the new Constitution. HARA who is familiar with the liaison business was recommended by State Minister SAITO.

KAWASAKI is the representative of the group of the younger Diet members of the party. TERAJIMA of the KAWAI clan was recommended by Welfare Minister KAWAI. TSUBOKAWA of the INUKAI clan is the representative of the Progressive Diet members who joined from the Independents. NAKAGAWA who was assigned to the Board of the Rehabilitation is the representative of the middle-aged party members. TACHIBANA who became the councillor of the Board of the Economic Stabilization is one of the representative of the younger Diet member's group of the party.



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ITEM 6 (Continued)

State Minister SHIDEHARA, president of the party: "Recently we left everything in the hands of our president with regard to the settlement of the present involved political situation, but political unrest still persists. In order to overcome the industrial crisis we attach primary importance to revival of industry and we staunchly oppose a general strike, for it would destroy the national organization and paralyze industry. For this reason we urge the speedy establishment of a regime which will enlist the support of the entire nation."



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ITEM 11 Personal Criticisms of the New Ministers by Sumizaka, Hsin -  
Magazine: Jitsugyo no Nippon (Monthly) - March 47 Issue.  
Translator: K. Sugasawa.

## Full Translation:

900  
It seems a miracle to us that TAKAHASHI, professor of political economics, with no experience in political activities, now occupies the position of Education Minister. We understand from the explanation of some observers that he accepted YOSHIDA's offer under the condition that other professors such as NAKAYAMA, Ichiro and TOHATA, Seiichi would also enter the Cabinet with him. Actually he alone could not refuse the offer.

TAKAHASHI, the new Education Minister was born and raised in YOKOHAMA. After his graduation from Keio University in 1908, he successively filled the positions of assistant professor, professor and Chief of the Political Economic Section in that University. Even since his retirement from actual service in 1945, due to age limit, he has done much for the school as an honorary professor. When KOIZUMI, the President of the university was wounded in an air-raid, TAKAHASHI acted in his place and took command in the task of restoring the university facilities until January, 1947, when professor USHIODA was installed as President. He was also recommended as a member of the Imperial Academy in October, 1946.

TAKAHASHI is one of the leading scholars in political economics in JAPAN. He has long devoted himself to the study of the history of economics. It is said that no scholar has a more through knowledge of the economic classics than he. Moreover, he is also a sociable person with extensive knowledge and sound common sense, especially excelling in conversation. On the other hand, he is well-known as a collector and a good judge of Japanese genre-pictures (UKIYO). These facts show that TAKAHASHI is by no means a simple scholar. It is also a well known fact that he dislikes to wear European clothes. Some critics may doubt his capability as a Minister by reason of the fact that he cannot give play to diplomatic tactics, but we expect much from him because of his free, sincere and tenacious character.

The new Education Minister has to face many difficult tasks such as the improvement of teachers' treatment, the restoration of damaged schools, especially private schools, and we expect that he will exercise some influence upon the economic policies now carried out by the Yoshida Cabinet.

ISHII, Mitsujiro, now the Minister of Commerce and Industry was long known as the managing director and chief of the business section of the Asahi Press. It is certain that the people have been surprised at his recent series of successes. In the last general election, he was elected as Diet representative from FUKUOKA Ken, and was soon after appointed as executive member of the Liberal Party and now occupies the post of Minister.



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ISHII, was born in FUKUOKA Ken 56 years ago. He completed the post-graduate course of the Tokyo Higher Commercial School, (now the Tokyo Industrial School) after graduating from the Kobe Higher Commercial School. When he finished his schooling, he entered the service of the Metropolitan Police, and while holding the post of chief of its Social Order Section, was selected as an official in the Government-general of FORMOSA. When SHIMOMURA, Shiroshi retired from the post of Civil Governor of FORMOSA and joined the Asahi Press, ISHII joined him on the editorial staff on his recommendation. With his fine physical strength and high spirits, he has vigorously rendered so much service to the ASAHI that he may be admitted to be the most meritorious man in advancing the ASAHI to its present position.

Both in appearance and character, ISHII is the very opposite of TAKAHASHI, the new Education Minister. Having something of the boss in him, he earnestly patronizes his juniors. This phase of his character is shown by the fact that he has helped many graduates of the Kobe Higher Commercial School, such as IIJIMA, Hatashi and TOMEDATE, Masao, to enter the ASAHI, thus creating what is known as "the period of graduates from the Kobe Higher Commercial School" in the ASAHI. We may conclude that ISHII is not only a man of action but also has much political ability. This capability as Minister of Commerce and Industry, is a matter for future discussion. However, we will support him if he attempts to carry out some slow but steady policies in his new post before he discusses the problem of which is better for JAPAN, socialism or capitalism.

The most unexpected feature in this reconstruction of the Yoshida Cabinet is that MASUDA Kaneshichi was appointed as Transportation Minister. Because of MASUDA's long career as a Government official Premier YOSHIDA had at first planned to designate him as Home Minister. However a result of the demand by the Liberal Party to install UEHARA in that post and strong opposition to MASUDA expressed by officials concerned, the Premier was forced to place him in this unexpected post. However, even if MASUDA had been appointed as Home Minister as planned, the people would have been greatly astonished because he was unknown to them.

MASUDA, now 50 years old, was born in NAGANO Ken. After graduating from the Kyoto Imperial University in 1922, he successively held various posts such as a clerk in the KANAGAWA prefectural office, an inspector in OSAKA Fu and the chief of the Archives and Documents Section of the Home Ministry. After he was promoted to be chief of the General Affairs Section of the Bureau of MANCHURIA (TAI MAN JIJEIKOKU), he was forced to retire from the actual stage of the official world because of serious illness. Immediately after JAPAN's surrender, he, however, came back as Governor of FUKUSHIMA Ken and was promoted to Governor of HOKKAIDO last April.

We have heard many interesting stories about him. It is said that he positively declined to receive money presented by his friends in token of their sympathy for his illness,



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since he considered his sufferings to be far less than those of the soldiers at the front and those of their families. He also refused an unofficial offer to be vice-Chief of the TOKYO Metropolis. His recent success includes his mediation of the Hokkaido miner's strike last autumn. It is said that, once he decides to carry out a task, he never fails in performing it, and on the other hand, if he believes something to be impossible, he will never undertake it, making clear why it is so, even though it may be contrary to a strict order by his superiors. Because of this phase of his character, which seems to be similar to that of Premier YOSHIDA, MASUDA is said to have gained the seat of Minister. He is also a devoted Christian as YOSHIDA is. Despite the fact that he has no experience in transportation administration, he will successfully perform his duties with the assistance of the new vice-Minister, SATO. The most important task for him is to distinguish what to do from what not to do as Minister.

KIMURA, Kozaemon, the new Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, was born in SHIMANE Ken. After leaving Waseda University without completing the whole course, he entered a political career. His main posts in the past were private secretary to ex-Premier TAKATSUKI and ex-Finance Minister INOUE, and parliamentary Councillor to the former Ministry of Oversea Affairs. This 60 years old leader of the Progressive Party is now the Vice-speaker of the House of Representatives.

TANAKA, Man-itsue, who has been appointed as Minister without portfolio, also left the Waseda University after completing a partial course, and joined the editorial staff of the Hochi press. This veteran politician, now 66 years old, was born in OSAKA Fu and has been a candidate ten times in the elections for members of the House of Representatives. He once occupied the position of parliamentary vice Minister of Communications and is now chief secretary of the Progressive Party. It is said that both KIMURA and TANAKA were assigned to seats in the Cabinet mainly because of their influential position in the party, and KIMURA's capability as the Minister of Agriculture and Forestry is quite an unknown quantity.