

捜索ヲハ拘禁若ハ押收ハ適限ナル司法官權ノ發スル各別ノ令狀ニ依
ル之ヲ行フベキコト

第三十二 公衆目ニ依ル拷問及殘虐ナル刑罰ハ絕對ニ之ヲ禁ズベキコ
ト

第三十三 凡ソ刑罰執行ニ於テハ被告人ハ公平ナル裁判所ノ迅速ナル
公開裁判ヲ受ケルヲ權利ト爲スベキコト

刑罰被告人ハ偵テ、證人ニ對シ訊問ノ行ハルル有ラユル場合ニ與ヘ
ラレ自公費ヲ以テ自己ノ爲ニ證人ヲ或ムルヲ強制的手續ニ付テ、機
利ヲ有スベキコト

被告人ハ如何ナル場合ニ於テモ強奪ナル證人ヲ依賴シ得ベク若シ
自ラ之ヲ依賴スルコト能ハザルトキハ因ニ於テ之ヲ附スルモノトス
ルコト

第三十四 何人ト雖モ自己ニ不利ナル證言ヲ強要セラレザルコト
強制的拷問若ハ急迫ノ下ニ又ハ長期ノ逮捕若ハ拘禁ノ終ニ爲ルタル

自白ハ之ヲ證據ト爲スヲ想ザルコト
 何人ト雖モ自己ニ不利ナル唯一ノ證據ガ本人ノ自白ナル場合ニ於
 テハ右圖トセラレバハ虚圖セラレベキコトトナルベキコト
 三十五 何人ト雖モ實行ノ時ニ於テ證據トシルノ行為又ハ既ニ罪ト
 セラレタル行為ニ因リ罪上ノ責任ヲ問ハルコトトナルベキモノ
 トスルコト

第四 國體

第三十六 國會ハ兩院ノ最高機關ニシテ國ノ唯一ノ立法機關トスルコト

第三十七 國會ハ衆議院及參議院ノ兩院ニシテ構成スルコト

第三十八 兩議院ハ國民ニ依リ選舉セラル全國民ニ代表スル議員ニシテ

之ヲ組織スルコト

兩議院ノ議員ノ職務ハ法律ニ以テ之ヲ定ムルモノトスルコト

第三十九 兩議院ノ議員及其ノ選舉人タルノ資格ハ法律ニ以テ之ヲ定

ムルコト但シ性別、人種、信條ヲハ社會的地位ニ依リテ差別ニ附ス

ルコトニ限ルコト

第四十 衆議院議員ノ任期ハ四年トスルコト但シ衆議院解散ノ場合ニ

於テハ其ノ期間滿了前ニ終了スルコト

第四十一 兩議院ノ議員ノ選舉、選舉區及投票ノ方法ニ關スル事項ハ

法律ニ以テ之ヲ定ムルコト

四十二 議院議員ノ任期ハ第一類ノ議員ノ任期ニ當ル者ノ任期
 除ク、从六年トシ三年毎ニ議員ノ半数ヲ改選スルコト
 四十三 何人トモ同族ニ兩院ノ議員タルコトヲ得ザルコト
 四十四 兩院ノ議員ハ法律ノ制定ル所ニ依リ調度日相受給ノ歳
 費ヲ受ケルコト
 四十五 兩院ノ議員ハ法律ノ制定ル場合ニ除ク、外國會ノ會期由
 於テセラルルコトトシテ會期由ニ差支セラレタル議員ハ其ノ際ノ選
 出トシハ會期由之ニ差支スベキコト
 四十六 兩院ノ議員ハ議院ニ於テ各々タル演説、討論又ハ議決ニ
 付テ於テ各々至ラコトトスルコト
 四十七 國會ハ少クトモ毎年一回之ニ召集スルコト
 四十八 國會ハ國會ノ臨時會ノ召集ニ決定スルコトヲ得ルモ、トシ
 何レカノ原因ノ故ニ臨時會四分、一以上ニ當ル者ノ請求ヨリタルトシ
 其ノ召集ニ決定スルコトヲ得スルコト

第二十九 衆議院庶務・令ゼラレタルトキハ庶務、日三〇四七日以内
 二衆議院議員、須知與々行ヒ其ノ選舉、日三〇三十日以内ニ國會
 召集スベキコト

衆議院庶務・令ゼラレタルトキハ衆議院ハ同職ニ開會セラルベキ
 トスルコト

第三十 衆議院ハ冬ニ其ノ議員・選舉カハ幸終ニ開スル會款ニ開列ス
 ルコト

會期シタルコトニ對シテ其ノ議員、議席ニ失ハルルニハ出席議員
 三分ノ二以上ノ多數ニ依ル議決ニ依スルコトトスルコト

第三十一 衆議院ハ冬ニ其ノ議員三分ノ一以上出席スルニ非ザレバ議
 決ニ開キ議決スベキコトトスルコト

衆議院ノ議決ハ此ノ議決ニ依リテ守リタル場合ニ除ク、其出席議員
 過半数ニ依リテ決スル所ニ依ル
 コト

第五十二 兩院、議決ハ公明ニ秘密ニ行ハルコトヲ期スルコト

兩院ハ其ノ議決ノ要領ヲ但存シ、日之ニ公刊ルヲ一禁ニ命ズルコト

キコト

出席議員ノ五分、一以上ノ出席ナルトハ各議員ノ同意ハ之ニ據リ

第二節 職權スルコト

第五十三 兩院ハ各々、議員其ノ所、選舉ニ任ズルコト

兩院ハ各々、其ノ議決ノ要領ニ據リ、定メ、議員ニシテ組織ス

ルコト、ナルトキハ之ニ準ジテ選出スルコトトシ、但シ、議員ニ除名ス

ルニハ出席議員三分、二以上ノ多数ヲ以テ議決スルコトトスル

コト

第五十四 法律案ハ此ノ法律ニ關シ、定メ、審判タル場合ニ除ク、外兩

院ニ於テ可決タル時、法律トシテ成立スルコト

衆議院ニ於テ可決シ、參議院ニ於テ否決タル法律案ハ衆議院ニ於テ

出席議員三分、二以上ノ多数ヲ以テ再議可決スルトハ法律トシテ

成立スルモノトスルコト
 議院ハ衆議院ノ可決シタル法律ニ受命シタル終議會休會中ノ期
 間ニ於テ六十日以内ニ議決スルニ至ラザルトハ衆議院ハ衆議院
 ガ法律ニ否決シタルモノト看做スコトヲ得ルコト
 第五十五 議院ハ前ニ衆議院ニ提出スベキコト
 議院ニ關シ衆議院ニ於テ衆議院ト異ナル議決ヲ受メタル場合ニ於
 テ、法律ノ定ムル所ニ依リ而議院ノ議決ヲ變テモ仍舊見一致セザ
 ルトハハ衆議院ノ議決ヲ以テ國會ノ議決トスルコト
 第五十六 條約、國際協定及協定ノ締結ニ關スル國會ノ協定ニ付テモ
 亦前記第五十五條第二項ニ準ズルコト
 第五十七 兩議院ハ各々國務ニ關スル調査ヲ爲シ之ニ關スル證人ノ出
 席、發言、供述及記録ノ提出ヲ要求スルコトヲ得ルモノトシ此ノ場
 合ニ於テハ法律ノ定ムル所ニ依リ其ノ要求ニ應ゼザル者ハ處罰スル
 コトヲ得ルモノトスルコト

第五十八 内閣總理大臣及國務卿大臣ハ兩議院ノ一二議席ヲ有スルト
 否トハ問ハズ何時ニテモ法律案ニ付討論ヲ爲ス爲出席スルコトヲ得
 ルモ、トシ答辯ヲハ説明、爲出席ヲ得ラレタルトキハ出席スルコ
 トヲ要スルコト
 第五十九 國會ハ議員ノ委託ヲ受ケタル裁判官ヲ裁判スル爲兩議院ノ
 議員ヲ以テ組織スル裁判所ヲ設ケベキモノトシ、其裁判ニ關スル事
 實ハ法律ヲ以テ之ヲ定ムルコト
 第六十 衆議院ハ此ノ法律ノ實施ノ日ヨリ衆議院ノ正式ニ成立スル迄
 ノ間國會トシテ、其職權ヲ行フモノトスルコト

第六十六 内閣總理大臣缺タルニ至リタルトキ又ハ衆議院議員總選舉ノ期ニ於テ初テ國會ノ召集アリタルトキハ内閣ハ總辭職ヲ爲スコトヲ要スルコト

第六十七 前記第六十五及第六十六ノ場合ニ於テハ内閣ハ新ニ内閣總理大臣ノ任命セラルル迄ノ間仍其ノ職務ヲ行フコト

第六十八 内閣總理大臣ハ内閣ヲ代表シテ法律案ヲ提出シ、一般國務及外交關係ノ狀況ヲ國會ニ報告シ或ニ行政各部ヲ監督スルコト

第六十九 内閣ハ他ノ一般政務ノ外左ノ事務ヲ行フコト

- 一 法律ヲ制定シ執行シ國務ヲ掌理スルコト
- 二 外交關係ヲ處理スルコト
- 三 條約。國際約定ヲ締結スルコト但シ時宜ニ依リ事前又ハ事後ニ於テ國會ノ同意ヲ得ルコトヲ要スルコト
- 四 國會ノ定ムル法律ニ従ヒ官吏ニ命ズル事務ヲ掌理スルコト

第五 内閣

第六十一 行政權ハ内閣之ヲ行フコト

第六十二 内閣ハ其ノ首長タル内閣總理大臣及法律ヲ以テ定ムル其ノ

他ノ國務大臣ヲ以テ組織スルコト

内閣ハ行政權ノ行使ニ付國會ニ對シ連帶シテ其ノ責ニ任ズルコト

第六十三 内閣總理大臣ハ國會ノ決議ヲ以テ選定スルコト此ノ選定ハ

内閣ノ責任ヲ負ヒ先テ之ヲ行フベキコト

衆議院ト參議院トガ各リタル議定ヲ爲シタル場合ニ於テ法律ノ定ム

ル所ニ依リ兩議院ノ協議會ヲ開クモ仍舊見一致セザルトキハ衆議院

ノ決議ヲ以テ國會ノ決議トスルコト

第六十四 内閣總理大臣ハ國會ノ協贊ヲ以テ國務大臣ヲ選定スルコト

此ノ協贊ニ付テハ前記第六十三條ニ準ズルコト

内閣總理大臣ハ任命ニ國務大臣ノ職務ヲ決定スルコトヲ得ルコト

第六十五 内閣ハ衆議院ニ於テ不信任ノ決議案ヲ可決シ又ハ信任ノ決

議案ヲ可決セザルトキハ十日以内ニ衆議院ノ解散ヲキ限リ總辭職ヲ

爲スコトヲ要スルコト

- 五 豫算ヲ作成シテ國會ニ提出スルコト
- 六 此ノ憲法及法律ノ規定ヲ實施スル爲命令及規則ヲ制定公布スルコト、但シ其ノ命令及規則ニハ特ニ當該法律ノ委任アル場合ヲ除クノ外刑罰規定ヲ設クルコトヲ待ザルコト
- 七 大赦、特赦、減刑、刑ノ執行停止及復權ヲ決定スルコト
- 第七十 法律及命令ハ凡テ王務大臣署名シ内閣總理大臣之ニ副署スルコトヲ安スルコト
- 第七十一 國務各大臣ハ其ノ在任中ハ内閣總理大臣ノ許諾ナクシテ訴追セラルルコトナキコト但シ之ニ因リテ訴追ノ權利ヲ害スルコトヲ得ザルコト

第六 司法

第七十二 司法權ハルテ最高裁判所及法律ヲ以テ定ムル下級裁判所之ヲ行フコト

特別裁判所ハ之ヲ設置スルコトヲ待ズ行政機關ハ終審トシテ裁判ヲ行フコトヲ待ザルコト

裁判官ハルテ其ノ良心ニ從ヒ獨立シテ其ノ職權ヲ行ヒ此ノ憲法及法律ニ依ルノ外其ノ職務ノ執行ニ付他ノ干渉ヲ受クルコトナキコト

第七十三 最高裁判所ハ訴訟手續、辯護士ニ關スル事項、裁判所ノ内部規律、司法事務處理及司法權ノ自由ナル行使ニ關スル事項ニ付規則ヲ定ムルノ權限ヲ有スルコト

檢察官ハ最高裁判所ノ定ムル規則ニ從フコトヲ要シ最高裁判所ハ下級裁判所ニ關スル規則ヲ定ムルノ權限ヲ之ニ委任スルコトヲ得ルコト

第七十四 裁判官ハ裁判ニ依リ心神ノ耗弱又ハ身體ノ故障ノ爲職務ヲ執行コト能ハズト決定セラレタル場合ヲ除クノ外公開ノ彈劾ニ

依ルニ非ザレバ罷免スルコトヲ得ズ裁判官ハ行政官廳ノ懲戒處分ヲ受クルコトナキコト

第七十五 最高裁判所ハ法律ノ定ムル員數ノ裁判官ヲ以テ之ヲ構成シ此等ノ裁判官ハ凡テ内閣ニ於テ之ヲ任命シ滿七十歳ニ達シタル時退官スルモノトスルコト

最高裁判所ノ裁判官ノ任命ハ其ノ任命後最初ニ行ハルル衆議院議員總選舉ノ際國民ノ審査ニ付シ爾後十年ヲ經過シタル後最初ニ行ハルル衆議院議員總選舉ノ際更ニ審査ニ付シ其ノ後ニ於テ亦同ジキコト前項ノ場合ニ於テ投票者ノ多數ガ裁判官ノ罷免ヲ可トスルトキハ當該裁判官ハ罷免セラレベキモノトスルコト

審査ニ關スル事項ハ法律ヲ以テ之ヲ定ムルコト
此等ノ裁判官ハ凡テ定期ニ過當ノ報償ヲ受クルモノトス此ノ報償ハ在任中ノ之ヲ減額スルコトヲ得サルコト

第七十六 下級裁判所ノ裁判官ハ最高裁判所ノ指名シタル者ノ名簿ニ

ニ就キ内閣ニ於テ之ヲ任命シ此等ノ裁判官ハ十年ヲ以テ任期トシ再任ヲ妨ゲザルコト裁判官ハ凡テ定期ニ適當ノ報償ヲ受クルモノトスルコト此ノ報償ハ在任中之ヲ減額スルコトヲ得ザルコト裁判官ハ滿七十歳ニ達シタル後ハ在任スルコトヲ得ザルコト

第七十七 最高裁判所ハ最終裁判所トシ一切ノ法律、命令、規則又ハ處分ノ憲法ニ適合スルヤ否ヲ決定スルノ權限ヲ有スルコト

第七十八 裁判ノ對審及判決ハ公開法廷ニ於テ之ヲ行フベキコト但シ裁判所ガ全員一致ヲ以テ公ノ秩序又ハ善良ノ風俗ヲ害スルノ虞アリト決シタル場合ニ於テハ對審ハ公開セスシテ之ヲ行フコトヲ得ルコト政治ニ關スル犯罪出版物ニ關スル犯罪及此ノ憲法第三ノ保障スル國民ノ權利ニ係ル事件ノ對審ハ常ニ之ヲ公開スルコトヲ要スルコト

第七 會計

第七十九 國ノ財政ヲ處理スルノ權限ノ行使ハ國會ノ議決ニ基クコトヲ要スルコト

第八十 新ニ租稅ヲ課シ又ハ現行ノ租稅ヲ變更スルハ國會ノ協贊又ハ國會ノ定ムル條件ニ依ルニ非ザレバ之ヲ爲スコトヲ得ザルコト

此ノ憲法施行ノ際現ニ行ハルル租稅ハ國會ガ之ヲ變更スルニ至ル迄ハ現行ノ法令ニ從ヒ之ヲ徵收スルコト

第八十一 國費ヲ支出シ又ハ國ニ於テ債務ヲ負擔スルハ國會ノ議決ニ基クニ非ザレバ之ヲ爲スコトヲ得ザルコト

第八十二 內閣ハ每會計年度ノ豫算ヲ調製シ國會ニ提出シテ其ノ審議及協贊ヲ受クベキコト

第八十三 豫見シ難キ豫算ノ不足ニ充ツル爲國會ノ協贊ヲ經テ豫備費ヲ設ケ內閣ノ責任ヲ以テ之ヲ支出スルコトヲ得ルコト

豫備費ノ支出ニ付テハ凡テ內閣ニ於テ國會ノ承諾ヲ受クルコトヲ要

スルコト

第八十四 世襲財産ヲ除クノ外皇室ノ財産ハ凡テ國ニ屬ス皇室財産ヨリ生ズル收益ハ凡テ國庫ノ收入トシ法律ノ定ムル皇室經費ノ支出ハ豫算ニ由リ國會ノ協賛ヲ經ベキコト

第八十五 公金其ノ他ノ公ノ財産ハ宗教制度若ハ宗教團體ノ使用、便益若ハ維持ノ爲メハ國ノ管理ニ屬セザル慈善、教育若ハ博愛ノ事業ニ對シ之ヲ出捐スルコトヲ待サルコト

第八十六 國ノ收入支出ノ決算ハ凡テ毎年會計、検査院之ヲ検査シ内閣ハ次年度ニ於テ其ノ検査報告ト共ニ之ヲ國會ニ提出スベキコト

會計検査院ノ組織及權限ハ法律ヲ以テ之ヲ定ムベキコト
第八十七 内閣ハ國會及國民ニ對シ定期ニ且少クトモ毎年一回國ノ財政狀況ニ付報告ヲ爲スベキコト

第八 地方自治

第八十八 地方公共團體ノ組織及運営ニ關スル事項ハ地方自治ノ本旨ニ基キ法律ヲ以テ之ヲ定ムベキコト

第八十九 地方公共團體ニハ法律ノ定ムル所ニ依リ其ノ事務機勢トシテ設置ラ設クベキコト

地方公共團體ノ長、其ノ議會ノ議員及法律ノ定ムル其ノ他ノ吏員ハ當該地方公共團體ノ住民ニ於テ直接之ヲ選舉スベキコト

第九十 地方公共團體ハ其ノ所屬ヲ管理シ、行政ヲ執行シ及事務ヲ處理スルノ機能ヲ有シ、且法律ノ範圍内ニ於テ條例ヲ制定スルコトヲ待ベキコト

第九十一 一ノ公共團體ニミ適用アル特別法ハ法律ノ定ムル所ニ依リ當該地方公共團體ノ住民多數ノ承認ヲ得ルニ非ザレバ國會之ヲ制定スルコトヲ得サルコト

定スルコトヲ得サルコト

第九 改正

第九十二 此ノ憲法ノ改正ハ各議院ノ議員三分ノ二以上ノ贊成ヲ以テ國會之ヲ發議シ國民ニ提案シテ其ノ承認ヲ經ベキコトトシ國民ノ承認ハ國會ノ定ムル所ニ依リ行ハルル夜崇ニ於テ其ノ多數ノ贊成アルコトヲ安スルコト

憲法改正ニ付前項ノ承認ヲ經タルトキハ天皇ハ國民ノ名ニ於テ憲法ノ一部ヲ成スモノトシテ直ニ之ヲ公布スベキコト

第十 最高法規

第九十三 此ノ憲法或ニ之ニ基キテ制定セラレタル法律及條約ハ國ノ最高法規トシ、其ノ條規ニ矛盾スル法律。命令。詔勅及其ノ他ノ政府ノ行爲ノ全部又ハ一部ハ其ノ效力ヲ失フコト

第九十四 此ノ憲法ノ日本國民ニ保障スル基本的人權ハ人類ノ多年ニ亘ル自由獲得ノ努力ノ成果ニシテ、此等ノ權利ハ過去幾多ノ試練ニ堪ヘ現在及將來ノ國民ニ對シ永劫不磨ノモノトシテ賦與セラレタルモノトスルコト

天皇又ハ攝政及國務大臣、兩議院ノ議員、裁判官其ノ他ノ公務員ハ此ノ憲法ヲ尊重擁護スルノ義務ヲ負フコト

第十一 補則

第九十五 此ノ憲法實施ノ際現ニ存スル場務大臣、兩議院ノ議長、裁
 判官其ノ他ノ公務員ハ此ノ憲法ノ條規ニ拘ラズ後任者ノ調任文ハ任
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OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISER

Tokyo, Japan, March 26, 1946

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No. 326

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

1946 APR 2 4 36

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RECORDS BRANCH

SUBJECT: SCAP "Daily Gazette"

APR 4 - 1946
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

The Officer in Charge has the honor to transmit, under separate cover, single copies of the "Daily Gazette" issued by the Statistical and Reports Section, General Headquarters, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, for the period January 1 to March 15, 1946.

This publication lists: important notices and announcements; directives issued by the SCAP to the Japanese Government; reports prepared by the Staff Sections of which distribution is permitted; reports received by SCAP from the Japanese Government; and other material received in the Statistical and Reports Section. It furnishes, therefore, a rough cross-section of the activity of the General Headquarters.

This Office will welcome indication whether the Department is receiving copies of the Gazette from the War Department, which is supplied with copies by SCAP, or whether the Department desires to have them forwarded regularly by this Office.

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Accompaniment: *not represented*
SCAP "Daily Gazette",
January 1 to March 15, 1946.

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OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISER

Tokyo, Japan, March 26, 1946

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SCAP "Daily Gazette",
January 1 to March 15, 1946.

Original and valid to Department

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DIVISION OF
CENTRAL SERVICES
TELEGRAPH SECTION

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
INCOMING TELEGRAM

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Tokyo via War

Dated March 26, 1946

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DIVISION OF JAPANESE AFFAIRS
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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156, March 26

Our number 110 of 20 February was our last press summary telegram and 21 February was our last political summary. Reference Department's 215 of 22 March.

Because of insufficient staff these telegrams were not continued and we felt that to a certain extent these summaries were duplicating the reports which are sent to the War Department by SCAP regularly.

The radio report sent each day to the War Department by SCAP carries a summary of all events of political importance, and a press summary is sent in about once a week, or more often, when important events merit the inclusion of the vernacular reaction of the press. Information has been given us that each day officers of IIS mail to the Department's OIC ten copies of all analyses of the press which the Civil Information and Education Section prepares. All analyses of the Jap press and translations are also mailed each day to the War Department by SCAP. All this material should be in Washington from seven to eight days after it is mailed. Twice each week we are also mailing similar material in our pouch direct to the Department.

We anticipate that we can resume the regular transmission of these summary telegrams as soon as the personnel who are now on the way, especially clerical, arrive. We will make every effort, in the meantime, to resume the sending of these telegrams as regularly as we can.

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OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISER

Tokyo, Japan, March 26, 1946

No. 331

AUG 20 1946

SUBJECT: Proposal to Create a Chair in Christianity at Tokyo Imperial University

RECORDS OF JAPANESE AFFAIRS
APR 10 1946
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

I have the honor to refer to this Office's despatch No. 272, February 25, 1946, concerning the "Empire Day" Address of the president of Tokyo Imperial University, and to forward in continuation thereof a single copy of the full English translation of that address.

Dr. NAMBARA Shigeru, speaking before the student body of the University on February 11, 1946, in effect made a plea for the Japanese to discard their now thoroughly discredited national theology for "a subjective spiritual revolution, intellectual and religious in nature". He suggests inferentially that Christianity may well provide a motive force in this revolution. Dr. NAMBARA's address has been praised privately by leaders of the American Education Mission now in Japan as a courageous, enlightened and forward-looking statement.

In this general connection, it is of interest that Dr. NAMBARA has recently proposed the establishment at Tokyo Imperial University of a Chair in Christianity. There is enclosed a report on this subject, prepared from information collected by the General Headquarters, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers. In this report, it is pointed out that establishment of such a Chair, the first of its kind in a Japanese Government university (where Chairs of Shintoism and Buddhism have already existed), will be important in establishing freedom of religion in Japanese public institutions.

Dr. NAMBARA in conversations with members of the staff of this Office has stated that the projected Chair is not intended to replace a former one in Shintoism, which has

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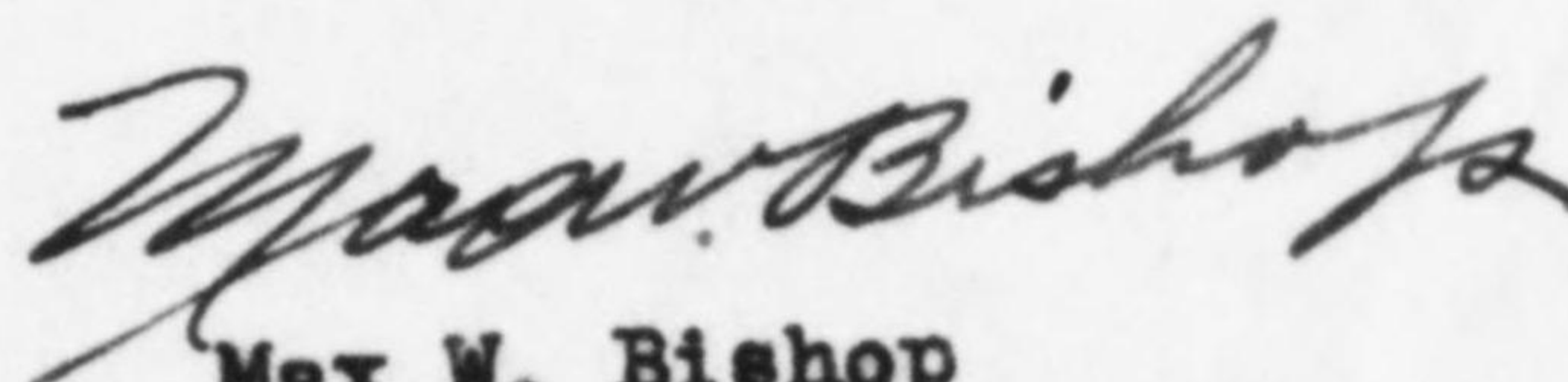
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recently been discontinued following the abolition of State Shinto, but that the proposal was made quite independently. As it has received the approval of University authorities and faculty, Dr. NAMBARA believes there to be no doubt that the Chair will be established.

An immediate problem appears to be the practical one of whether the Chair should be financed with Government funds or by private endowment. Dr. NAMBARA feels that Government financing, while probably obtainable, would require considerable time, but that private funds could be obtained relatively quickly. He personally favors private endowment, not only because of the favorable time element, but also because the Chair would thereby be free from Governmental entanglements.

Dr. NAMBARA's address and the proposal to establish a Chair in Christianity are manifestations, not unimportant, of constructive thinking in Japanese intellectual circles. In this connection there has been observed a serious and growing effort among educated Japanese to search out the errors and deficiencies of Japan's intellectual and spiritual life. These are hopeful beginnings and their development is to be encouraged. It should be borne in mind, however, that Japan is predominantly a country of Shintoism and Buddhism, that intellectuals are only approaching the difficult task of creating a sound philosophic basis for a new life, and that while the Japanese are earnestly and sincerely groping, progress will require time.

Respectfully yours,



Max W. Bishop
Foreign Service Officer

Enclosures: *attch*

1. Address of NAMBARA Shigeru on February 11, 1946 (in single copy only).
2. Report: Intellectual and Spiritual Reform of Japan: A Chair in Christianity for Tokyo Imperial University.

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Enclosure No. 2 to despatch No. 331 dated March 26, 1946; from the Office of the United States Political Adviser, Tokyo, Japan, on the subject "Proposal to Create a Chair in Christianity at Tokyo Imperial University".

COPY

Intellectual and Spiritual Reform of Japan:
A Chair in Christianity for Tokyo Imperial University

The attention and interest of Japanese leaders in religion and education was stimulated by Dr. Shigeru NAMBARA, President of Tokyo Imperial University, in his Kigensetsu (Empire Day, 11 Feb 46) address to the student body of the university. Besides stating that Japan's destiny lies in student hands, Dr. NAMBARA called for an intellectual and spiritual reformation which "is more vital than a reformation of the political and social structures".... "Only when the Japanese people are rejuvenated spiritually, will the eternal and imperishable quality of the people contribute to the world's civilization." ... "the improvement of the Japanese race is possible. Through assimilation of foreign civilization, Japan has created a new civilization of its own. The Japanese have accepted Confucianism and Buddhism and adjusted foreign religion to suit their own peculiarities. However, it took 1000 years before confucianism and Buddhism were completely adopted in Japan." "The Japanese people came in touch with western civilization only some 100 years ago. It has just begun to infiltrate into the people's life, but as compared with Confucianism and Buddhism, western civilization has not been widely assimilated. The religious reformation, therefore, seems to be a most difficult task, but it may not be so difficult as it looks because the young people of Japan, including students, are now free to do whatever they want."

Dr. NAMBARA's speech seems to be tied in with a discussion now going on within the University Council regarding the elimination of the Chair of Shintoism and the possible substitution of a Chair of Christianity. The opinions of various leading educators have been given in support of the plan for the establishment of a chair on Christianity. He stated that it was unreasonable not to have a professorship of Christianity when provision was made for professorships in Buddhism and Shintoism.

Enkichi Kan's article in Shukyo Koron (Review of Religion) for January 1946 states: "The fact that no chair for Christianity has ever been created in Japan's foremost university is said to have been the result of pressure from Buddhism and Shintoism."

Qualified informants state that since the termination of the war, the establishment of a new chair in Christianity in the University has gained the support of a body of professors in the Department of Literature and its early realization is earnestly hoped for by them.

At the present time there are six Chairs relating to religions in the Literature Department of Tokyo Imperial University:

1. Professorship of Science of Religion
(comparative religion)
2. Professorship of Shintoism
3. Four

-2-

3. Four professorships of Buddhism in the course of Hindu philosophy and Sanscrit.

It is also reported that another professorship will be added to this group at the beginning of the new school year, April 1946, because of an endowment given recently.

The establishment of a professorship in Christianity in the Tokyo Imperial University has been the earnest prayer and hope of all Japanese Christians. It is needless to say that the creation of a chair of Christian religion in the University will play a large part in awakening the people to take interest in Christianity. Many fine Christian students will be educated in the school and will contribute much to the promotion of international peace. The plan would also conform to the spirit of the Potsdam Declaration.

"As for a fund to finance the new chair, a committee for revising the professorships in the Department of Literature planned to make use of the fund vacated by the early abolishment of the professorship of Shintoism", informants stated. Professor IMAI, chairman of the revision committee; Dr. UCHIDA, former president of Tokyo Imperial University; Dr. NAMBARA, current president; and "the authorities of the Department of Education" also approved this plan.

The proposal to substitute a chair of Christianity for the chair of Shintoism and to use the funds of the latter for the new chair has met with the opposition of the authorities of the Finance Ministry and has never been carried out. Informants state that according to the Finance Ministry, the professorship of Shintoism was created by the support of right wing influence; therefore, it should be abolished and the fund should be returned to the Government. They further claim it should not be used for any other purpose by Tokyo Imperial University. Thus they (the Finance Ministry) are firmly against the use of this fund for a new chair or professorship in Christianity.

"The professors of the Department of Literature of the university, the president of the same institution, and the authorities of the Ministry of Education, agree that the chair or professorship of Shintoism should be abolished, but they insist that its fund should be given to university. The officialism of the authorities of the Finance Ministry has destroyed the project," informants state.

It is regrettable that the opportunity for creating a chair in Christian religion is going to be destroyed due to a lack of understanding and formalism on the part of the authorities of the Finance Ministry.

Informants state that a further report of their attitude toward the elimination of the chair in Shintoism can be secured by direct contact with Dr. NAMBARA, Professor IMAI, and Professor TODA, the head of the Department of Literature. The detailed minutes of the conferences of the professors of the Department of Literature of the university, which were held during January 1946, regarding the management of the chair of Shintoism, will

prove

-3-

prove the truth of the above statements, according to the informants.

It is believed that the Finance Ministry is doing an indirect piece of sabotaging of the 4 Oct 45 SCAP directive in going out of its way to prevent Japanese educators from carrying out their prerogatives of establishing "freedom of religion" in the key university of Japan.

"The establishment of a chair in Christianity in Tokyo Imperial University, where for many years a chance for creating such a chair has been denied, and the establishment of a chair in Christianity which will have the same status with the chair in Buddhism, means the first official recognition of the freedom of religion in the Japanese public institution, and it proves the fact that the true freedom of religion is firmly established in Japan."

**Creation of New Japanese
Civilization**

**An Address Delivered on the Kigensetsu
(Anniversary of the Founding of Japan)**

by

SHIGERU NAMBARA

President

Tokyo Imperial University

February 11, 1946

Creation of New Japanese Civilization

I

Many memorable ceremonies have been held in this auditorium, but never was any so full of deep emotions and reflections as the one of to-day. That is because we are met here to-day for the first time, since the defeat and collapse of Japan, to celebrate this anniversary day of the foundation of our nation. Therefore, it may not be out of place if on this occasion I should make some remarks on the nature of the Japanese nation since its very inception, on the essential characteristics of the Japanese as a nation, and on the future course of their development—a nation whose fate it is now to live in misery and suffering.

Until quite recently we have held to the beliefs of our forefathers that the Japanese people had lived, from time immemorial, with immutable

reverence toward the Imperial House as the founders of our nation, their unbroken life with an everlasting destiny. To-day, however, may not be the year of twenty-six hundred and something as has been believed. How much of this is real historical fact? How much is myth and legend? Such questions must be solved by positive and comparative historical study. A thoroughgoing investigation must be carried out in the field of Japanese history in a truly critical and objective manner.

But whatever be the results of such studies, our problem will not be solved by a mere consideration of the historical facts. Our problem involves rather an understanding of the meaning and spirit latent in such myths and legends. What significance in the sense of Weltanschauung is interwoven within them? In other words, the question concerns the ideal of our forefathers. That the then culturally awakened class believed in the eternal continuity of their people, and that they were conscious of their heavenly mission is the important fact. Take any people serious enough to aspire to development as a nation and to desire to contribute to the world, would they not cherish an ideal based on a divine mission and eternal life? Would they not strive to realize it?

Now, turn your eyes to the present conditions of our country. Facing the realities of complete and unprecedented defeat and surrender, have the people not entirely lost their self-respect and self-esteem? Are they not inclined to think that they always were the kind of people they now find themselves to be, that they therefore deserve to be like this at present, and that they will not be any better than this in the future? Are they not falling into the depths of despair by denying the merits they have and by despising themselves?

It was after the outbreak of the Manchurian incident and the rise of political control by high-handed militarists and ultra-nationalists, that the myths and legends began to be abused and perverted and Japanese racial superiority claimed. They vaingloriously declared that Japan was destined to rule East Asia or even the whole world. If they were not cheating the people within, or trying to intimidate the people of the world outside, such a thought is nothing more than the dogmatic idea of a chosen people and nothing less than sheer megalomania. Thus the Chinese affair broke out and the Pacific War started. Gradually and irretrievably we were led into the present collapse and disintegration. However, we must be well acquainted with the fact that the

ignorance and ambition of the militarists, some officials, and politicians were not the sole causes of the present calamity. The real cause was a defect to be found deep-rooted within the minds of the people themselves.

II

What is that defect? Though our people had a strong national consciousness, there was something lacking on the human side. There was little evidence of any awakening of the individual human consciousness as an independent personality or development of the capacities of human nature among the people. That was the defect. From such human consciousness of the individual are the freedom of thought and the freedom of political and social activities to be brought forth. In Japan, however, the individual was choking within the pale of nationally limited universality and of indigenous *esprit de corps*. The rights based upon the personal conscience and the freedom of individual judgment were under severe constraint. There was no lively development of human nature. It was not without reason that the people were deceived by the small corps of leaders and blindly followed their leadership.

On this point, it may rightly be said that Japan has had no Renaissance such as the modern Western nations have experienced. The people in general have remained as ever shut up within Japanese theology, tightly bound by its teachings. There was no such "discovery of man" as Bruckhardt said. Humanism has never been given a chance to establish itself. Herein lies the reason why the Japanese have been not seldom criticised as lacking the fundamentals of modern culture.

The Meiji Restoration was undoubtedly the occasion when Japan could have accomplished most adequately a Renaissance. At that moment, however, she was too busily occupied in building up a modern state. All her efforts were concentrated on the establishment and expansion of national authority. Culture was regarded as nothing more than a tool of the state to achieve that end. The conception of human personality and individual self-consciousness which had once budded, were under such circumstances to wither again and ever since its growth hindered. That there are remnants of feudalistic ideas and institutions in our country may be traced to this fact.

Viewed in this light, the Imperial Rescript promulgated at the beginning of this year promised to display important historic significance. The

Emperor himself has denied his divinity as "the living celestial being". Hereafter the mutual trust and love between human beings are going to be the sole link which connects the Emperor with his people. The Emperor has emancipated himself from Japanese theology and Shinto doctrine. This is the declaration of independence of his human nature.

At the same time, this change may well be regarded as the throwing open of the horizon of our culture and people to the new "universality". Never before in our history could Japanese culture get rid of the bondage of particularist national religion. Now for the first time it is firmly established on the bases of humanistic universality, without which the world-wide understanding of it could never have been hoped. Now the people are able to establish themselves both as national and world citizens, at the same time, on the assurance of no less authority than the Imperial Rescript itself.

III

But, if you wish to speak about the perfection of human personality, mere humanistic emancipation and independence are not enough. It

must not be forgotten and ought to be pondered that in Europe the Reformation was carried out concurrently with the Renaissance.

One must realise how impossible it is to reach the real awakening of the individual as a human being simply by cultivating human nature, even though he may live up a deep, wide, and rich life on this level. But to accomplish the full awakening, he must go a step further into the depth of his heart. He must find the hidden dilemma within his own personality. Then he will come to the absolute spirit which is superhuman and beyond his personal consciousness. That is the "discovery of God" and the subjection of self through its discovery.

The true meaning of "freedom" is always related to the idea of the divine absolute. A man may believe in or recognize such an absolute as the fundamental principle or, at least one will not deny it, even a scientist may, before the absolute which is beyond his investigation, stand still with reverence. In such attitude is born the freedom of a man or the freedom of mankind in general.

Such a man is in the real sense of the word a free man. He will be unceasingly creating himself. He will never doubt the possibilities of reforming a man, reconstructing a people, and

improving mankind. He will be endowed with the power to devote himself to the cause of love for humanity. Take liberalism or democratic thoughts which are gaining ground rapidly in Japan. Even they, if you look back to their origin, did not arise without some religious motive.

In this sense, for the present-day Japan, not only a Renaissance but a religious Reformation is in urgent need and inevitable. As I have said above, the emancipation from the Japanese theology which has a strong flavor of national religion, cannot be achieved by purely humanistic ideals taking its place. A religion can be replaced only by another religion. Thus, this very moment is the crucial time for the Japanese to confront the world religion whose ideal is universal and wide as mankind. This is not a personal opinion derived from some subjective belief or conjecture, but is an objectively verifiable statement based on the scientific study of the history of human thoughts.

Since the Meiji Restoration, in the name of freedom of belief, such world religions have been widely propagated in Japan. But, just like any other Western philosophy or culture, their effects have been shallow and formal. They could not

penetrate deep into the hearts of the people. For instance in the field of philosophy, the idealism of Kant and Hegel was transmitted and utilized by the Japanese scholars. But you cannot say Kant and Hegel have been really comprehended by them, because the true spirit of these philosophers has been cut off and left behind untouched.

IV

In this World War, not only the Japanese, but the Germans played a tragic role. But though the Nazis have utterly collapsed, the Germans still retain the spirit with which some day they can again rise up from the ruins. That spirit dwells within their own history. After all, Nazism was something heterodox to the true German spirit, departing from the right direction of the orthodox European spirit. The Germans can liquidate Nazism. And they can go back to Kant, or even to Luther. If they return to the spirit of such forefathers, it will not be difficult for them to share the common cultural ground with other races in Europe. Thus they will again be given a chance to exhibit their own characteristics.

Japan, on the contrary, staked all her time-old

tradition and indigenous spirit on this war and was defeated. Therefore the defeat means the complete disintegration of the spirit itself. Now, losing the fundamental spirit, with what can the Japanese try to reconstruct their own fatherland? It will never be found in past history. If it is not to be found in the past, it must be created in the future. Such is the case, our history does not lie in the past, but in the future. That is, we must create our own new history. We must count to-day, not as the year of two thousand and several hundreds, but as the first year of a new era, and make a fresh start.

Unless all the people of Japan are to realise this very point and rouse themselves, it may be hardly possible to accomplish such an end, the reconstruction of our fatherland, which is going to be the Showa Restoration. The fundamental task of the Showa Restoration lies in the revolution of the Japanese spirit itself, or the creation of a new national spirit. The character of the people must be changed. It should not stop simply by being a change of the political and social system, but further it must be a subjective spiritual revolution, intellectual and religious in nature.

Only after such a new spirit is kindled in the

people's minds are they qualified to talk about their own eternal life, and to claim a divine mission on a world-wide scale to contribute to the culture and peace of mankind. Here we find a new inspiration arising within us to work for the sake of our people or even sacrifice ourselves for them. Once, their life was weighed as light as a feather to fight for the sake of the country. Now the same life will be devoted through their fatherland to the ideal of the world and mankind.

There will never be a time when the need is so urgent as to-day to advocate the national spirit and patriotic love in its new and true sense. Though our people made a serious mistake, we still rejoice to have been born among them, and infinitely love them. Such are the reasons why we try to spur ourselves on to restore our honor before the world.

V

Well, then, is such a spiritual revolution of our people possible? Can they be reconstructed? I definitely answer yes. Certainly our people were often stimulated by the transmission of foreign culture. But, being stimulated, they could all the more work out a new cultural creation which

opened up from their own inner nature. In accepting foreign culture and in recasting it into our indigenous culture, how our forefathers toiled with sincere faith and indefatigable will-power. Had not such ideological struggle and inner agony existed, it could never have been worked out. After such efforts, foreign culture was absorbed not simply as imitation, but really as part of our own spiritual life. Such is the fact of history.

The best instance of it is found in the attitude of the Japanese to Confucianism and Buddhism. Fine culture of exquisite Japanese taste was created out of them. Of course, the fact that it took more than one thousand years to accomplish it should not be overlooked. As to the relations of Japan with the Greek-originated Western culture and with Christianity which has essentially Oriental origin, they have existed since the Meiji Restoration for less than one hundred years. They are still on the half-way path of development, and hardly past their preliminary stage. They have not yet penetrated into the life of the people in general, as Confucianism and Buddhism did. In the recent years of reaction, therefore, they were repelled and rejected. And against them, the superiority of things Japanese and

Oriental was proudly advocated.

Under such circumstances, we must be well aware, on the one hand, that never before in our history was a work so difficult and serious as the one waiting ahead of us. But, on the other hand, to achieve it, the present age is far more convenient and appropriate than any other periods in the past, because of the fact that our circumstances have gone through a sudden and complete change and all the deceits and delusions, which had been misleading the people are taken away. You are now entirely free to draw any picture in your mind according to your own ideal.

It is in a sense regrettable that so far such a change has been initiated by the directives issued one after another from the Allied Powers, while it ought to have been executed by our nation's own hands. One moment's delay, doubt, and hesitation are not allowed for us. With resolve we should rise up to grasp this occasion. And with autonomous, courageous and sincere effort, we should abandon willingly whatsoever is to be abandoned and take in whatsoever is good and new. And let us develop what is good and new in our own spirit and our own way. But, along with it, we will keep and protect good and beau-

tiful things which have been cherished by the Japanese in the course of their history. Thus we should, at the same time, try to preserve our national characteristics and develop them.

The nation without its own character is something like a man without individual personality, and can hardly claim the significance or worthiness of its existence among nations of the world. Such national personality or identity must permeate various fields of sciences, arts, government, constitution and social institutions within the country. Thus something really good and Japanese should be brought forth.

If we could only accomplish it and so contribute to the world and mankind in some future days, the misery we are facing at present would not be too dear a price for it. For it is the compensation for the mistake which we have committed against the world and against ourselves—more explicitly the atonement. Atonement cannot be made without some pain borne by the people. Painful as it is, it is still redemption and progress for them. It is the resurrection and new birth of the nation.

VI

At this moment, nothing is more important in Japan than a new cultivation of human personality, and vital spiritual movements to bring it forth. This is the only way left open to create a new Japanese civilization and to establish the new Japanese nation based on morality. To meet the coming general election active political movements may not be scarce. Especially will the people's front be active. But, the point at question is not there. At what are we directing our social and economic life is the question. We are not satisfied by merely living a biological existence. We desire to live the life of a free individual of a dignified spiritual human being. Only for that purpose do economic and material conditions have value.

Thus, a high tide of people's movements, aspiring for entirely new life and spirit, must arise. Unless people train themselves and refine their own culture, the realization of democratic ideals is impossible. Unless the people can find a perfect solution to the problem of humane culture and education, for them the perfect solution of social problem is inconceivable.

Ultimately, such spiritual movement must be directed to the whole nation, particularly to the general mass. For the success or failure of the Showa Restoration depends wholly upon the people in general. The question lies in whether or not they will take it up as their own responsibility and rise to the occasion. But the chosen champions for that campaign are the young students. The young students should take the lead, because there is no more significant and appropriate mission than this for those pure and sincere souls who are impassioned lovers of truth.

I say this to you who have gathered here today, as the representatives of the young students. Why don't you ask your question first to yourselves, and think it over earnestly with your whole heart and mind? No matter how others are, make up your own mind, taking it on your shoulders as your own responsibility. If what I have just said strikes a responsive chord in your soul, do not keep it to yourselves, but share it with others. Those who entertain such a common feeling and resolution must get together and form a solid company. That company will become the torch of the movement. And kindle the light among the students of the entire University and further those of the nation.

Once, as you know, the Oxford Movement achieved this mission. They were dissatisfied with the utilitarian social trends and atheistic tendency of the England of their day. So they lifted high the banner of the idealistic spirit and challenged the current thoughts and the political world of England. It left deep influences on the social movements of later years. It is an undeniable fact that hitherto in Japan behind the façade of Japanese theology and nationalism, utilitarian thoughts and materialistic atheism were prevalent. Now since the former tendencies have collapsed, the two latter currents are, adding more forces, pressing overwhelming upon us. I expect your new "idealistic spiritual movement will develop among yourselves and try to resist" them. The flame you have kindled will spread further to the general mass and ultimately to the whole nation. The Government has never realized its significance, and society is still overlooking it. So there is nobody but you, the students, who should start this movement.

VII

Open your eyes and get a rough view of the actual conditions of Japan! Who could restrain

himself from feeling painful indignation? And if we should remain at a loss and stay in a condition of despair and prostration, the miserable fate of the slave would be waiting for us, which could easily lead us to the final ruin of the nation. On the contrary, if you should stand up resolutely with hope and self-confidence, you may be able to witness, within your own generation, the rise of a nation emerging out of humiliation among other nations. At least you could leave to your posterity the brighter task of completing the unfinished work.

Life or death! A perpetual humiliation or the recovery of freedom and independence! We are at present standing at the cross-roads. It is left to your free choice which way you take. The Potsdam declaration does not demand the extinction of our nation. The way is left so open for us that we may contribute to humanity as a peaceful nation reborn in the new world order which is to be henceforth established. At least such hope is not forbidden. I am afraid the fall of our nation may not be caused by the force of other nations, but be invited by our own inability and indolence.

We meet here to-day and are trying to grasp the meaning of the history and the myth of the

foundation of our nation which are commemorated and symbolized by this day. It reminds us of the ideals cherished by our forefathers in the time-old days. Especially we have over us the Imperial House which has set the example for the spiritual revolution of the Showa Restoration to the people. We have, by engrafting the new spirit on the stock of ancient tradition, to discover the genuine eternal life of our nation and our divine mission to the world. With such harmony and union, there will be a new "giving birth to the nation". Should we not march on with determined resolution towards the establishment of a new Japan and the creation of a new Japanese civilization? Then, and only then, can we "realize a new dignity worthy of the highest tradition" of our nation, as stated in the Rescript.

AIRGRAM SENT

1304

TO BE TRANSMITTED
SECRET
CONFIDENTIAL
RESTRICTED

Department of State

PLAIN

NO. A-92

Washington,

TIME _____

1304

July 13, 1946

To the
United States Political Adviser to the
Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers
Tokyo, (JAPAN)

DEPT has found "Daily Gazette" valuable and has been trying to assemble complete set of "Gazette" to use for ordering documents from Tokyo. It requests, therefore, that Diplomatic Section continue forwarding "Gazette" to Washington for attention of JA and DRF (Division of Research for Far East) and that following missing back issues be forwarded to Washington: Vol. I, Numbers 1-24; Vol. II, Numbers 6, 7, 23, 24, 40, 71, 75, 79, 104, 105, 117-124, 128, 131-134, 137, 138, 140, 152, and all since 152.

740.00119 CONTROL (JAPAN)
/3-2646

*# 326 of 3/26/46 From Tokyo
740.00119 Control (Japan) /3-2646*

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(Japan) /3-2646
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CONFIDENTIAL
THE STATE-WAR-NAVY COORDINATING COMMITTEE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

~~SECRET~~

Office of
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
MAR 28 1946
DIRECTOR
Department of State

SWN-4077
26 March 1946

DCIR

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE:

Subject: Return of Certain Natives to the Bonin Islands.

References: a. SWNCC 214/3/D
b. SWNCC 214/4

By informal action on 26 March 1946, the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee approved SWNCC 214/4.

A copy of the approved paper is forwarded herewith for information and such implementation as is deemed appropriate.

For the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee:

H. Freeman Matthews
H. FREEMAN MATTHEWS,
Acting Chairman.

Encl.
Cpy No. 56, SWNCC 214/4

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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CONFIDENTIALCOPY NO. 56SWNCC 214/421 March 1946Page 9STATE-WAR-NAVY COORDINATING COMMITTEERETURN OF CERTAIN NATIVES TO THE BONIN ISLANDS
Reference: SWNCC 214/3/DNote by the Secretaries

The enclosure, a report by the State-War-Navy Coordinating Subcommittee for the Far East, is circulated for consideration by the Committee.

ALEXANDER D. REID

B. L. AUSTIN

HAROLD W. MOSELEY

Secretariat

CONFIDENTIAL

ENCLOSURE

RETURN OF CERTAIN NATIVES TO THE BONIN ISLANDS

Memorandum by the
State-War-Navy Coordinating Subcommittee for the Far East

1. The State-War-Navy Coordinating Subcommittee for the Far East has examined the question of the "Return of Certain Natives to the Bonin Islands" (SWNCC 214/3/D).

2. Post-war plans of the Army and the Navy do not contemplate any major military installations in the Bonin Islands, although the Army Air Force plans indicate that aircraft warning stations will be located there.

3. The nearest major military installation will be located on Iwo Jima in the Volcanoes. This will be an Army Air Forces base consisting of one fighter group and one air rescue squadron.

4. It is concluded that:

a. The specific request for the return of the natives of the Bonin Islands, who are of British and American descent and who were forcibly moved by the Japanese to Japan, should be approved.

b. As a general policy former inhabitants of American and European descent should be allowed to return to the Bonins.

5. It is recommended that upon approval by the SWNCC of the Conclusions in paragraph 4 above, this report be forwarded to the JCS for information and to the State, War and Navy Departments for information and appropriate implementation.

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

June 25, 1946

MEMORANDUM

To: JA - John K. Emmerson

From: FEI - Charles B. Fahs *CBF*

Subject: SCAP "Daily Gazette"

We have memorandum No. 326, dated March 26, 1946, from the Office of the Political Adviser, asking the Department whether POLAD should continue to forward copies of SCAP's "Daily Gazette" to Washington.

The Japan Research Branch of FEI has found the "Daily Gazette" to be valuable as an indication of materials available to SCAP. We have been trying to assemble a complete set of the "Gazette" to use for ordering documents from Tokyo. Except for a few issues of the "Gazette" which we have received from POLAD via JA, however, the only present means of getting copies is from JK, after that Division has completed its perusal of each issue. Only a limited number of copies of each issue are sent to CAD from SCAP and no extra copies are available for additional distribution. (It is requested, therefore, that the Diplomatic Section be asked to continue forwarding the "Daily Gazette" to Washington for the attention of JA and FEI.

It would also be valuable to this Division if the following missing back issues of the "Gazette" could be forwarded to Washington:

Volume I, Numbers 1-24
Volume II, Numbers 6, 7, 23, 24, 40, 71, 75, 79, 104, 105,
117-124, 128, 131-134, 137, 138, 140, 152 and all
since 152.

FW 740.00119 CONTROL (JAPAN)

/3-2646

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JUN 16 1946

FW 740.00119 Control
(Japan)/3-2646

JA: ~~HB~~FE: ~~JCV~~~~JKE~~~~JKP~~~~HL~~~~MP~~~~HK~~MLS

Subject: Conversation between
Mr. Bishop and Mr. Malik,
Political Adviser to Russian
Representative on Allied
Council.

Mr. Malikeremarked that
Jap political parties were un-
trustworthy, that democracy could
not develop under the Emperor
system and that reactionary
forces underground might prepare
for future revenge. Mr. Bishop
replied that it was too early to
estimate party prospects, that
the Emperor system need not pre-
vent development of a democratic
form of government, and that un-
less the United Nations closed
their eyes on Japan, there need
be little fear of future "revenge".
jke



OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISER
Tokyo, Japan, March 27, 1946.

JA
BE
DC/R

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 333

SUBJECT: Personnel of Soviet Military Mission and Soviet Section of Allied Council for Japan.



3
RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir

14
APR 8 1946

RECORDS BRANCH

I have the honor to transmit copies of a memorandum, prepared by the General Headquarters, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, of the personnel, as of March 19, 1946, of the Soviet Military Mission to SCAP and the Soviet Section of the Allied Council for Japan.

Mr. E. M. Jukov, "Assistant Political Consultant" of the Soviet Section of the Allied Council for Japan (listed as no. 76), called on the undersigned on March 14, 1946. His call was returned by appointment on March 19. Mr. Y. A. Malik, the Soviet Political Advisor, who had previously been indisposed, was brought in by Mr. Jukov and a pleasant conversation lasting about thirty minutes ensued. Memoranda of the conversations on these two occasions are enclosed.

Respectfully yours,

Max W. Bishop
Max W. Bishop
Foreign Service Officer

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
RECEIVED
AUG 27 1946
DIVISION OF BIOGRAPHIC
INTELLIGENCE

Enclosures:

1. Memorandum: Personnel from the Soviet Union (in quintuplicate).
2. Memorandum of Conversation, March 14, 1946.
3. Memorandum of Conversation, March 19, 1946.

Copy to: Embassy, Moscow.
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740.00119 CONTROL (JAPAN)
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740.00119 Control Japan/3-2746

MEMORANDUM FOR RECORD:

19 March 1946

RE: Personnel from the Soviet Union; Members of the Soviet Military Mission and the Soviet Section of the Allied Council for Japan.

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3.	FROLOV, A. P.	Maj General	Imperial
4.	KISLENKO, A. P.	Maj General	Embassy
*5.	STETZENKO, ANDREY M.	Rear Admiral	Imperial
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7.	MOSKALEV, P. K.	Colonel	Dai Iti
8.	FROLOV, I. G.	Colonel	Dai Iti
9.	PANOV, I. M.	Capt-Navy	Embassy*
*10.	TONKIKH, FEDOR P.	Lt Colonel	Dai Iti
11.	FILIPPOV, V. E.	Lt Colonel	Dai Iti
12.	MAKAROV, PAFNUT F.	Lt Colonel	Dai Iti
13.	KURKOV, V. I.	Lt Colonel	Embassy*
14.	CVECHKOPAL, K. T.	Lt Colonel	Embassy*
15.	BUTOV, H. V.	Lt Colonel	Embassy*
16.	NEFOROCTNI, E. A.	Lt Colonel	Embassy*
*17.	BAROVSKY, IVAN J.	Major	Dai Iti
*18.	CHERNISHEV, PETER A.	Major	Dai Iti
*19.	SELEZNEV, VLADIMIR F.	Major	Dai Iti
*20.	KARAMISHEV, NIKOLAI M.	Major	Imperial
21.	SCHERBAKOV, N. S.	Major	Marunouchi
22.	KUKSCINSKY, V. F.	Major	Marunouchi
23.	KOKORIN, A. S.	Major	Marunouchi
24.	GORLENKO, G. E.	Major	Dai Iti
"25.	KOSITIN	Major	Embassy
"26.	IVANOV	Lt Comdr	Embassy
27.	GOLUBOV, V. L.	Major	Embassy*
28.	HORT, A. L.	Major	Embassy*
29.	YASCHEEN, B. D.	Lt Comdr	Embassy*
30.	LAPTEV, P. M.	Captain	Embassy*
31.	SOBOLEV, E. M.	Captain	Marunouchi
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40.	MOLCHANOV, P. P.	Sr Lt	Marunouchi
41.	MALTZEV, ALEXANDER I.	Sr Lt	Embassy
42.	POTAPENKO, ALEYSEY P.	Sr Lt	Embassy
*43.	TULINOV, NIKOLAI N.	Sr Lt	Imperial
44.	SOKOLOV, NIKOLAI P.	Sr Lt	Embassy
45.	TIKHOMIROV, STANISLAV N.	Sr Lt	Embassy
46.	KASHTANOV, VASILEY A.	Lt	Embassy
*47.	ZVIAGIN, VLADIMIR M.	Lt	Dai Iti
48.	YASCHUK, G. K.	Lt	Marunouchi
49.	SEROV, B. K.	Lt	Marunouchi
50.	IVASHKIN, F. K.	Lt	Embassy*
51.	KUROCHKIN, V. D.	Lt	Embassy*

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- 2 -

52.	ZAKHARCHUK, E. E.	Jr Lt	Marunouchi
53.	ULYANOV, V. E.	Jr Lt	Marunouchi
54.	KHAZOV, A. P.	Jr Lt	Marunouchi
55.	KHORLAMOV, V. A.	Jr Lt	Marunouchi
56.	ZAKHAROV, I. A.	Jr Lt	Embassy*
57.	TRAPEZNIKOVA, O. G.	Lt (female)	Embassy*
58.	KROTENKO, O. A.	Sgt (female)	Embassy*
59.	BUGRIM, A. M.	Sgt (female)	Embassy*
60.	POSTNOVA, C. D.	Sgt (female)	Embassy*
61.	CHEREDINKINA, N. A.	Sgt (female)	Embassy*
62.	NAGAEV, V. F.	Pvt	Embassy*
63.	TURMENKO, V. M.	Pvt	Embassy*

Male Orderlies

64.	NEVALENOV, U. S.		Embassy*
65.	DUBOVOY, M. S.		Embassy*
66.	GRIGORYEV, D. P.		Embassy*
67.	OSTAPENKO, G. F.		Embassy*
68.	TOLMACHEV, N. K.		Embassy*
69.	KANDAKOV, P. E.		Embassy*
70.	CEETNIKOV, A. I.		Embassy*
71.	LOGVINOV, I. I.		Embassy*
72.	KOZIN, G. A.		Embassy*
73.	PRUDETSKY, V. A.		Embassy*

Civilian personnel of the Allied Council

74.	RAZIN, L. A.	Mr. Economic Consultant	Imperial
75.	MALIK, Y. A.	Mr. Political Advisor (family of six)	Embassy
76.	JUKOV, E. M.	Mr. Assistant Political Conslt	Embassy*
77.	AGEYEV, N. E.	Mr	Embassy*
78.	VOROBYEV, E. E.	Mr	Embassy*
79.	TACHKOV, E. A.	Mr	Embassy*
80.	RASTVOROV, Y. A.	Mr	Embassy*
81.	NIKISHEV, K. A.	Mr	Embassy*
82.	MAYAKINA, V. Y.	(female)	Embassy*
83.	JUKOVA, I. E.	(female)	Embassy*

Correspondents and Writers; not a part of the Mission or Allied Council.

84.	SIMINOV, K. M.	Correspondents Club*
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86.	AGAPOV	Correspondents Club*
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89.	KUZKO, MUZA (female)	Correspondents Club*

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 Telephone number of the Soviet Embassy 48-C223

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR RECORD:

19 March 1946

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46.	KASHPANOV, VASILEY A.	Lt	Embassy
*47.	ZVYAGIN, VLADIMIR M.	Lt	Dai Iti
48.	YASCHUK, G. K.	Lt	Marunouchi
49.	SEROV, B. K.	Lt	Marunouchi
50.	IVASHKIN, F. K.	Lt	Embassy*
51.	KUROCHKIN, V. D.	Lt	Embassy*

CONFIDENTIAL

- 2 -

52.	ZAKHARCHUK, E. E.	Jr Lt	Marunouchi
53.	ULYANOV, V. E.	Jr Lt	Marunouchi
54.	KHAZOV, A. P.	Jr Lt	Marunouchi
55.	KHORLAMOV, V. A.	Jr Lt	Marunouchi
56.	ZAKHAROV, I. A.	Jr Lt	Embassy*
57.	TRAPEZNIKOVA, O. G.	Lt (female)	Embassy*
58.	KROTENKO, O. A.	Sgt (female)	Embassy*
59.	BUGRIM, A. M.	Sgt (female)	Embassy*
60.	POSTNOVA, C. D.	Sgt (female)	Embassy*
61.	CHEREDINKINA, N. A.	Sgt (female)	Embassy*
62.	NAGAEV, V. F.	Pvt	Embassy*
63.	TURMENKO, V. M.	Pvt	Embassy*

Male Orderlies

64.	NEVALENOV, U. S.		Embassy*
65.	DUBOVOY, M. S.		Embassy*
66.	GRIGORYEV, D. P.		Embassy*
67.	OSTAPENKO, G. F.		Embassy*
68.	TOLMACHEV, N. K.		Embassy*
69.	KANDAKOV, P. E.		Embassy*
70.	CEETNIKOV, A. I.		Embassy*
71.	LOGVINOV, I. I.		Embassy*
72.	KOZIN, G. A.		Embassy*
73.	PRUDETSKY, V. A.		Embassy*

Civilian personnel of the Allied Council

74.	RAZIN, L. A.	Mr. Economic Consultant	Imperial
75.	MALIK, Y. A.	Mr. Political Advisor (family of six)	Embassy
76.	JUKOV, E. M.	Mr. Assistant Political Constl	Embassy*
77.	AGEYEV, N. E.	Mr	Embassy*
78.	VOROBYEV, E. E.	Mr	Embassy*
79.	TACHKOV, E. A.	Mr	Embassy*
80.	RASTVOROV, Y. A.	Mr	Embassy*
81.	NIKISHEV, K. A.	Mr	Embassy*
82.	MAYAKINA, V. Y.	(female)	Embassy*
83.	JUKOVA, I. E.	(female)	Embassy*

Correspondents and Writers; not a part of the Mission or Allied Council.

84.	SIMINOV, K. M.	Correspondents Club*
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89.	KUZKO, MUZA (female)	Correspondents Club*

NOTE: * Members of the Soviet Military Mission
 " Received their commission in Japan, or, recently started to wear the uniform with majors insignia.
 Embassy* Billeted at the Embassy or the Southern Manchurian Railroad Building
 Corresp* Have acquired a house in Tokyo. 48-1801
 Telephone number of the Soviet Embassy 48-C223

C O N F I D E N T I A L

MEMORANDUM FOR RECORD:

19 March 1946

RE: Personnel from the Soviet Union; Members of the Soviet Military Mission and the Soviet Section of the Allied Council for Japan.

1.	DEREVYANKO, KUZMA NIKOLAEVICH	Lt General	Imperial
*2.	VORONOV, NIKOLAI V.	Maj General	Imperial
3.	FROLOV, A. P.	Maj General	Imperial
4.	KISLENKO, A. P.	Maj General	Embassy
*5.	STETZENKO, ANDREY M.	Rear Admiral	Imperial
6.	POLYASHENKO, SEBASTIAN A.	Colonel	Dai Iti
7.	MOSKALEV, P. K.	Colonel	Dai Iti
8.	FROLOV, I. G.	Colonel	Dai Iti
9.	PANOV, I. M.	Capt-Navy	Embassy*
*10.	TONKIKH, FEDOR P.	Lt Colonel	Dai Iti
11.	FILIPPOV, V. E.	Lt Colonel	Dai Iti
12.	MAKAROV, PAFNUT F.	Lt Colonel	Dai Iti
13.	KURKOV, V. I.	Lt Colonel	Embassy*
14.	CVECHKOPAL, K. T.	Lt Colonel	Embassy*
15.	BUTOV, H. V.	Lt Colonel	Embassy*
16.	NEFOROCTNI, E. A.	Lt Colonel	Embassy*
*17.	BAROVSKY, IVAN J.	Major	Dai Iti
*18.	CHERNISHEV, PETER A.	Major	Dai Iti
*19.	SELEZNEV, VLADIMIR F.	Major	Dai Iti
*20.	KARAMISHEV, NIKOLAI M.	Major	Imperial
21.	SCHERBAKOV, N. S.	Major	Marunouchi
22.	KUKSCINSKY, V. F.	Major	Marunouchi
23.	KOKORIN, A. S.	Major	Marunouchi
24.	GORLENKO, G. E.	Major	Dai Iti
"25.	KOSITIN	Major	Embassy
"26.	IVANOV	Lt Comdr	Embassy
27.	GOLUBOV, V. L.	Major	Embassy*
28.	HORT, A. L.	Major	Embassy*
29.	YASHEEN, B. D.	Lt Comdr	Embassy*
30.	LAPTEV, P. M.	Captain	Embassy*
31.	SOBOLEV, E. M.	Captain	Marunouchi
32.	SAGEEN, M. A.	Captain	Marunouchi
33.	MARKOV, E. S.	Captain	Marunouchi
34.	BORISENKO, E. A.	Captain	Marunouchi
35.	SHADRIN, A. E.	Captain	Marunouchi
36.	VASILIEV, M. V.	Captain	Marunouchi
37.	MILOV, N. T.	Captain	Marunouchi
38.	IVANOV, K. S.	Captain	Marunouchi
39.	DUNAEV, G. A.	Sr Lt	Marunouchi
40.	MOLCHANOV, P. P.	Sr Lt	Marunouchi
41.	MALTZEV, ALEXANDER I.	Sr Lt	Embassy
42.	POTAPENKO, ALEYSEY P.	Sr Lt	Embassy
*43.	TULINOV, NIKOLAI N.	Sr Lt	Imperial
44.	SOKOLOV, NIKOLAI P.	Sr Lt	Embassy
45.	TIKHOMIROV, STANISLAV N.	Sr Lt	Embassy
46.	KASHTANOV, VASILEY A.	Lt	Embassy
*47.	ZVYAGIN, VLADIMIR M.	Lt	Dai Iti
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CONFIDENTIAL

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80.	RASTVOROV, Y. A.	Mr	Embassy*
81.	NIKISHEV, K. A.	Mr	Embassy*
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89.	KUZKO, MUZA (female)	

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 Railroad Building
 Corresp* Have acquired a house in Tokyo. 48-1801
 Telephone number of the Soviet Embassy 48-C223

CONFIDENTIAL

Enclosure no. 2 to despatch no. 333 of March 27, 1946, from the Office of the United States Political Adviser, Tokyo, on the subject "Personnel of Soviet Military Mission and Soviet Section of Allied Council for Japan".

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

March 14, 1946.

Participants: Mr. E. M. Jukov, "Assistant Political Consultant" of the Soviet Section of the Allied Council for Japan;

Mr. Bishop;
Mr. Service;
Mr. Sebald.

Mr. Jukov called on Mr. Bishop on March 14, 1946. It was learned that Mr. Jukov was not a "career diplomat" but was a professor of Far Eastern history at the University of Moscow; that he had studied in Japan for about three years beginning about 1929; that although not as proficient in Japanese as he had been, he found no difficulty in reading Japanese newspapers; and that he had been assigned as the ranking assistant to Mr. Malik, the Political Advisor to General Derevyanko.

During the course of the conversation Mr. Jukov was introduced to Mr. Service and Mr. Sebald. Little information of value was gained during the meeting, but it is with interest to note that Mr. Jukov wanted especially to know what our attitude was toward the political parties in Japan and our estimate of the coming election. He was informed that we felt it was too early to express an opinion.

M. W. B.

701
MWBishop:vs

Enclosure no. 3 to despatch no. 333 of March 27, 1946, from the Office of the United States Political Adviser, Tokyo, on the subject "Personnel of Soviet Military Mission and Soviet Section of Allied Council for Japan".

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

March 19, 1946.

Participants: Mr. Y. A. Malik, Political Adviser to General Derevyanko;
Mr. E. M. Jukov, Assistant Political Consultant;
(both of the Soviet Section of the Allied Council for Japan);

Mr. Bishop.

On March 19, Mr. Bishop called by appointment at the Soviet Embassy to return the previous call of Mr. Jukov and to pay respects to Mr. Malik, Political Adviser to General Derevyanko.

The balance of the conversation was devoted to the usual exchange of pleasantries and amenities, and to a description by Mr. Malik of his experiences in Japan during the war. It may be of interest to note that Mr. Malik stated that the present political parties in Japan were not to be trusted, that Japan could not develop into a democratic state so long as the Emperor system was continued, and that there was danger of reactionary forces in Japan going underground and building up strength for future "revenge". Mr. Bishop expressed the view that it was too early to estimate with any degree of accuracy the future political prospects of the various parties in Japan; that the retention of the Imperial institution need not prevent the development of a democratic form of government in Japan; and that unless the United Nations were completely to close their eyes to Japan, there need be little fear of future "revenge" by Japanese expansionists or reactionaries.

Mr. Malik mentioned several members of the former staff of the American Embassy whom he knew and asked that his regards be sent to them. Mr. Bishop readily agreed to do this.

M.W.B.

701
MWBishop:vs

OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISER

Tokyo, Japan, March 27, 1946.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 333

SUBJECT: Personnel of Soviet Military Mission and Soviet
Section of Allied Council for Japan.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to transmit copies of a memorandum, prepared by the General Headquarters, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, of the personnel, as of March 19, 1946, of the Soviet Military Mission to SCAP and the Soviet Section of the Allied Council for Japan.

Mr. E. M. Jukov, "Assistant Political Consultant" of the Soviet Section of the Allied Council for Japan (listed as no. 76), called on the undersigned on March 14, 1946. His call was returned by appointment on March 19. Mr. Y. A. Malik, the Soviet Political Adviser, who had previously been indisposed, was brought in by Mr. Jukov and a pleasant conversation lasting about thirty minutes ensued. Memoranda of the conversations on these two occasions are enclosed.

Respectfully yours,

Max W. Bishop
Foreign Service Officer

Enclosures:

1. Memorandum: Personnel from the Soviet Union (in quintuplicate).
2. Memorandum of Conversation, March 14, 1946.
3. Memorandum of Conversation, March 19, 1946.

Copy to: Embassy, Moscow.
Original and valid to Department.

701

JSService:vs

Enclosure no. 2 to despatch no. 333 of March 27, 1946, from the Office of the United States Political Adviser, Tokyo, on the subject "Personnel of Soviet Military Mission and Soviet Section of Allied Council for Japan".

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March 14, 1946.

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Mr. Service;
Mr. Sebald.

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M. W. B.

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MWBishop:vs

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(both of the Soviet Section of the Allied Council for Japan);

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MWB.

701
MWBishop:vs

OFFICE OF THE U. S. POLITICAL ADVISER

Tokyo Mar 29, 1946

NE

Memorandum for: Diplomatic Pouch and Mail
Section,
Department of State.

Appendices listed on page 9 of enclosure
to this despatch have been sent separately
as an accompaniment.

EMI
E. M. I.

As Registrar No. 32.



THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISER

Tokyo, Japan, March 27, 1946

No. 332

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
RECEIVED
APR 1 0 1946
OFFICE OF THE POLITICAL ADVISER
J.A. FERRER
OIC (S-100)

1946 APR 6 5 00 AM

SUBJECT: Educational Affairs in Japan, February 1 - 28, 1946

MAY 1 - 1946
D.C.B. (K)

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The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

DIVISION OF JAPANESE AFFAIRS
APR 11 1946
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

740.00119 CONTROL (JAPAN)
/3-2746

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894.42

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to my despatch No. 305, March 13, 1946, subject "Educational Affairs in Japan, January 1-31, 1946" and to transmit further report on educational affairs in Japan for the month of February.

Respectfully yours,

Max W. Bishop
Max W. Bishop
Foreign Service Officer

Enclosure:

Memorandum: Educational Affairs
in Japan, February 1 - 28, 1946.

Original and hectograph to Department
Copy to General Headquarters, SCAP

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JSService:ms

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Enclosure to Despatch No. 332 of March 27, 1946, from the United States Political Adviser, Tokyo, Japan, on the subject "Educational Affairs in Japan, February 1 - 28, 1946".

MEMORANDUM

March 11, 1946.

SUBJECT: Educational Affairs in Japan, February 1-28, 1946

1. Official Action.

a). General Headquarters, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, through Brigadier General Ken R. Dyke, Chief of the Civil Information and Education Section, released a four month report on education. (See this Office's despatch No. 283, February 28, 1946).

Lt. Colonel D. R. Nugent, Acting Chief of CI&E, announced in a Press Release on February 13, 1946 that beginning this April higher schools of Japan will abandon the wartime two-year schedule and reinstate a three-year course, and that the Ministry of Education issued instructions. Similar action has been taken to reinstate a five-year course in the middle schools. (The war course was four years). Colonel Nugent, CI&E, SCAP, said that a rough comparison of terminology between American and Japanese educational levels would be as follows: universities in Japan approximate the upper division of American universities, Japanese "higher schools" are comparable to American junior colleges, "middle schools" to high schools, and "primary schools" to elementary schools. (SCAP Press Release, February 13, 1946).

The Education Section of CI&E was busy preparing for the arrival of the invited Educational Commission from the United States. A suggested program was prepared, two copies of which accompany this Memorandum as Appendix No. 1. A mimeographed manual "Education In Japan" was published to give the visiting commission the essential facts about the Japanese educational system, Allied control of Japanese education, educational directives and a series of charters and statistics. Two copies of this document are enclosed as Appendix No. 2. The Commission arrived and began to function March 7, 1946.

b). Japanese Ministry of Education Actions.

The following quotation from CI&E Press Analysis for February 24-25, 1946, No. 106, gives an summary of press comments on educational actions.

"Since the SCAP directive calling for revision and reconstruction of the nation's education system was issued, the Japanese press has devoted prominent space to all educational announcements; but more respect has been shown for the subject

itself

- 2 -

itself than thought given the measures. Specific plans, proposals or orders have seldom occasioned comment and editorial recommendations to the Education Ministry have been confined to the topics of removing reactionary elements, usually un-named, or developing more speed in producing new textbooks. The first deviation from this practice occurred in a Sunday Mainichi editorial, in which the journal "proposed a new method of education to meet the demands of the new age". The writer, considering the changes made in the education system since the war's end "by no means sufficient for the democratization of education," suggested: "In the first place, special efforts must be made to develop private school education...for in order to do away with all uniformity in education it is necessary to abandon the government system and at the same time introduce a type that contains and offers special features. Private schools, based on the ideals and methods of distinguished educators, must be the center of education". Besides supporting a plan "whereby students can work their way through school by attending six month semesters", the editor favored the abolition of the "cram system of education and examinations". In conclusion the paper advocated a "decentralization of education...so that the appropriate industrial schools are conducted in the right localities...and thereby aid industrial activities".

"Generally dissatisfied with the progress made in democratizing education and particularly provoked because of Minister ABE's "lack of action", Yomiuri editorially discussed "educational revision". The author, reviewing the "natural law elements of the Imperial Rescript on education, as stressed by TANAKA Kotaro, Chief of School Education", remarked that "this statement, like everything else, should be viewed from the democratic side and not in the old feudal sense".

"Tokyo Shimbun was editorially surprised that the Education Ministry's rejection of demands for increased salaries for teachers "failed to develop into any political or social issue". The journal urged the people, as well as the government "to keep in mind the important roles played by educators and to pay more attention to their requests.

"College students are displaying a much greater interest in literature, science, and economy and are "very eager" for books on these subjects, Yomiuri reported."

In line with the adjustment of the administration of the Ministry of Education, the Science-Education Bureau was abolished and the Cultural Science and Natural Science were established on January 31, 1946. Also the Social, Welfare, and Administrative Sections were transferred from the Ministry of Welfare to the Ministry of Education. There was also established in the Athletic Bureau a Promotion of Physical Education Section. (Asahi, February 1, 1946).

Another

- 3 -

Another statement was made on the dismissal of teachers in the Tokyo Metropolitan Area January 30, 1946, by the Chief of the National Education Section. As a temporary measure 114 primary schools in Tokyo will be abolished. Calculating the number of teachers at one teacher to 45 pupils, for 405,000 students some 3,800 teachers will be sufficient. Hence about 1,300 teachers were to be dismissed "including old teachers and inferior teachers". (Asahi, February 3, 1946).

The Education Ministry announced on February 6, 1946, that modernized written entrance examinations to applicants for entrance into "higher schools" would be given. (Asahi, February 6, 1946).

Announcement was made that the Ministry of Education was investigating the war records of universities and other educational institutions and their faculties and staffs in accordance with SCAP instructions. "As a result of the investigation, some of the presidents, professors and instructors of universities and colleges will be advised to retire". (Jiji Press February 15, 1946).

A new radio program "Current Events" was announced on February 19, 1946, and teachers were instructed to conduct open discussions in classrooms following the half-hour broadcast.

The Ministry of Education/^{revealed} to the prefectural education chiefs at their meeting in Tokyo on February 21 some of the plans for the reorganization of the educational system. The term of middle schools will be restored to the pre-war five grades; efforts will be made to rehabilitate and expand the educational facilities devastated by the war; special manuals for teachers will be distributed to the schools for courses in morals, history and geography; old textbooks will be collected by the end of March; and fifty thousand copies of the "History of the Pacific War" compiled under SCAP supervision are being printed and will be distributed to middle and primary schools as auxiliary material. (Jiji, February 21, 1946)

The Education Ministry plans to restore "demobilized school teachers" to their former status, subject to re-examination of their qualifications according to a formula devised under SCAP directives. It is the intention to give these teachers preferential treatment. (Jiji, February 23, 1946)

Attention is called to two ATIS statements "Education Authorities Show the Way the Educators Should Take" (Appendix No. 3) and "Conversation Between General Dyke and Education Minister ABE" (Appendix No. 4) and also to despatch No. 288, March 6, 1946. In Appendix No. 5 to this report details are given of the screening of Japanese teachers.

Several quotations expressing dissatisfaction with the present situation in education are cited below:

Fukushima

- 4 -

Fukushima Mimpo on February 10 editorially deplored that the educational authorities had done practically nothing to alter the old educational system. "The object of education is to enable the people to accomplish their duty as citizens, not to enlighten them as to the meanings of duty and responsibility in a democratic society".

The new liberal magazine Genron has an article written by a student of 16 about the slowness of democratizing the schools., "In spite of the radio and newspaper propaganda about democratizing the schools, it is not practiced at all. In fact we have military training in our school. A former army officer, without his insignia but in uniform directs it under the pretense of physical education. He gives us sham tactics and such preliminary training in gymnastic exercises as 'Attention!' or 'Forward March!', and we are beaten in the cheeks if we perform slowly or erroneously. What can justify such conduct? Two months have passed since the order democratizing the schools was issued. When can we expect this order to be realized?" (Publications Analysis, February 19, 1946, No. 13)

Dissatisfaction with progress of educational reform in the provincial schools was expressed in editorials in the provincial press from all parts of Japan. Godo Shimibun in an editorial headlined "Eliminate Remnants of Homicidal Education" stated, "Though the system has been changed several times...it has always contained spiritual and physical training in how to kill...."

Tokyo Shimibun, February 7, 1946, criticises the education of Japan as being "purely scholastic and for having no fixed policy other than that of the Meiji Rescript". Minister of Education ABE is urged to "bestir himself and produce a complete revolution". Jiji Shimpo, February 7, 1946, agrees with this view and also urges that Japanese mythology "stand in the same relation to Japanese education as Greek and Roman works do to that of such a modern 'rationalistic' country as France".

Universities

Changes continued in the administration of universities. Administrative officials were changed as were members of the faculties. One development was that some of the teachers who were forced to leave the universities under war time regulations have tried to dictate to the university officials the conditions under which these faculty members will be willing to rejoin the university staff. Some of their conditions have been the dismissal of certain university officials and members of the faculty also salary adjustments and changes in curriculum were demanded. In several institutions some of these demands have been met.

Doctor NAKANO Tomio was appointed president of the Waseda University in September, 1944, succeeding Doctor TANAKA Hozumi.... On 24 January he revealed his intention of resigning from the post to the directors' board of the University due to his ill health. A directors' meeting on 25 January recognized the resignation formally. A new president will be elected by mutual vote among the directors in early February. Doctor of Economics, HAYASHI Kimio, chief of the Waseda Library, will act in place of the president until a new president is elected". (ATIS, 1018 (Social 208), January 30, 1946).

Surrounding

- 5 -

Surrounding the retirement of the President of Waseda University, the Education Reforming Research Institute of the University has decided on the candidate of the succeeding President and planned to select him according to the existing regulations.

Younger professors of the University who are demanding democratization of the University have held a meeting demanding the public selection of the succeeding President.... The demands presented were that:

- a. Before the selection of the succeeding President, the present Directors and the leading staff of the University should be retired from their posts.
- b. Representatives of the faculties of various Departments should draft democratic new regulations of the University.
- c. According to the new regulations, the succeeding President should be selected.
(Mainichi, February 2, 1946)

On 19 February, the faculty of the economics department of Kyoto Imperial University confirmed the resignation of Professor NINAKAWA, chief of the department and the installation of professor SHIZUTA as his successor. At the same time, as Professors SHIOMI, KOJIMA, TANIGUCHI and NAKAGAWA intimated their intentions to resign, other professors, assistant professors and lecturers simultaneously tendered their resignations to the new chief and consequently all the professors in the economics department will be retired". (ATIS, 1490 (Social 279), February 23, 1946).

For the first time since the termination of the war, a conference of the presidents of the Imperial Universities was held at the Ministry of Education on February 5. All the presidents were present. They exchanged views on "the way of the new-born university" according to Asahi, February 6, 1946.

The presidents are reported to have given their opinions as summarized below:

Dr. MINAMIHARA, President of Tokyo Imperial University favored the "synthetic attitude" of mind and study. He wished to establish a "Science and Engineering Research Institute", to open the university to women and to change entrance requirements in accordance with the directions from the Ministry of Education.

Dr. UGAI, President of Kyoto Imperial University stated that as the first step toward democratizing the university lectures have been opened to the public. At present courses in natural science have been opened and later lectures in the Law College will also be opened.

Dr.

- 6 -

Dr. SATAKE, President of Tohoku Imperial University stated that students and faculty had conferred on the changes to be made in the university and that women had already been admitted.

Dr. YAGI, President of Osaka Imperial University expressed the intention of university authorities to return to the pre-war organization with the addition of the admission of women, as directed.

Dr. ITO, President of Hokkaido Imperial University added that the university hoped to continue the study of the means of adding to the food supply of Japan, especially from Hokkaido.

Dr. TAMURA, President of Nagoya Imperial University pointed out that his university was a war casualty and that its problem was one of "revival", that professors and students have no houses and the university no buildings. Most decisions will have to wait until the university is revived.

At the meeting mentioned above it was "agreed to renovate education and to respect academic freedom". In his address Minister ABE urged the universities to exert themselves from a broad viewpoint for the reconstruction of education in Japan and to set an example of genuine democracy. According to Nippon Times, February 8, 1946, agreements were reached as follows:

"(1) To renovate the university education parallel with reform of the educational system in general and reorganization of administrative machinery.

"(2) Election of university presidents and management of faculty staffs should be conducted along the line of democratizing the university system in order to promote academic freedom.

"(3) To avoid formalism in examining qualifications of faculty staffs.

"(4) To take every possible step for betterment of the living conditions of professors and students including adoption of dormitory system for students".

There have been notices of changes in the university course offerings. Social Science and American Studies Clubs have been organized in Tokyo Imperial University. A Social Science Study Club and a debating club have been organized, and the publication of the Waseda Guardian has been resumed. At Keio University departmental clubs have been revitalized, clubs for the study of democracy and of Meiji culture have been established and the university paper Mita Shimbun has been reissued. At Tokyo Technological Institute clubs for the study of politics have been organized. Many similar examples could be cited from other universities.

Another

- 7 -

Another development has been, the adding of the study of foreign languages in higher schools, and in colleges and universities. Courses in English, Russian and Chinese have been instituted and previously offered courses have been expanded.

The subject of political education for the newly franchised youth and for women received attention. Some political parties gave lectures. A New Peoples' Political School was established in Tokyo, a Popular University was organized in the City of Mishima, and a similar institution in the city of Aomori. (See Appendix No. 6).

Student Activities

There were few reports of organized students activities. The press commented frequently upon the difficulties of students and parents to meet the educational fees and expenses under the new financial system and several student organizations met to try to solve these problems. The preparatory committee for organizing the Students' League met at Tokyo Imperial University on February 9th. Representatives from Keio, Waseda, Nippon, Meiji and the Agricultural University were present. Four resolutions were adopted; first "the social and cultural consciousness of students must be enhanced but no specific ideologies must be enforced and all questions connected with students must be solved by themselves; secondly, contact must be maintained among research institute in the universities; thirdly through the cooperative union books for common use must be purchased; fourthly the increase of tuition fees must be opposed". (Nippon Times, February 13, 1946).

Some representatives of graduates of Waseda University are requesting the authorities concerned of the Education Ministry to democratize the University. In this connection students' held a joined meeting of the Committee of Students League, Research Institute and Athletic Association on February 5. They debated on the method of selecting the present of the university and on the organization of the Self-Governing Committee of All Waseda Students. (Asahi, February 7, 1946).

About 2,000 students of Setsunan Technical College, Setsunan Technical School and Kansai Technical School met in a joint rally in Osaka, February 6th, to demand the "resignation en bloc of their directors and professors". (Mainichi, February 8, 1946).

According to Nippon Times, February 15, 1946, a Students' Radio Federation has been organized of all the universities and colleges throughout Japan to broadcast a daily "student's hour" by arrangement with the Radio Tokyo station. The students of Tokyo University of Engineering originated the idea.

It has been reported that the Student Autonomy Committee of Keio University will appeal to all the students to decide by an election the status of president, KOIZUMI. The Committee expressed dissatisfaction with the previous presidential elections by the autocratic of the board of directors. This committee insists that the president be elected by a new organization consisting of professors and students. (ATIS, 1490 (Social Series 279) February 23, 1946).

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- 8 -

The Doshisha University Students' Deliberation Committee held a discussion meeting in Tokyo between the directors and alumni for school reform. "The prompt execution of the following demands was asked:

1. The resignations of Professors DOI, KAWARA, MATSUI, KUROKAWA, MATSUYAMA and TAKEUCHI and Assistant Professor KAWADA.
2. The return of ousted professors.
3. Appointment of a full time dean.

"Acting Dean WAKAMATSU promised that the students' demands would be speedily carried out".

Of ten professors expelled "those who have consented to return to the institution are Professor NAKAJIMA Shigeru, MUNETO Keizo and TAKAHASHI Teizo". (Nippon Times, February 22, 1946).

Another meeting was held at the university, February first, at which alumni and professors desiring to promote the democratization of the university voted to recommend the revision of the rules of the university "after the presidential election is carried out by the Education Reform Examining Committee which the university authorities themselves appointed".

"At the meeting the following opinions prevailed.

(1) Immediate retirement of those who had the supreme duty of leading the university as directors during the war.

(2) Reformation of the university's rules should be carried out by a committee consisting of representatives publicly elected from among the professors of each department.

(3) The president and directors should publicly be elected by the representatives whom the assemblies of the professors and the managers of graduates' society will elect in accordance with the newly reformed rules". (ATIS 1122 (Social 226), February 4, 1946).

Teachers' Unions

There has been less activity reported about teachers unions. The All Japan Teacher's Union opposed the dismissal of 1,300 teachers in metropolitan Tokyo. A resolution was submitted to the Metropolitan Office and was rejected. A second meeting was held and other demands were made including "the management of education in the Tokyo area by the people themselves", and the supplying of meals at the schools. See Yomiuri-Hochi account January 28, 1946, ATIS 1012 (Social Series 207), January 29, 1946 enclosed as Appendix No. 7.

About

- 9 -

About forty representatives of high schools in the Tokyo area met February 11, to draft a plan for the organization of a labor union of high school teachers. No further report has been found on the results of the meeting.

The press has published many articles and has commented editorially on the unfortunate situation in which the teachers find themselves as a result of the rise in the cost of living and the new financial measures. A few raises in salary have been made in certain places, school gardens have been organized and existing ones expanded, and local cooperative groups have been formed but the problem is still far from being solved.

General

Four appendices are included as illustrative of many similar articles.

Appendix No. 8, "The Fundamental Improvement of National School Education.

Appendix No., 9, "Urgent Need to Establish Democratic Principles in Education".

Appendix No. 10, "Students Unable to Afford to go to Universities".

Appendix No. 11, "A Big Education Center is Planned in Nagoya City".

Karl C. Leebrick.

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KCLeebrick:ms

*Signed & Rec'd in SWNCC
March 27, 1946
W.H. Murray*

MEMORANDUM FOR THE STATE-WAR-NAVY COORDINATING COMMITTEE
FROM THE ACTING DEPARTMENT OF STATE MEMBER

It is recommended that, subject to the concurrence of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the State Department be authorized to release to the public, the conclusions of SWNCC 92/1, "Treatment of Japanese Workers' Organizations." These conclusions have already been made available to the governments represented on the Far Eastern Commission.

Confidential File

It is believed that this elaboration of our occupation policy in Japan on a subject of as much general interest as this one has, is information to which the public is entitled, so long as its release will not interfere with the execution of the policies contained in it. Since it was dispatched to SCAP on January 4, 1946 and has been carried out in large part by steps already taken by the Japanese Government, it is believed that no further reasons exist for withholding it.

740.00119 CONTROL (JAPAN) / 3-2746

TO	OCB NE Unit
FROM	<i>[Signature]</i>
DATE	
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H. Freeman Matthews,
Acting Department of State Member,
State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee

J. B. Martin :lmc 3-22-46

ILH, JA, ESP approved on 3-13-46 draft.

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*Aug 13 1947
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EMBASSY OF THE
UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

File

March 27, 1946

Mr. Elbridge Durbrow
Division of Eastern European Affairs
State Department
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Durbrow:

With reference to my letter of February 11, 1946
I am submitting herewith the final list of the persons,
who were assigned as members of the staff of the Economic
Adviser to the U.S.S.R. Member in the Allied Council for
Japan:

- Mr. Aleksandr Maleev
- Mr. Evgeni Khocialov
- Mr. Mikhail Mikoulin.

It will be appreciated if you will facilitate the
issuance of military permits to these persons.

The passports were submitted to Mr. Ira Meyer,
Visa Division, Department of State on January 29, 1946.

Sincerely yours,

F. Garanin

F. Garanin
Chief, Consular Division

740.00119 CONTROL (JAPAN) /3-2746
DC/R Central Files

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11/6/51*

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MAR 28 1946

SECRET

No. 511

To the
Officer in Charge of the American Mission,
Chungking.

The Secretary of State refers to instruction no. 502, March 22, enclosing a copy of SWNCC 272/1, "SOVEREIGNTY OF FORMOSA", and informs the Officer in Charge that by informal action on March 25 the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee approved SWNCC 272/1.

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MAR 27 1946 P.M.

Confidential File

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AMBASSADE DE FRANCE
AUX ÉTATS-UNIS

Washington, le 27 mars 1946

FL/HJ

NO 209

DC/R

DIVISION OF JAPANESE
Action Taken 4/3/46
MAY 24 1946
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

file

L'Ambassade de France aux États-Unis présente ses compliments au Département d'Etat et a l'honneur de lui faire savoir que, par décret en date du 19 mars, le Gouvernement français a nommé M. le Général PECHKOFF, ancien Ambassadeur de France en Chine, Chef de la mission française de liaison auprès du Commandant Suprême pour les Puissances alliées à Tokio.

740.00119 CONTROL (JAPAN) / 3-2746

Deux fonctionnaires ayant rang, l'un de Conseiller d'Ambassade, l'autre d'Attaché commercial, deux officiers supérieurs et trois sous-officiers seront adjoints au Général pendant la durée de sa mission.

Le Général PECHKOFF compte quitter la France pour les États-Unis vers le 10 avril et repartir de Washington à destination du Japon, avec les membres de sa mission, aussitôt

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Département d'Etat
Washington, D.C.

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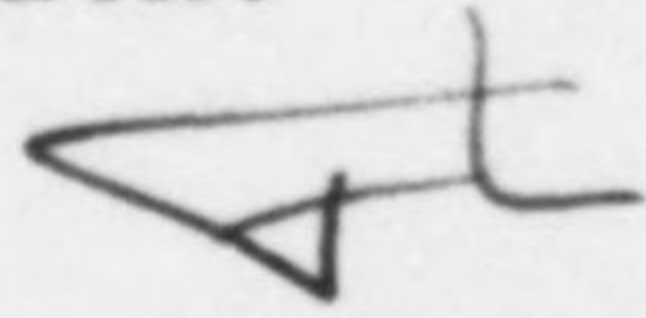
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que possible après le 18 avril.

L'Ambassade de France serait reconnaissante au Département d'Etat de bien vouloir porter ces indications à la connaissance du Général MACARTHUR et faire prendre les dispositions utiles au voyage du Général PECHKOFF et de sa suite./.

L'Ambassade saisit l'occasion de la présente note pour renouveler au Département d'Etat les assurances de sa très haute considération.



27 mars 1946

FL/HJ

NO 209

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~~FR~~
~~JA~~

OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISER

Tokyo, Japan, March 27, 1946

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 334

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DIVISION OF JAPANESE AFFAIRS
APR 11 1946
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DC/R

SUBJECT: Political Parties in Japan; Developments During the Week Ending March 23, 1946

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DIVISION OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
CONSULATING SERVICES
APR 9 1946
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The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

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Sir:

I have the honor to refer to this Office's despatch No. 314, March 19, 1946, and previous, transmitting weekly reports on political parties in Japan, and to transmit copy of this Office's latest report "Political Parties in Japan: Developments During the Week Ending March 23, 1946."

Respectfully yours,

Max W. Bishop
Max W. Bishop
Foreign Service Officer

100-894-00

File

RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

1946 APR 8 AM 9 1

RECORDS BRANCH

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Enclosure: *att 4*

Copy of report of
March 27, 1946.

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Enclosure to despatch No. 334 dated March 27, 1946, from the Office of the United States Political Adviser, Tokyo, Japan, on the subject "Political Parties in Japan: Developments During the Week Ending March 23, 1946."

OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISER

Tokyo, Japan, March 27, 1946

CONFIDENTIAL

POLITICAL PARTIES IN JAPAN: DEVELOPMENTS DURING
THE WEEK ENDING MARCH 23, 1946.

Summary. The titular leaders of the five major political parties have issued statements which purport to set forth the principles for which the party is striving. In general, these statements are vaguely worded, suggesting that the parties are "playing safe" in an endeavor not to antagonize certain sections of the electorate. Rather than rely upon specific problems and issues, it is believed that the parties will gather votes through the tested method of support from local politicians and organizations controlled by the party leaders and their supporters. The Progressives, Liberals, and Cooperatives place emphasis upon the retention of the Emperor, a relatively safe issue easily understood by the great majority of voters. The Social Democratic and Communist Parties failed to make a clear-cut statement concerning the Emperor, although the Communist statement contains oblique references to a "democratic republican Government", suggesting its continuing aim to abolish the Emperor system in its entirety. Greatest divergence of views is indicated in the economic programs of the parties. These vary from the Liberals' view that there should be extensive emphasis on industrialization, to an outright gift of land to working farmers as advocated by the Communists. Only the Progressives and Communists are unequivocal concerning the equality of women, the Liberals barely mention women, and the Social Democrats and Cooperatives ignore the problem. As of March 24 a total of 2,788 candidates had signified their intention to run in the general election. Political writers are already indulging in speculations concerning probable post-election coalitions centering about the Liberal Party. Reliable observers consider it unlikely that the Communist Party will gain more than token representation in the new Diet. The Communists, however, are concentrating upon strengthening their party organization and express confidence that the Party will show increased strength in the election after next. A considerable body of public opinion continues to decry the numerous minor parties and large numbers of independent candidates appearing on the political scene. In the opinion of Mr. OHATA Akira, secretary of the Young Men's Constitutional Party and treasurer of the Federation of New Parties, more than half of all minor parties will disappear from the political scene after the election. End of Summary.

Political Party Programs

During the past ten days, the titular head of each major political party issued a statement purporting to represent the principles

-2-

principles for which his party is striving. Given a prominent position in consecutive issues of Asahi, these statements undoubtedly attracted wide attention among the reading public and may thus serve to awaken to some extent the public's interest in anticipated forthcoming party Government. A careful reading of these statements, however, suggests the usual vagueness as to purposes and aims on the part of all major parties, an effect which is in part produced by choice of language, and in part by the obvious omission of principles which might well have been included. This vagueness reflects the traditional political party's approach to an election campaign and represents a studied attitude by party leaders not to offend any important section of the electorate by taking an unequivocal stand upon major issues. It is obvious that the parties are "playing safe" with their statements of principles, and that in lieu of reliance upon principles are more apt to gather votes through the personal appeal of their recognized candidates and by assistance from local assembly members and organizations "controlled" by party leaders and their supporters. If the party statements are to be considered as enunciations of the respective party creeds, it is not yet apparent, despite the imminency of the election date, that specific major problems will be the issues upon which the election will be decided.

As might have been anticipated, the Progressive and Liberal Parties place greatest emphasis in their statements upon the maintenance of the Emperor, a relatively safe issue easily understood by the large conservative section of Japan and which might serve as a rallying point for the overwhelming majority who appear to be suspicious of the more radical doctrines hitherto announced by the Communists and left-wing Social Democrats. The Cooperative Party also stresses the necessity to "maintain the line of Emperors, unbroken for centuries." KATAYAMA Tetsu, Executive Secretary of the Social Democratic Party, failed to make a clear-cut statement of his party's attitude towards the Emperor. Instead, it was stated that the Social Democrats believe that too much power is still vested in the Emperor under the Government's draft Constitution. This cautious attitude probably represents a continuation of the efforts on the part of the Social Democrats to minimize the danger of a serious pre-election schism between right and left-wing elements of the Party's leadership. Likewise, the Communist Party in its statement failed to mention the Emperor but signified its program by referring to the necessity of establishing a "democratic republican Government"--an oblique reference to the Communist wish to abolish the Emperor system in its entirety.

Although expressed in general terms, the greatest divergence of views among the five major parties, as indicated by the party statements, is found in their respective economic programs. Briefly, these programs provide as follows:

Party

-3-

<u>Party</u>	<u>Economic Program</u>
Progressive	Moderate economic control by the Government, with foreign trade on a large scale as the principal goal.
Liberal	Industrialization to utilize Japan's excess population.
Cooperative	Establishment of a cooperative community, with publicly elected managements for large enterprises.
Social Democratic	Nationalization of important industries, with adoption of Socialistic planning.
Communist	To give land to all working farmers and to release medium and small industrialists from "monopolistic capitalism."

The subject of equality of women is clearly mentioned only in the programs of the Progressive and Communist parties, despite numerous statements previously made by leaders of all major parties that serious efforts are being made to interest women in their respective programs. The Progressive Party statement unequivocally records the Party's desire that "the inequality of the sexes must be abolished in all fields," an aim which is hardly exceeded by the Communist Party's "to give women liberty and equality." The Liberal Party merely states, in effect, that something must be done regarding the position of women in Japan, a platform principle which would hardly attract women's votes in a democracy. Neither the Social Democrats nor the Cooperatives even refer to the problem.

A section of the Tokyo Metropolitan press has recently advanced a plea for greater similarity in the platforms of all major political parties, on the ground that too great a divergence of party aims might make impossible a smooth-working Diet. It is stated that in view of the ease with which one of the three major parties could operate to embarrass the Government (assuming that the Progressives, Liberals, and Social Democrats should obtain approximately equal strength) the major parties should attempt to reconcile their principles along parallel lines. In view of past experience in Japan with political party leadership which eventually collapsed because of obstructionism and a short-sighted scramble to gain power at the expense of the majority party it appears likely that opportunistic bickering may characterize much of the coming Diet's activities. However, this will spring not necessarily from differences of view on principles but from the inferior degree of political morality and experience. Its remedy will be found in a clearer definition of principles and development of political morality and a sense of national responsibility.

(Summarized

-4-

(Summarized translations of the statements issued by the five major parties are enclosed as Appendices I, II, III, IV, and V.)

Candidates and the Parties

During the past week the number of candidates who have filed notices of candidacy has increased from 2,618 to 2,788, divided by political affiliations as follows:

<u>Party</u>	<u>March 17</u>	<u>March 24</u>
Progressive	356	376
Liberal	463	486
Social Democrats	332	339
Communist	138	143
Cooperative	78	88
Minor Parties	523	568
Independents	726	788
TOTALS	2,616	2,788

Perhaps because it has the largest number of officially supported candidates, the Liberal Party, with HATOYAMA Ichiro as its President, appears to be receiving more press publicity than formerly, although Mr. HATOYAMA is still under fire from the leftist press which is urging his withdrawal as a candidate. Political writers are already indulging in speculations concerning probable post-election coalitions between the Liberals and Progressives, or alternatively between the Liberals and Social Democrats, both of which possibilities were admitted by Mr. HATOYAMA in a recent interview. Little attention is given by the press to the Communist Party as an opposition factor, and the general consensus of opinion appears to consider it unlikely that the Communists will gain more than a token representation in the new Diet. Even the Communist leaders have stated that their party is now primarily engaged in strengthening its organization. The Communist leadership in Japan, it is believed, possesses sufficient political acumen to concentrate upon the well-seasoned party tactics of infiltration to enhance the party's long-range plans rather than attempt immediate gains in the current campaign. The relatively large number of Communist Party-sponsored candidates (143) may be taken as some evidence of a widespread party organization rather than as an index of immediate political strength. NOSAKA Sanzo, himself a candidate in the First District of Tokyo City, has stated that "increased Communist Party strength will become apparent in the next election but one."

Minor Parties and Independents

One of the anomalous features of the Japanese political scene is the continued appearance of numerous minor parties, many of which in fact comprise only one candidate and are

obviously

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obviously the product of the personal vanity or political ambition of petty politicians. A number of newspaper editorials continue to decry the large numbers of independent and minor party candidates and stress the principle that by keeping away from the major parties, this class of politician assists in a continued disregard for the rule of the majority.

An interesting example of a typical minor party is the "Young Men's Constitutional Party" (Rikken Seinen-to), one of 11 minor parties comprising the "Federation of New Parties" (Shinto Renmei). Mr. OHATA Akira, Secretary of the former and Treasurer of the Federation, described his party as a group of approximately 100 young men between the ages of 20 and 30, lacking experience, but who at least are not tainted by old-line party standards. Both organizations were organized by one YAMAMOTO Monju, organizer and secretary of the defunct East Asia New Order Society, recently ordered dissolved. According to Mr. OHATA, the Young Men's Constitutional Society is not formally running a candidate at this time, but is supporting two "independents". Its chief aim is to familiarize its members with "political theories" which are discussed at lecture meetings called for this purpose.

The New Parties' Federation is a loose organization designed to enable the member parties mutually to assist and support each other. Six of the eleven parties involved are each running one candidate; the remaining five parties are running a total of fifteen candidates. In Mr. OHATA's opinion, most of the minor party candidates would affiliate themselves with a major party, if elected, but the minor party candidates feel that it would be disadvantageous to their personal interests were they to declare allegiance to a major party prior to the election.

William J. Sebald

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APPENDIX I

Asahi Shimbun, March 13, 1946

Summary Translation

Public Pledge to the People, by KATAYAMA Tetsu, Executive Secretary, Social Democratic Party

1. Rise with Socialism:

Our slogan for the coming election is: Rise with Socialism or fall with Capitalism. Japan must adopt socialism for its reconstruction. Capitalism will lead to its destruction. All the past economic policies have failed because of the pursuance of capitalistic policies.

2. Agrarian reform; democratization of rationing:

We will expose all hidden goods and distribute them through the regular ration channels. Rice purchasing will be done through the cooperation of the farmers' unions. Ration machinery will be democratized to insure minimum living standards.

All fertilizer industries will be nationalised if necessary; agrarian reform will be executed thoroughly so that all will become independent farmers for the development of the production spirit.

Subsidies and encouragement will be given toward the formation of consumer cooperatives and public markets to help relieve the burden of the housewives.

3. Production increase and national monetary control:

Socialistic economic planning will be put into effect for the realization of the "production first" principle. Coal will be nationalized to insure distribution of a minimum of 2 million tons per month (between 2-1/2 million and 3 million).

Reclamation of hidden materials for use in the production of civilian goods; promotion of the production of exchange goods for importation of daily necessities and foods by planned mobilization of labor power through the positive cooperation of labor unions; restriction of improper profits.

Our principle is, "Increased production of necessities through high efficiency and high wages."

Property tax exemption to be from 60,000 to 70,000 yen.

4. Non-workers will not eat:

Our policy for unemployment is: Those who do not work will not eat. Public works such as dam construction and rehabilitation of war devastated areas will absorb much of the unemployed. We proceed from the premise that the unemployed are the victims of national policy. Full efforts

will be

-2-

will be made to absorb them in useful industries and relief will also be granted. Unemployment insurance will be put into effect after the planned distribution of labor power. Up to that time an unemployment allowance system will be applied. For example: Rehabilitation Labor Corporations will be organized in war devastated areas which would register the unemployed and put them to work for a few hours a day, the allowance will take care of minimum standards. Labor unions to operate these organs and to undertake their training (unemployed). Public housing projects will be begun for solution of the housing problem.

5. Establishment of a democratic constitution:

The new constitution is good in many ways but there are faults. Too much power is still vested in the Emperor, the duration of the Diet is not clear, and no provision is made for the permanent existence of the DIET, composition of the House of Councillors is not given, and the peerage is still to exist for some time. Democracy and the abolition of war must await the establishment of socialism.

APPENDIX II

Asahi Shimbun, March 14, 1946

Summary Translation

Public Pledge to the People, by HATOYAMA Ichiro, President
of the Liberal Party

1. Upholding the national polity:

The primary requisite in political reconstruction and the opening of a new destiny lies in the maintenance of the national polity. By national polity is meant the progressive totality of the Japanese race. Its preservation is not only a feeling but also a rationalistic desire on the part of the people. Thus the maintenance of the Emperor system is the passionate will of the people combining both reason and faith. The establishment of democratic ideals and systems with the Emperor system at the center is the sole path open for Japan.

To realize this it is necessary to abolish the Emperor's divine power and make of him an ordinary character. In this sense a great reduction should be made in Imperial prerogatives, to be granted to the Diet and to the Cabinet, both representing the people's will. In this way the rights of the people will be respected and freedom and justice will reign.

2. Food problem:

The importation of foreign foods is absolutely necessary.

The farmers must be responsible for selling rice to the Government.

3. Industrial policy for a new Japan:

It was a political mistake for Japan to have been troubled about her over-population problem. The basis for the future progress of Japan must be this rich population. That is to say, for Japan, which is lacking in foodstuffs and raw materials, it is necessary to pursue a policy of intense industrialization which would necessitate high labor power and to export this plentiful labor power in the form of goods. In this connection the existence of favorable manpower and ocean transportation conditions promises great hope for the future of Japan.

When the Allied Forces begin to demand reparations in kind, we believe that they will open a way to supply us with the necessary equipment and raw materials. If this occurs, it would provide a great opportunity for industrial development.

The Liberal Party is for industrial rehabilitation. This includes the control of vicious inflation. In regard to the property tax we favor the principle of national joint taxation by increasing the exemption level from the present figure

of 20,000

-2-

of 20,000 yen to 100,000 yen. We hope that the industrial-capitalists will not think of themselves alone but would consider arousing the national cooperative spirit.

4. Social and cultural policies:

Industrial rehabilitation is the key to the solution of the unemployment problem as well as the absorption of demobilized soldiers and repatriates. Rehabilitation of war devastated areas and overall national planning are also needed. Proper distribution of unemployed and the reemployment of the intelligentsia through joint efforts of the government and the people are required. The position of women and education must be solved. It is the policy of the Liberal Party to work toward the harmonious cooperation of the workers and the capitalists.

We believe that freedom is the natural desire of man and for the fulfillment of this desire, cultural development and education are necessary. This is our task.

APPENDIX III

Asahi Shimbun, March 15, 1946

Summary Translation

Public Pledge to the People, by TOKUDA Kyuichi, Chief Secretary of the Communist Party

1. Our party is true to its promise. We shall never go back on the pledge that we made to the people in the election campaign. Therefore, we shall never give any promises which would be impossible to fulfill.
2. The basis of our promises is to devote ourselves to initiate every possible measure for the security and promotion of the people's way of life, and to carry them out with no anticipation of reward.
3. The basic aim of our party is to make Japan contented, peaceful, and wealthy.
4. It is an immediate necessity to procure employment, food and homes for workers, farmers, demobilized service men, repatriated nationals from overseas, war victims, medium and small businessmen, and all oppressed people. Basic and immediate plans for this are:
 - (a) To increase wages in accordance with the present trend in prices of commodities, rates, fares, and other daily expenses.
 - (b) To give all the working farmers land, and, at the same time, to multiply their present holding, enlarging it at least two-fold.
 - (c) To give women liberty and equality; that is, not to discriminate between men and women in professions, and to allow women to compete for important offices, abolishing all social and political discriminations.
 - (d) To release the medium and small businessmen and industrialists from the restrictions of the bureaucratic control system and monopolistic capitalism, and to guarantee freedom of business, thereby assisting in the increase of food products and the smoothness of distribution. Our party is ready to make many concrete measures to carry out these plans.
5. In order to solve the problems of food and daily necessities, the following measures are being prepared.
 - (a) To expose and deliver into the hands of the people the food and daily necessities concealed or hoarded by big capitalists and landowners, the military clique and bureaucrats.
 - (b) Agricultural products and daily necessities are to be delivered voluntarily and distributed under the supervision of the people.
 - (c) To abolish the forced administration of staple food, lest it cause a feeling of unrest among the farmers. At the

same

-2-

same time, to distribute such necessities as farm implements, clothing, fuel and salt, thereby giving impetus to the flow of agricultural products.

6. In order to prevent inflation and secure the life of the people:

(a) To have the Government withdraw the moratorium, which has favored monopolistic capitalists, Zaibatsu and large landowners.

(b) To immediately amalgamate the banks and other banking institutions and deliver them into the hands of the people, thereby freezing the funds of capitalists and landowners.

(c) To circulate plenty of funds, so far as they are really used for the increase of production, and so far as they are managed by a managing conference, including workers.

(d) To lend sufficient funds, if necessary, for farming, under the supervision of the farmers' unions, and thereby giving impetus to the increase of agricultural products.

(e) To permit funds for furnishing homes for laborers, farmers, workers, demobilized soldiers, war victims, repatriates, and others.

(f) To allow the funds of political parties, unions, cultural associations, and other corporations, insofar as they really work for democracy.

7. In order to put laborers, farmers, office workers, demobilized soldiers, war victims, and the unemployed, immediately and completely to work:

(a) To make use of all equipment by preventing the sabotage of production by capitalists and the reactionary government, and to absorb the unemployed therein. If necessary, in order to make room for the jobless, working hours are to be reduced.

(b) To encourage the reconstruction and expansion of communications, the marine transportation and postal businesses, and, at the same time, to improve the labor conditions of workers, reducing working hours and increasing the number of workers.

(c) To reconstruct all the institutes and houses destroyed by air raids. The Government and the public corporations must immediately begin to expand and promote rehabilitation work.

(d) To commence lumbering on forests owned by the Imperial Family, the State, capitalists, and landowners, and appropriate them for building purposes, fuel, etcetera.

(e) To commence operations for reclaiming waste lands in possession of the Imperial Family, the State, capitalists, and landowners.

(f) To commence big projects for preventing floods, digging canals, drying swampy grounds and developing hydroelectric plants. These projects must be started immediately under the direction of a people's republican government.

8. If we are to carry out these various plans, we must:

(a) Thoroughly punish the war criminals and those who are guilty of infringing upon human rights;

(b) Overthrow the reactionary SHIDEHARA Cabinet at once;

(c) Enact a democratic constitution, thereby having the people take the helm of state affairs, through the national Diet, under a unicameral system.

9. If

-3-

9. If we are to carry out these plans, it is essential to form a popular front, which acts on behalf of the people, by combining the Communist Party, the Social Democratic Party, labor unions, farmers' unions, cultural organizations, organizations of medium and small businessmen and industrialists, young men's associations, etcetera. We must establish a democratic republican government, respected by the masses, by establishing this popular front.

10. In order to fix more concrete and minute policies for the execution of these basic plans, we must overthrow the present feudalistic Emperor system, under which the people have long been suppressed by the brutal army and police groups, the large landowners and capitalists and bureaucrats. It is a matter of course that a people's republican government must be established in their place.

APPENDIX IV

Asahi Shimbun, March 16, 1946

Summary Translation

The Program of the Progressive Party
by SAITO Takao

1. Emperor System.

We need hardly stress the fact that we love and respect the Emperor, as representing the family from which the Japanese race has sprung. We feel, furthermore, that during the growth of democracy there is the danger that power can concentrate in the hands of the Government rather than in those of Parliament; in other words, at times there is a risk that the head of the Government may turn dictator. Our party is looking to cultural, peaceful and moral heritage of our Emperor system for providing us with a safeguard against such perils. Accordingly, we desire the Emperor to have the right of veto in case the Parliament transfers its general prerogatives to the Government, or whenever emergency legislation is considered, tending to curtail individual liberties on a large scale.

2. Foreign Policy.

In this field we will make sincere efforts to carry out the terms of the Potsdam Declaration and to join a world-wide organization, able to contribute to world peace and culture.

3. Culture.

We want a new Japanese culture to contribute to world culture, and science must expand on an epoch-making scale. In other fields, we want to preserve Japan's peculiar culture, at the same time bringing about its amalgamation with world civilization.

4. Education.

We advocate a great reform in the object of education. We want to educate the personality and regard education within the family and in the schools as most important; to this end adequate educational facilities must be created.

5. Women.

The inequality of the sexes must be abolished in all fields, and we must raise the status of women. Their work in the households must be made easier by the use of electricity and other devices and they must have leisure for reading, study and recreation. Their interest in society as well as in the development of their own personality must be stimulated.

6. Planning and Trade.

In order to feed 80 millions in our poorly supplied country, we must be prepared to employ one half of the total population
in trade