

Shanghai 293

889

PREPARING OFFICE
WILL INDICATE WHETHER

TELEGRAM SENT

PREPARING OFFICE WILL
TYPE HERE CLEARLY THE
CLASSIFICATION OF THE
MESSAGE:

Collect

Department of State

PLAIN

Charge Department:

Washington

Charge to

MAR 4 1946

AMERICAN CONSUL,

SHANGHAI (CHINA)

326 FOURTH

Passports, with military permits attached for
travel to Formosa, issued Adkins and Snethlage in
January. (URTEL 293 Feb 26) Assuming Chinese Govt
has authorized travel of Wu Shih-han to Formosa Dept
perceives no objection to his accompanying Adkins
and Snethlage.

pl

740.00119 CONTROL
(JAPAN) / 2-2646

740.00119 Control (Japan)

*Byrner
(410)*

CA:RSHumm@1:MS
3-4-46

CA

TELEGRAPH
DISTRIBUTION

CS/VA
RECEIVED
DIVISION OF
CENTRAL SERVICES

1946 MAR 4 PM 7 30

MAR 4 1946 P.M.

*PD
Lead...
Mrs. ...
2-2646*

DIVISION OF
CENTRAL SERVICES
TELEGRAPH SECTION

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
INCOMING TELEGRAM

ACTION COPY

Action	CA
Information	
FE	1
CA	1
JA	
SEA	
PI	AKK EGC

CA

EOC-K-X

9915

ACTION: FE
INFO:
EUR
DC/L
ITP
FC
CY
DC/R

DIVISION OF JAPANESE AFFAIRS
MAR 1 - 1946
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

PLAIN

Shanghai via Navy

Dated February 26, 1946

Rec'd 10:17 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

DIVISION OF CHINESE AFFAIRS
FEB 27 1946
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

*Reply dupl
in 04-2-28-46
572*

280, February 26.

French Consul General Shanghai requests permission for Marcel Leopold Requier, French citizen, return Japan take over from current manager "Air Liquide un" operation in Far East under "Far East Oxygen and Acetylen Company." Please advise.

JOSSELYN

DM

PLAIN

L.M.E.
2-27-46
no dist.
MAR 1 2 1946

740.00119 CONTROL (JAPAN)/2-2646



LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Handwritten initials and "DC/R"



MEMORANDUM

RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

1946 FEB 21 PM 2 35

DC/R
RECORDS BRANCH

To: Department of State, Washington
From: American Legation, Canberra, Australia

740.00119 CONTROL
(JAPAN) / 2-2646
(RECD)

Attached is the third of the weekly summaries of Australian press comment on the occupation of Japan which has been forwarded to the Supreme Commander, Tokyo, in accordance with the Department's telegraphic instruction no. 130, December 27, 1945, 5 p.m.

Encs. att. gmm

CSLF

January 18, 1946

DCR NE Unit	
Anal.	<i>ms</i>
Rev.	
Cat.	<i>ms</i>
Dist.	

MAR 1 - 1946

740.00119 Control (Japan) / 2-2646

SCAP TOKYO

January 17, 1946

CLEAR

Via U.S. Navy (Harman)

SCAP,

TOKYO.

SEVENTEENTH

Following is summary of Australian press comments with respect to Japan for week ending January 16.

All papers carried reports of reorganization of Shidehara's Cabinet as a result of General MacArthur's order debarring members of former ultra nationalistic or militaristic societies.

Daily Mirror January 11 carried report by William Courtenay with respect to Okinawa stating in part, "All peace proposals have been strangely quiet about its future and discussion about it hitherto has been frowned on. The fact is that it cost so many American lives to take that America has some sentimental and moral claim to it.

"America cannot walk out in case some other power walks in. She must either stay there for good and add to her growing dominions or bring its future before the

United

- 2 -

United Nations Conference now assembled in London. If she does then China will voice her claim and this will involve fresh problems between two principal members of UNO. Australia has a vital interest in seeing that Okinawa remains in the hands of a power able to defend it vigorously and will support any move by America. So will Britain."

Sydney Telegraph January 13 published report from Tokyo reading in part, "Public reaction to Emperor Hirohito's modest disclaimer of personal divinity in his sensational rescript has been lukewarm. In general the Japanese attach little significance to the Emperor's reference to his divinity as a false conception." Article reports publication in Asahi of a human interest story regarding Emperor by Prince Takamatsu. It concludes, "Some observers here interpret the rescript and this interview as a deliberate campaign of appeasement to shorten the occupation. They believe that Palace officials will continue to make these liberal gestures to impress the Allies and embarrass the Japanese radicals. The important fact remains that the Emperor is still the Emperor and that the people still maintain that there can be no Japan without the Emperor."

Sydney

- 3 -

Sydney Sun January 14 carried a report by Hy Hurwitz that "U. S. servicemen are being unmercifully fleeced by Japanese merchants in Tokyo and that the military authorities appear to be doing very little, if anything, to stop it."

Sydney Morning Herald January 15 published article by Jack Percival reading in part, "American counter intelligence has cracked down on the Nazis in Japan by imposing travel restrictions and confiscating huge sums from Party funds." He reports that about one million pounds in cash, platinum and other valuables has been confiscated from the Nazi Club and that Heinrich Stahmer, one of Ribbentrop's favorites, has been transferred from hotel to jail.

Melbourne Argus January 15 reports that, "It is believed that official reluctance to disclose details about British occupation force for Japan is because final agreement with America about the force has not been completed and statements before the agreement is reached may cause embarrassment."

Melbourne Age of January 15 expresses surprise that a veil of secrecy has been thrown over plans for the British Empire force to share in the occupation
of

- 4 -

of Japan. It continues, "Answering questions of Japanese pressmen, Mr. Patterson made the surprising statement in Tokyo that 'no definite arrangements have been made for British Commonwealth of Nations forces to come to Japan'. This statement contrasts strangely with the prevalent impression that active preparations would shortly lead to the presence of Australians in the Kuri-Hiroshima region of Japan as part of an Empire force under the command of Lt. General J. Northcott." Editorial concludes, "the fact that so many Americans in Japan are restive and eager to be relieved of occupation duties should remove any hesitation about facilitating the arrival of the British forces and permit the arrangements to go ahead on a firm basis."

MINTER

DJ/jmp

SCAP TOKYO

January 17, 1946

--

CLEAR

Via U.S. Navy (Harman)

SCAP,

TOKYO.

SEVENTEENTH

Following is summary of Australian press comments with respect to Japan for week ending January 16.

All papers carried reports of reorganization of Shidehara's Cabinet as a result of General MacArthur's order debarring members of former ultra nationalistic or militaristic societies.

Daily Mirror January 11 carried report by William Courtenay with respect to Okinawa stating in part, "All peace proposals have been strangely quiet about its future and discussion about it hitherto has been frowned on. The fact is that it cost so many American lives to take that America has some sentimental and moral claim to it.

"America cannot walk out in case some other power walks in. She must either stay there for good and add to her growing dominions or bring its future before the

United

- 2 -

United Nations Conference now assembled in London. If she does then China will voice her claim and this will involve fresh problems between two principal members of UNO. Australia has a vital interest in seeing that Okinawa remains in the hands of a power able to defend it vigorously and will support any move by America. So will Britain."

Sydney Telegraph January 13 published report from Tokyo reading in part, "Public reaction to Emperor Hirohito's modest disclaimer of personal divinity in his sensational rescript has been lukewarm. In general the Japanese attach little significance to the Emperor's reference to his divinity as a false conception." Article reports publication in Asahi of a human interest story regarding Emperor by Prince Takamatsu. It concludes, "Some observers here interpret the rescript and this interview as a deliberate campaign of appeasement to shorten the occupation. They believe that Palace officials will continue to make these liberal gestures to impress the Allies and embarrass the Japanese radicals. The important fact remains that the Emperor is still the Emperor and that the people still maintain that there can be no Japan without the Emperor."

Sydney

- 3 -

Sydney Sun January 14 carried a report by Hy Hurwitz that "U. S. servicemen are being unmercifully fleeced by Japanese merchants in Tokyo and that the military authorities appear to be doing very little, if anything, to stop it."

Sydney Morning Herald January 15 published article by Jack Percival reading in part, "American counter intelligence has cracked down on the Nazis in Japan by imposing travel restrictions and confiscating huge sums from Party funds." He reports that about one million pounds in cash, platinum and other valuables has been confiscated from the Nazi Club and that Heinrich Stahmer, one of Ribbentrop's favorites, has been transferred from hotel to jail.

Melbourne Argus January 15 reports that, "It is believed that official reluctance to disclose details about British occupation force for Japan is because final agreement with America about the force has not been completed and statements before the agreement is reached may cause embarrassment."

Melbourne Age of January 15 expresses surprise that a veil of secrecy has been thrown over plans for the British Empire force to share in the occupation
of

- 4 -

of Japan. It continues, "Answering questions of Japanese pressmen, Mr. Patterson made the surprising statement in Tokyo that 'no definite arrangements have been made for British Commonwealth of Nations forces to come to Japan'. This statement contrasts strangely with the prevalent impression that active preparations would shortly lead to the presence of Australians in the Kuri-Hiroshima region of Japan as part of an Empire force under the command of Lt. General J. Northcott." Editorial concludes, "the fact that so many Americans in Japan are restive and eager to be relieved of occupation duties should remove any hesitation about facilitating the arrival of the British forces and permit the arrangements to go ahead on a firm basis."

MINTER

DJ/jap

SCAP TOKYO

January 17, 1946

--

CLEAR

Via U.S. Navy (Harman)

SCAP,

TOKYO.

SEVENTEENTH

Following is summary of Australian press comments with respect to Japan for week ending January 16.

All papers carried reports of reorganization of Shidehara's Cabinet as a result of General MacArthur's order debarring members of former ultra nationalistic or militaristic societies.

Daily Mirror January 11 carried report by William Courtenay with respect to Okinawa stating in part, "All peace proposals have been strangely quiet about its future and discussion about it hitherto has been frowned on. The fact is that it cost so many American lives to take that America has some sentimental and moral claim to it.

"America cannot walk out in case some other power walks in. She must either stay there for good and add to her growing dominions or bring its future before the

United

- 2 -

United Nations Conference now assembled in London. If she does then China will voice her claim and this will involve fresh problems between two principal members of UNO. Australia has a vital interest in seeing that Okinawa remains in the hands of a power able to defend it vigorously and will support any move by America. So will Britain."

Sydney Telegraph January 13 published report from Tokyo reading in part, "Public reaction to Emperor Hirohito's modest disclaimer of personal divinity in his sensational rescript has been lukewarm. In general the Japanese attach little significance to the Emperor's reference to his divinity as a false conception." Article reports publication in Asahi of a human interest story regarding Emperor by Prince Takamatsu. It concludes, "Some observers here interpret the rescript and this interview as a deliberate campaign of appeasement to shorten the occupation. They believe that Palace officials will continue to make these liberal gestures to impress the Allies and embarrass the Japanese radicals. The important fact remains that the Emperor is still the Emperor and that the people still maintain that there can be no Japan without the Emperor."

Sydney

- 3 -

Sydney Sun January 14 carried a report by Hy Hurwitz that "U. S. servicemen are being unmercifully fleeced by Japanese merchants in Tokyo and that the military authorities appear to be doing very little, if anything, to stop it."

Sydney Morning Herald January 15 published article by Jack Percival reading in part, "American counter intelligence has cracked down on the Nazis in Japan by imposing travel restrictions and confiscating huge sums from Party funds." He reports that about one million pounds in cash, platinum and other valuables has been confiscated from the Nazi Club and that Heinrich Stahmer, one of Ribbentrop's favorites, has been transferred from hotel to jail.

Melbourne Argus January 15 reports that, "It is believed that official reluctance to disclose details about British occupation force for Japan is because final agreement with America about the force has not been completed and statements before the agreement is reached may cause embarrassment."

Melbourne Age of January 15 expresses surprise that a veil of secrecy has been thrown over plans for the British Empire force to share in the occupation

of

- 4 -

of Japan. It continues, "Answering questions of Japanese pressmen, Mr. Patterson made the surprising statement in Tokyo that 'no definite arrangements have been made for British Commonwealth of Nations forces to come to Japan'. This statement contrasts strangely with the prevalent impression that active preparations would shortly lead to the presence of Australians in the Kuri-Hiroshima region of Japan as part of an Empire force under the command of Lt. General J. Northcott." Editorial concludes, "the fact that so many Americans in Japan are restive and eager to be relieved of occupation duties should remove any hesitation about facilitating the arrival of the British forces and permit the arrangements to go ahead on a firm basis."

MINTER

DJ/jmp

SCAP TOKYO

January 17, 1946

--

Via U.S. Navy (Harman)

CLEAR

SCAP,

TOKYO.

SEVENTEENTH

Following is summary of Australian press comments with respect to Japan for week ending January 16.

All papers carried reports of reorganization of Shidehara's Cabinet as a result of General MacArthur's order debarring members of former ultra nationalistic or militaristic societies.

Daily Mirror January 11 carried report by William Courtenay with respect to Okinawa stating in part, "All peace proposals have been strangely quiet about its future and discussion about it hitherto has been frowned on. The fact is that it cost so many American lives to take that America has some sentimental and moral claim to it.

"America cannot walk out in case some other power walks in. She must either stay there for good and add to her growing dominions or bring its future before the

United

- 2 -

United Nations Conference now assembled in London. If she does then China will voice her claim and this will involve fresh problems between two principal members of UNO. Australia has a vital interest in seeing that Okinawa remains in the hands of a power able to defend it vigorously and will support any move by America. So will Britain."

Sydney Telegraph January 13 published report from Tokyo reading in part, "Public reaction to Emperor Hirohito's modest disclaimer of personal divinity in his sensational rescript has been lukewarm. In general the Japanese attach little significance to the Emperor's reference to his divinity as a false conception." Article reports publication in Asahi of a human interest story regarding Emperor by Prince Takamatsu. It concludes, "Some observers here interpret the rescript and this interview as a deliberate campaign of appeasement to shorten the occupation. They believe that Palace officials will continue to make these liberal gestures to impress the Allies and embarrass the Japanese radicals. The important fact remains that the Emperor is still the Emperor and that the people still maintain that there can be no Japan without the Emperor."

Sydney

- 3 -

Sydney Sun January 14 carried a report by Hy Hurwitz that "U. S. servicemen are being unmercifully fleeced by Japanese merchants in Tokyo and that the military authorities appear to be doing very little, if anything, to stop it."

Sydney Morning Herald January 15 published article by Jack Percival reading in part, "American counter intelligence has cracked down on the Nazis in Japan by imposing travel restrictions and confiscating huge sums from Party funds." He reports that about one million pounds in cash, platinum and other valuables has been confiscated from the Nazi Club and that Heinrich Stahmer, one of Ribbentrop's favorites, has been transferred from hotel to jail.

Melbourne Argus January 15 reports that, "It is believed that official reluctance to disclose details about British occupation force for Japan is because final agreement with America about the force has not been completed and statements before the agreement is reached may cause embarrassment."

Melbourne Age of January 15 expresses surprise that a veil of secrecy has been thrown over plans for the British Empire force to share in the occupation

of

- 4 -

of Japan. It continues, "Answering questions of Japanese pressmen, Mr. Patterson made the surprising statement in Tokyo that 'no definite arrangements have been made for British Commonwealth of Nations forces to come to Japan'. This statement contrasts strangely with the prevalent impression that active preparations would shortly lead to the presence of Australians in the Kuri-Hiroshima region of Japan as part of an Empire force under the command of Lt. General J. Northcott." Editorial concludes, "the fact that so many Americans in Japan are restive and eager to be relieved of occupation duties should remove any hesitation about facilitating the arrival of the British forces and permit the arrangements to go ahead on a firm basis."

MINTER

DJ/jmp

EP

488

Shanghai 280

PREPARING OFFICE
WILL INDICATE WHETHER

TELEGRAM SENT

PREPARING OFFICE WILL
TYPE HERE CLEARLY THE
CLASSIFICATION OF THE
MESSAGE:

Collect

Department of State

PLAIN

Charge Department:

Washington

Charge to

MAR 1 1946

AMERICAN CONSUL,

SHANGHAI (CHINA)

322 FIRST

Requiers request should be made through French
liaison officer with SCAP. For your info no
American businessmen have yet been permitted proceed
Japan.

740.00119 CONTROL
(JAPAN) / 2-2646

XR
894.659

Byrnes
(478)

RECEIVED
DIVISION OF
CENTRAL SERVICES

12/6 MAR 1 PM 7 51

TELEGRAPH
DISTRIBUTION

ER
CA:EErice:MS
2-28-46

JCS

JA

FE
JCV

CS/VJ

740.00119 Control

Byrnes

2-2646

MAR 1 1946 P.M.

R



THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISER

Tokyo, Japan, February 26, 1946

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 279

SUBJECT: Political Parties in Japan: Developments
During the Week Ending February 23, 1946.

RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
4

MAR 3 5
PM 6

DC/R
RECORDS BRANCH

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

DIVISION OF EASTERN AFFAIRS
MAR 13 1946
HJ

APR 17 1946
77e
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to this Office's despatch
No. 264, February 19, 1946, and previous, transmitting
weekly reports on political parties in Japan, and to trans-
mit copy of this Office's latest report "Political Parties
in Japan: Developments During the Week Ending February 23,
1946".

Respectfully yours,

Max W. Bishop
Max W. Bishop
Foreign Service Officer

Enclosure: *att m*

Report dated Feb-
ruary 25, 1946.

Original and hectograph to Department

800
WJSebald:jwb

DCR NE Unit	
Ana:	<i>W</i>
Re:	
Cat:	
Dist:	

HECTO
GRADED SENT TO FILE

740.00119 CONTROL
(JAPAN) / 2-2646

740.00119 Control
(Japan) / 2-2646
APR 3 0 1946
FILED
CS/VJ

XR 594.00

file

DC/R

*HJA
1 FEB
1 ORI
1 FCC*

Enclosure to despatch No. 279 dated February 26, 1946, from the Office of the United States Political Adviser, Tokyo, Japan, on the subject "Political Parties in Japan: Developments During the Week Ending February 23, 1946".

OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISER

Tokyo, Japan, February 25, 1946

CONFIDENTIAL

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

Summary. The elimination of purged candidates and officers from the offices and councils of political parties has posed a serious problem for all parties and political leaders have been active in attempts to reorganize their respective parties. With the resignation en bloc of the leadership of the Progressive Party, Mr. SAITO Takao has become acting head of the Party. Known as a man of liberal tendencies, Mr. SAITO may be expected to exert a liberalizing influence on the Party's policies. The Cooperative Party is gravely concerned over the probable elimination of a number of its most influential members, men who have been active for many years in the cooperative movement among rural classes. The Social Democratic Party likewise expresses anxiety over the loss of such persons as MATSUMOTO Jiichiro, KAWAKAMI Jotaro, SUGIYAMA Motojiro, KONO Mitsu, and others. Their disappearance from the political scene is felt by Dr. TAKANO Iwasaburo to strike a heavy blow at the Socialist movement. The Communists have expressed satisfaction with the Government measures and point out that they have always urged a cleansing of the political parties. The Liberal Party's call to conservative elements for the formation, in effect, of a conservative bloc to fight Communism met with violent denunciation on the part of the Communists, opposition of a milder sort from the Social Democrats, and suspicion as to its motives from the Progressives. The Cooperative Party contented itself with a statement that the Party is not interested. Should a conservative front materialize, the problems of the Social Democrats as a party will increase because of pressure resulting from both left and right. The current trend established by applications for Cabinet clearance from persons running as "independent" or "non-classified" candidates suggests the need for remedial measures to encourage the formation of well-organized parties espousing the cause of Democracy and accepting responsibilities of political organization. End of Summary.

Purge of Political Parties

The major political parties presented a picture of continued uncertainty and confusion during the past week, as the Government further tightened its restrictions on the holding of office in any party by purged officers. It had been assumed by most old-line political leaders that mere disqualification in the general election would not affect their position or opportunity to influence party policies, and that they might

nevertheless

-2-

nevertheless continue to guide the party and assist inexperienced candidates during the campaign. As the Government's attitude was clarified, party leaders became active in an endeavor to reorganize and present an outward front of solidarity. A summarization of the effect of the latest Cabinet order upon the major parties follows.

(a) Progressive Party

As early as February 18 it became clear to Progressive Party leaders that their position could not be maintained, in view of the Cabinet's decision that political party leadership must be construed as a "public office". At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Party held on that day, all officers of the Party, with the exception of Mr. SAITO Takao, resigned en bloc. This has placed the heavy burden of party leadership on Mr. SAITO as acting chairman until election results justify the selection of a new candidate for the Party's presidency. On February 22, ICHIMATSU Sadakichi, Osaka lawyer, was appointed Secretary-General of the Party, succeeding TSURUMI Yusuke.

With the almost complete change in the Progressive Party's leadership, it may be anticipated that the Party's policies will perhaps shift from the right towards the center. Mr. SAITO is known to be a man of liberal tendencies, albeit a believer in democratic evolution, and despite his advanced age may be expected to exert considerable influence on the Party's interpretation of its previously announced platform.

(b) Liberal Party

Mr. HATOYAMA Ichiro not only continues to maintain his position as President of the Liberal Party, but has taken the offensive against leftist parties by issuing a call to all conservative elements in all parties to rally around the Liberal Party to counter the threatened Communist-inspired Democratic front. Mr. HATOYAMA's statement, more fully examined below, has given an appearance of solidarity to the Liberal Party which its previous passive attitude appeared to belie.

(c) Cooperative Party

In a recent interview, Mr. IKAWA Tadao, newly elected head of the Cooperative Party, expressed deep concern over the future of the cooperative movement in Japan. (As leader of the Cooperative Party, Mr. IKAWA's real concern is probably for the political party rather than the cooperative movement throughout Japan.) As related by Mr. IKAWA, his anxiety is chiefly occasioned by the threatened elimination from the Party of such stalwarts among Japan's farmer leaders as (1) KUROZAWA Torizo, active for 35 years among the farmers of Hokkaido, a middle-of-the-road cooperative organizer, and founder of the Cooperative Party; (2) YOSHIUE Shosuke, an idol of the farmers by virtue of his literary contributions to farm journals and active for many years as a director of the cooperative movement in Chiba Prefecture; and (3) YOSHIDA Tadashi, a leader of the Party in Nagano Prefecture, long active among the silk producers' cooperatives and presently representing cooperative silk interests on the board of directors of the Japan Silk Corporation. In addition, according to Mr. IKAWA, the Party will greatly suffer from the loss of AKAGI Munenori of Ibaraki Prefecture, one of the younger cooperative movement leaders; SUZUKI Shogo of Aichi Prefecture, for 20 years active among local agricultural associations and the outstanding orator

of the

-3-

of the Party; and NAKATANI Takeo of Wakayama Prefecture, long active in the cooperative movement and reputed to have been a consistent opponent of the TOJO clique, despite his label of "recommended candidate."

(d) Social Democratic Party

The effect upon the Social Democratic Party of the Cabinet's latest purge is not readily apparent, as no "official" statement concerning the Party's plans has as yet been issued. From interviews with influential Party leaders, however, it is apparent that a deep undercurrent of gloom and uncertainty pervades the Party atmosphere. Dr. TAKANO Iwasaburo, adviser to the Party and well-known for his minority report espousing the establishment of a republic in Japan, has indicated alarm over the probable elimination of social and labor leaders such as MATSUMOTO Jiichiro, former leader of the Suiheisha movement to alleviate social ostracism of the eta class; KAWAKAMI Jotaro, a Christian, long active in Japan's social movement; SUGIYAMA Motojiro, experienced leader of farmers' movements; and KONO Mitsu, well-known labor leader in western Japan. Dr. TAKANO, considered by many to be a "left-winger", stated that the loss of the persons named would strike a severe blow to the Social Democratic Party as well as the democratization of the Japanese masses. He feels that the elimination of so many labor leaders with long years of experience behind them is in fact turning back the clock at a time when sound leadership for Japan's masses is most urgently required.

(e) Communist Party

The purge attitude of the Government is fully in line with previous demands for such action made by spokesmen for the Communist Party. The Communists have consistently demanded a thorough "cleansing" of all political parties (other than the Communist Party) and now are delighted that these demands are bearing fruit. The elimination of all so-called "war criminals" (a term never satisfactorily defined by the Communists) from political party structures is one of the Communist Party slogans. From the viewpoint of Communist strategy, it is obvious that categorical implementation of this slogan, while seemingly healthy, has the effect of weakening the opposition and thereby increases the relative strength of the numerically inferior Communist Party.

Liberal Party Statement

Partly in reaction to continued efforts of the Communist Party to form a Democratic front, and in part as a political maneuver designed to increase the stature of the Liberal Party as a conservative force, HATOYAMA Ichiro, President of the Liberal Party, on February 22 issued a call to leaders of conservative parties "to have a burning love of our race, forsake small differences for large unity, and establish a stabilizing influence in political circles...." The statement, a translation of which is attached as an Appendix, expresses anxiety that the disappearance of extreme Fascism will give rise to activities of extreme leftists. It voices alarm that "Communism is sharpening its claws behind the name of the Democratic front."

As might be expected, the statement met with violent denunciation from Communist quarters who charge that it "represents

a secret

-4-

a secret move of a conservative reactionary Fascist front." The statement was further characterized as "a preparation, cowardly and crafty, to seize political power."

Although the Social Democratic Party opposed the statement, its opposition was milder in tone. It was pointed out that the Social Democratic Party's responsibility is thereby increased, now that Japan's structure is divided into three distinct categories, namely, capitalism, socialism, and communism. On the other hand, reaffirmation of an independent position vis-a-vis the Communist Party was indicated.

The Progressive Party, through Mr. SAITO Takao, issued a cautiously worded statement to the effect that it also opposes any force which aims at the overthrow of the "national polity". Doubt was expressed by Mr. SAITO whether the Liberal Party's statement is seeking the cooperation of parties or individuals. He is quoted as having said that "if this statement is issued for the purpose of expanding the membership of the Liberal Party, it is in vain, as our party is well united." Mr. HATOHAMA, however, explained in a press interview that his party appeals to individuals rather than to the parties.

While it is still too early to evaluate the effectiveness of the Liberal Party's move, the issuance of the call does demonstrate an underlying sensitivity on the part of conservative leaders to the publicity recently given to the Communist Party through its sponsorship of the Democratic front. Left-wing Social Democrats and Communists are continuing their agitation for the formation of a Democratic front, despite previous indications that the right-wing leadership of the Social Democrats would hold firm to their previous decision. A body of some 20 persons has now been organized informally to act as an "intermediary" between the two parties with a view to overcoming objections in the Social Democratic camp. Among the members of this self-constituted committee are such well-known characters as OZAKI Yukio, Dr. TAKANO Iwasaburo, ABE Iso, YAMAMOTO Yuzo, Miss HANI Setsuko, and Miss KAWASAKI Natsuko.

Materialization of a "conservative front," as proposed by the Liberal Party, would greatly increase the difficulties of the Social Democratic Party. Already subjected to stresses from within, this party would additionally be opposed by increased pressures from the left and right. To join with the right would mean forsaking Socialist principles; to join with the left in a Democratic front would increase the dangers of loss of control by the right to the left-wing of the Party.

Candidates

As of February 23, the number of candidates who have filed applications with the Government was reported in the press as follows:

Progressives	278
Liberals	340
Social Democrats	302
Communists	119
Cooperatives	41
Minor parties	419
Independents	560
Neutrals	467
Unknown	357

TOTAL 2,883

The press

-5-

The press has devoted considerable space to the problem of categorizing the unprecedentedly large number of independent candidates. Anxiety is expressed over the failure of numerous so-called independents to declare their party label, as it is well known that many candidates, for tactical reasons, prefer to keep hidden their actual affiliations. Mainichi considers this trend as "indicative of the low political consciousness of the people," and later queried whether the 160 political parties, comprising more than 1,000 "independent" and some 250 "non-classified" candidates could ever give rise to a unified government. Tokyo Shinbun termed the practice "political vice," and warned that once again the people are being cheated by cunning politicians.

The trend revealed by the current registration of candidates gives rise to doubt concerning the wisdom of political policies not only allowing but also encouraging independent candidates or "parties" to flourish. In the past, "dark horse" tactics have been sufficiently prevalent in Japan to emphasize the need for additional education in political morality. A remedy may lie in disavowing political parties or candidates below prescribed standards, thereby increasing the prestige of larger, well-organized political organizations espousing the cause of Democracy and accepting responsibilities of political organization. Such action might simultaneously reduce a type of political chicanery which has long been the curse of politics in Japan.

William J. Sebald

800
WJSebald:jwb

APPENDIX

GIST OF STATEMENT ISSUED BY THE LIBERAL
PARTY ON THE ANTI-COMMUNIST PLATFORM

(Asahi, February 23, 1946)

"A glance at the present political situation shows that the collapse of extreme rightist Fascism is creating a strong danger of extreme leftists undertaking radical activities. The people should not forget the fact that Communism is sharpening its claws behind the name of a Democratic front. The Communist Party craftily camouflages its basic platform, but publicly declares its dependence on Communistic concepts. Moreover, it does not say anything about its relationship with international communism.

"Our Party cannot agree with the one-sided view that there cannot be any politics which ignores the stand of the working masses constituting 90 percent of the people, and that it is the monopoly of the proletarian political parties to represent the interests of the working people. Our Party is preparing for a thorough and high-grade social policy, for the purpose of overcoming the crisis of the race and for constructing a real democratic society. In our view, the scale and conception of our social policy should be developed up to the level of the New Deal which was a marked success in the United States.

"The critical situation confronting our State and race is really historic, and our Party is confident that a modern democracy of a Japanese type can be realized only when this serious crisis is overcome. All pioneers of the conservative political parties, we believe this is the time for us to have a burning love of our race, forsake small differences for large unity, and establish a stabilizing influence in political circles on an unshakable basis. Thus, we hereby appeal to those far-sighted men who have the same concern with us."



THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISER

Tokyo, Japan, February 26, 1946

No. 280

Office of FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS APR 8 - 1946

DCR

SUBJECT: Transmitting Memorandum of Conversation Containing Views of Mr. YADA Shichitaro on Political Situation

RECEIVED DEPARTMENT OF STATE

1946 MAR 3 5 57 PM

RECORDS BRANCH

The Honorable The Secretary of State, Washington.

Office of JAPANESE AFFAIRS MAR 13 1946 DEPARTMENT OF STATE

NA IFE/R IORI IPEC

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose copy of a memorandum prepared by a member of this Office of a conversation held with Mr. YADA Shichitaro, former Japanese diplomat, on February 12, 1946.

Summary. In the conversation Mr. YADA described his close friendship with the late Prince KONOYE, spoke of his conversations with the latter in 1936 regarding the necessity for ending the war, and discussed the Prince's relations with SCAP in the interim between surrender and the listing of the Prince as a war crimes suspect. Mr. YADA detailed the events leading up to the arrest of Mr. YOSHIDA in 1943 and mentioned a letter he had sent Prince KONOYE after the surrender criticizing the Government's intention to send KONOYE to China as the head of an "apology" mission, the Cabinet's use of improper terminology to describe the unconditional surrender, and the proposed appointment of SHIGEMITSU as Foreign Minister. Finally, Mr. YADA expressed his approval, except for some minor points, of the Occupational policies. End of Summary.

Respectfully yours,

Max W. Bishop Foreign Service Officer

XR894.00

RECEIVED DEPARTMENT OF STATE

1946 MAR 6 6 55 PM

APR 3 - 1946

740.00119 CONTROL (JAPAN) / 2-2646

RECEIVED DEPARTMENT OF STATE

1946 MAR 3 5 55 PM

RECORDS BRANCH

Enclosure Copy of memorandum of conversation of February 12, 1946.

Original and hectograph to Department Copy to General Headquarters, SCAP

800 JWBurnett:jwb

DCR - NE Unit tracking form with fields for Anal, Rev, Cat, Dist.

APR 16 1946

740.00119 Control (Japan) / 2-2646

NECTO SENT TO FR

77

Enclosure to despatch No. 280 dated February 26, 1946, from the Office of the United States Political Adviser, Tokyo, Japan, on the subject "Transmitting Memorandum of Conversation Containing Views of Mr. YADA Shichitaro on Political Situation".

COPY

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

February 12, 1946

Participants: Mr. YADA Shichitaro,
Mr. Leebrick.

Subject: Views of Mr. YADA on Political Situation.

Mr. YADA is a graduate of Tokyo Imperial University, a career diplomat who has served as Consul at Mukden; Second Secretary at London, Consul General at London, San Francisco, and Shanghai; Minister to Switzerland; Privy Councillor to "Manchoukuo". He was appointed President of Tung Wen College at Shanghai in September, 1940.

Mr. YADA called on me at my office and during the course of a friendly conversation made a number of statements, of which the following is the gist:

Prince KONOYE saw General MacArthur soon after the occupation began in August last year. The Prince was very pleased with the interview. He felt that General MacArthur had encouraged him to continue his leadership and that the Occupational authorities had recognized him as a liberal even though it was known that he was one of the leaders during the war. On this basis the Prince attempted to cooperate with the Occupational authorities and took leadership in constitutional revision.

Hence, when the directive was published listing Prince KONOYE as a war criminal, he was deeply disappointed and shocked. He expressed to friends the belief that this decision had come from a higher authority than General MacArthur, that it was somewhat contrary to the Supreme Commander's desires, and that it was an ill-advised way to deal with Japan. Prince KONOYE felt that he was a liberal and that he had done all that he could to check the militarists. He felt that listing him as a war criminal carried the Occupation policy too far; that many Americans understood what he (the Prince) had been attempting to do. He took great comfort from this, at the same time regretting that the Japanese, as a vanquished people, had for the time being lost their equilibrium and were flattering the Occupation leaders and currying their favor.

Mr. YADA explained at some length his close friendship with Prince KONOYE. He spoke particularly of an interview he had had in the summer of 1943 when he came back to Japan from Shanghai on vacation. He arranged an interview with Prince KONOYE because he felt compelled to say to him some things which he knew might be very unpleasant to the Prince and which he expected might end their friendship. In the two-hour talk Mr. YADA discussed with the Prince the general situation and pointed out that the Prince's greatest drawback was that he could not say "No" in a positive way, and that if it became

necessary

78

-2-

necessary, he should resign his office in an effort to uphold his idea of what was right. Mr. YADA told him that if he did this he would receive liberal support and that the war would then have to come to an end. Mr. YADA said he referred to the Meiji revolutionary Prince YUWAKURA as an example KONOYE should follow and pointed out that Prince YUWAKURA took responsibility. Mr. YADA explained that what Japan needed at the time was a strong man who could say "No" to the military authorities.

(In an aside, Mr. YADA gave the opinion that prior to 1941 Prince KONOYE could have checked the war by positive action.)

Prince KONOYE was reported as being unhappy about what had been told him but remained friendly.

Mr. YADA reported the substance of this conversation to Count MAKINO, who recommended that Mr. YADA should propose a Japanese commission to meet with a United States commission in Hawaii or elsewhere, with President Roosevelt present if possible. However, at this time Mr. YOSHIDA was seized by the Japanese police. As Mr. YOSHIDA's wife is the eldest daughter of Count MAKINO, the Count asked Mr. YADA to see Prince KONOYE to try to find out why Mr. YOSHIDA was arrested. Prince KONOYE told Mr. YADA that the Emperor had asked him (Prince KONOYE) to have a private interview on the war situation and that he had told the Emperor that since he himself was not a military person he could not give information on the military situation. KONOYE did state to the Emperor, however, his belief that if the war went on there was no hope of victory, that peace was necessary to save Japan, and that the offer of peace should be made at once because each day's delay made the situation more serious.

Mr. YADA reported that Mr. YOSHIDA had asked Prince KONOYE for a memorandum of this talk with the Emperor in order to show it to Count MAKINO. Mr. YADA did not think that such a memorandum was made. Military authorities learned of these conversations and arrested Mr. YOSHIDA in order to find out, if possible, what was going on. Count KOBAYAMA later told Mr. YADA that the Japanese military authorities had failed to find any documents or get the evidence they desired from Mr. YOSHIDA. Mr. YADA stated that the police had wished to arrest Prince KONOYE but had not dared because of fear of foreign and domestic repercussions. They did seize many people surrounding the Prince and got what information they could from them.

These facts were reported to Count MAKINO by Mr. YADA, and the Count advised Prince KONOYE to leave Tokyo at once--which he did, going by car to Odawara.

Mr. YADA spoke of a letter which he wrote to the Prince after the surrender, strongly criticizing the Government on three points:

First, the reported intention of the Cabinet to ask Prince KONOYE to represent Japan in China as head of a mission of "apology or conciliation". Mr. YADA pointed out that this was an improper policy, that it was time to act and not to talk. He recommended that the Prince stop this movement, and if he

were

79

-3-

were asked to head such a mission to refuse. At this time the HIGASHI-KUNI Cabinet fell and Mr. YOSHIDA became Foreign Minister, whereupon Mr. YADA gave the above facts to Mr. YOSHIDA.

The second point was objection to the use by Cabinet members and other Government officials of phrases such as "end of hostilities", "end of the war", etc. and not the use of frank language which indicated the fact of unconditional surrender. Mr. YADA urged the Prince to tell the people that Japan was defeated and had surrendered unconditionally. If these facts were not made known to the people, Mr. YADA felt it would take a long time to reconstruct Japan.

Third, Mr. YADA expressed his opinion that Mr. SHIGEMITSU should not become Foreign Minister since he was author of the policy of "Asiatic cooperation"; that his whole career was against him; and that he gave the wrong impression both to the people and Occupational authorities.

He said that Prince KONOYE did not reply to the letter but when he saw him at a meeting Prince KONOYE thanked him for taking the trouble to write. Mr. YADA then recalled that in September of 1943 he had told Count MAKINO that the only way out of the war was unconditional surrender. Count MAKINO apparently was surprised by the statement but did not make comment. Mr. YADA stated that he made similar statements to a number of other leaders which led Count MAKINO to ask Mr. YADA to come to see him. He told him that he must be careful, that what he was recommending was not pleasing to some of those in power and might cause him difficulty.

Mr. YADA then stated that since the Occupation began most thinking Japanese approved the directives and the over-all policies. He felt that he was in a position to appreciate the United States' foreign policies vis-a-vis Europe and the Orient and felt they were fair. This was a prelude to his remark that on some minor points he felt the directives had been in error and that these mistakes could have been avoided. He gave two examples: First, that an Occupational authority spokesman had stated that a Mitsubishi official had bribed or given a large sum of money to TOJO. After investigation, this allegation proved erroneous, and the matter made a very unfavorable impression on many Japanese. Second, he felt there were a number of mistakes in the January 4 directive relating to the list of individuals and organizations as cooperating with the military. He said that the directive referred to the "Governor General of Indo-China", but that there was no such Japanese official, that Japan had only an Embassy there. He pointed out that the Japanese noticed these errors and that they had an unfortunate effect.

Mr. YADA stated that he would be happy to be of service to the Occupational government and said that MAKINO, SHIDEMARA, and MATSUDAIRO could speak for him. Prince KONOYE had told him that he had spoken to Occupational authorities about Mr. YADA's qualifications soon after the Occupation began.

Karl C. Leebrick

800
KCLeebrick:jwb

MAR 1 1946

RESTRICTED

No. 99.

To the Acting United States Political Adviser
to the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers,
Tokyo.

The Secretary of State encloses for the informa-
tion of the Acting Political Adviser copies of the
following documents:

1. The Department's memorandum of December 5, 1945, to the War Department regarding the creation of a Chinese Liaison Group in Tokyo.
2. A note of February 18, 1946, from the Chinese Ambassador in Washington naming Chinese representatives on the Chinese Liaison Group in Tokyo and requesting that appropriate authorities be so informed.
3. The Department's memorandum of February 26, 1946, to the War Department requesting that the information contained in the Chinese Ambassador's note of February 26, 1946, be transmitted to the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers in Japan.

Enclosures:
As listed above.

DCR - NE Unit	
Anal	<i>mm</i>
Re	
Cat	<i>mm</i>
Dist	

A true copy of the signed original.

GR ✓ *mm*
FEB 28 1946

mm
JA:HLory:mls
2-26-46

CA FE *gler*

740.00119 CONTROL (JAPAN) / 2-2646
CS 1946 0119 Control
Japan / 2-2646



THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISER

DIVISION OF JAPANESE AND KOREAN ECONOMIC AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Tokyo, Japan, February 28, 1946

No. 282

APR 9 1946

Office of FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS APR 8 - 1946

Handwritten initials and marks at top right.

file DCR

RECEIVED DEPARTMENT OF STATE

MAR 13 1946

SUBJECT: Constitution Revision Proposals of the Japan Social Democratic Party

The Honorable The Secretary of State, Washington.

Division of Japanese Affairs MAR 20 1946 DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Handwritten initials: IJA, EIFE/R, IORI, IFEE

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to our despatch No. 275, February 25, 1946, and previous despatches enclosing translations of constitution revision proposals of Japanese political parties and study groups, and to enclose translation of the revision plan of the Japan Social Democratic Party as published in the Asahi February 24, 1946.

In its covering despatch No. 155, January 2, 1946, forwarding translation of the revision proposals of a private study group known as the Constitution Investigation Association, this Office quoted certain comments made by Mr. HIRANO Kikizo, Social Democratic Party leader, to a member of the staff of the Office regarding the Association's revision plan. Mr. HIRANO termed the Association's proposals (drafted by a committee of six left-wing Socialist Party members or supporters and one Communist sympathizer) "70 percent Socialist and 30 percent Communist", and stated that with the exception of the first article, providing that "the sovereignty of Japan derives from the people", a question on which his Party was not yet fully decided, the Social Democratic Party supported the plan wholeheartedly and might adopt it as its own. Examination of the enclosed plan reveals that this is virtually what it has done. Except for alteration of the articles establishing the locus of sovereignty, and deletion of such provisions as "The right of possession shall have the duty of being useful to the public welfare", "Land shall be so distributed and utilized as to enable the people to live healthy lives", and "Parasite-like possession of land and a feudalistic rent shall be prohibited" (the "30 percent Communist"), the Socialist plan is an almost exact replica of the Constitution Investigation Association's plan.

The Party position on the controversial sovereignty question is that "Sovereignty rests in the State (including the Emperor)" and that "the rights of sovereignty are to be exercised in major part by the Diet and the remainder by the Emperor". The Emperor's prerogatives, as in the Constitution Revision Association's draft, are reduced to purely

ceremonial

18894.011

APR 21 1946 DEPARTMENT OF STATE

740.00119 CONTROL (JAPAN)

42-2846

CS/D

Handwritten notes on right margin.

Form with fields: DCR - NE Unit, Anal, Re, Cat, Dist.

HECTO

SENT TO FR

Handwritten signature/initials.

-2-

ceremonial functions, such as the formal appointment of new Premiers recommended by the Presidents of the two Houses of the Diet and the formal promulgation of laws and signing of treaties approved by the Diet. Comparing this position with that of the Liberal Party, which stipulates in its revision plan that "the Emperor combines in himself the rights of sovereignty" but that "all national affairs conducted in the name of the Emperor are done with the assistance of the Ministers of State", and with that of the Progressive Party, to the effect that "the Emperor exercises the rights of sovereignty with the assistance of his subjects..., legislative powers (being) exercised with the approval of the Diet and executive powers (on) the advice of the Cabinet", we see that the Socialists have restricted the Emperor's powers to a greater extent than the other two parties, although in practice his functions would be substantially the same under all three plans.

Other important features of the Socialist plan, also appearing in the Constitution Investigation Association's draft, are:

(a) The Diet shall consist of two Houses, a House of Representatives elected by the general population and a Chamber of Councillors elected from and by the various occupational groups;

(b) Measures approved twice by the House of Representatives shall become law over the veto of the Chamber of Councillors;

(c) The Diet shall not be closed, a working organ being established to represent and act for the Diet during a recess;

(d) The Diet may be dissolved by popular plebiscite;

(e) The people shall have the right of existence and the duty of labor, and shall be protected in old age by the State;

(f) Discriminations based on sex or "personal standing" shall be abolished;

(g) The right of ownership shall be subject to limitation for the general welfare;

(h) The Privy Council, the peerage, court ranks and orders of merit shall be abolished;

(i) The Cabinet shall be responsible to the Diet;

(j) The Cabinet shall resign on a vote of no-confidence by popular plebiscite;

(k) The judiciary shall be independent under judges appointed according to law;

(l) The State

-3-

(l) The State shall indemnify persons acquitted by the courts;

(m) The President and the Judges of the Supreme Court and the Prosecutor-General shall be appointed by the Cabinet on the recommendation of the Presidents of both Houses (this provision differs from that in the Constitution Investigation Association's draft, which stipulates that the President of the Supreme Court and the Prosecutor-General shall be publicly elected);

(n) Constitutional amendments shall require the presence of two-thirds of the total membership of both Houses and the consent of a majority of those present.

The above-mentioned alterations and deletions which distinguish the Socialist Party plan from that of the Investigation Association may be explained by (1) the Party's desire to present a draft recognizable as its own rather than a mere copy of a draft prepared by another body; (2) the moderating influence of the Party's right-wing members (it will be recalled that the Association's draft was prepared by left-wing Socialists and a Communist sympathizer); and (3) the desire to appeal to liberal elements of all political shadings for the coming elections. The draft appears well designed for this latter purpose. While the confirmed Socialist will find in it (notably the provision that "the right of private property shall be subject to limitation for the general welfare") ample promise for the establishment of a Socialist economy, the plan has been so drawn as to attract a maximum number of persons of liberal viewpoint not avowed defenders of the capitalistic system for both large and small-scale industry.

A significant feature of the Socialist plan not mentioned above and not appearing in any other published revision plans (though known to be favored by the Communists and other leftist groups) is the provision that members of the House of Representatives shall be elected by the system of proportional representation. Socialist members of that House favored institution of this system, which affords maximum opportunity to minority parties, at the last session of the Diet when the Election Law Revision Bill was under consideration but were overruled by the Government and the Progressives, which argued that the system was too complicated for introduction at the present time. The Party is reported planning to introduce a bill for the further revision of the Election Law to provide for this system at the next Diet, with good chance of success.

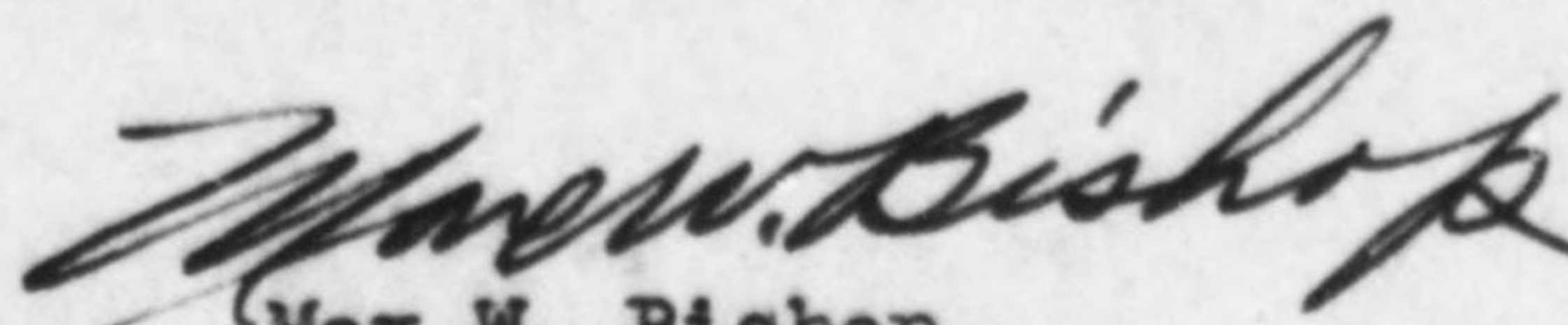
Constitutional revision remains completely overshadowed in the public mind by the emergency economic program. With the exception of one editorial by the leftist Yomiuri-Hochi (attached as an appendix to the enclosure), which attempts to demonstrate that because the Socialists' plan emulates the Liberals' in providing that "Sovereignty resides in the State"

the two

-4-

the two plans are in all other respects the same, the Socialist proposals have received little or no press comment. Individual Japanese whose views have been sought in the matter agree, however, on its broad appeal.

Respectfully yours,



Max W. Bishop
Foreign Service Officer

Enclosure:

grg ✓ Translation from Asahi
of February 24, 1946.

Original and hectograph to Department
Copy to General Headquarters, SCAP

801.1

RAFeareys:jwb

Enclosure to Despatch No. 282 of February 28, 1946, from the United States Political Adviser, Tokyo, Japan, on the subject "Constitution Revision Proposals of the Japan Social Democratic Party".

Translation

Constitution Revision Plan of the Social Democratic Party

(Asahi, February 24, 1946)

I. Three Principles of the New Constitution

1. Principle

A new Constitution is instituted for the purpose of the firm establishment of democratic government and the execution of a socialistic economy.

2. Method

The term of the special session of the Diet to be convened after the general election will be prolonged for the institution of a new Constitution. This is called the Constitutional Diet.

3. Aim

The aim of the new Constitution is to establish a peaceful country. It sweeps away the conception of a State based upon power and clarifies the point that the State is the principal body for promoting the welfare of the people.

II. Sovereignty and Exercise of the Powers of Sovereignty

1. Sovereignty

Sovereignty rests in the State (the national community including the Emperor).

2. Sovereign power

The rights of sovereignty are to be exercised in major part by the Diet and the remainder by the Emperor. The Imperial system is thus to be maintained with the Emperor's supreme powers drastically curtailed.

III. The Emperor's prerogatives

1. The Prime Minister shall be appointed by the Emperor on the recommendation of the Presidents of both Houses. The Emperor shall abide by their recommendation.

2. The treaty-making power shall be vested in the Diet. The Emperor shall sign treaties approved by the Diet but may not veto them.

3. The

- 2 -

3. The promulgation of laws passed by the legislature shall require the formality of bearing the Emperor's signature.
4. The Emperor has the power of according amnesty on the proposal of the Cabinet.
5. The Emperor has the power of according honors to the people.
6. The Emperor shall represent the State ceremonially in relation with foreign countries.
7. The Emperor has no political responsibility. Succession to the Throne and the establishment of a regency shall require the approval of the Diet.

IV. The Legislature

1. The Diet exercises all sovereign powers not belonging to the Emperor.
2. The Diet has the powers of legislation, of approving the State revenue and expenditure, of directing and supervising administration, and of giving approval to treaties.
3. The Diet consists of two Houses. The House of Representatives shall be composed of representatives elected by the people by the system of proportional representation, and shall have priority over the House of Councillors. The House of Councillors shall be composed of representatives publicly elected from the various occupational groups, and shall consider legislation primarily from a technical point of view.
4. A law adopted twice by the House of Representatives binds the House of Councillors.
5. The Diet shall not be closed. A working organ shall be established to represent and act for the Diet during recess.
6. The people may dissolve the Diet by plebiscite.

V. The Rights and Duties of the People

1. The people have the right of existence. They shall receive protection from the State in old age.
2. It shall be the duty of the State to stabilize and elevate the living of the people in accordance with the principle of justice and equality.
3. All discriminations based on sex or personal standing shall be abolished.
4. The peerage, court ranks and orders of merit shall be abolished.
5. Freedom of speech, assembly, association, publication, religion and correspondence shall be secured.
6. The people shall have the duty of labor. Labor shall receive the special protection of the State.
7. The right of ownership shall be subject to limitation for the general welfare.
8. The family life of the people shall be protected. Marriages shall be based upon the equal rights of men and women.

9. The

- 3 -

9. The people shall be equally eligible for public office in accordance with their capacity and as prescribed by law.
10. The State shall provide facilities for education and the elevation of culture, and the people shall have the duty of acquiring learning.

VI. The Cabinet

1. The Prime Minister shall appoint the Ministers of State and organize the Cabinet.
2. The Cabinet shall be responsible to the Diet. The Cabinet, by commission of the Diet, shall represent the State externally, execute the administrative powers, appoint and discharge officials, and issues orders for the enforcement of law.
3. The Cabinet shall resign on a vote of no-confidence by popular plebiscite. The Privy Council is abolished.

VII. The Administration of Justice

1. The judiciary shall be independent under judges appointed according to law.
2. The President and the Judges of the Supreme Court and the Prosecutor-General shall be appointed by the Cabinet on the recommendation of the Presidents of both Houses. All other judges shall be appointed by the Cabinet.
3. The State shall indemnify persons acquitted by the courts.
4. Capital punishment shall be abolished. A judicial system based on respect of human rights shall be established.
5. The Courts of Administrative Litigation shall be abolished.

VIII. The Budget and Settlement of Accounts

1. The revenue and expenditure of the State shall be provided in detail in the national budget and decided by law before the opening of each fiscal year.
2. A statement of State revenue and expenditure shall be submitted to the Audit Bureau promptly, to be presented to the Diet after examination by the Audit Bureau. The Chief of the Audit Bureau shall be appointed by the Cabinet on the recommendation of the Presidents of both Houses.

IX. Supplementary Rules

Constitutional amendments shall require the attendance of two-thirds of the total membership of both Diet Houses and the consent of a majority of those present.

AppendixEditorial Appearing in the Yomiuri-Hochi NewspaperFebruary 25, 1946

The draft for a revised Constitution published by the Social Democratic Party on Saturday has disappointed the public, while relieving conservative circles of much anxiety. The Social Democrats' draft is hardly different in substance from the draft published by the Liberal Party sometime ago. The latter party has now come out as a party of conservative democracy, so the public may well feel bewildered as to the basic principles that guided the Social Democrats in drawing up the document published on Saturday.

On the question of sovereignty, the Social Democrats' draft declares that it resides in the State the "national community including the Emperor". This declaration is identical in substance with the provision of the Liberal draft which states that the holder of sovereignty is the Japanese State. The two drafts recognize that sovereignty resides in the State; they also agree in the retention of maintenance of the Emperor system. The differences between the two drafts may, therefore, be regarded as matters of subordinate importance, though the Social Democrats' draft goes a step further than the Liberals' draft regarding the separation of powers.

The Social Democrats' draft appears to restrict the Imperial prerogatives rather more severely than the Liberal Party's draft, but the difference is largely a matter of form. As to the conclusion of treaties, the Liberals' draft reserves the right as a prerogative matter, while the Social Democrats' draft declares that this right belongs to the Diet, adding, however, that "treaties are signed by the Emperor", a proviso which is very clear in meaning.

As to legislation, the Liberals' draft counts the approval and promulgation among the Imperial prerogatives, while the Social Democrat Party's plan states no more than that the promulgation of laws requires the signature of the Emperor, but there can be hardly any difference between the two plans in this respect, for the approval in question can only take place by Imperial sign manual.

As to the position of the Prime Minister, the Liberals' draft recognizes his superiority over other Ministers, while the Social Democrats' plan states that the latter are to be appointed by the Prime Minister. Here again the difference is a matter of form, for the Prime Minister has always chosen his colleagues since the introduction of the cabinet system.

Regarding also the responsibility of Ministers to the Diet, the Social Democrats' plan shows little improvement over the present system. The Liberal and Social Democrat plans agree, as stated above, on basic points, and a perusal of the drafts leaves an impression that they are works of academic minds hardly in

touch

- 2 -

touch with popular aspirations. If the political reconstruction of Japan is to go no further than is indicated in the drafts in question, there is no need of a quick revision of the Constitution, which, as a matter of fact, is already in a state of suspension.

In its chapter on the rights and obligations of the people, the Social Democrat Party's draft mentions the "obligation of labor" and the "special protection of the State for labor", but it contains no other provisions relating to social security. This is disappointing.
