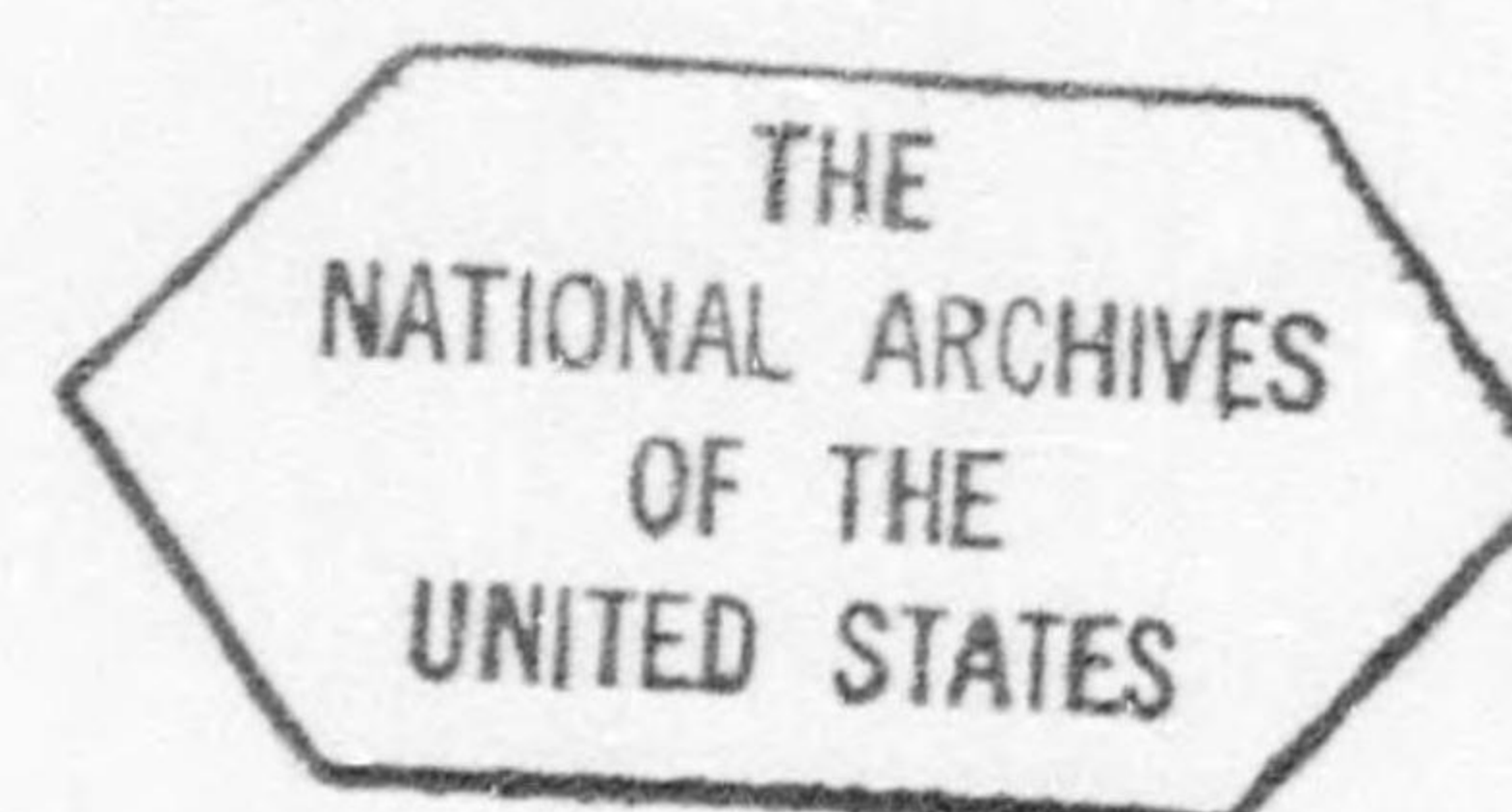


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I N D E X

1. Memorandum For The Record: Interview with YONEKUBO Mitsusuke,
Social Democratic Party 9 May 47
2. Memorandum To: Chief, Government Section - Formation of New Cabinet . 9 May 47

80 file
Pol. Anal. of Results

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
Government Section

9 May 1947

MEMORANDUM TO: Chief, Government Section

SUBJECT : Formation of New Cabinet

The following comments on coalition possibilities are based upon statements made during the past week by responsible representatives of the Social Democratic Party and upon a comparative analysis of election results for the Diet and prefectural assemblies:

I. PLAN A: 4-Party coalition with KATAYAMA as Premier -

Social Democrats
Democrats
Peoples Cooperatives
Liberals

Critical Factors: ESB and Finance Ministry Portfolios. Social Democrats want these offices assigned to Independents with no previous political connections whose economic and political philosophies are acceptable to them. They also want YOSHIDA as Foreign Minister. It is also alleged that this plan is favored by a faction of the Democratic Party under ASHIDA.

II. PLAN B: 3-Party coalition headed by KATAYAMA -

Social Democrats
Democrats
Peoples Cooperatives

This plan calls for the exclusion of the Liberal Party from the Cabinet. This plan is alleged to be favored by a faction of the Social Democratic Party and is considered possible only in the event that the SHIDEHARA and ASHIDA factions split on the issue of a Liberal-Democratic coalition. This development is considered improbable.

Critical Factors: Lack of confidence in ability to overcome Liberal Party opposition in the Diet, and development of a Democratic Party split.

III. PLAN C: 2-Party coalition headed by YOSHIDA or SHIDEHARA (probably YOSHIDA, but SHIDEHARA has been demonstrating increased strength recently.)

Liberals
Democrats

This latter eventuality would result in either YOSHIDA or SHIDEHARA occupying the post of Prime Minister or Foreign Minister and would organize the Social Democrats, Peoples Cooperatives and ASHIDA Democrats into a strong non-participating opposition.

Critical Factors: Lack of confidence in ability to overcome Social Democratic and Peoples Cooperative Party opposition in the Diet and maintenance of unity within the Democratic Party.

These three plans are ranked in the following order of probability by responsible Social Democrats:

1. Plan A - 4-Party coalition
2. Plan B - 3-Party coalition
3. Plan C - 2-Party coalition

Determining Factors:

The following conclusions on the part of the major parties or a coalition thereof will determine the formation of the Cabinet:

1. That party plurality in the House of Representatives represents a true index of public preference and therefore the Cabinet should be formed by the Social Democrats with KATAYAMA as Premier.
2. That no Cabinet can assume full responsibility without the full cooperation of all four major parties.
3. That a coalition of two major parties with a faction split from one of the other remaining two parties can form a Cabinet and operate effectively in spite of opposition from the remaining parties and factions.

Analysis and Implications:

Re conclusion 1, above, a comparative analysis of election results for all legislative bodies, the House of Councillors, House of Representatives and the prefectural assemblies discloses that the Social Democratic Party, the plurality party in the House of Representatives does not have an undisputed claim to dominant public support with regard to the legislative bodies. For example, the Social Democrats won a total of 597 seats in the Diet and prefectural assemblies, based on 17,427,908 votes, as compared with 640 seats for the Liberals, based on 15,302,531 votes, and 666 seats for ~~the Social~~ Democrats, based on 16,222,928 votes.

Comparative statistics of possible coalition plans are significant:

PLAN B - Social Democrats-Democrats-Peoples Cooperatives:

1418 seats* 37,942,295 votes

*minus Democratic Party split, SHIDEHARA faction estimated at 40% of Party strength.

PLAN C - Liberals-Democrats:

1306 seats 31,525,459 votes

PLAN X - Social Democrats-Peoples Cooperatives:

752 seats 21,719,367 votes.

The above statistics provide an adequate basis for rationalization by the Liberals and Democrats, provided the Democrats remain unified, and by the Social Democrats, the ASHIDA faction of the Democratic Party, and the Peoples Cooperatives, in justification of independent assumption of power.

Note: A representative of the Social Democratic Party today indicated that Mr. SAITO, Takeo of the Democratic Party would align himself with ASHIDA in the event of a party split, in which case the ASHIDA-SAITO faction would control 60% of the Party.

Re conclusion 2, above, it is reasonable to assume that PLAN A (4-Party coalition) provides the best assurance for a successful government and that this fact is recognized by all major parties.

Re conclusion 3, above, it appears improbable that a partial coalition within the four major parties could be successful, although they could unquestionably assume power and form a Cabinet.

CARLOS P. MARCUM
Chief, Political Affairs Division

21. file
Pol. Analysis + Results

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
Government Section
Political Affairs Division

9 May 1947

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: INTERVIEW WITH YONEKUBO Mitsusuke, Social Democratic Party

Mr. YONEKUBO gave the following resume of the recent meetings of the Central Executive Committee on 3 May 1947 and the Central Committee on 7 May 1947.

On 3 May 1947 it was decided by the Committee that a coalition cabinet was necessary at the present time. The Premiership and cabinet ministries, it was decided, were to be taken up at a later date when the leaders of the four major parties met.

At the meeting held on 7 May 1947 the Committee decided that KATAYAMA should be the Prime Minister. Policies were drawn up dealing with anti-inflationary measures and policies for speeding up production of industries were also drafted. The Committee finally decided that the proceedings of the meeting of the four party heads should be revealed to the public.

On 8 May 1947 Prime Minister YOSHIDA and KATAYAMA of the Social Democratic Party met for the purpose of discussing the coalition issue. YOSHIDA informed KATAYAMA that the Social Democratic Party should take the initiative and lead coalition negotiations. It was decided that the meeting of the leaders of the four major parties would take place on 9 May 1947 in the Speaker's room in the Diet. Besides these heads, Mr. YONEKUBO stated that NISHIO, ONO, ASHIDA, and OKADA would accompany the party heads. (The Democratic Party has been undecided as to who would attend. Both SAITO and ASHIDA were expected to attend. It was decided in this event that all parties therefore would send two representatives.)

DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Mr. YONEKUBO said that there are three factions within the Democratic Party now. These are led by SHIDEHARA (40% following), ASHIDA (35% following), and SAITO (25% following). He believes that if a major issue develops that SAITO will join ASHIDA against SHIDEHARA. He was asked how strong SHIDEHARA's position would be in the event that KATAYAMA became Prime Minister and he replied that SHIDEHARA would lose his following in the Democratic Party, and agreement would be reached among its members.

CARLOS P. MARCUM
Chief, Political Affairs Division

Prepared by Capt. Damantes