

POLITICAL SERIES: 174 (Continued)ITEM 4 (Continued)

oppose it merely for opposition's sake, it will meet with some success. The party may dissolve the Diet after getting through the crisis, and follow the expression of the people's will. The Communists vigorously advocate the establishment of a democratic popular Government. Even if the Social Democrats form a cabinet at an early date, their fundamental policy would be to gather democratic influences in and about the Diet, which is quite different from the popular Government on which the Communists insist. The party sees that this is not the time for the immediate realization of what the Communists advocate. Furthermore, the two parties have widely different views regarding methods of forming a democratic front and of dealing with the problem of the Constitution. It is not likely that they can immediately come to an agreement and form a coalition cabinet.

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PRESS TRANSLATIONS

No. 2932

DATE: 13 May 46

POLITICAL SERIES: 755

ITEM 1 Social Democratic Party Thrown into Confusion by Split in Views -
Tokyo Shimbun - 11 May 46. Translator: S. Hirata.

412.3 Summary:

Though the members of the Social Democratic Party are in favor of a single-party cabinet, the Social Democratic Party is now in a state of dire confusion, due to the differences of views within the Party. Mr. NISHIO strongly advocates a coalition cabinet, in accord with the Liberal Party, without regard for statesmanship. Messrs. MIZUTANI, TAWARA, HIRANO, M. KONO, and others are insisting upon a one-party cabinet on the ground that the Social Democratic Party must assume leadership in the future political world by avoiding a split between the leftist and rightist members of the Party, as well as unnecessary conflict between the Liberals and the Communists. Messrs. NAKAMURA and SUNAGA opposed the compromise measures advocated by the above members for a time, but now they entertain the same views.

Messrs. KURODA, KATO, and SUZUKI, who belong to the so-called "Laborers' and Peasants' Group", are advocating the establishment of a democratic front cabinet under the leadership of the Social Democratic and Communist Parties. Messrs. HARA, NOMIZO and YONEKUBO, however, are critical of the Communist Party's policy of mobilizing the masses, and its version of the Constitution problem.

Mr. MATSUMOTO, another influential member of the Party, is of the opinion that it is more important to strengthen the Party itself than to insist upon forming a democratic front cabinet, and that the Party should, for the time being, try to bring into full play the true advantages of a non-Governmental party.

Secretary-general KATAYAMA is racking his brains for a plan to iron out the differences among the members of the different parties. Personally, he is determined to adhere to the parliamentary doctrine to the last. It is chiefly for this reason that he visited the head office of the Liberal Party on 9 May. It is expected that most of the members will probably agree with his views. As things stand now, his views are not as yet powerful enough to sway the general tendency in the Party, and he seems to be at a loss as to how to extricate himself from the present predicament. Should some trouble or other break out in the future, the condition of the Party will go from bad to worse.

POLITICAL SERIES: 734 (Continued)

ITEM 4 Cabinet Formation With Social Democratic Party - Mainichi Shimbun -
7 May 46. Translator: A. Kido.

4123
Full Translation:

Last Sunday, the Social Democratic Party launched into a maneuver for the formation of a Coalition Cabinet under its leadership. At a Standing Committee meeting yesterday morning it was decided, first of all, to concentrate energies on asking the Liberal, Cooperative, and Communist Parties to cooperate with it through joining the Cabinet, and each Committeeman at once started negotiations. The party has, in view of past negotiations, assumed a realistic attitude, and intends to put the main weight on the Liberal Party. It was decided, as a result of negotiations with the Liberals, to come to an agreement by appreciating one another's points of view. Toward this end concrete negotiations will take place today.

The bone of contention is, however, the relations between the Liberal and Communist Parties. The Communists favors exclusion of the Liberal Party, which appears to be utterly opposed to the Communist participation in the Cabinet. An adjustment, therefore, of these conflicting factors constitutes the fundamental requisite for forming a Cabinet hinging on the Social Democratic Party. The Social Democrats are not inclined to believe that there is no room left in the attitude of the Communist Party for negotiation, and are further convinced that on the difficult question of Constitution revision, an agreement can be reached by negotiations.

This, however, does not always warrant optimism. It depends on arrangements to be reached between the Social Democratic and Liberal Parties. Moreover, the complicated co-ordination of the left and right wings within the party also will appear to aggravate the relations between the Liberal and Communist Parties. There is a possibility that the formation of the Coalition Cabinet would both internally and externally be endangered.

Due to the KATAYAMA-SHIDEHARA Conference, the coalition of the Social Democratic Party with the Liberal Party is for the Social Democrats, an absolute necessity for a Coalition Cabinet. It was necessary to abandon its objective point of view and give the matter a realistic consideration. But in the event that its negotiations with various parties should fail, especially in the case of the Liberal Party, the Social Democratic Party, it is believed, will form its own Cabinet on a democratic front platform. Agreements on policy will be made with the Co-operative and Communist Parties also, in addition to agreements with the Liberals. Such agreements, if made, will be submitted to the Four-Party Committee for adjustment, which may require four days.

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ITEM 3 The Social Democrats Need to Eliminate the Reactionary Leaders
from the Party - Yomiuri Hochi, 7 May 46. Translator: S. Cho.

4123 Summary:

The Allied directive ordering the purge of President HATOYAMA of the Liberal Party from public service is very suggestive of the extent of the execution of the political purge which will be enforced hereafter. In this connection, it is most advisable for the Social Democratic Party, before starting the formation of a new Cabinet, to initiate a thorough purge of the party to eliminate the reactionary faction. However hard a task it may be, it is the spiritual obligation of the party to the public which supported it in the election. If the party fails to fulfill this duty, it will mean not only a betrayal of the public's faith, but, also, as was the case with the HATOYAMA affair, it will mean failure in forming a new Government. The party, saddled with the grave task of coping with the national crisis under the occupation of Allied Forces, is most earnestly warned to take every precaution in selecting Cabinet members for the new Government. The so-called rightist section of the party is composed of MATSUOKA, KCNO, and TABARA, to say nothing of NISHIO and HIRANO, about whom the press expressed itself some time ago. Following is an adumbrated account of the militaristic activities of the former three acts which were committed before and during the war:

MATSUOKA, Komakichi:

Having assumed the leadership of the labor movement since 1914, when the General Union of Workers was created, he had directed his efforts toward the suppression of the interests of the working people. The true objective of his principle of labor-capital co-operation was

POLITICAL SERIES: 734 (Continued)ITEM 3 (Continued)

to suffocate the activities of the labor movement by making the labor unions a cat's paw of the capitalist class. His treacherous conduct over long years bore fruit when he was nominated, by the military Government, as a member of the committee of the Board of Protection for Ex-service-men, counselor of the Headquarters for the Mobilization of National Spirit, and other posts to encourage militarist propaganda. By the time of the general election in 1942, he publicly announced, "The general election is an important step to further the establishment of the Far Eastern Co-prosperity Sphere". This is quoted from the official memorandum for the reference of the voters. In the same memorandum he wrote a letter recommending of OKAWA, Shumei, class A war criminal, who claimed MATSUOKA as one of his best friends. His reactionary activities are not limited to the period of the war. After the termination of the war, he met, accompanied by NISHIO, another of the reactionary groups, with capitalists of the spinning industry to negotiate for the purpose of checking the activities of the labor union belonging to the Communists.

KONO, Mitsu:

In 1939, he played a leading role in converting the labor movement into a militaristic organization by creating the Industrial Service Association, which was to affiliate all the labor unions under its control. To prove his spiritual conversion to militarism, it is enough to mention that he assumed the important post of vice-president of the Board of Investigation of Political Affairs of the Imperial Rule Assistance Political Association. "The Politics for National Defense," published in 1941, is further evidence exposing his militaristic ideas. In the book, filled with the words in praise of military aggression, he states, on 122, that the fundamental idea of the militaristic Government is totalitarian Shintoism. On the other hand, on page 123, he asserts that the system of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association and other war time institutions was the symbol of the national polity.

TABARA, Haruji:

During the war, he worked in NEW GUINEA as a military governor, to build air-fields using prisoners of war allotted to his control. Prior to this, in 1938, he co-operated with the military and the bureaucrats in passing bills for the National Conscription Act and the Act for the National Control of Electric Power which greatly served to strengthen the despotism of the military Government. Again in 1941, he took a leading role in the Union of Diet members for the strengthening of the National Policy, which encouraged the fortification of the Tripartite Union and the immediate discontinuance of the American-Japanese Peace Talks. His announcement in the official memorandum for the reference of voters, published for the general election in 1942, most eloquently exposes his militaristic inclinations. He advocated distributing various industries in various areas so as to encourage the development of suitable industries in suitable areas, aiming at pandering to the aggressive character of the militaristic government.

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PRESS TRANSLATIONS

No. 12780

DATE: 6 May 46

POLITICAL SERIES: 715

ITEM 1 Take the Leadership or Remain in Opposition? Opinion is Divided Among the Left and Right Groups of the Social Democratic Party? - Mimeo - 3 May 46. Translator: M. Yasutake.

412.3
Summary:

It is getting clearer day by day that the key to the success or failure of a single-handed formation of the next cabinet by the Liberals, lies in the Liberal and Social Democratic Parties finding a compromise regarding their political views. SHIDEHARA, HATOYAMA, and KATAYAMA, heads of the Progressive, Liberals, and Social Democratic Parties, respectively, have not reached a compromise yet, concerning their political views.

SHIDEHARA is now watching closely whether or not the Social Democratic Party will give full backing to the Liberals, outside of the Liberal cabinet. HATOYAMA is of the opinion that, as long as an agreement is reached with the Social Democrats, concerning the problems to be submitted to the next Diet, the Cabinet under his leadership can get through the next Diet. In his opinion, the problem of the new Constitution is the most important.

The Social Democratic Party takes the stand that the political situation will be stabilized, at least temporarily, even under the Liberal Cabinet, if a compromise is reached among the Liberals and the Social Democrats regarding their political views about the food problem, inflation, and other important questions. We must remember, at the same time, that some coalitionists of the Social Democratic Party still cling to their ambition of entering the next cabinet. They maintain that they would rather be in the Cabinet than outside, to put their socialistic policies into practice.

The Social Democratic Party is still in an unsettled state, though the left group of the party is gaining influence. The left group of the Social Democratic Party takes the stand that the Four-Party Committee should discuss the measures to tide over the present crisis, and demand the execution of the measures of the Liberal Cabinet, through the Social Democratic Party. The internal situation of the Social Democratic Party is too complicated to be understood fully. If the Liberals will form a Cabinet, they plan to get through the next Diet with the Social Democratic Party as a friendly party. The Social Democratic Party is promised a bright future as a party which has the strong backing of the general public.

Now, the people are watching with the keenest attention as to how the situation will turn out regarding the compromise between the Liberals and the Social Democrats.

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PRESS TRANSLATIONS

No. 2817

DATE: 7 May 46

EDITORIAL SERIES: 894

ITEM 1 Heavy Responsibility Of Social Democratic Cabinet - Mainichi Shimbun -
6 May 46. Translator: K. Hirata.

Full Translation:

412.3
At last the Social Democratic Party has the chance to come into power. In view of the current situation in which there are many urgent problems in regard to food and other matters, out-going Premier SHIDEHARA and others, who are responsible for making a succeeding Cabinet, should help the Social Democrats to organize a new Government as quickly as possible.

At this juncture, we want to express some of our wishes. First, the Social Democratic Party is, as we have often said, the most suitable of the parties for the current condition of JAPAN from the standpoint of principle and policy. We see that this is true because the conservative parties, such as the Liberal and Progressive Parties, have recently shown an inclination to approach the Socialists policies. Therefore, it is to be expected that the Social Democratic Party will put its policies into practice in order to solve the current pressing problems in the event that it should come into power. However, the question lies in the lack of unity within the Party. Unlike the case of the Liberals or Progressives, the Social Democrats are lacking in unity among themselves, some being leftists and others rightists or neutrals. This disunity is mainly caused by discord regarding policies or ideologies, but not by ill-feelings or a struggling for power among themselves. Yet this shows the weak point of the Party, since policy is a vital factor for the existence of a political party.

How will the Social Democrats solve this issue? The solution of the issue is the first task to be fulfilled in forming a Cabinet, because the Party must clarify its stand regarding a democratic front on the one hand, and the conservative Parties, Liberal and Progressive, on the other hand. For this end, the Party should first settle the dispute between the leftist and rightist group within itself.

Considering the results of the recent election, in that the Liberal Party is numerically the first party, the Social Democratic Party will need the collaboration of the former Party in order to secure a stabilizing influence. In order to acquire such an influence, the Social Democratic Party will not necessarily need the collaboration of the Progressive Party. The Liberal Party's collaboration will suffice. However, the question lies in whether the Liberal Party will join in the formation of a coalition Cabinet or not. Previously, the Liberal Party tried to go so far as to adopt Socialist policies in order to guarantee the Social Democratic Party's help in the Government under the premiership of the former.

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So it is most likely that the Liberals will accept the Social Democrats' bid for collaboration. However, how will the Liberals explain their stand to those voters who supported them, in case they join a coalition Government under a Social Democratic premiership?

If the Liberal Party is against the adoption of Socialist policies, the Social Democratic Party should resolutely refuse to join with the Liberal Party in the formation of a coalition Government and should ignore the stabilizing influence issue. The right path for the Social Democratic Party is to act in concert with a democratic front which intends to adopt Socialist policies rather than to seek collaboration from such a capitalistic party. This will serve to stabilize the political situation in the long run. In this respect, it is natural that the Communist Party should encourage the Social Democratic Party to adopt its own policies. However, it is highly desirable for the sake of the Communist Party itself that it positively does not demand to participate personally in a new Socialist Government.

We cannot give thought to the Co-operative Party's joining a coalition Government. After all, the Social Democratic Party should be ready to organize a single party Cabinet if the situation requires it to do so. It will not be necessarily impossible for even a single party Cabinet to manage to tide over the coming session of the Diet if a new Cabinet is backed with fixed policies and the firm decision to carry them out. Whether or not the revised Constitution as originally drafted by the SHIDEHARA Cabinet is to be presented to the coming session of the Diet, should be decided by the Social Democratic Party soon after forming a new Cabinet. This problem will prove a key to determine the Social Democratic Party's stand toward the existing internal influences and towards the Allied Powers as well.

Lastly, we, the people, demand the Social Democratic Party not to neglect the mental attitude necessary for the situation. The people in general seem to be under the impression that the Social Democratic Party is, to all appearances, too young to assume the reigns of Government. However, to be young does not mean to be lacking in ability. The old influences and old figures were, in essence, impotent enough notwithstanding their grand outward appearances. The Social Democratic Party itself has never experienced actual administration as a cabinet. Yet the party has a great many political veterans of long experience. The people should support as much as possible a new Cabinet born from a broad-minded standpoint, if this new Cabinet boldly tackles the food and other pressing problems confronting the people and puts forth its utmost efforts to solve them.

Particularly, we earnestly desire that those working masses who elected the Liberals and Progressives in the latest election will not fail to support such a new Cabinet in this election.

POLITICAL SERIES: 725 (Continued)

ITEM 4 (4) Socialists Have Confidence In Overcome Crisis Of This Country, Says KATAYAMA - Asahi Shimbun - 6 May 46. Transtator: H. Naoji.

412-3 Full Translation:

After a conference with Prime Minister SHIDEMARA, Secretary-General of the Social Democratic Party KATAYAMA made a statement in an interview with the press concerning the future political situation. The Prime Minister told me, that in order to overcome the present serious crisis, steps have been taken to organize a new Cabinet led by the Liberal Party, but with the disqualification of HATOYAMA, this became impossible. He then was asked for my view on the situation. I told the Prime Minister that the Social Democratic Party firmly believed that it was the only party able to shoulder the present difficult situation. Then, the Prime Minister questioned me concerning matters of co-operation with the other political parties. To this, I explained that as the Social Democratic Party had confidence in securing the co-operation of all other parties, I would ask them to co-operate as soon as possible. The Premier asked me to make every effort to form a new Cabinet immediately in order to clarify the attitude of the people."

Next, Secretary-General of the Social Democratic Party KATAYAMA answered questions by the press as follows:

Question: "From what political parties do you ask co-operation?"

Answer: "Generally speaking, I want to ask co-operation from those who agree with our principles as hitherto. This time, not as in the past, I want to seek the co-operation of the Liberal Party.

Question: "Will you ask the Communist Party to participate in the next Cabinet?"

Answer: "In this connection, I intend to accept the decision of the Four Party Joint Commission."

Question: "Will you approach each party separately?"

Answer: "In order to gain complete understanding from them, I intend to approach them separately and gain their co-operation in the best way possible.

Question: "What is your opinion concerning co-operation with the other political parties?"

Answer: "If we are frank with them, we are sure to gain co-operation for surmounting the serious situation of this country under the guidance of the Social Democratic Party as the central influence."

Question: "When do you expect to gain the co-operation of the other parties?"

Answer: "I intend to launch a movement for co-operation as soon as I have reported the details of my talk with the Prime Minister to members of the Party at the party headquarters.

Question: "Do you plan political agreement or a coalition Cabinet?"

Answer: "I should prefer a coalition Cabinet led by the Social Democratic Party."

Question: "Will you ask the Progressive Party to co-operate in forming a new Cabinet?"

Answer: "At present I don't intend to ask the Progressive Party for its co-operation."

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PRESS TRANSLATIONS

No. 2824

DATE: 7 May 46

EDITORIAL SERIES: 897

ITEM 1 Social Democrats Should Push Their Course - Yomiuri Shinbun - 5 May 46. Translator: K. Nagetani.

412.3
Full Translation:

HATOYAMA, Ichiro, leader of the Liberal Party, was ordered removed from all political offices, as generally anticipated, to allow a person such as Mr. HATOYAMA to become a candidate for Prime Minister constitutes a blot upon JAPAN's newly instituted democracy. Japanese political parties still have as members many politicians who were responsible for the war. The present purge of HATOYAMA reaffirms the fact that the elimination of such politicians is the first prerequisite for constructing democracy in this country.

The purge of Mr. HATOYAMA seemed to have been expected even more by the Government than by the people. From the outset of the present political change, the undesirability of Mr. HATOYAMA as Prime Minister has often been rumored from Government sources. Nevertheless, the Government neglected to take up the matter, and thus increased political confusion. Now that the food situation is becoming worse, the political disorder, which has continued over 10 days, has jeopardized national living standards immeasurably. The Government should be held responsible for all of this.

It might be presumed with good reason, that the SHIDEHARA group purposely neglected this problem, intending to align the Liberals with the Social Democrats. This objective has now been achieved to some extent. Moreover, the Progressives have succeeded in ousting Mr. HATOYAMA, a tough rival. The entrenched power of the Liberals and the Social Democrats has been weakened because of the co-ordination of policies. Taking advantage of this weakened position of the Liberals and the Social Democrats, the Progressives are planning to participate in the formation of a new Government. In this way, as scheduled by the Progressives, a coalition cabinet of the three parties is coming into being. This is well evidenced by the remarks of Mr. NARAHASHI, Chief Secretary of the Cabinet, when he spoke in favor of a "national front."

The Liberals, who have recommended Mr. HATOYAMA as the new Premier, should apologize to the people for their shortsightedness. In addition, the Liberals might well dissolve and make a new start, inasmuch as the Liberal Party is substantially no more than a private party belonging to Mr. HATOYAMA. It is not only the Liberals who have been fooled by the intrigues of the Progressives; the Social Democrats are also victims, having compromised their reputation. The Liberals who have lost Mr. HATOYAMA can no longer stand in a position to merge with the Social Democrats because of lack of an efficient staff.

Why did the Social Democrats attempt to reach an agreement with the Liberals? Like forces attract like each other. Is it not natural to assume that the Social Democrats include undesirable figures like HATOYAMA? In the Social Democrats, as well as in the Liberals and the

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Progressives, there are complex mixtures of the progressive and reactionary, right wing and left wing elements. If these elements are reorganized according to their leanings, and if they establish new political spheres, Japanese party politics will make remarkable progress.

However, the most pressing issue is the question of the next administration. The Liberal's attempt at forming a new government centering around Mr. HATOYAMA was frustrated. This failure of the Liberals nullifies the chance of participation in the next administration. Since the Progressives have acclaimed SHIDEHARA as their leader, they have no claim to participation in the new government. Thus it stands to reason that the Social Democrats should assume leadership. Up to the present, they have lacked the drive to form the next government on their own account. The reactionary elements within the party will continue their activities, and these efforts cannot be ignored. However, the present general situation is apparently advantageous to the "Democratic Front". It is high time for the Social Democrats to come forward resolutely.

What should first be done by the Social Democrats? They should abandon the policy agreements discussed with the Liberals, and thus frustrate "the National Front" centering around the SHIDEHARA group. At the same time, they should confer with the Joint Four Party Commission on the formation of a new government. However, the Joint Four Party Commission is no more than a transitional organization to continue until the "Democratic Front" has been established. Experience in the past has proved that the Commission is in no position to thwart the development of the "National Front", or to safeguard the "Democratic Front" from any intrigues on the part of the conservative elements.

The only way to smash these intrigues is to establish a democratic coalition Cabinet centering around the Social Democrats with the strong backing of the "Democratic Front". Only then will the Japanese democratic revolution make great advances, and only then will the Japanese be extricated from their present plight. Our democratic revolution is about to achieve its objective. The time has come when the Social Democratic Party should push its course courageously.

ITEM 1 Public Requests the Social Democrats to be Cautious on the Step to Take - Asahi Shimbun - 24 Apr 46. Translator: S. Ono.

412.3

Full Translation:

The public interest, in connection with the formation of the new Cabinet, is now focused upon the attitude which the Social Democratic Party will adopt toward the problem. Well informed sources report that economic circles seem to be desirous of the appearance of a coalition Government of various parties, excluding the Communists. That the Government, thus tinged with socialistic color, will lessen public criticism on the economic circles is believed to be the reason that the capitalists look forward to the coalition Cabinet. Yet, the public is holding a skeptical view towards the participation of the Social Democrats in the proposed coalition Cabinet, which is to be formed on the basis of conservatism. The socialistic policies which the Social Democrats put up as their slogan can be realized only with the support of the democratic front. Thus the Social Democratic Party is in grave danger of falling away from the popular will when it takes part in the coalition cabinet.

Especially noticeable is the opinion held by the younger group of businessmen and financiers, requesting the party to make every deliberation before accepting the invitation of old parties.

Summary of their views: The difficulties we now confront such as the food crisis, the inflationary trend, the increased production, and the anti-unemployment measures are not to be settled by half way measures. To cope with these problems it is requested that strong political power be based upon scientific plans and popular support. Take, for instance, the problem of Government indemnity. If the suspension of the indemnity to the munition industries is to be enacted, then the compensation for the properties to be confiscated as reparation, for the properties abroad, and for the insurance companies, is also to be suspended. This, however, is impossible without executing the nationalization of financial institutions and basic industries. Furthermore, the imposition of a high-rate property tax, placing the immunity limit at 100,000 Yen, as proposed by the Social Democrats before the election. This in reality means the prohibition of possession of private property in excess of the limit, aiming at the re-distribution of wealth in society. To practice these measures is the only way to save the country from its present plight. It, however, requires a Government of a clean-cut democratic nature supported by the democratic front. In view of the fact that the Government now in the course of creation, from every indication, is very likely to be of a conservative nature, it is most advisable for the Social Democrats to take the utmost precaution before participating in the coalition Government, so as to avoid becoming a traitor to the popular will.

ITEM 2 Social Democratic Headquarters: Messengers of Democracy - Asahi Shimbun - 6 May 46. Translator: A. Kido.

412.3

Full Translation:

Following the return of Secretary-General KATAYAMA from his visit to Premier SHIDEHARA at his official residence yesterday, a standing Central Committee Conference was held at the Social Democratic Party headquarters to form the platform of the new Cabinet. MIZUTANI, Chozaburo was waiting with others for the return of the Secretary-General, when Mr. KATAYAMA arrived. "At last!" he cried, in an almost childish voice.

Contrary to their practice at past meetings, the pressmen were silent. On other occasions, they had debated the pros and cons of coalition and single party cabinets. The committee itself is in an even more delicate position. KATO, Kanju spoke in a voice that could be heard by waiting pressmen, "The answer is very simple, - it's a democratic front Cabinet! Maneuvers behind the scene result are making the matter more complicated! Mr. SHIDEHARA had better not interfere too much! The democratic front Cabinet will be based upon the Four Party Joint Committee." During the discussion, the coalition element was somewhat reserved.

The conference which seemed to have been in discord again, came to a close at 1640. The party attitude is: "The working masses are asked to fervently support a democratic government." The announcement sounded a trifle stagy: "Rally under the banner of the Democratic Front!"

ITEM 4 Danger of a Split in the Social Democratic Party - Mainichi Shimbun -
30 Apr 46. Translator: S. Sakata.

412.3

Summary:

Facing an impasse in the political situation, the Social Democratic Party is gradually bringing the complicated situation within the party to light. The reason why the Liberal Party does not yet give up the idea of coalition with the Social Democrats is probably because it expects that many of the members of the Social Democratic Party actually support the idea of a coalition cabinet. However, the general trend of the Social Democratic Party has already been definitely decided. The result of the KONO and KATAYAMA talk at KATASE on 28 April, probably the last conference between the Liberals and the Social Democrats, has brought no change. Chief Secretary KONO stated that he intended to have interviews with each member of the standing committee of the Social Democrat Party separately after his return to TOKYO. However, as of today, the situation has not changed.

On 29 April KATAYAMA, Secretary-General of the Social Democratic Party, met with KAGAWA, Toyohiko and BABA, Tsunego, both advisers of the party, to exchange their views. But these talks could not influence the decision of the Party. No meeting of the standing committees of the Party was held on the same day. Thus the maneuvering for the coalition of the Liberal and Social Democratic Parties has become hopeless after all, though some Democrats supporting coalition are still doing their best.

This difference of views on coalition which has appeared among the Social Democrats during this time does not seem likely to be settled amicably, even if the future political situation is stabilized. Here is the germ of a crisis in the Social Democratic Party, though it cannot be expected that a split in the Party will occur at once. This time the maneuvers of the Social Democratic Party based on its recent agreement are aimed partly at averting such a crisis as far as possible. But, this aim has not been completely accomplished. The second wave of the volte-face is now threatening the Social Democratic Party from inside.

In addition, on 29 April KATAYAMA, Secretary-General of the Social Democratic Party, spoke as follows: "So long as the Liberal Party does not change its attitude, our Party cannot help sticking to its own decisions. If the Liberals intend to negotiate with our members individually over matters of policy, I want the Liberals to bring negotiations with myself to a conclusion first, and, secondly, the negotiation should take place at a meeting of the leaders of the both parties. For our Party's part, our fixed attitude shall never be changed. In other words, if the Liberal Party will make the Cabinet by itself alone, the Social Democrats will co-operate as a non-government party. In the event of a coalition cabinet between the Liberal and the Progressives, the Social Democrats will decisively struggle against them."

ITEM 5 Social Democratic Party Is To Form Next Cabinet - Mainichi Shimbun
6 May 46. Translator: F. Noda.

412.3

Summary:

The political crisis which seemed to have reached its final stage was but a prelude. It is Secretary-General of the Social Democratic Party KATAYAMA who has appeared in the first act after the long prelude. He called on Prime Minister SHIDEHARA at 1000 hours on 5 May. The two leaders had an amiable talk, though their different principles, conservatism and democracy, contradict each other. After their talk, which lasted for half an hour, was over, Mr. KATAYAMA expressed his view bit by bit to the correspondents as follows:

"The Prime Minister asked me whether the Social Democrats could manage public affairs so as to stabilize the political situation for the benefit of the country and the people. I answered that I have great confidence in the success of my new work. I will make every effort in the formation of a coalition Cabinet with my Party at its center by co-operating with Parties."

The headquarters of the Social Democratic Party located in front of SHIMBASHI Station, were suddenly busy on the afternoon of 5 May. At 14:20 hours, Messrs. KATO, KONO, NISHIO, and KATAYAMA held a Standing Executive Committee meeting and afterwards consented to pose for press cameramen. Mr. MIZUTANI, spokesman of the Social Democrats, at 16:30 hours made public the basis for forming the Cabinet.

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
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PRESS TRANSLATIONS

No. 2709

DATE: 1 May 46

POLITICAL SERIES: 697

ITEM 1 Course For Social Democratic Party Leftists, Live up to Own Class Sense
- Tokyo Shimbun - 29 Apr 46. Translator: A. Kido.

412.3

Extracts:

The policy of the so-called NARAHASHI New party is assumed to be in line with the left of the Liberal Party or the right of the Social Democratic Party, but the course of the policy of the Progressive Party is not only going toward the Social Democrats' right but toward the party's center. The underlying motive of the conservative parties is that, by concealing their reactionary character, they are going to make the Social Democratic Party the last means of maintaining the capitalistic order. For this reason, the latter party has obstinately fought the Liberals and has become an opposition party, which move must have been much appreciated by the people who backed the Social Democrats at the recent election. But some of the reasons why the Social Democrats remain an opposition party are not known; and it cannot be denied that this fact has given rise to misgivings as to the future course of that party.

The question "Leadership or Opposition", proposed by the adviser MATSUOKA at the standing committee meeting of the 23rd, was supported by the so-called leftists but was vigorously opposed by the rightists. At the Committee meeting of the 26th Mr. NISHIO blamed Mr. MATSUOKA for his unpolitic utterance for which Mr. MATSUOKA then apologized. Why, then, was Mr. MATSUOKA supported by the leftists? The reason why the attitude of the Social Democratic Party, which had declined the several proposals made by the Communist Party for a common fight, has come to be approved by the nation is no other than that they appreciated the standpoint of the Social Democrats at the election and wished for a rapid enlargement of that party. Had the Liberal Party conceded the leadership to the Social Democrats, most of them would have forsaken the Communist Party and shaken hands with the Liberal Party. Among other things, Mr. KATAYAMA said that this party could compromise on policy. We do not know whether this view is held by the rightists or the leftists, but we want to ask what the policy of the Social Democratic Party is.

The Social Democratic Party's socialistic policies can only be effectively realized by co-operation of the four parties; the inconsistency of this party is apparent in its supporting the TENNO System. In answer to Premier SHIDEHARA, Mr. KATAYAMA said that since the Social Democratic Party is the first party, the premiership must be assumed by this party. Such arguments can, however, be made both by the Communist and Cooperative Parties; for they may eventually become the first parties. In view of his customary speech and conduct, then, Mr. KATAYAMA must have thereby acted in behalf of the leftists. Who are those leftists, we want to know? They submit themselves to the backing of the TENNO System, because this is their party policy; and to the formation of a democratic front, proposed by the Communist Party, because this is likewise their party policy. Opposing the formation of a coalition government, Mr. NAKAMURA, Koichi said, "It is not necessary for us to form a coalition government now; for in a few months the Social Democratic Party will be able to assume the reins of government, single-handed." If this is the

POLITICAL SERIES: 697 (Continued)ITEM 1 (Continued)

real intention of the leftists, then they are not much different from any politically greedy aspirant of the existing parties. Public opinion praises the leftists of the Social Democratic Party for their having kept their prestige by rejecting the rightists' temptation. The leftists heretofore, under the hegemony of the rightists, have now managed to get rid of this oppression. We earnestly hope that the leftists will next break through the old shell of the Social Democratic Party and become, true leftists, friend of the working class.

**GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
ALLIED TRANSLATOR AND INTERPRETER SECTION**

PRESS TRANSLATIONS

No. 2748

DATE: 3 May 46

POLITICAL SERIES: 706

ITEM 1 Social Democrats' Conference of 30 April - Yomiuri Shinbun - 1 May
46. Translator: A. Kido.

412.3

Full Translation:

The following are statements made before and during yesterday's Social Democratic Party Standing Executive Committee meeting in the fifth floor conference room at their headquarters. It is intended to portray the atmosphere there in the present crisis.

"We are not so inflexible that we must follow our declaration of Apr. 23rd" stated Mr. HIRANO. Thinking this strange, someone asked Mr. SUZUKI, "What do you think about that?" He replied, "No, don't talk nonsense; the Social Democrats will live up to that statement." The meeting was scheduled for 1300 hours, but at 1400 hours there were still absent. Were they kept away by their own private dealings? Under pressure, Mr. KONO remarked, "At the time of the TANAKA Cabinet, the Proletarian party botched the election of the President, of the House of Representatives, four of its eight members having absented themselves from the balloting which led to the election of Mr. MOTODA, Hajime. The Social Democratic Party is now in the same situation." At last, the door opened, at 1400 hours, and debate began. I pricked up my ears - and was able to overhear the familiar voices of the committee members occasionally exploding as they had done during the pre-meeting discussions.

Mr. HIRANO: "Now that the object of our statement has been attained we'll abandon it." Mr. KATO: "The state of the 23rd was meant not only for the Liberal Party but also for the nation. In my opinion, we should make the Liberals take the helm of state and the Social Democratic party should co-operate with them in carrying out their food policy. In this sense the statement was issued, thereby clarifying the party attitude." Mr. NAKAMURA: "Our attitude has already been fixed." Mr. MIZUTANI, as usual, tried to bring things to a conclusion.

Mr. KONO: "Considering our political responsibilities, I can quite understand what Mr. KATO has said, I also agree with him. However the collaboration of the Liberal party with the Progressive Party would mean a conservative Cabinet, which, from the standpoint of a democratic front, must be defeated." At 1500 hours, Mr. KONO appeared, gleefully rubbing his hands, with the announcement that "Mr. HATOYAMA wants to see Mr. KAIYAMA immediately at the KOJUNSHA building, GINZA." Mr. NISHIO hurriedly disappeared saying, "Wait a moment, in ten minutes I'll give my answer", thereby stalling for time. The conference continued: "It's no use meeting him now." "In the sense of giving him a previous notice, I might meet him." "There is no need sticking to it." Mr. HIRANO: "Arguing would make the matter more complicated, I fear. Why not leave the matter to the Secretary-General?" Mr. HIRANO's statements always differ according to the circumstances. The only intellegible portion of Mr. KATO's statement was: "Most important are the Democratic Front and Food Problems."

POLITICAL SERIES: 706 (Continued)

ITEM 1 (Continued)

The tenacious Secretary-General KONO must have brought something with him, as the conference had now fallen into general confusion, and, at 1700 hours, the conference had not yet ended. Mr. MATSUMOTO, who left the meeting early, stated: "The statement will be amended slightly. It is a political compromise on a small scale."

4/12/3

A Government Under the Social Democrats

The new Cabinet which is now in the process of formation promises to be established on a sounder basis than the one which appeared to be in the offing until a few days ago. This development, which has come about through the discrediting and weakening of the Liberal Party as the outcome of the Hatoyama purge fiasco, is therefore being welcomed by the vast majority of the people.

Of course it must be recognized that there will be some serious weaknesses in the proposed new Government. Its formation is being undertaken by the Social Democratic Party, which ranks only third among the major parties. This arrangement of course seems illogical, but considering the very slight difference in strength among the three major parties the arrangement is not as unreasonable as it may seem at first glance.

The Liberal Party, although the ranking party, not only falls far short of enjoying a majority in the Diet but has been fatally injured through its blundering over the Hatoyama affair and has lost the confidence of the people. The Progressive Party, while possessing a couple of more seats in the Diet than the Social Democrats, very definitely stands pretty far off by itself in unpopular isolation from the masses. In prestige and influence, the Social Democrats well deserve the honor and the responsibility of taking the lead in the formation of the new Government.

The success of the Social Democrats in forming the new Cabinet and the stability and permanence of such a Cabinet, however, depend on the participation and cooperation offered by other political groups. The new Cabinet will of necessity be a coalition Cabinet participated in actively by several other parties in addition to the Social Democrats, or at the very least it must exist on the sufferance of the other parties. And inasmuch as the Social Democrats fall short of having a majority, the coalition is bound to be held together on a precarious basis.

Furthermore the Social Democrats, as a group which has suddenly catapulted into importance from a very modest background, are lacking in prominent figures who enjoy established national reputations. There may be a question in the public mind as to whether the Social Democrats have experienced leaders of the quality required to take charge of the Government at this time of national emergency.

But these elements of possible weakness in the new Government are more than counterbalanced by the obvious strength which it will command. Under the sponsorship of the Social Democrats, it will be possible to marshal a

much broader support than under the aegis of any other party. The new coalition will probably succeed in securing the active cooperation, or at least the tacit support, of the Liberals, Cooperatives and the Communists, while the Progressives will refrain from obstructive opposition. Such a Government will be more widely representative and more nearly truly national than a Cabinet which might have been organized under the leadership of any other party.

Such a new Government will be more popular with the masses than a Government under any other sponsorship. The strength of the Liberals and the Progressives in the Diet was unquestionably brought about through well-organized and well-financed political machines, and such a strength is out of proportion to the real backing which these parties have among the people at large. The strength of the Social Democrats and the parties which the Social Democrats will be able to count on for support, like the Cooperative Party, are on the other hand firmly based on mass support. These groups are closer to the real heart of the common people. Although from the point of view of the professional politician, a Government formed by such groups may seem lacking in experience, it will be a more truly democratic Government.

Such a Government will also be free of the old traditional influences and will be more definitely committed to progressive policies. At a time like the present when bold innovations based on a broad social vision are necessary to pull the country out of its difficulties, such a Government would seem to hold greater promise of constructive advance in the right direction than any other type of administration.

The formation of a new Government under the leadership of the Social Democrats, therefore, is to be hailed as a welcome step toward greater democracy. Considering the magnitude of the problems which confront the nation, no brilliant success can be expected under any Government. There are bound to be disappointments. But such a Government as the Social Democrats are now working to organize will, nevertheless, represent a sound and healthy advance toward the achievement of greater democracy in Japan.

NIPPON TIMES

MAY 8 1946

2 Courses Lie Open To Social Democrats

They May Finally Have to Pick Between Tieup With Right or Left

The Social Democrats, so far, are making desperate efforts to form a four-party coalition government under their initiative, but it is believed that eventually they will have to select one of two courses—right or left. That is, coalition with the "conservative" Liberals or "leftist" Communists, Kyodo reports.

According to latest information, there is a 50-50 chance for either alternative.

Prospects for a four-party coalition it seems will have to await the projected joint four-party committee meeting where the respective parties will thrash out their views. The Cooperatives have already expressed unconditional support to the Social Democrats. Kyodo said, but the task remains to reconcile the Communists and the Liberals.

Kyodo added that the Social Democrats appear to be attaching much more importance to collaboration with the Liberals in view of the fact that the latter hold the most seats in the Diet, but it is pointed out that should they go too far in their collaboration with the Liberals, there will certainly arise the danger that they may lose the support of the people.

Social Democratic agreement with the Communists, on the other hand, appeared a step nearer, said Jiji Press, as the result of their conference Monday night. The two parties, the report said, virtually reached an agreement on the policies centering on the resolutions adopted at the May Day rally. Jiji Press, however, reported that the Communists have made it plain that they are dead against inclusion of the Liberals in the proposed coalition.

The same news agency said that the left-wing leaders of the Social Democratic Party are now bringing heavy pressure to bear upon Secretary General Tetsu Katayama to make up his mind to form a new cabinet under his premiership along the line of a united democratic front even at the expense of the Liberals' support.

Jiji Press stated that in view of the extreme difficulty in reconciling the Liberals and the Communists, there are growing indications that the Social Democrats will attempt to organize a government by themselves.

By excluding both the Liberals and the Communists from the projected Cabinet, the Social Democrats expect to have Baron Shidehara recommend a Social Democrat to the Throne as his successor without delay. It is believed that both the Liberals and the Communists will support a Social Democratic government to a certain extent if neither are given seats in the cabinet.

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ITEM 3 Social Democrats' Examination Continues - Asahi Shimbun - 23 Jun 46.
Translator: T. Kitayama.

4123
 Full Translation:

The confused affair of the plenary session of the House of Representatives on the afternoon of the 21st came to a peaceful close on the morning of the 22nd, when the President of the House, HIGAI, and representatives of the Liberal and Social Democratic Parties agreed that they would hereafter strive for the smooth handling of proceedings as well as better discipline. The plenary session of the House of Peers was held at 1000 hours on the 22nd; and YAMADA, Saburo answered questions on constitutional problems. Then, KATAKURA, Kentaro asked a question of finance of the Finance Minister ISHIBASHI, who, in reply, made a very important statement concerning the problem of dealing with the national debt. He said, "In order to remove any feeling of uneasiness in financial circles, we shall shortly formulate and announce plans for a fundamental solution to the problems of both the national debt and war insurance." The House of Representatives held its plenary session at 1300 hours; and, after accepting the resignations of six purged representatives, Premier YOSHIDA gave an answer to KATAYAMA's discussion of the preceding day. Next, new information was given by HIRANO, Rikizo (Social Democrat), KITA, Katsutaro (Co-operative), and KATO, Kanju (Social Democrat). Agricultural Minister WADA's statement that he thought he might support the nationalization of the fertilizers industry provoked opposition by the Liberal and Progressive Parties, who thought that his reply was not in accordance with his fundamental agricultural policy. The leading members of the two parties will demand that WADA retract his statement. At any rate, it will be closely scrutinized by the two parties.

ITEM 3 Osawa and Kawashima Cases Reveal Split Among Social Democrats - Mainichi Shimbun - 4 Jul 46. Translator: R. Ochiai.

4123
 Summary:

Mr OSAWA was the only Social Democrat who approved the Communist motion at the plenary session of the Diet a few days ago. The party had been considering what position to take on his case. At yesterday's party leaders' meeting, they demanded that he resign his post as a party officer and that he be careful about his behavior during the course of the present session. There are, of course, some sympathizers, such as Mr INAMURA, who felt it not wise to seal his lips in the Diet, but he was punished nevertheless. Why was the punishment so severe? The left wing of the party felt it was because OSAWA had opposed the right wing.

Another difficulty arose within the party with Mr KAWASHIMA's interpellation on 2 July. In defiance of party policy and standpoint, he said, "The tax on earned income should be abolished; if not, the exemptions should be raised to 500 YEN." He added, "The Social Democrats demand that the exemptions on property tax be 50,000 YEN." Whether or not this was a slip of the tongue will be closely scrutinized by the party's Diet Members' committee.

These two cases are, however, nothing but evidence of the conflict between the two wings of the party. Although the right wing has been more powerful than the left and has even forced upon the left its Constitution draft, now the left wing is rebelling. With the fundamental problem of establishing democracy within the party, they will continue their dispute.

The decision on Mr OSAWA has been already made by the Social Democrat Diet Members' Committee, but he submitted a written inquiry to the chairman, Mr MATSUOKA, asking that the final decision be reached by party referendum.

Mr KAWASHIMA is called to account on his interpellation which is a disgrace to the Social Democrats. They will only listen to his explanation at the Diet members committee meeting on 4 July, but they may not stop at that as there are many who wish to inquire into his responsibility.

ITEM 6 Central Executive Committee Conference of Social Democrats - Mimpo -
11 Jun 46. Translator: T. Kitayama.

412.3
 Full Translation:

On 9 June, the Central Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Party met at the Public Hall at SHITAYA. Though some of the provincial representatives were absent, almost all of the leading members, including Mrs YAMAGUCHI, Shizue, were present. The good attendance is a sign of the change for the better which has come over the Party. Unlike the recent representatives' meeting, where not a question was asked about MIZUTANI's report on the political situation, for fear of dragging out the old skeletons in the party closet, party policies were open to heated discussion and there was much criticism concerning the Democratic League for National Salvation.

Throughout the discussions, two points were emphasized. One was the members' dissatisfaction over the uncertain policies of the headquarters, and the other was the request for a definite attitude toward the Communists. Concerning the latter, YAMAHANA, Hideo, said, "I object to the Communist Party's attempts to expose war criminals in the Social Democratic Party. If we find suspects within our party, we will purge them ourselves."

When MORITO, explaining the Democratic League for National Salvation, spoke on the "spirit of leadership", he instilled, in those present, confidence in the future of the party. He assured them that they were quite capable of defeating the Communist Party, and this statement brought him the cheers of the committeemen. This is probably the first time that one man has had the support of both the right and left wings of the Social Democrats. Many party members now agree with MORITO's plea for establishment of "centralization." In order to establish "centralization", the Social Democrats must first iron out the problems of its organization. ASANUMA's report on the Party's setup was not favorable. Are there any younger members of the Party capable of executing this system of "centralization"?

ITEM 3 Social Democrats Propose That Communists Stop Criticizing Social Democratic Leaders - Asahi Shimbun - 13 Jun 46. Translator: S. Sano.

412.3
 Summary:

The Social Democratic Party, at an executive committee meeting held on 12 June, decided to ask the leaders of the Communist Party to cease criticizing its leaders after the Government announces those who will fall under the purge directive. Although none of the Committee members is affected by it, some members demanded that a protest be made concerning the statement in the Communist paper AKAHATA condemning NISHIO, HIRANO and TAHARA as war criminal suspects; the motion was passed. The Committee also accepted the resignation of NAKAMURA, Koichi, member of the executive committee and chief of the youth section of the party, who is leaving for personal reasons.

ITEM 1 The Social Democratic Party Is To Present Bill of Farmers' Association to the Diet - Yomiuri Shimbun - 24 Jun 46. Translator: F. Noda.

412.3
 Full Translation:

In line with the Government's intention of introducing a bill for farmers' Co-operations to the Diet, the Co-operative Democratic Party is expected to submit such a bill. The Social Democratic Party, as the leader of the opposition parties, thinks that this bill is a farmers' organization, based on feudalism, and that it aims at the maintenance of the present feudalistic organization of rural communities. The Social Democrats, opposed to this, have decided to present the Diet with an epoch-making bill for a farmers' association, originating from the JAPAN Farmers' Association.

On 18 June, the JAPAN Farmers' Association agreed upon the bill, which was approved by the Executive Standing Committee of the Social Democratic Party on 22 June, and the final draft of the bill was settled.

The bill has as its objectives the improvement of farm conditions and the stabilization of economy by assuring the right to organize and by protecting collective bargaining.

A12.3

Social Democrats Present Food Plan

12-Point Program Given Government With Demand for Speedy Enforcement

The Social Democratic Party, Wednesday, presented to the Government its 12-point program designed to tide over the current food crisis.

Four Parliamentary members of the party, including Takaichi Nakamura, Mosaburo Suzuki, Inajiro Asanuma, and Haruji Tawara, called at the Agriculture and Forestry, Finance, Transportation, Home and Education Ministries to hand over the program and press for its speedy enforcement.

The program, which was approved at a meeting of the party's standing executive committee on Tuesday, called for:

1. Immediately put in Government control all fertilizer, farm implements, and daily necessities for farmers now in store in warehouses held by big industrial plants and semi-official corporations so that they may be distributed to farmers through legitimate channels.
2. Further expose hoarded foodstuffs and other commodities held by the people.
3. To suspend the business of all restaurants, except those which cater to holders of meal tickets for four months beginning June 1.
4. To take emergency steps in collecting and supplying new crops of wheat, barley, and other cereals, potatoes and vegetables in and around cities and other consumer's areas.
5. To add fishing implements to the list of investigation into hoarded commodities in order that marine products may be increased.
6. To work out emergency measures to speed up collection, shipping and supply of foodstuffs.
7. To place war-devastated areas, wasteland, and other idle land state control in order to encourage their reclamation and cultivation by the people.
8. To readjust the anti-inflation measures in order to check the flow of new yen notes to the propertied class and to better the living standard of the general public.
9. To permit consumers' cooperatives to handle staple foodstuffs and to give them legal status with a view to encouraging their sound development.
10. To place the food distribution system under the people's control by allowing representatives of political parties, associations of lesser industrialists and merchants, consumers' cooperatives, labor unions, and town associations to participate in semi-government food corporation and control companies for bean-paste, soya sauce, and vegetables.
11. As an emergency measure, to start summer vacation of colleges and universities from June 1.
12. To let members of the Social Democratic Party elected to the Diet from consumer's areas exert their efforts for solution of the food question in cooperation with local party committees and the Japan Farmer's Union in food-producing areas.

NIPPON TIMES
MAY 31 1946

Soc. Democrats Split On Constitution Issue

Leftists, Rightists at Odds Over 'Cashing in' on Government Majority Lack

The smouldering feud between the left-wing and the right-wing groups in the Social Democratic Party has again come to a head over the issue of the party's cooperation or non-cooperation with the Government in having the draft Constitution passed at the present Diet session.

The reported opposition between the left and the right-wingers has developed, it was said, over the question of how to take advantage of the Government's "weakness" in this respect.

Both groups know that the Liberals and Progressives combined can not command a two-thirds majority required for undertaking the revision of the present Constitution and that the Social Democrats are bound to be courted by the Government parties for cooperation in order to secure the required majority.

The left-wing faction wants to take advantage of this certainty to the Government to accept the Social Democratic demands that the party's suggested revision of the draft Constitution be incorporated in toto in the final version of the new Constitution when enacted by the present Diet.

On the other hand, leaders of the right-wing faction favor a more conciliatory line in making a "compromise deal" with the Government on the Constitutional issue of "easy terms."

Such a conciliatory attitude is being bitterly criticized by the left-wing leaders, who charge that the right-wingers are ready to "sell" the party over to the Government on this important issue in order to seek some "selfish" ends.

It is believed that the revived opposition between the right-wing and left-wing factions will grow in intensity as the Diet deliberation on the Constitution progresses.

NIPPON TIMES
27 JUN 1946

Socialist Party Draft Of Constitution Bared

Places Sovereignty in Hands Of People—Emperor's Prerogatives Cut

The Social Democratic Party Wednesday announced its draft plan for constitutional reform, placing the sovereignty squarely on the people and clipping the prerogatives of the Emperor more drastically than does the present draft new Constitution of the government.

The Social Democrats will not present their draft to the Diet but will exert themselves to bring the government plan as near their own program as possible during course of the Diet discussions of constitutional reform.

Salient points of the Social Democratic draft follow:

1. The constitution should make it clear that the sovereignty rests with the people. Chapter one should not be devoted to definition of the Emperor's position, but should include articles defining composition of the Japanese state, sovereignty, pacifism, and renunciation of war, leaving the Emperor's position to be dealt with in Chapter Two.

2. The prerogatives of the Emperor should be further restricted.

3. Composition of the House of Councillors should be further clarified.

4. The Diet should be in session all year round in principle and actual term of a session should be made as long as possible.

5. More provisions for protection and encouragement of collective life should be included.

6. Protection and guarantee of the economic life of the people should be more specifically defined.

7. The peerage system should be abolished forthwith.

Both the Liberal and Progressive Parties are determined on following the attitude of supporting vigorously the draft new Constitution as a whole.

Both have a strong intention of changing the Tenno in Article 1 where it is laid down that the Tenno shall be the "symbol" of the state to read "sovereign."

They also are insisting that the "people" in the draft Constitution should read "Japanese people" and that it should be explicitly laid down that a Japanese subject has the liability to pay taxes.

The two parties are pointing out that the Government's draft Constitution is defective in many respects. They are attaching utmost importance to the question of changing the "Tenno" to "sovereign."

Now, all parties and groups in the House of Representatives, with the exception of the Social Democrats and the Communists, are in a mood to support the proposed change in the wording of Article 1.

The Cooperative Democratic Party has a plan to amend the draft new Constitution. It above all is asking for the insertion of a clause, giving the Tenno power to refer to the people on matters of vital importance, no matter whether the Diet has reached decisions on them, with the ultimate object of ending the tyranny of a majority in the Diet. The party also is demanding that there be clauses saying that the people have the liability to pay taxes, stressing that they have duties to perform to the public, and stipulating that every Japanese is under the duty to render labor services to the state.

The other demands of the Cooperative Democrats are for changing the "people" occurring in the draft Constitution to "Japanese people", for a provision giving a definition of the right of self-defense in connection with the renunciation of war, for the substitution of some other methods for the appointment of judicial officials by the Diet and their election, and for a provision dealing in details with the right of existence.

NIPPON TIMES
27 JUN 1946

ITEM 2 The Position of the Social Democratic Party - Tokyo Shimbun - 29 May 46.
Translator: T. Nakano.

Full Translation:

412.3
It may be said that the position of the Social Democratic Party has finally settled down to a point of equilibrium. In the period of political confusion after the resignation of the SHIDEHARA Cabinet, it seemed that the party had become overnight the favorite of Fortune. Because of this, the party's attitude began to lose touch with realities, and many of its supporters were disillusioned.

There is nothing peculiar in the fact the party contains within it right-wing, left-wing and centrist groups. We find similar phenomena in other countries. As long as the party does not lose its essential character as the party of Socialism, there is no harm in conflicts of view within the party regarding current issues. These can be ironed out within the framework of Socialist principles.

It is important that the party proceed toward the materialization of its policies without losing its essential character and without resorting to political trickery. It should gain the support of the working masses, and the Democratic League for National Salvation advocated by the party should start its activities as soon as its program has been decided. The party's orientation would then be firm, contributing toward a successful future.

Nobody contests that capitalism cannot remain in its present form. The new capitalism will inevitably have socialistic elements. The Social Democratic Party should remain as the steady opposition to capitalism. The future prosperity of the party depends upon this.

ITEM 1 Two Candidates Of The Social Democratic Party - Mimpo - 17 Jun 46.
Translator: M. Ota.

Full Translation:

412.3
YAMAHANA, Hideo, a Member of the Central Executive Committee of the Federation of Labor Unions and a recognized candidate of the Social Democratic Party, was defeated in the last election. In order to recover his honor, he decided to become a candidate in the election to fill vacancies of representatives for the second district of TOKYO. When he was about to pay his candidacy fee, the Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Party officially decided to run Professor KITAZAWA of WASEDA University.

When the problem of candidates to fill the vacancies was discussed, Mr YAMAHANA could have had the support of the Social Democratic Party had he run for office. However, the Government revoked the disqualification of Mr MATSUMOTO, Jiichiro, and the Social Democratic Party decided that he should run for a seat in the Diet. Mr YAMAHANA consented to relinquish his candidacy if Mr MATSUMOTO would run in his place. However, Mr MATSUMOTO declined to run, because his friends in FUKUOKA did not encourage him to become a candidate in TOKYO. Accordingly, Mr YAMAHANA was to be reinstated as candidate for the second district. But, the Social Democrats decided to run Mr KITAZAWA in his place. Mr YAMAHANA determined to continue his election campaign although not officially endorsed. It seems that the right wing of the Social Democratic Party took exception to Mr YAMAHANA because they regarded him as a supporter of Mr ARAHATA. The party was unwilling to support the latter as a candidate.

ITEM 5 (9) Social Democratic Party Issues Statement Of Non Confidence In Speaker Of House Of Representatives - Asahi Shimbun - 23 Jun 46. Transla-
tor: H. Naoji.

Full Translation:

412.3
The Social Democratic Party seriously discussed the matter of disorder at the plenary session of the Diet on 21 June. This disorder occurred during the interpellation of Mr KATAYAMA of the Social Democratic Party in his reply to the Premier's speech on administrative policy, and led to the adjournment of the session.

As a result of its discussion, the Social Democrats issued a statement on 22 June, expressing an attitude of non-confidence in the Speaker of the House of Representatives HIGAI. The confusion was claimed to be due to the inability of the Speaker to maintain order at the session.

ITEM 1 From The Interview With Chief Secretary of the Communists TOKUDA, Kyuichi - Akahata - 11 May 46. Translator: S. Sano.

Summary:

Regarding the future objectives of the Social Democratic Party, they have no unity as a party, even at their central headquarters. Among the leaders, some have the rightist inclination, some have leftist inclination, and the remaining are centrists. They are unable to decide their policies to meet the ever changing political situation, because all the important party policies are to be discussed at the Standard Executive Committee meeting. Accordingly, the present condition of the Social Democratic Party makes it unfit to form either a cabinet or a democratic front, in co-operation with other parties.

412.3 The Social Democratic Party should be reconstructed. For this purpose, the leftist leaders of the Party should exert their efforts for the formation of the democratic front with the co-operation of the Communist Party. The future course of the Socialists can only be to form a democratic front with the Communist Party.

Regarding the views of foreign countries on the present condition of JAPAN, all the world nations demand JAPAN's immediate and thorough democratization. This can never be carried out without the abolishment of the Emperor system. The Emperor system should be held responsible for the chaotic state of the present political situation, as well as for the dangerous food situations. The only means of tiding over the present crisis is the formation of a democratic front through the will of the people.

We can note that the formation of a democratic front is the first demand to the Japanese from the world nations. Accordingly, there will be no doubt that the world nations would support the Communist's movement for the formation of the democratic front.

ITEM 1 Social Democrats May Not Follow Their Proposed Democratic League for National Salvation - Mimpo - 12 Jun 46. Translator: M. Ota.

Full Translation:

412.3 The Committee for Expediting the Formation of a Democratic Front, differing from the principles advocated by the Social Democrats, held a meeting at the ASAHI newspaper office hall on 10 June. Messrs TOKUDA, Kyuichi, and ITO, Ritsu of the Communist Party; 40 representatives of various other associations, such as the Conference of Various Industries (SANGYO BETSU KAIGI), all JAPAN Communications Officials' Union (ZENTEI), the Seamen's Union (KAIIN KUMIAI), the Democratic Committee for the Food Problem (SHOKURYO MINSHU KYOGIKAI), and Women's Democratic Club (FUJIN MINSHU KURABU), were in attendance. Sharply criticizing the Social Democratic Party, they discussed the stand that the committee shall take towards the formation of a Democratic League for National Salvation, sponsored by the Social Democrats. As a result, the committee agreed that they should not individually negotiate with the Social Democrats, and that it was necessary to make the leaders of the Social Democratic Party, especially those of the right wing, fully understand the real demands of the people. Mr. MATSUMOTO, Shinichi and four other representatives of the committee talked with the leaders of the Social Democratic Party in the House and proposed to hold a roundtable discussion with Messrs KATAYAMA, NISHIO, MORITO, and as many leaders as possible on 12 June.

In reply to this proposal, Mr. NISHIO declared that he would do his best to meet the committee's wishes, and that furthermore the Social Democratic Party would not always adhere to its proposed Democratic League for National Salvation.

From his assertion, it is apparent that the proposed Democratic League for National Salvation is not his party's absolute ultimate plan. The conference between the Committee to Expedite the Formation of a Democratic Front and the Social Democrats, which is to be held on 12 June, should attract public attention.

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MORE AGGRESSIVE ATTITUDE SEEN AS NEED OF SOCIALISTS

Cooperation With Communist Party Would Be A Step In the Right Direction

NIPPON TIMES

JUL 25 1945

By ISAO NAKANISHI
(From the Sunday Mainichi)

I
By securing 93 seats in the Diet in the general election last April, the Social Democratic Party became Japan's leading political party. In the days directly following the election, however, most people were unaware of the fact that the party was in a position to force a Cabinet change. The party was the nucleus of all influences that caused the withdrawal of the Shidehara Cabinet. Furthermore, it was in a position to organize a Cabinet under its own leadership if it had been determined to do so. All people who voted for the Social Democratic Party and the Communist Party, as well as the masses of other citizens who, with the last election as

a turning point, became aware of their own power and responsibility as a factor in the politics of the state, extended their unanimous support to the Social Democratic Party as manifested in numerous demonstrations. The masses of the working classes who were suffering from a critical food shortage and vicious inflation came to realize that their hopes lay in a cabinet under the leadership of the Social Democratic Party, and thought that their salvation from impending calamity was really brought into being. Thus, the Social Democratic Party cabinet was really brought into being. Thus, the Social Democratic Party almost monopolized the faith and support of the Japanese people. But does the party really deserve such support by the public?

In studying the Social Democratic Party, we must first understand two important facts. Firstly, its position in respect of ideological structure (or in guiding principle) is not so distinct as that of a similar party in any other country. Generally speaking, however, it stands in the support of laborers, farmers, and the petit bourgeoisie. In

addition the party, it seems, enjoys the support of small and intermediary capitalists—a phenomenon peculiar to Japan. Secondly, its guiding principle is Social Democracy. And it is not the foundation on which the party stands, but the guiding principle it holds, which may determine the scope of its activities in the immediate future.

Was Severely Criticized

In former days, Social Democracy was severely criticized as the last and most powerful support of Imperialism and Capitalism. It was also denounced as the ideologies of inefficient management and reactionaries. And we have to admit it, though with regret. In Germany, the Social Democrats stayed in power for many years, but Social Democracy was not established after all. On the contrary, the leaders of the party, helping Hitler, wrested Democracy from the hands of the working masses. In Italy, the Social Democrats gave rise to the dictatorship of Mussolini. In England they gave birth to MacDonald. This may be attributed to the fact that the Social Democrats have only a formal and superficial understanding of the ideology of the Marxists. In other words, their knowledge in this connection is non-dialectic. They were only speaking about the realization of Socialism through peaceful measures, through the Diet, whereas attainment of such purpose was impossible without a revolution by violence. Such lukewarm policy on the part of the Social Democrats brought about a compromise between labor and capital in the name of "labor for peace" (aimed at the participation of laborers in industrial management or in the operation of organized capitalism, or in the amendment of capitalism instead of developing struggles for a revolution by violence.)

(To Be Continued)

Of course, there was still some distinction between Social Democracy and Communism. From the outset, the Communist Party was founded on genuine Marxism and Bolshevism. It is a party of laborers having for its object the guidance of the majority of people in order to realize the unification of all laborers. Therefore, before the amalgamation of the Social Democratic Party with the Communist Party can take place, the former must go ahead a long way in its policy and principle. Until then, the Social Democratic Party will remain a combined party of all working classes, and its leaders with the support of capitalists will exercise powerful control over all members. Some of these leaders will be rightists, some leftists, while others will follow the middle course. Where a Social Democratic Party is essentially reactionary, the leftists therein will be a most loathsome faction, but where it is essentially a friend of the communist Party, these leftists will be good deputies of the working masses and may serve as instruments to pave the way for the cooperation or amalgamation of these parties. The Social Democratic parties in most countries belong to the latter, and in England, France and Italy a merger between the Social Democrats and the Communists is now regarded quite probable.

Has Various Factions

The Social Democratic Party in Japan was formed at first, under the new atmosphere developed after the termination of war. Its actions have been determined by

those who belonged to the former Social Democratic Party (under Iso-o Abe), the former Japan Labor and Farmer Party (under Hisashi Aso), Japan Communist Party (under Kanju Kato) and some "Communists" who belonged to the Labor and Farmer Faction. From the outset, Social Democracy in Japan was unfit for a sound development among the laborers, nor had it any tradition insuring its steady growth. In former days when the Social Democrats of Japan belonged to "reform unions" the leaders and members of such unions were united together by relations now observable between a boss and his men. Therefore, when the military rose to the surface of our political world, they could easily change their principle and become fascists.

The Social Democratic Party, when reformed following the end of war, opened its door to all the legitimate proletarian parties of former days. When the new party was formed, there was a big gap in principle and policy between the old and inefficient leaders of those proletarian parties and their members who had been moving with the currents of the times. Many of the promoters of the new Social Democratic Party were even unqualified to talk about socialism. As stated above, the new Social Democratic Party of Japan consists of the rightists, moderates, and the leftists. The rightists and moderates include many leading members of the Social Democratic Party and the former Japan Labor and Farmer Party, while the leftists consist of the responsible members of the former Japan Proletarian Party and some well-known communists of the former "labor and farmer faction."

MORE AGGRESSIVE ATTITUDE SEEN AS NEED OF SOCIALISTS

Cooperation With Communist Party Would Be A Step In the Right Direction

30 Jul
4123

By ISAO NAKANISHI
(From the Sunday Mainichi)

II
After the rise of Fascism, a great change took place in the policies of the Social Democrats. In the first place, they were placed under the overwhelming pressure of the Fascists, and were deprived of Democracy on which their party was founded. With reluctance, they had to fight against Fascism in order to regain what had been snatched from their hands. Herein was started the separation of Social Democrats from the Fascists. This was, however, of no decisive importance. What was very important was the victory won by the Social Democrats in the armed clash with the Fascists which en-

abled the Social Democrats to realize their objectives through peaceful measures, and brought about an atmosphere facilitating the attainment of such objects. As a natural result, definite distinction ceased to exist between the fundamental policy of the Social Democrats and that of the orthodox Marxists and Bolsheviks. Consequently, the capitalists could no longer utilize Social Democracy as a means of disuniting laborers. On the other hand, Social Democracy was no longer definitely harmful to the laborers who were not in position to use it in promoting their own interests. This was a remarkable change.

No clear line of demarcation, however, can be drawn between the rightists and moderates from a practical point of view. For both of them are rightists. Of these rightists, Nishio and Matsuoka are backed by the All Japan Labor Federation while Hirano has command over the Japan Farmers Party. Generally speaking, however, they are not supported by organized laborers. Their influence in the party is derived from the political footholds they have in different parts of Japan. In this respect, there is no difference between the technique and character of the rightists leaders of the Social Democratic Party and those of any political party of the Bourgeoisie. The leftists have their political grounds in the unions belonging to the Japan Labor Council and the Japan Farmers Unions. These organizations, however, are not very strong. In western countries, the Social Democratic Party has a very strong organization, but the same party in Japan has no such organization. At the inaugural general meeting of the Social Democratic Party which was held at Tokyo on December 2 last year, the rightists established their bureaucratic control over the party by acquiring perfect leadership of the party. In keeping with the development of the local organizations, especially after the party acquired at the general election the support of the masses of the people, the situation began to undergo a remarkable change until at last the position of the leftists has been strengthened. As a result of a political fight, the rightists in the party have been placed under the leadership of Katayama, Mizutani, Nakamura, Sunaga, Yonekubo, and Nomizo, and the leftists under the leadership of Kato, Kuroda, Suzuki, and Matsumoto. If the party holds a general meeting during the present session of the Diet, it is expected, there will be a remarkable change in the division of power among the different factions. At the meeting of the Diet members belonging to the party held on May 11 as well as at the general meeting of the younger members of the party held on May 13, the atmosphere was very favorable for the rise of the leftists. Especially, at the latter meeting, the younger members behaved themselves with such enthusiasm as if they represented the guiding spirit of the party.

(To Be Continued)

MORE AGGRESSIVE ATTITUDE SEEN AS NEED OF SOCIALISTS

Cooperation With Communist Party Would Be A Step In the Right Direction

By ISAO NAKANISHI
(From the Sunday Mainichi)

III

The Social Democratic Party is always talking too much about socialist policies. But, I believe that the party must at first become a thorough Democratic Party. The masses of the people who have been liberated from the grip of reactionary influence dare not directly approach the Communist Party, and will at first join the Social Democrats. Sometimes, the masses of people who have been liberated from the grip of reactionary influence by the constant efforts of the Communists will temporarily join the Social Democrats instead of going to the Communist Party at once. In many respects, the Social Democratic Party has command over the psychology of the masses who are behind the times. This is why the Social Democrats enjoy the support of the masses at the beginning of a social revolution. In the last general election, the Social Democrats gained only 93 seats in the Diet because they were careless about the selection of the candidates.

Power Not Negligible

Nevertheless, the influence represented by 93 seats in the Diet is by no means negligible. As the Social Democratic Party is the only party which can take part in the formation of a people's front, it is quite natural that the masses are endeavoring to form a Democratic cabinet with this party as the nucleus.

But as stated above, this party is not an organization founded on the support of organized laborers, but an influence established on the support of voters who are distributed over the country. Its power, therefore, is rather weak and unstable. If the time comes when the Communist Party may obtain so many seats as 93 in the Diet, we may probably say that the Democratic revolution in Japan will have been practically finished. The Communist Party decidedly stands on the support of organized laborers. Its acting power, therefore, is very great. If the Social Democrats shake hands with the Communists, they may exhibit their strong points at their best, and thereby strengthen the fighting power of the Democratic front. This has been made clear to all by the fact that in the recent political change, the pro-Democracy movement by the masses has been exclusively led and guided by the Communist Party, and by the support of these masses of people, the position of the leftists in the Social Democratic Party has been greatly strengthened. Under such circumstances, the Social Democratic Party seems, outwardly at least, to be destined to play the leading role in the political affairs of this country.

In the recent political change, however, the Social Democratic Party disclosed its weak point. It followed an extremely undecided attitude and could not assume the reins of government. As a Demo-

cratic party, it is quite natural that it should always expect the establishment of a Democratic Government. In this respect, we have to admit that the party followed a right course. We cannot, however, overlook the fact that the leftists in the party were lacking in the courage to assume political power. They could not take initiative in anything, and failed to make use of the excellent chance which was hovering in sight. This was because the party was under the practical control of the rightists. But, if the leftists had correctly judged the situation and decidedly led their party in the direction of

Democratic Government, Japan's political world might have followed a quite different course than it did.

Some people say that the influence of the leftists was too small among the leaders of the party to take the initiative. The more important cause of their failure, however, is that they were entirely isolated. If they had been acting in close cooperation with the Communist Party, the initiative would have fallen into the hands of the Democratic front. It was a heavy loss to the leftists that none of them were elected as a member of the Four-Parties Committee to discuss the formation of the new cabinet.

Such passive nature as shown by the leftists of the Social Democratic Party comes from the party itself. On the other hand, the Communists, though a minority, have a strong resolution, and are trained to lead others. Moreover, as a thorough Labor Party, they always act as a severe critic of the undecisive attitude of the Social Democratic Party. Before the Social Democrats can form a true Socialist Party, they require the close cooperation and strict criticism by the Communist Party. Some of the Social Democratic leaders may make light of the help from a "small party of only five members." The merits and power of this "small party" is a question to be examined in keeping with the actual development of the Democratic front in the future.

(End)

412.3

Friction Growing Among Socialists

Left-Wingers Dissatisfied With Dictatorial Rightist Stand —Osawa Case in Point

The smoldering friction between the right-wing and left-wing factions within the Social Democratic Party is fast coming to a head, with the left-wingers readying to launch a counter-offensive against the right-wing leaders, some of the leading Metropolitan dailies reported Wednesday.

The immediate cause for the reported aggravation of the factional strife within the Social Democratic camp, according to these reports, seems to lie in the party's recent disciplinary action taken against Hisaki Osawa, one of its Diet members, for his "lone-wolf" support of a Communist motion proposing postponement of deliberations on the draft Constitution.

For thus violating the party line, Osawa has been subjected to a disciplinary action by the party leadership and ordered to be on "good behavior" during the current Diet session.

The Mainichi Shimbun said that some Social Democrats—mostly left-wingers—were bitterly dissatisfied with the party leaders who had taken the disciplinary action against Osawa depriving him of any chance of expressing himself during the current Diet session. The paper quoted one Social Democrat as declaring that any disciplinary action "muzzling" a Diet member is excessive.

Against such criticisms by left-wing Social Democrats, according to the journal, Rikizo Hirano and other leaders of the right-wing faction are adamantly holding out and standing pat on the party's disciplinary action taken against Osawa.

So far, the paper reported, the rightwingers have succeeded in enforcing their decision on the Osawa case. On the other hand, the left-wingers' gripes against the right-wing faction are becoming markedly aggravated, it was said.

Another factor precipitating the opposition between the right-wing and left-wing factions is a statement made by Kinji Kawashima at last Tuesday's Lower House session, in which he said that the earned income taxes on the working classes should be abolished or otherwise the present ¥500 calling on the monthly cash income should be removed and that the Social Democratic Party advocates the fixing of the tax-exemption point in the capital levy at ¥50,000.

According to the journal, he is likely to be called to account for his "misstatements" which is held as derogatory to the prestige of the party as representing the interests of the masses.

Furthermore, the paper noted that there are trends among the Social Democratic leaders to formulate their own policy vis-a-vis the Constitution question and then to force it on the rank-and-file members.

The left-wingers, bitterly dissatisfied with the leaders' handling of the question, have demanded democratization of party operation, insisting that decisions on such an important issue should be taken at a meeting of all Social Democratic Party Diet members, according to the daily.

So far, however, all these protests by the left-wingers have reportedly been ignored by the right-wing leaders.

In similar vein, the Yomiuri Shimbun also reported that many Social Democrats belonging to the "anti-leadership" clique were voicing strong opposition to the disciplinary action taken against Representative Osawa.

"The opposition between the right-wing and left-wing factions within the party, which has long been submerged is believed to flare up into the open over the issue of the disciplinary action taken against Representative Osawa, who is considered a foremost spearhead of the left-wing faction," a Communist declared.

NIPPON TIMES
JUL 6 1946

Socialists Give Up Joint Front Attempt

Democratic League Plan With Communists Abandoned in Crucial Decision

The Social Democratic Party, in one of its crucial decisions on its relations with the Communist Party announced today that it had decided to break off any further negotiations with the Communists on its projected establishment of a Democratic League for National Salvation, Jiji Press reported.

A resolution adopted at Monday's meeting of the party's Standing Executive Committee declared that any further negotiations with the Communist Party on the proposed Democratic League were discontinued on the grounds that "conditions have not yet matured" for Communist participation in the league.

The committee meeting was attended by leaders of both the left-wing and right-wing factions. Tetsu Katayama, Secretary-General of the party, and Tatsuo Morito, "master mind" of the Democratic League plan, were also present.

The left-wing leaders, including Kanju Kato, Mosaburo Suzuki, Hisao Kuroda and Masaru Nomizo, it was reported, stressed the need of cooperation with the Communists, unanimously insisting that another approach should be made to the Communist Party to promote cooperation between the Social Democrats and the Communist "in the spirit of friendship and in good faith."

The right-wing leaders, it was further reported, voiced their strong support of Morito's proposal for "shortening the battle line" in realizing the long-projected Dem-

ocratic League for National Salvation. This proposal, which, in effect, calls for discontinuing any further attempts at seeking Communist cooperation and for acceleration of formation of a united democratic front "from the social Democrats' own point of view," won approval of the committee by a vote of five to four.

A spokesman for the party declared that the party arrived at a three-point decision "after conducting negotiations with other parties and groups on the projected Democratic League for National Salvation.

The decisions are:
First, organization of the league with labor unions affiliated with the party, which have agreed to join the league, the National Federation of Labor, the Japan Farmers Union, the Democratic People's League and the Suhei-sha or the National Levelling Movement Association, fighting for elimination of social discrimination against the so-called "Eta" class.

Second, further continuation of negotiations with other organizations.

Third, discontinuation of any further negotiations with the Communist Party on the grounds that conditions have not yet matured for Communist participation in the league.

Meanwhile, the decision of the Social Democratic Party was bitterly resented by Ritsu Ito, spokesman of the Communist Party, in an interview with the press Monday.

Formation of a popular front is urgently required, Ito asserted, in view of possible mass unemployment resulting from impending industrial reorganization, heavy taxation of farmers' incomes, and the oppressive policy the government had recently adopted toward mass movements. Masses of the people must be mobilized in a democratic front in order to ward off the danger of colonization of the nation.

To consider the proposed democratic front in terms of partisan interests or numerical strength of parties in the Diet would be tantamount to giving up the important mission of the campaign, Ito stressed. The masses would not support a democratic front from which the Communists are excluded, Ito said.

NIPPON TIMES JUL 17 1946

Kyoto Socialists Have Their Own Way

KYOTO, July 24.—The Kyoto chapter of the Japan Socialist Party ignored the "Omit the Communist" policy adopted on July 14 by the Socialist Central Executive Council in Tokyo by advocating a continuation of the popular front policy at its working committee meeting of July 22 following the return of Chosaburo Mizutani and Taminosuke Tsuji, local Socialist Diet members.

The Socialist spokesman announced that the activities of the Kyoto popular front is gradually gaining in momentum and there is no reason to disrupt the present relations with the Communists although there is much to be desired.

The Socialists will, however, request the Communists to reconsider their tactics in order to facilitate a national salvation movement.

MAINICHI JUL 31 1946

ITEM 2 The Difficult Situation of the Left-Wing Elements of the Social Democratic Party - Provincial Newspaper: Nishi Nippon Shinbun (Fukuoka) - 18 Jul 46. Translator: C. Akashi.

Full Translation:

The advent of the YOSHIDA Cabinet, a coalition cabinet of the Liberal Party and the Progressive Party, drew a clear-cut line of demarcation between the so-called conservative parties and democratic ones. Moreover, it furnished a bright prospect for the formation of the Democratic Front for National Salvation advocated by the Social Democratic Party. However, this much-heralded movement has made little progress since then due to the unsuccessful negotiations conducted between the Social Democratic Party and the Communist Party and the labor and agricultural unions which are under the control of the Communists. Under these circumstances, the Ninetieth Extraordinary Session of the Diet was convoked, and on the 14 July, the Social Democratic Party decided to break off with the Communist Party over the issue of the said Democratic Front. Consequently, the democratic parties in JAPAN have come to be divided into two camps, the Social Democrats and the Communists.

412.3
Meanwhile, owing to the purge directive issued on 12 June against right-wing organizations, the movement of mass political organizations, such as labor and agricultural unions, came to be restricted to a considerable degree. Furthermore, the Government's statement regarding the maintenance of social order, which implied no more than the Government's firm attitude toward the mass political movement, necessarily meant a turning point in the Democratic Front movement. The recent tendencies of the Social Democratic Party to lean toward the right, are a manifestation of the changes in the outward political situation. We may take up here, as an inward cause, the admitted difference of political tactics between the Social Democratic Party and the Communist Party as has been demonstrated since the general election:

In the formation of the present YOSHIDA Cabinet, the Social Democratic Party, at first, planned for the establishment of a coalition government with the Liberal Party. Once this proved to be a failure, they concluded the political agreements with the latter party and assumed a highly compromising attitude. However, this step also failed due to the ousting of the president of the Liberal Party, Mr HATOYAMA. As a last resort, the Social Democratic Party tried in vain to set up a Government by themselves. Then, at last, the coalition Cabinet of the Liberal and Progressive parties was formed. Now when we look back upon the political negotiations conducted at the Joint Committee of the four major parties, the Liberal, Social Democratic, Co-operative, and Communist parties, we cannot fail to recognize the fact that the Social Democratic Party and the Communist Party have been opposed to each other in every issue, exposing the fundamental difference of their intrinsic natures. Under these circumstances, the left-wing faction in the Social Democratic Party served to prevent the Party from going to the conservative camp and, on the other hand, tried to induce it to take sides with the Communists. But with the Party's decision to break off with the Communists, those left-wing members have been placed in an extremely difficult situation. Those who asserted their desire to co-operate with the Communist Party were KATO, Kanju, SUZUKI, Masaburo, KURODA, Toshio, and NOMIZO, Masaru, while such standing committeemen as NISHIO, Suehiro HIRANO, Rikizo, TABARU, Haruji, MIZUTANI, Chozaburo, and YONEKUBO, Mitsutera were against it, and supported MORITO's anti-Communist proposal. We may say that Mr MORITO voiced these sentiments of the right-wing element. If Mr MATSUMOTO, Jiichiro and Mr HARA, Hyo, who were

POLITICAL SERIES: 1062 (Continued)ITEM 2 (Continued)

absent from the committee meeting, should join with the left-wing, the result would be the same, because Secretary-General KATAYAMA, MATSUOKA, Komakichi, NAKAMURA, Takaichi, and KONO, Mitsu would all support MORITO's proposal.

Mr MORITO had been confident of the success of his own plan to sever relations with the Communist Party even before it was submitted to the Standing Committee Meeting. Now his proposal has been adopted on the condition that it is to be discussed further at the Party's coming general meeting. We cannot overlook here, the fact that this resolution by the Social Democratic Party has been adopted without meeting any anticipated strong opposition of the left elements. From this fact, it can be perceived that the Social Democrats' dissatisfaction with the Communists still exists. It was caused by the Communists' unfavorable attitude assumed at the time when the Social Democratic Party sought the Communist Party's co-operation for the first time over the issue of the Democratic Front. One of the left wing members of the Social Democratic Party has pointed out that it was entirely a fault on the part of the Communists. In addition to this, we may cite here, as another reason, that Mr NAKAMISHI, Inosuke, Communist, charged the left wing members of the Social Democratic Party with opportunism, in the April issue of the "People's Front".

A12.3 The attitude of the left wing circles of the Social Democratic Party assumed against the Party's growing inclination to go to the right must be called only negative. The members of the Party from the JAPAN Labor Organization (NICHIRO), who had heretofore stood neutral, also demonstrated their support of MORITO's proposal. Therefore, the left members of the Social Democratic Party have been forced to become isolated, and now they are remaining silent about the Party's anti-Communist step.

It is almost decided that the Secretary-General of the Social Democratic Party, KATAYAMA, will be promoted to the Presidency at the Party General Meeting, which is to be held after the current Diet session, by the left member, Mr KATO, Kanju, who was regarded as a candidate for the post of Secretary-General, together with Mr NISHIO, now stand a very poor chance of being elected. As for Mr NISHIO, we must say that his position is also doubtful, for he may come under the purge directive just like Mr KONO, Mitsu. Therefore, Mr MORITO, Tatsuo is now regarded as the strongest candidate for the Secretary-General post, and accordingly, such members as KATAYAMA and MORITO are becoming more and more influential in this Party.

Mr HOSOSAKI, Kanemitsu, New Party Club (SHINTO Club), has commented on the Social Democratic Party situation as follows: "If the Social Democratic Party's step to sever relations with the Communist Party can induce the Co-operative Party to co-operate with them in the matter of the Democratic Front, it may be called a success for the Social Democrats."

Mr MORITO proclaimed that the objective of the Democratic Front movement was to take up the reins of government. After all, it can be said that the Social Democratic Party has made notable progress along the lines which Mr MORITO has proposed.

DISTRIBUTION "X"

ITEM 3 Movement of the Social Democrats - Provincial Newspaper Nishi Nippon Shimbun (Fukuoka) - 21 Jul 46. Translator: F. Noda.

Summary:

412.3 Though nearly a month has passed since the opening session of the Diet, the general budget has not yet been introduced. Although the Diet is bogged down with the Committees on Constitutional Revision and the Labor Relations Adjustment Bill, the adjustment of the suspension of payments of munition industry indemnities, proper enough in discarding wartime economy, is expected to be attended with a great deal of difficulty. Therefore, the Government has considerable trouble on its hands. Also, the Emergency Food Measures have not yet been approved by the Lower House. Furthermore, the Government is at an impasse in selecting the director-general of the Economic Stabilization Board. Therefore, the cardinal policy of rehabilitating post-war economic conditions has failed to be established.

Considering these facts, the YOSHIDA Cabinet will face many difficulties, and it is predicted that these will increase as the session progresses in its discussions on the livelihood of the people and economic rehabilitation measures. There are indications of more trouble which will be caused by the attitude of the social democrats. They refuse to recognize the present Cabinet and advocate that it should resign en bloc as soon as it completes the revision of the Constitution.

Concerning the revision of the Constitution, KITTA, Reikichi, Liberal, proposed to NISHIO, Suehiro, social democrat, that the amendments should be agreed upon politically before introducing them to a sub-committee. NISHIO rejected this, saying that they should be discussed by the sub-committee first. Another social democrat, SUZUKI, Yoshio, who is chairman of the Constitution Committee, asserts that he will adhere to his personal amendments.

Since the Committee of the Labor Relations Adjustment Bill includes no Communist members, the Social Democratic Party, which is a proletarian party, will play an active role in unconditionally opposing the bill at the committee meeting.

412.3 The social democrats paved the way towards securing the reins of power in the future by excluding the communists from the Democratic League for National Salvation. Since they exceeded their authority as a party in attempting to solve the problem concerning the Constitution and the food problem, and after giving careful consideration to the present existing situation in JAPAN, it appears that their position as the opposition party has become extremely weak. Also, there is a tendency among the people to consider them a Government party. However, chairman of the Parliamentary Policy Committee NISHIO announced that, since the Social Democratic Party decided the course of a democratic front, the members of the party will be strongly united.

On the other hand, the same party is to set up a Policy Investigation Committee at an estimated cost of 1,000,000 yen. The objective is to win over such professors as GUCHI, ARISAWA, MINOBE, TAKAHASHI, and TOMATA, who were kept out of the YOSHIDA Cabinet.

Such a positive tendency on the part of the Social Democratic Party is of deep significance, for it maps out the party's course as an opposition party. How positively the same party will display its characteristics in the Diet must be carefully watched.

ITEM 3 Problems of the Social Democratic Party - Tokyo Shimbun - 14 Jul 46.
Translator: M. Yasutake.

Summary:

The Social Democratic Party, which is divided into two groups, is faced with many difficult problems. The Party is suffering from the agonies of national reformation within its ranks because the platform, based on public support, is directly connected with the essentials of democracy.

The internal split within the Party originates from the difference of viewpoints held by the two groups regarding the essential character of democracy. Mr KATO, one of the chief members of the left wing, insists on the clearer stipulation by the Government of the sovereignty in the hands of the people, theory, and Mr MORITO, who is regarded as representing the right wing element deems the first clause of the Constitution draft is in accord with the view held by the Social Democratic Party. The MORITO Plan will probably be adopted by the Party.

A12-3
Why is it that the internal split does not lead directly to the dismemberment of the Party? It is because the two groups are well aware that the taking of the initiative in the execution of a democratic revolution should be based on wide following and strong unity, and that the internal struggle will only contribute to the stronger unification of the conservatives and form a big obstacle to the success of a, democratic revolution in the interests of the masses.

Mr KONO, a theorist member of the Central Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Party was declared by the Government to fall under the SCAP's purge directive. He has asked for a re-examination of his status by the authorities concerned. Messrs KONO and SUZUKI, representing the practical-minded rightwing element and the theory-inclined left element, respectively, have been chiefly responsible for the drafting of the policies of the Social Democratic Party. They hold that there can be no successful and practical politic without the backing of a convincing theory. Lately, the chief members of the Social Democratic Party seem to be inclined towards pure theory, because they find it absolutely necessary to rely on theory in their assertion of the Party's stand in the Diet.

On the problem of the formation of a Democratic Front for National Salvation, the members in charge of the promotion of the league will be accused of impassive and lukewarm attitude at the meeting of the Standing Executive Committee to be held on 14 July. This may be regarded as the offensive of the left elements against the right elements. The prospects of the decline of the right element are now in sight.

A12-3
The number of the Diet members belonging to the right element of the Party, however, is far greater than that of those who belong to the left. The Party is now steadily enlarging its sphere of influence in local districts, and it is worthy of note that the local representatives of the Party generally belong to the right. The conservative parties, too, are now feverishly consolidating their spheres of influence in preparation for the local elections to be held this fall. They are even contemplating a merger, to take an effective offensive against the democratic front.

The expansion of its local spheres of influences by the Social Democratic Party is progressing smoothly, but something ambiguous and inexplicable remains regarding the fact that the majority of the local representatives of the Party belong to the right element. Their lack of understanding of the historical significance of the democratic movement is probably responsible for this.

Who will take the post of the president of the Social Democratic Party? The Party keenly feels the necessity, both internally and externally, of having its own leader. The views concerning the acceptance of the post by Mr OYAMA, now in the UNITED STATES are gaining force, but judging from the present situation, Mr KATAYAMA will probably become the president of the Party.

The Social Democratic Party is now undergoing a great ordeal. It must grasp its raison d'etre as a party for social reform, and concentrate its energies on the decisive execution of its assigned task. Both the right and left elements must remember that there is strength in unity.

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
ALLIED TRANSLATOR AND INTERPRETER SECTION

PRESS TRANSLATIONS

No. 3980

DATE: 17 Jul 46

EDITORIAL SERIES:
1086

ITEM 1 Course of the Social-Democratic Party - Mainichi Shimbun - 17 Jul 46.
Translator: K. Higashikawa.

Full Translation:

The Standing Committee of the Social-Democratic Party has decided to launch the democratic popular front by ousting the Communist Party from the movement. It is presumed that both favorable and unfavorable opinions will be voiced in all quarters on this decision. In fact, within the Social-Democratic Party, four members of the Standing Committee have declared that they will not be bound by the decision of the Standing Committee in case the decision should be taken up for discussion at a general meeting of party members.

412-3
However, ever since the popular front issue was brought upon the tapis relations between the Social-Democratic Party and the Communist Party have become very strained. That fact that the Social-Democratic Party has now decided to sever all connections with the Communist Party on this problem will doubtless create great repercussions. At least, the stage has been reached where the Social-Democratic Party should clarify its attitude on its political relations with the Communist Party.

In this sense the decision of the Standing Committee is a serious one. Last autumn the Communist Party publicly advocated the formation of the democratic popular front and immediately proposed to the Social-Democratic Party to jointly sponsor this movement, but the Social-Democratic Party did not decide its position at that time. At the beginning of this year Mr YAMAKAWA, Hitoshi advocated the formation of a democratic popular front as a non-partisan; and with the return of Mr NOZAKA, the time for launching this movement seemed to have been reached, but the Social-Democratic Party still maintained a wait-and-see policy. On the grounds that conditions were unsuited, the Social-Democratic Party held this matter in abeyance until after the general election, stating that following the general elections they would lead this movement, being in a position to commend both rightist and leftist groups. However, before the YOSHIDA Cabinet came into being the political situation was confused, and the formation of the YOSHIDA Cabinet required nearly one month. Centering around this cabinet change the Social-Democratic Party was split into two rival factions on the issue of whether the party should work for a coalition cabinet or remain an opposition party. Also there was internal dissension on the overtures of the Liberal Party to reserve ministerial posts for some of its members. Finally, the Social-Democrats decided to become the first party in policies rather than become the first party only in numbers, and aiming at becoming the government party or an opposition party, it did not accept the Liberal Party's proposal to work hand in hand. Later on, when the Social-Democratic Party was approached for the formation of a cabinet, the Liberal Party declined to co-operate with the Social-Democratic Party. Accordingly, the party decided to form a cabinet of its own, but the chance of getting the reins of power had passed. Although during all this time the subject of the democratic popular front did not come to the foreground, the leftists and the rightists within the party dissented on the two political issues concerning the reins of power and the democratic popular front, while the neutral members of the party moved in favor of the leftists.

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412.3

With the political confusion ended, the Social Democrats were under obligations to fulfil their public promise for the formation of a popular front, and accordingly the plan for inaugurating the Democratic League for National Salvation was formulated. This plan is designed to befriend both left and right wing organizations, with the Social-Democratic Party playing the leading role. The organization of the Democratic League for National Salvation was to have two sections: namely, the Diet Section and the Mass Movement Section. The proposed Democratic League for National Salvation demanded the three basic principles: co-operation, fidelity and fraternity, as well as strict observance of rules and scope of activity agreed upon, from member organizations. The Co-operative Party took the stand that it could not participate in any movement in which the Communist Party participated. Although recently it has somewhat altered its viewpoint, the Communist Party at that time contended against the dual section policy. Opposition to the dual system was also raised by the labor camp which was regarded as being affiliated to the Communists. Voicing the opinion that the structure of the proposed Democratic League for National Salvation should be decided upon by the consensus of member organizations, the Communist Party and affiliated labor camps challenged the Social-Democratic Party by forming an Association for the Acceleration of the Popular Front. At present only the Federation of Labor Unions, Farmers Union of JAPAN, Democratic People's League and the Pariah Association of JAPAN (SUIHEISHA) support the Democratic League for National Salvation. In addition, Mr YAMAKAWA's backing is attracting attention. While the popular front movement still remains to be launched, all the political parties in the Diet have decided to take up the food problem, which the Democratic League for National Salvation was to tackle first and foremost, and transcend all party interests. Under these circumstances, unless the popular front finds some way out, it will not be able to emerge from its present deadlock.

To consider these matters, the Social-Democratic Standing Committee held a meeting, as a result of which it was decided to form a popular front with the support of the above-mentioned four organizations, to resume negotiations with the Workers Union of the Communications Ministry, Government Railway Workers Union and Seamen's Union, and to give up negotiations with the Communist Party on the grounds that the time for such a move has not yet been reached. From the first, the Social-Democratic Party entertained the fear that the Communist Party would not observe the three basic principle of the Democratic League for National Salvation, and the Social-Democratic Party has not been able to rid itself of this distrust because the Communist Party continued to attack the leaders of the Social-Democratic Party as war criminal suspects, even after the Communist Party decided to support in principle the popular front sponsored by the Social-Democrats. This seems to have been the direct motive of the Social Democrats in refusing the participation of the Communist Party in the popular front movement.

However, after taking into consideration the circumstances leading up to the recent political entanglement and the latest political trends, the Social-Democrats seem to have arrived at the conclusion that they should assume a very cautious attitude toward the Communist Party on the premise that the Social-Democratic Party is most likely to step into power at the next opportunity. As is evident in Europe, co-operation between the Social-Democrats Party and the Communist Party is most likely to be exploited by the Communist Party, and the difference between the standpoints of the two parties was made clear at the time of the general election. From this viewpoint only the Social-Democratic Party seems to be on the look-out as regards its relations with the Communist Party. Furthermore, the Social-Democratic Party says that the focal point of the popular front is on "national salvation" rather than on "democracy", thereby indicating the future direction of the popular front. At least, the members of the former Social-Democratic Party and members of the former Labor Union of JAPAN who are regarded as rightists and neutrals

EDITORIAL SERIES: 1086 (Continued)

ITEM 1 (Continued)

A123

of the present Social-Democratic Party, have come to such a conclusion, which also accounts for the party's refusal of Communist participation in the Democratic League for National Salvation. All this leads us to believe that the Social-Democratic Party has indicated the road it will take in the future.

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
ALLIED TRANSLATOR AND INTERPRETER SECTION

PRESS TRANSLATIONS

No. 3840

DATE: 9 Jul 46

EDITORIAL SERIES: 1060

ITEM 1 Social Democratic Party Should Promptly Choose Its Head - Yomiuri Shim-
bun - 9 Jul 46. Translator: K. Nagatani.

Full Translation:

The Social Democratic Party is substantially the second party. In the present sphere of political influences, the Liberal Party is the first, and the Progressive Party ranks next; however, both are government parties, representing the constituency of old-established political parties standing for capitalism. Considering these circumstances, the merger of the two parties is inevitable. Accordingly, when the YOSHIDA Cabinet resigns, we believe and sincerely hope the Social Democratic Party will come into power. This is the reason why the working classes throughout the country, who support the Social Democrats, are watching with keen interest the development of schisms now occurring within the party. From the standpoint of establishing Japanese democracy, the schisms are in the sharpest focus.

In connection with the recent actions in the Diet of Social Democrats OSAWA, KAWASHIMA and TAMAN, it is rumored that friction exists between the right wing elements and the leftists of the party. It is also rumored that the Social Democratic Party is in danger of splitting because of the stalemate on the Democratic League for National Salvation (KYUKOKU MINSHUDOMEI), which the Social Democrats initiated. This is an unfortunate situation.

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The Social Democratic Party is, so to speak, a freshman in the Diet. Moreover, the party is composed of miscellaneous elements belonging to the former General Labor League (RODOSODOMEI), the Laborers' and Peasants' Party (RONOTO) and other organizations. These conditions inherent in the Social Democratic Party may provide an excuse for occasionally disrupting the Diet or for the lack of control within the party. However, the Social Democratic Party as a political party should be unified. There is every reason to believe that the majority of the electorate are not well acquainted with the internal conditions, and that they voted for the Social Democratic Party because of its socialistic policies and platform. Accordingly, internal frictions trouble the general public. If there should be a repetition of these frictions, the Social Democratic Party will lose national support.

The general public is taking a deep interest in the Democratic League for National Salvation. From the inception there has been some criticism on the matter of its organization which divides the League into two parts: the Diet section and the popular section. It is reported that the Cooperative Party will not join the League: thus, the Diet section has already received a setback. The popular section will also fail to achieve its objective because of its delicate relations with the Communists and the Committee for Promoting the Democratic League (MINSHU DOMEI SOKUSHINKAI). Some quarters demand a re-examination of the present structure of the Democratic League.

It is our earnest hope that the present troubles will be solved promptly

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and that the Social Democratic Party will make a fresh start toward the construction of a unified democratic front. For this purpose, the right wing elements and the leftists should make combined efforts.

A12.3
We would like to propose that the Social Democratic Party choose their head as soon as possible to control the membership. The present structure of the Social Democratic Party centering around chief-secretary KATAYAMA is theoretically good. However, past experience shows that the present structure is apt to invite the criticism that the key figures are arbitrarily steering the course of the party. Not only as a symbol of unity, but also as a supreme person responsible for the decision of policy, the Social Democratic Party should be quick to choose its head. In EUROPE, especially in countries in Eastern EUROPE, socialistic influences are generally forced to sink in the face of an attack on both flanks from the Communists and the Catholic influences. In EUROPE, social democracy is on the decline. However, in less advanced JAPAN, socialistic influences have just taken the first step. The Social Democratic Party is young and bound to flourish. We sincerely hope that they consolidate under the efficient leadership of a new head towards the successful achievement of the Japanese democratic revolution. If the Social Democrats forget all that has happened they will find a leader without many difficulties.

DISTRIBUTION "X"

ITEM 5 Democratic Front and Responsibility of the Social Democratic Party (Editorial) - Asahi Shimbun - 13 Jul 46. Translator: S. Ota.

Full Translation:

412.3
During the last 10 days of May, the Social Democratic Party arrived at an intra-party decision to propose the Democratic League for National Salvation. This proposal for the formation of a popular front was widely acclaimed at the time by the people who had been longing for such an organization. But confronted with opposition from labor groups belonging to the Association for the Promotion of a Democratic Front, the movement faltered. Though a month has elapsed since then, we have not heard of any further positive action on the part of the sponsoring Social Democratic Party. We wonder what the party intends to do?

412.3
On the other hand, a "super-party" movement for the solution of the food problem, which was suggested by the Liberal and Progressive parties, has been winning adherents in every party in the Diet except the Communist Party. But a combined front of members of the Diet along the lines of a popular front movement has not yet appeared. It is reported that the possibility is getting stronger for the amalgamation of the Liberal and Progressive government parties. As indicated by the discussions in the Diet to date, it is difficult to distinguish between the policies or doctrines of these two parties. It may be said that there is hardly a single ideological reason against their amalgamation. According to a report, Welfare Minister KAWAI intends to invite the staffs of these two parties to an advisory conference, possibly following the method of NAKAJIMA, Kunakichi, his senior at the former BANCHO-Town Association, who once promoted a round-table discussion for the coalition of the SEIYUKAI and the MINSEITO. This seems to demonstrate that the moment for the consolidation of the two government parties has become ripe although the success or failure of the venture can not yet be predicted.

Further, in regard to the reconstruction of JAPAN's economy, such measures as cancellation of indemnities and regulation of fictitious capital have been advocated as vital in the economic sphere. In resolving the crisis, there is danger that the solution will take the form of a so-called "offensive of capital," resulting in a settlement at the expense of the working masses. We fear that this economic situation will arouse aggressive activities among conservatives, leading eventually to the rise of reactionary forces.

In such a situation, the necessity of a democratic front is self-evident if democracy is to develop correctly and if the interests of the working masses are to be preserved. We believe that the Social Democratic Party, which has already proposed the formation of a democratic front to meet the demands of the people, must assume the responsibility for its materialization. It must make further efforts at this critical period.

ITEM 2 Social Democrats and Constitutional Reform, The Party Favors Clear Statement Regarding Sovereignty - Tokyo Shimbun - 12 Jul 46. Translator: K. Onishi.

Full Translation:

412.3
In regard to the problem of sovereignty, the Social Democratic Party's opinions are divided into two groups - one supporting the Government draft, the other insisting that sovereignty should be expressly provided for in the Constitution. Owing to this difference in opinion, the party has so far been unable to attain a final decision. It was decided that the party's special committee will continue to hold daily sittings until it reaches a conclusion. In regard to the problem of sovereignty, the Government is determined to avoid all amendments. The Liberal and the Progressive parties are trying to pass the Government draft of the sovereignty issue by lining up a majority which will include the Social Democrats. It is expected that before their representatives meet for a final decision, there will be active, undercover negotiations with the Social Democrats to gain their support. Some quarters feel that the advocates of a clear-cut definition may eventually override the supporters of the Government draft and propose an amendment specifically preventing any abuse of sovereignty due to ambiguity. Such frankness, they say, is quite Social Democratic. The other view, that the Social Democratic Party may present its own draft Constitution and let it vie with the Government draft, seems to be impracticable under existing conditions.

The Advantages of the Social Democrats

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Paradoxical as it may seem, the Social Democrats have profited the most from the successful launching of the Yoshida Cabinet. Imagine what would have happened if the Liberals and the Progressives had not been able to form a government and the task of organizing the cabinet had devolved upon the Social Democratic Party!

It was a lucky day for the Social Democrats when their efforts at cabinet-making struck a snag and the Liberal-Progressive combination thereupon immediately took the task out of their hands. For if the Liberal-Progressive coalition had failed to materialize, as seemed for a while most likely, when Mr. Yoshida almost gave up hope, and the task of cabinet-formation had come back once more to the Social Democrats, they might have been crushed under the weight of the burden.

The struggle which the Social Democrats experienced when they were making their initial attempt before Mr. Yoshida took over would have been nothing as compared with the difficulties and dangers they would have faced if they had had to make a second attempt. It was perhaps with the conscious intention that the task should be taken out of their hands and not returned until some more auspicious future time that they pushed so boldly their impractical, uncompromising, extreme demand for an exclusive all-Social Democratic cabinet, expecting full well that such a demand would never be accepted.

If the Social Democrats had attempted to collaborate with the Liberals in forming a cabinet, they would have had to compromise some of their socialistic principles. They would have laid themselves open to the bitter attacks of the Communists who would have accused them of betraying the popular cause in uniting with the supposedly reactionary Liberals. The Social Democrats would have lost some of their popular support; the left-wing elements of the party would have bolted to join forces with the Communists; and the Social Democratic Party would have been hopelessly split asunder.

If the Social Democrats had attempted to collaborate with the Communists and other leftist groups in forming a "popular front" government, they would have had to attempt to carry on an administration on the basis of an extremely unstable coalition. Even the meager five seats held by the Communists in the Diet would have been very precious to the Social Democrats under such conditions, and conscious of their indispensable value the Communists would have played a role all out of proportion to their actual strength. The very small Communist minority would then have been able to lead the more powerful Social Democrats around by

the nose, and the Social Democratic Party would have become a mere instrument for the advancement of the Communist policy. The Social Democratic Party would have lost its prestige and dignity; it would have alienated even the moderates as well as the conservatives; the moderate wing of the Social Democratic Party itself might have split off; and the party would have been wrecked.

If the Social Democrats had succeeded in forming an exclusive cabinet by themselves, such a cabinet supported only by a minority in the Diet would have been able to survive only on the sufferance of the other parties. It would have been forced to refrain from any bold or original action to avoid antagonizing any group, and its program would have been completely hamstrung.

In any case, the problems which confront the nation today are so formidable that no government can be expected to achieve any

brilliant success or to please all the people. Under the best of circumstances no cabinet can hope to escape criticism and attack. If the Social Democrats had assumed the responsibility for setting up the government, they would have had to bear the onus of such inevitable criticisms. With their lack of previous experience and with their lack of veteran leaders, a premature assumption of governmental responsibility might have given them such an unfavorable record as to result in their being swept out of office in a relatively short while with no chance of recouping their reputation for a long time to come.

As it has turned out, however, the Social Democrats are now in a position as the leading opposition party to stand by and criticize while the Liberal-Progressive coalition struggles with the insuperably difficult problems of government. The Social Democrats have been able to retain their party unity; their reputation remains unblemished; they are free from compromising associations with either the right or the extreme left. They can systematically build up their strength and groom themselves for the day when, after they have become fully prepared and the Liberal-Progressive coalition has discredited itself sufficiently, they can ride into power under favorable conditions as the shining hope of the nation.

It is to be hoped that the Social Democrats will not use their present strategically influential position simply to embarrass the Yoshida administration and to advance their partisan interests. It is to be hoped that they will use their power as the chief opposition party in a constructive manner to act as the responsible monitor and conscience of the nation, and that they will use this interval in solid preparation so that if and when the nation should ever call upon them to replace the present regime they will be well qualified to furnish a competent leadership.

Socialists May Pick Katayama as Leader

Sec. General May Be Nominated President—Morito To Succeed Kono

There is a possibility that Tetsu Katayama, secretary general of the Social Democratic Party, will be nominated as president of the party, according to Jiji Press.

Informed Social Democratic sources said that the matter would be taken up for formal discussion by party leaders next Sunday when the party's executive standing committee is scheduled to hold a meeting.

According to these sources, opinion is gaining ground among members of the party in favor of installing a full-fledged president as early as possible as a means of bridging the widening gap between the left-wing and right-wing factions.

In this connection it was said that the right-wingers and the "middle-of-the-roaders" were in favor of having Katayama installed as president and at the same time nominating Suyehiro Nishio, leader of the right-wing faction, as secretary general.

In opposition to these groups, it was further said, the left-wing factions is proposing that installation of the party president should be deferred until Ikuo Oyama, veteran of the proletarian movement, returns from the United States, where he is now on the research staff of Northwestern University.

Those who are in favor of nominating Katayama as party president are said to be planning to put the matter to vote at Sunday's executive committee meeting, if the left-wingers continue their opposition to Katayama's presidency.

In that event, they are reported to be aiming that a decision will be taken with a majority vote in favor of the proposed presidency for Katayama.

Present indications are that the much-talked-about nomination of Katayama will materialize shortly, the same informed sources said.

Tatsuo Morito, a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Party, is likely to be promoted to membership in the Executive Standing Committee, succeeding Mitsu Kono who has been barred from public posts as a political purgee, according to Jiji Press.

NIPPON TIMES
JUL 13 1946

Socialists To Name Katayama

It is almost certain that Tetsu Katayama, chief secretary of the Socialist Party, will be elected chairman of the standing committee at the party's second general meeting to be held on September 28, 29, and 30 at the auditorium of Chuo University, Tokyo.

NIPPON TIMES 29 MAY 1946

MAINICHI SEP 7 1946

LIBERALISM MUST BE BACKED BY DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM

Social-Democratic Party Head Declares That Realization of Real Freedom for Man Can Be Realized

By TETSU KATAYAMA
Secretary General of the Social Democratic Party

In Japan, the term "liberalism" has been understood in such a broad sense that a succinct definition of it is difficult. During the war, it was misconstrued as if it were another name for treason. In the excitement of wartime, many words were subject to anomalous interpretation, it is true, but liberalism was so badly misrepresented that gross injustice was done to it. The purpose of this article is to make a plea for liberalism and to clarify its true meaning.

By way of elucidation, I shall contrast liberalism with opposing ideologies. To begin with, let it be remembered that liberalism is opposed to, and seeks to destroy feudalism. Liberalism aims to shatter all fetters restricting freedom and set man free. The opposite of liberalism is feudalism. Feudalism shackles the freedom of man, enslaves man and flouts the personality of man. Feudalism has persisted in Japan for a long time. It still takes such firm root that its eradication entails no common task.

Up to August 15, 1945, feudalism had been so deep-seated in Japan that it was hoping against hope to uproot it. Feudalism denied franchise to women. Feudalism permitted the peers to domineer over the people. By virtue of the hereditary succession system, the peers were born to be aristocrats. They disdained to mix with the people. Feudalism permitted the landlords to exploit their tenants. Even now the landlords impose harsh tenancy rentals, which are ruthlessly collected in kind. This is tantamount to taxation. The farm tenancy system in Japan is typically feudalistic, so much so that to see the farm village to get a general idea of feudalism.

The holding of women in subjection, the peerage system and exploitation of peasants by landlords—these are the typical legacies of feudalism in Japan. Champions of freedom have fought, in the main, for the emancipation of women and peasants.

Women and peasants, as we have noted, have been the worst victims of feudalism in Japan. Women were long reduced to the status of creatures of the home and held in bondage. Peasants were long subjected to ruthless exploitation. Women were taught in their maidenhood that, once they were married, they were not to demand a divorce no matter how unreasonable or tyrannical their husbands might be. Under the existing Civil Code, the wife is regarded as incompetent and prohibited from succeeding to the estate of her husband. Amazingly feudalistic is the family system. The family head is all powerful, women are treated little better than slaves and men have everything their own way. The Marriage Law, the Divorce Law, the regulations governing relations between parents and children and the rules governing inheritance—these are all marked by feudalism throughout. The peers, the most feudally minded of all classes of people, still think themselves a privileged class. Peasants still lead the same old miserable life, having to pay in kind the same rate of tenancy rental no matter how bad the year's

where it took the form of the dominance of men over women.

At times, liberalism put up a common front with socialism in emancipation may be. Many of them, faced by abject penury, sold their daughters as licensed prostitutes and barely warded off the wolf from the door. The Ministry for Home Affairs recognized traffic in prostitutes and permitted brothel house keepers to keep the unfortunate girls chained for years on end until their debts were redeemed.

Citadel of Freedom Remained Intact

Champions of freedom have long battled against these multiple forms of injustice based on feudalism, but the citadel of feudalism would not crumble. Instead, the citadel was solidified as feudalism joined forces with capitalism. Marriage and adoption helped to bring peers and capitalists closer together. Impoverished peers married off their daughters to moneyed commoners; sons of millionaires, lured by peerage, became adopted sons of peers; peers without money married daughters of big landlords with dowries; and so on. In this way, feudalism and capitalism held more and more firmly together and battered at the expense of peasants and laborers. Liberalism fought feudalism tooth and nail, but was invariably repulsed.

The feudalism-capitalism combination made steady inroads into the domains of politics, law, industry, economy and every other field and became firmly entrenched. If there had been in Japan during the Meiji era a political party of the caliber of the Liberal Party of England, liberalism in Japan would have gained considerable ground and some measure of the liberty of the Japanese people could have been preserved. As it is, the progress of culture was impeded seriously, all institutions were made to serve the interests of the privileged classes, and definite class distinctions were introduced between bourgeois and proletariats, between aristocrats and commoners, between capital and labor, between landlords and peasants and between militarist-bureaucrat clique and the people, each class being set against the other. Class distinction was carried even into the home, labor movements, but the campaign were invariably dealt crushing blows by numerous repressive laws. Liberal and socialist elements were barred from the Diet by the rich and powerful.

The militarists, bureaucrats and plutocrats deceived and drove the people into war. Finding liberal elements to stand in the way, they emasculated the Diet broke the political parties, stifled speech, gagged the press and squashed liberalism. Of course, pacifism, socialism and communism were also smothered. No wonder the war was lost.

Liberalism has for its basic objective the mere acquisition of the fundamental freedom of man. It differs from democracy or socialism. Democracy seeks to establish a political structure based on the total will of the people—an objective which is unachievable unless real liberty is given to the people first of all.

liberalism, with its objective limited to the acquisition of human freedom; is the skin of democracy and no more. As such, it is liable to be contaminated by capitalism.

Feudalism a Tool of Capitalism

Capitalism made a tool of feudalism to the top of its bent. Now that liberal trends are rising, capitalists are contriving to get under the skin of liberals and create liberal economy. Voices of opinion, heard now and then, that political freedom for the masses should be accompanied by economic freedom suit capitalists well. It is ever said that liberalism is capitalism.

Economic freedom means freedom for the capitalists, freedom for the rich. Unrestrained economic competition is the desire of capitalists. Criticisms of the existing bureaucratic economic control and demands for its abolition are highly gratifying to capitalists. But freedom of economy—liberal economy—at this time would mean appalling destitute for the masses. To apply the principle of liberalism to economy would be to confer the freedom of starvation on the masses.

Realization of real freedom for man—the avowed objective of liberalism—will be impossible unless liberalism is supported politically by democracy and economically by socialism.

Democracy seeks to bestow unrestricted political freedom on the people and to enable full expression of their total will. To this end, the Diet must be made a Diet of the people, a channel through which the will of all can be reflected in government. Liberalism alone is powerless to restrain the rich and powerful from forcing their will. Democracy will tear down the self-will of the rich and powerful and assure every one an equal voice in government.

Socialist economy is planned economy which is designed to save the people from starvation, give employment to the jobless and generally to remove menace to the livelihood of the people. Socialism aims to exterminate poverty, disease and crime and to bring happiness to all.

Admittedly, liberalism is sincere and stands for the instinctive desire of man. It deserves credit for having fought feudalism, militarism and bureaucracy, but liberalism will be carried off its feet by capitalism unless supported by democracy and socialism.

Real freedom for man is the common goal of liberalism, democracy and socialism, but I am persuaded that only by socialist democracy can this goal be attained.

(Translated from the Bungei Shunju)

NIPPON TIMES JUL 12 1946

Socialists to Hold Meeting

The Social Democratic Party has decided to hold a three-day party convention in Tokyo in the latter part of September to decide on its policy to meet the autumnal provincial election, said Kyodo.

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